A

HISTORY

OF

Religious Persecutions,

From the Apostolic Age to the present Time;

AND OF THE

INQUISITION

OF SPAIN, PORTUGAL, AND GOA.

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BY F. B. WRIGHT.

Such is my zeal to convert heretics, that, if it requires me by one hand to cut off the other, I will do it.....*Louis XIV. of France.*

Who art thou that judgest another man's servant?.....*Paul.*

Some gentlemen talk of raising barriers about the church of God, and protecting his honor. What! man! a poor, vile, contemptible reptile, talk of raising barriers about the church of God! He might as well talk of protecting Omnipotence, and raising barriers about his throne .....*Sir George Savile.*

The empire of the law ends, where the empire of the conscience begins; neither the law nor the prince must infringe upon this empire.....*Napoleon Bonaparte.*

Liverpool;

PRINTED FOR ROBINSON AND SONS,

SOLD IN LONDON, BY LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER ROW; AND BY EATON, 187, HIGH HOLBORN.

F. B. Wright, Printer.

Price Eight Shillings, boards.

1816.

ADVERTISEMENT

The following work is published chiefly with a view to that class of readers, who may not have either leisure or opportunity to peruse larger publications on similar subjects.

The late outrages in France against the freedom of religious worship, and the dreadful massacre of the Protestants there, must have excited surprise and horror in the breast of every friend to liberty of conscience.—The chagrin manifested by a part of our dignified clergy, at the increase of Dissenters, and the alarm they feel for the hierarchy from the spread of information by the Bible Societies and others—the regret which the Bp. of St. David's has publicly expressed for the repeal of the persecuting statutes against antitrinitarians, and the late disgraceful acts of per-

secution against Mr. Newstead, in Cambridgeshire, and the Hon. C. Noel, of Barham Court; call for watchfulness on the part of the friends of unrestricted religious liberty.

To aid the cause of freedom of opinion,—to promote liberality of sentiment and conduct, and to create an abhorrence for every species of persecution is the design of the writer:—as far as these pages shall accomplish that object his end will be answered.

This work has been, from various causes, delayed beyond the period first fixed on for publication; and has also extended to a hundred pages more than was at first intended. This latter circumstance has laid the publisher under the necessity of making a small advance on the price at first proposed; but it is hoped the increase of matter will be thought more than adequate to the additional charge.

Liverpool, Oct. 19*th*, 1816.

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PART THIRD.

HISTORY OF PERSECUTIONS.

Introduction.

The pages of ecclesiastical history unfold a horrid tale of persecution and of blood. Heathens, Jews, and nominal Christians, have all been guilty of the crime of inflicting pains, penalties, and death, on those who refused to conform to established opinions and modes of worship.

Religion, natural and revealed, condemns all injustice and cruelty. Religion, then, has not been the cause of persecution; but false views of it, and a departure from its spirit and original principles. Had they to whom the light of nature only was afforded, attended to the dictates of natural religion, they would have contemplated the great Creator of all things, as the universal parent, the benefactor of man. Their fellow

men would have been regarded as brethren, alike the objects of the care, and dependants on the bounty, of their common father. And he who could have added to their knowledge on the important subject of religion, would have been hailed as a benefactor, rather than persecuted as an enemy.

Had the Jews adhered to the principles of the religion of their forefathers, instead of persecuting Jesus and his apostles, they would have embraced christianity as the substance typified by the Mosaic rites, and as the fulfilment of the prophecies of their scriptures; they would have regarded it as the means by which the salvation of the nations was to be effected from idolatry and vice, and by which all mankind might be united in one family, and form one brotherhood.

And had they who professed themselves the disciples and followers of Jesus, adhered to the precepts of the founder of their religion, they would not have disregarded the solemn injunctions he laid on them "to love one another," and which he made the characteristic of their being indeed his disciples. "Hereby," said he, "shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another."

But they departed from the spirit and disposition he inculcated, and ceased to copy the bright example he had set them. In process of

time human inventions were substituted in the place of the pure precepts of the gospel; sect after sect sprung up, and to the utmost of their power anathematized and persecuted each other. Constantine, by conferring titles and dignities on the teachers and ministers of the christian church, formed a worldly priesthood, and laid the foundation of that hierarchy, which has been the scourge and scandal of christendom to the present day

It may not, perhaps, be uninteresting to the common reader, before entering on the history of religious persecutions, to take a brief survey of the state of the heathen nations, and of the Jews, at the commencement of christianity; and to add a concise view of the nature and design of the christian religion,—the constitution of the christian church in the times of the apostles and the primitive christians—causes of its degeneracy and declension.—The effects of superstition on literature and on social happiness;—a short account of the rise of the papal power, and of general councils. This will conclude the first part of the work.

The second part will contain the history of the persecutions under the heathen Roman emperors. Papal persecutions. The history of the Inquisition in Spain, Portugal, and Goa. The persecutions in France and the Netherlands. Of the

Waldenses, &c. Of the Lollards and others in England.

Part third will contain the history of the Reformation and its effects on the political and moral state of Europe. Brief history of the Nonconformists, the persecutions they suffered from the time of Elizabeth to the revolution. Impolicy and injustice of religious tests, and disqualifying and penal statutes on account of opinions.

Part First.

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CHAP. I.

On the state of the Heathen World, and of the Jews, at the commencement of Christianity.

The condition of the world, at the commencement of the Christian era, was indeed deplorable. The arms of Rome had subjugated the greater part of the nations to her domination, and established a despotism at home. The freedom of her sons had expired, and, although she assumed the title of "mistress of the world," her own liberties were buried beneath the throne of Cesar. The moral state of the nations was not less degraded than the political. Their minds were held in bondage by the grossest superstition. The knowledge of the true God was effaced by a system of polytheism. Their adoration was paid to departed heroes and illustrious personages whom state craft and superstition had converted into divinities. Having departed from the principles

of natural religion, which teach the knowledge of the great creator of all things, they regarded the works of his hands, those grand displays of his eternal power and Godhead, as objects of adoration, and paid that worship to the powers of nature which is due to him only who is the God of nature. They prostrated themselves before the sun, moon, and stars. The superstitious practices of some were carried so far, that mountains, rivers, trees, the earth, the sea, the winds, were made the objects of adoration, and had divine honors regularly paid to them. In Egypt, this excess of superstition extended to the worship of the most noxious and venemous animals.*

This was the case not with the common people, with the ignorant multitude, only; but their sages and philosophers were also addicted to the same practices. Religion was, probably, considered by the statesman and philosopher no otherwise than an engine of government, and "they contemned," says Gibbon, "while they practised the religion of the vulgar; and sometimes condescending to act a part on the theatre of superstition, they concealed the sentiments of the atheist under the sacerdotal robes, and approached, with the same inward contempt, and

* Mosheim's Commentaries, vol i. p. 19. also, Vossius, de Idololatria, lib. i. ii. iii.

the same external reverence, the altars of the Lybian, the Olympian, or the Capitoline Jupiter." To their gods they attributed the affections, the passions, and even the vices, of men. According to their representation, they were

> "Gods partial, changeful, passionate, unjust;
> "Whose attributes were rage, revenge, and lust."

As were the gods, such also were the worshipers. It was not to be expected that a pure stream would spring from such an unholy fountain. The gods and goddesses who were held up as objects of adoration to the common people, instead of exhibiting in themselves examples of a refined and super-eminent virtue, displayed in illustrious actions, stood forth to public view the avowed authors of the most flagrant and enormous crimes. The Priests, instead of being patterns of virtue and a holy life, were devoted to the most wanton courses, and indulged in the grossest licentiousness.

The religious homage paid to the deities of the pagan world consisted principally in the performance of various rites, such as the sacrifice of brute animals, and sometimes even the blood of human victims stained their altars. Their prayers, so far from being the offspring of genuine piety, were often framed for the purpose of ob-

taining from heaven countenance to the most abominable and detestable crimes; to solicit the destruction of their enemies, and the success of their arms against an unoffending tribe or nation.* Their festivals and other solemn days, were polluted by a licentious indulgence in every species of libidinous excess, even the temples of their gods often became the scenes of their vile and beastly gratifications.*

Whatever notions respecting a future life, of rewards and punishments after death, were entertained by the pagan world, they seem to have had little or no influence on their moral conduct. "We are," says Gibbon,† "sufficiently acquainted with the eminent persons who flourished in the age of Cicero and of the first Cæsars, with their actions, their characters, and their motives, to be assured that their conduct in this life was never regulated by any serious conviction of the rewards and punishments of a future state. At the bar, and in the senate of Rome, the ablest orators were not apprehensive of giving offence to their hearers, by exposing that doctrine as an idle and extravagant opinion, which was rejected with contempt by every man of a liberal education and understanding."—And again,‡ "The doctrine of a future state was scarcely considered

* See Mosheim's Commentaries vol. i. p. 21, who quotes from Philo Judæus, *de Cherubim*. † Rome, vol. 2, p. 296. ‡ Ibid, p. 297.

by the devout polytheists of Greece and Rome, as a fundamental article of faith."

The political condition of the Jews, at this period, was not superior to that of the Gentile nations who had been subdued by the Roman arms. Judea was become a province of the Roman empire. Her sons tributaries and in bondage to Cæsar. This was the more galling as they were subjected to the authority exercised by one, who was himself a vassal of Rome, and whose luxury and love of magnificence exhausted their treasures, and whose laxity of morals diffused a spirit of licentiousness among the people. The death of Herod, surnamed the Great, did not alleviate the miseries of the Jewish people; his sons who succeeded him, inherited the vices of their father, no less than his power. The two younger, Antipas and Philip, had the jurisdiction of one half of Judea, the other portion was allotted to their elder brother Archelaus, a profligate and wicked prince, who harassed the Jews with the most rigorous exactions, and compelled them by the excess of his cruelties, to lay their complaints before the emperor Augustus. The emperor, upon inquiry finding their complaints just, deposed their tyrant and banished him to Vienne in Gaul.

After this they were subject to the control of the president of Syria, this change, however, in-

stead of producing an alleviation to their sufferings, brought with it an accumulation of misery. To a people who regarded themselves as the peculiar favorites of heaven, to be obliged to pay tribute to a heathen prince, whom they regarded as an enemy of God, must have been a most heavy grievance. The extortion, likewise, of the publicans, who were the collectors of the revenue, and for whose continual and flagrant abuses of authority it was seldom possible to obtain any redress, became a subject of great dissatisfaction and complaint. The constant presence of their governors, surrounded as they were by a host of foreign attendants, and protected by a Roman military guard, quartered, with their eagles and various other ensigns of superstition, in the heart of that city, which they esteemed holy, kept the sensibility of the Jews continually on the rack, and produced in their minds a degree of indignation and fury; and excited them to tumults, factions, and seditions, by which they accelerated their total overthrow as a nation.

Their situation was rendered still more deplorable by the debased character of those who directed their religious concerns, (the chief priests and the seventy elders who composed their sanhedrim, or national council.) The chief priests, according to Josephus, were the most abandoned characters, who had obtained that elevated rank,

either through the influence of money, or by iniquitous complaisance, and who shrunk from no species of crime that might preserve their authority. The inferior priests, and ordinary ministers of religion, were equally depraved with their superiors. The common people followed the example of their guides and became vicious in the extreme. Josephus calls the men of his time, a generation of men much more atheistical than the people of Sodom and Gomorrah.*

The religion of the Jews had been grossly corrupted by the introduction of the traditions of their elders, which were placed on a level with the commandments of Jehovah. The scriptures of their prophets were almost lost in the vague expositions, and absurd glosses of their Rabbis. Forgetting the spirituality of divine worship, and the end to which their rites and ceremonies were intended to lead them, they placed the whole of religion in outward observances, in the tithe of mint and cummin, while they neglected the weighty and important matters of the law. They thought their consciences defiled, if they omitted to wash their hands before they eat, but felt no compunction for the omission of works of mercy and justice. Narrow in their minds, and regarding themselves as the favorites of Je-

* Jewish War, bk. v. ch. 13. sect. 6.

hovah, they looked with scorn on all the nations of the world, and esteemed them as abandoned of heaven. And though in a state of vassalage to the Romans, they ostentatiously exclaimed, "We are Abraham's seed, and have never been in bondage to any man."

One thing, however, is peculiarly worthy of notice; great as was the defection of the Jews, at this period, and low as they were sunk in moral depravity, they had not associated with the object of their worship the idols of the Gentile world. While other nations had gods many, and lords many, they bowed the knee to none but the Great and Almighty Jehovah, the maker of heaven and earth. Nothing could prevail upon them to adopt the systems of worship prevalent among the nations. "Neither the violence of Antiochus, nor the art of Herod, nor the example of the circumjacent nations, could ever persuade the Jews to associate with the institutions of Moses, the elegant mythology of the Greeks."* And to this day, though scattered over the face of the earth, whether living among christians or heathens, they still maintain the doctrine of the Unity and Supremacy of Jehovah.

There appears to have been at this time among the Jews generally, an eager longing for, and ex-

* Gibbon.

pectation of the Messiah foretold by the prophets; but they expected a temporal deliverer only; one who should free them from the Roman yoke, restore their government, and bring back the prosperity and happiness of their nation. When the Messiah came, his character was so different to what they had conceived, that they rejected him with scorn, and put him to a cruel and ignominious death. They still remain a distinct people, living *in*, but not reckoned *with*, the nations of the earth. The purposes of divine providence are to us inscrutable, but doubtless founded in wisdom and goodness. He who gave the promises to their fathers, will in his own time gather this people again, and, with the fulness of the Gentiles, unite them under him to whom those promises relate; when there shall be "one fold and one shepherd."

CHAP. II.

A concise view of the nature of Christianity. Right of Private Judgment, &c.

THE ignorance of mankind, respecting religion and a future state, before the coming of Christ, was, like the darkness of Egypt, exceedingly great. Some powerful means were necessary to reclaim men from the situation to which they were reduced by superstition and vice. A guide was necessary to direct their feet from the paths of error to the ways of truth; to turn the attention of man from the objects of a day to the consideration of an eternal world.—Such powerful means are afforded by Christianity; and such a guide is the founder of the Christian Religion.

To a world sunk in idolatry, enslaved by vice, the gospel must have been a peculiar blessing.—It was announced as glad tidings of great joy to all people. Jesus appeared as the accredited messenger of heaven to man, to reveal more perfectly the knowledge of the true God, the Father. To promulgate a system of doctrines worthy of God and beneficial to man; to give precepts calculated to promote his interests here, and to lead him to happiness hereafter. The message he

brought was a message of pardon and peace to the children of men;—of consolation to the afflicted;—of liberty to the captive;—a display of the love and mercy of God;—and a discovery of a life beyond the grave.

The object of worship exhibited to our view, in the gospel preached by Jesus and his apostles, is the Being who created the heavens and the earth; almighty, omniscient, and omnipresent; immutable, infinite, and eternal; not, like the imaginary deities of the heathen world, local and limited. The worship he requires is the incense of the heart; the dispositions with which it is to be offered are, meekness, humility, and sincerity. "God is a spirit, and they who worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." His character is, "the Father;" his nature is love; his attributes, mercy and goodness; his ways, righteousness and truth. Such is the Being the gospel calls upon us to love, to reverence, and adore.

The gospel is pure in all its precepts. It requires holiness of heart and conduct in all its votaries, It forbids the indulgence of vice, and condemns every vicious inclination. It declares that "without holiness no one can see God."—Its laws reach not only to the outward conduct, but extend to the thoughts of the heart. It requires us to stifle the first emotions of evil, to

suppress the first risings of angry passions. It ranks the hater of his brother among murderers and declares, that " he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, cannot love God whom he hath not seen."

The gospel is a message of peace to the conscience wounded on account of transgression and sin; and it effects peace by directing the penitent sinner to the mercy and goodness of God. It promotes peace among mankind, by forbidding all strife and animosity. It teaches us to exercise mutual forbearance to all, and pronounces a blessing on the " peace makers." As it promotes peace and concord among individuals, so it is no less calculated to promote the peace of nations. The predictions of the Jewish prophets lead us to expect a period when the nations of the earth shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; when they shall learn the horrid trade of war no more. Were the kings and rulers of the earth properly impressed with the truth and importance of christianity; were they influenced by the benign principles of the religion of Jesus, this happy state of things would soon commence;—the kingdoms of this world would become the kingdoms of God and his Messiah; oppression would cease—governors would be peaceable, and the regulators of public affairs would be righteous in all their actions.

The gospel not only inculcates peace and harmony, but requires active benevolence, and all the kind offices man can render to his fellow-man. "Love one another," was the new commandment Jesus gave to his disciples. Their love to one another was to be the test of their discipleship; and the distinguishing mark by which they were to be known as such by the world. The apostle Paul exhorted christians not to seek their own welfare merely, but each one the good of others. In our relative duties, we are required to do to others as we would they should do to us.

Christianity strongly and uniformly inculcates the love of our enemies. "If ye love them that love you," said Jesus "what reward have ye? But I say unto you, love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them who despitefully use you and persecute you." "If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your heavenly father forgive your trespasses."—"If thine enemy hunger," says Paul, "feed him, if he thirst, give him drink."

The founder of the christian religion exemplified in his own conduct the precepts he inculcated on his disciples. "He does not stand at the bottom of the hill, the station from which many other teachers have sent forth the voice of instruction, and content himself with pointing to the top, and saying to his fellow-inhabitants of

the valley, 'go up yonder:' it is from the heights of goodness that he exhorts mankind to mount up into elevated benevolence: the animating language of his excitation to rise is, '*hither* rise:' his call to us, to move upwards, comes down from the pinnacle to which he directs our flight."

"He who exhorts us to love our enemies, embodied the spirit of his exhortation in his life.—He loved his enemies with an ardor, which all their cruelty could not extinguish. He blessed, with the warmest devotion, those that with the severest bitterness cursed him. He did the greatest good that human benevolence could do, to them that hated him with all the virulence that human malignity can feel. Who, without veneration, can behold a man, in whom, all the indignities and cruelties which it was in the power of his enemies to heap upon him, were able to excite no other feeling, relative to them, than pity! Who, without amazement, can contemplate a being, as susceptible of pain as any of us, under all the agonies of crucifixion, and in the midst of popular reproach; more pointed and piercing than the nails that transfixed his limbs, or the spear that penetrated his side, employing the last gasp which his enemies have left him, in uttering a prayer for their forgiveness." *

* Fawcett's Sermon on the Love of our Enemies.

We are required by the gospel not to wait until he who hath offended us seek to be reconciled; but we are to use all the means in our power to effect such reconciliation. "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between him and thee alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother."

We are called upon to abstain even from things innocent in themselves, should they be a cause of offence, or of stumbling to a weak and scrupulous brother. "If meat cause my brother to offend," says Paul, "I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend."

Christianity recommends the most unbounded philanthropy. The sages of antiquity declaimed on the love of country, the virtue of patriotism. Jesus directed his disciples to exercise the benevolent affections in a more enlarged sphere; to cultivate love to all mankind. When, on a certain occasion, he recommended to a Jewish lawyer the duty of loving his neighbour as himself, the narrow minded Israelite, full of the prejudices of his nation, and limiting his kindness to his own people, asked, "who is my neighbour?" Jesus related the story of the man, who, traveling from Jerusalem to Jericho, fell among thieves, who stripped him of his raiment, wounded him and left him for dead. A priest traveling that way passed by the unfortunate sufferer, without

affording him any succor; a levite also showed the same unfeeling disposition; but a Samaritan, one for whom the Jews entertained the greatest contempt, by his acts of mercy and kindness, proved himself superior to the Jewish ecclesiastics; and the lawyer was constrained to acknowledge that his acts of mercy entitled him to the character of neighbour. "Thy neighbour, says the spirit of benevolence which dictated the answer to the Jew's inquiry, is *man;* the Samaritan's neighbour is not only the Samaritan, but the Jew, The neighbour of the Jew is not only the Jew, but the Samaritan. Thy neighbour, whoever thou art that makest the inquiry, thy neighbour is he, whom God hath made in his own likeness, of one blood with thyself. Whoever answers to this description has a claim to thy fraternal affection; and, whenever in a situation to need them of thee, to thy neighbourly offices; although thou have never touched with thy foot, or descried from a distance, or seen in description, the country whence he came; although thou have heard no traveler tell of the land that gave him birth, although thou understand not one word of his language; although thou believe not one article of his creed." *

Whatever claim our country and our relatives

* Fawcett's Sermons, vol. ii. p. 151.

may have upon our affections and our benevolence, we are never to forget that we are a part of the great family of man. Like the blessings of the gospel, our good wishes, our charity, and our kind offices, are to be extended, as far as occasion calls for, and our ability allows, to all our fellow creatures. In this alone, we can imitate our God and Father, "who is good to all and whose tender mercies are over all his works;" and by doing this we manifest that we are his children.

Christianity prohibits nothing to man, but those things which would be injurious to his improvement, peace, and happiness. It condemns the sordid selfish views of those who would build their own welfare on the ruin of others; and promote their own interests at the expense of the interests of the community.

The grand and most important design of christianity is, to reveal to us a life beyond the grave. Dark and cheerless were the ideas entertained by the sages of antiquity on this most important and interesting subject. Even Socrates, the wisest, and the most virtuous among them, had but very confused notions of another life. He thought it would be a great advantage to mankind, if God would afford them a revelation on this subject. Jesus has brought life and immortality to light. By his death and resurrection, death is stript of its terrors, the grave of its gloom. By the con-

sideration of a future life the human powers are expanded. The man whose hopes and expectations are confined to this life only, must contemplate death and the tomb with sensations of melancholy; but he who in his ideas associates the future with the present scene, is the subject of widely different feelings. He views all the events of this life, as connected with that to come, and on this ground reconciles his mind to those circumstances of an afflictive nature, with which he is surrounded; and considers them as means by which his improvement is to be promoted, and by which he is to be trained up for the world to come.

This slight sketch of christianity will be sufficient to show, that a system so pure, so benevolent, so just; combining the good of individuals with that of society, and alternately promoting and improving each by reciprocal operations of the offices of kindness and love, is a blessing to the human race, favorable to the best interests of man both here and hereafter. It is a stranger to every persecuting principle, and teaches its votaries to submit to wrong, rather than offer violence to any one. It asks not the arm of power to enforce its laws. It imposes no fines, inflicts no penalties for opinions; it recommends no dungeons in which to immure heretics. It requires not implicit faith, but calls for credence on

the foundation of evidence only. Its beauty is its simplicity, and its glory is its purity. A stranger to worldly pomp and parade, its votaries are not generally among the great, the noble, or the wise of this world. Its denunciations are against the unjust, the impure, the hypocrite, the unrelenting, the unforgiving, and the persecutor.

If men bearing the christian name have been persecutors, the crime has been their own, and is by no means to be charged upon christianity. The motives of their conduct were derived from a far different source. The causes which produced such actions will be developed in the following pages, and will be found to owe their origin to the corruptions of the christian system; and, especially, to the union of the civil power with ecclesiastical domination.

No sooner did the church and state coalesce, or a church arise upon the shoulders of human constitutions, than a standard of opinions, different from the scriptures, was erected; another judge of controversies established; and the rights of conscience and of private judgment trampled under foot. Weak and fallible men took upon them to dictate to other weak and fallible men, what they should believe, and what they should practice.

Whoever has paid any serious attention to the New Testament will perceive that this is contrary

to the very spirit and design of christianity.—Jesus exhorted his followers to "search the scriptures," that they might satisfy themselves that he was the Messiah predicted by the ancient prophets. He exhorted them to call no man master, and to yield their consciences to none but God. The apostles disclaimed all authority and lordship over the consciences of their brethren. "Why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right."? "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good." This is the language of the New Testament. The Bereans are commended as more noble than the Thessalonians, because "they searched the scriptures" to see if the preaching of the apostles was consistent therewith.

As God has given to every man reason and understanding, it is his duty to exercise the same upon every subject that he deems of importance, and religion is a subject of the first importance. Had it been intended by God that an individual, or a company of individuals associated in council should be the umpire of faith and opinion among christians, the reason, and discriminating powers of individuals would have been quite useless; but every man is capable of judging for himself, therefore the right of judging belongs to every man.

All men are the children of the same God; he is the common father of all. He has not bestowed

privileges upon some which he has denied to others. He invites all his children to approach him, and requires they should worship him with a free-will offering. "My son give me thy heart." But this would be otherwise were there a human umpire, and dictator, in matters of religion.—Men may indeed perform a ceremonious worship, without much exercise of the understanding; but no man can be really religious, any further than he is influenced by the convictions of his own mind.

At the great judgment day, men must give an account of their actions in their own proper persons, and receive according to the deeds they have done in the body. No substitute will be admitted there. The very idea of personal responsibility is an argument in favor of the right of private judgment. If I must give an account of my actions, it is requisite that I should judge of the motives by which I am to act; and whether it be right or wrong for me to perform or not perform such and such actions.

By asserting the right of private judgment we shall be on our guard against those prejudices which are the consequence of a blind attachment to human authority. Men have been generally too apt to pay an undue deference to antiquity, on its own account merely. Antiquity ought never to be pleaded in favor of falsehood. Error

is no less so, however ancient it may be; and truth ought not to be rejected because of its late discovery. The doctrine of the circulation of the blood, and of the motions of the planets round the sun, is no less true, because unknown to the ancients. Indeed, had men continued blindly to follow the opinions of the ancients, and rejected all modern discoveries in science and philosophy, then Copernicus, Newton, Bacon and Locke, and many other illustrious men, would have lived in vain; "we must have blundered on still in successive generations, amongst absurdities and thick darkness, and a hundred useful inventions for the happiness of human life had never been known."* If such conduct would be improper in philosophy, it surely cannot be right in religion.

Civil government have no authority in matters of religion. Policy and expediency have had more influence with governments, respecting religion, than the love of religion itself. Opinions have been countenanced and established as true, at one time, which have been condemned as false and heretical, at another, the history of our country affords many melancholy examples of this fact.

"As for principles of religion," says a cele-

* Watts' Logic, p. 225. 9th Edit.

brated writer, " we frequently find how they are taken up and forsaken, changed and resumed by the influence of princes. In all nations the priests have much power also in dictating the religion of the people, but the princes dictate to them: and where there is a great pomp and grandeur attending the priesthood in any religion whatsoever, with so much the more reverence and stronger faith do the people believe whatever they teach them: yet it is too often evident that riches, and dominions, and high titles in church or state have no manner of pretence to truth and certainty, wisdom and goodness, above the rest of mortals, because the superiorities in this world are not always conferred according to merit."

" To free ourselves from these prejudices, it is sufficient to remember, that there is no rank nor character among mankind, which has any just pretence to sway the judgments of other men by their authority: for there have been persons of the same rank and character who have maintained different and contrary sentiments; but all these can never be true, and therefore the mere name or reputation that any of them possesses, is not a sufficient evidence for truth."

" Shall we judge of matters of the christian faith by the fathers or primitive writers for three or four hundred years after Christ? But they often contradicted one another, and themselves too;

and, what is worse, they sometimes contradicted the scripture itself."

"To believe in all things as our predecessors did, is the ready way to keep mankind in an everlasting state of infancy, and to lay an eternal bar against all the improvements of our reason and our happiness. If we ought always to believe whatsoever our parents, or our priests, or our princes believe, the inhabitants of China ought to worship their own idols, and the savages of Africa ought to believe all the nonsense, and practice the idolatry of their negro fathers and kings. The British nation, when it was heathen, could never have become christian; and when it was a slave to Rome, it could never have been reformed."

"Besides, let us consider that the great God, our common maker, has never given one man's understanding a legal and rightful sovereignty to determine truths for others, at least after they are past the state of childhood or minority. No single person, how learned and wise, and great soever, or whatsoever natural, or civil, or ecclesiastical relation he may have to us, can claim this dominion over our faith. St. Paul the apostle, in his private capacity would not do it; nor hath an inspired man any such authority, until he makes his divine commission appear. Our Saviour himself tells the Jews, that if he had not

done such wondrous works among them, they had not sinned in disbelieving his doctrines, and refusing him for the messiah. No bishop or presbyter, no synod or council, no church or assembly of men, (since the days of inspiration) hath power derived to them from God to make creeds or articles of faith for us, and impose them upon our understandings. We must all act according to the best of our own light, and the judgment of our own consciences, using the best advantages which providence hath given us, with an honest and impartial diligence to enquire and search out the truth: for every one of us must give an account of himself to God. To believe as the church, or the court believes, is but a sorry and a dangerous faith." *

The authority of the fathers and the decision of councils, ought to have no weight, in determining our opinions, because they contradict and oppose each other. Justin, Ireneus, and Tertullian, promised their followers the enjoyment of a thousand years, the diamonds and the sapphires of Jerusalem, with glory and worldly prosperity; Dionysius of Alexandria, Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Jerome, counted these notions as the idle fancies of children and dotards. A difference of opinion was entertained between the Bishops of

* Watts' Logic, part II. ch. iii. sect. 4.

Asia and Victor, respecting the celebration of Easter; of Cyprian and Stephen, on the baptism of heretics. St. Jerome, with others, held that the reprehension of Peter by Paul was a piece of dissembling, concerted and well understood between the two apostles; St. Augustine maintained the contrary. Justin maintained that it was really the soul of Samuel which appeared to Saul, on the invocation of the witch of Endor; others, that it was only a phantom. One thought that it was an apostolic tradition, that christians should assemble three times a week to partake of the Lord's Supper; others thought differently. Some maintained that it was a duty to fast on a Saturday; others condemned this practice as contrary to christianity. Some maintained that Christ died at the age of forty or fifty years; others that he died at the age of thirty or thirty-one. There is scarcely any subject supposed to be connected with christianity on which these holy fathers did not differ. The council of Sardica gave to Rome the right of receiving the appeal of all bishops; the council of Chalcedon gave this right to Constantinople. The council of Laodicea left out of the canon of the scriptures the books of Maccabees, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, Tobit, and Judith; the council of Carthage esteemed them canonical. Many more instances might be added to show that not only

a diversity, but a contrariety, of opinions prevailed among the fathers and councils; but these are sufficient to prove, that they are of no authority; that they are far from being safe guides, and infallible judges. It is in vain for men to call for uniformity of opinion, when they are divided among themselves, respecting what ought to be believed and practised.*

If, then, christianity be a revelation from God to man, in which the divine benevolence is peculiarly displayed, and kindness and good-will among mankind inculcated upon the principle that they are the creatures of one God, the children of one father—if the rights of conscience are guaranteed by it—if men are accountable to God alone for their religious faith and practice—it follows, that all human interference between man and his maker is not only unjustifiable, but arrogant; and that intolerance and persecution are crimes of more than common magnitude.

The only authority is the scripture, and, as the great Chillingworth says, "the BIBLE, the BIBLE, is the religion of Protestants." This is the standard by which all opinions must be judged; the test by which they must be tried.—"To the law and to the testimony" we must refer. Every man must judge for himself; and having used all the

* See Daillé on the Use of the Fathers, and Priestley's History of Early Opinions.

means in his power to know and understand the scriptures, to God, and not to man he is accountable for the conclusion to which he comes, the opinions he entertains, and the particular mode of religious worship he adopts. Humility and openness to conviction ought to be connected with all his researches. Truth should be the object of his pursuits, and truth he ought to pursue, whatever may be the consequence. And should human power and authority attempt to interfere, he may say, "Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye?"

CHAP. III.

On the constitution of the Christian Church in the Apostolic age. Causes of its declension. Union of Church and State, &c.

THE word CHURCH has been a source of contention among men for ages. Ecclesiastics who have appropriated the term to themselves, and associated therewith worldly power and emolument, have, in all nations, more or less, supported their usurpations by penal statutes, and persecuted those who would not submit to their injunctions.

Christ declares, that "his kingdom is not of this world," nothing therefore could be further from his intention, than the founding of what might be called a polity or state. (His church is not of a secular nature to be either propagated or defended by an arm of flesh, or to have its laws enforced by human sanctions, or any such temporal punishments as can be inflicted by human authority.)

We cannot conceive a greater contrast between the spirit of his injunctions, and that spirit of proud domination, which in succeeding ages

became predominant in what was then called the church.

During the life of Jesus, the christian church consisted of himself and a few humble followers. He was the institutor, the father, the head; they were his disciples, his members, and his friends. He governed them by the laws of love; instructed them in the most affectionate manner; set them an example, not only of the most exalted piety, and ardent devotion to God; but of the most disinterested kindness and love to men.—He condescended to wash the feet of his disciples, thereby teaching them that they ought to administer to the happiness, comfort, and convenience of each other, although in accomplishing it, the performance of what might be deemed humiliating would be necessary.

This little church was dispersed at the death of their founder; but they gathered together again after his resurrection. At the time of his ascension it appears, by Acts i. 15, their number was about a hundred and twenty. One of the twelve, whom Jesus had chosen as apostles, apostatized, and betrayed his master into the hands of those who sought his life; and afterwards died a sad and miserable death. In the first assembly of the christians, after the ascension of Jesus, they chose by lot Matthias, to be an apostle in the place of Judas. The first instance we have

of the choice of a minister or officer in the christian church, is an election by the votes of the members composing that church; and which may serve as a model to all future times. In this instance we find the apostles placed themselves on a perfect level with their brethren.

On the day of Pentecost, many were converted to christianity by the preaching of the apostles, and joined themselves to the church. The christians continued to increase in number, and we are informed, in the sixth chapter of the Acts of the apostles, that, when there arose a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily administration, the whole body of the christians was, in consequence of this, called together; and the apostles recommended them to choose seven men, from among themselves, of honest report, to be appointed to the management of the temporal concerns of the society, while they devoted themselves to the work of preaching. The assembly proceeded to the election, and the seven men so chosen were placed before the apostles, who, by prayer and the laying on of hands, set them apart to their office. These were called deacons.

By the travels and preaching of the apostles, the gospel was carried into different countries, the gentiles embraced christianity, and churches were formed, and established. Ministers were

appointed under the denomination of elders, who were to feed the church of Christ by instruction and example. These elders had also the name of bishops, as appears evidently from Acts xx. When Paul was at Miletus he sent to Ephesus, and called the elders of the church, to whom he gave a summary of his conduct during his apostleship, and after informing them that they should see his face no more, he solemnly enjoined them to take heed to themselves and to the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers; or bishops, according to the word in the greek.

The Christian Church in its origin, was a company of men believing in the doctrines and following the precepts of the gospel. They agreed to meet together for the public worship of God, chose and appointed among themselves those who should minister to them in their public assemblies, and managed all their concerns as a congregation, independent of any other congregation whatever. In every church there appears to have been one or more elders, or bishops, but we no where read in the New Testament of a metropolitan bishop. Nor do we read in that book of a national church.

Properly, there are in the New Testament, but two original senses of the word *ecclesia*, (church) which can be called different though related.—One is, when it denotes a number of people ac-

tually assembled, or accustomed to assemble together, and is then properly rendered by the English term congregation, convention, assembly, and sometimes, crowd, as Acts xix, 32—40.— The other sense is to denote a society united together by some common tie, though not convened or perhaps convenable in one place, and in this acceptation, as well as in the former, it sometimes occurs in classical writers, as signifying a state, or commonwealth, and nearly corresponding to the latin *civitas*.

In our time we speak of the church of Rome, the church of England, the church of Scotland. &c. as of societies complete and independent of themselves, But such language was not used in the days of the apostles, They did not say, the church of Asia, or the church of Macedonia, or the church of Achaia, but the churches of God, in Asia, the churches in Macedonia, the churches in Achaia. The plural number is invariably used when more than one congregation is spoken of; unless the subject be of the whole christian community, then it is called the church of Christ— the church of God. Nor is this the manner of the sacred writers only, it is the usual language of the ecclesiastical writers of the two first centuries.*

* See Dr. Campbell's Lectures on Ecclesiastical History; the Adresses of the apostles, in their several Epistles to the christian churches, and the directions given to John, in the book of Revelation, respecting his addresses to the seven churches in Asia.

From the whole account in the New Testament it is evident, that the churches established by the apostles were not national churches; but every congregation of christians was denominated a church. Christ was their only acknowledged head, and they were all brethren. The apostle Peter exhorted the elders of the churches to which his epistles are addressed "to feed the flock of God, to take the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but as ensamples to the flock."

Peter, who has been in after ages exalted to the rank of supremacy and infallibility by the Romish church calls himself an elder, and ranks himself on a level with other elders. "The elders which are among you I exhort, who also am an elder." 1 Pet. v. i. And as an encouragement to the elders whom he had exhorted to diligence and circumspection, he adds, (verse 5.) "And when the chief shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not.—Christ is styled, "the shepherd,"—"the chief shepherd." The apostles never assumed the title, nor was it until christianity had become corrupted by the inventions of men, that any title denoting superiority and lordship was ever given to a minister of the christian church.

In the time of the apostles, says Dr. Campbell,* "was formed a community of the disciples of Jesus which was called his church, a word that denotes no more than society or assembly, and is sometimes used in the New Testament, with evident analogy to the common use, to signify the whole community of christians considered as one body, of which Christ is denominated the head, and sometimes only a particular congregation of christians. In this general society founded in the unity of their faith, their hope, their love, cemented, as it were, by a communion or joint participation, as occasion offered, in religious offices, in adoration, in baptism, and in the commemoration of the sufferings of their Lord, preserved by a most friendly intercourse, and by frequent instructions, admonitions, reproofs when necessary, and even by the exclusion of those who had violated such powerful and solemn engagements: in all this, I say, there was nothing that interfered with the temporal powers. They claimed no jurisdiction over the person, the liberty, or the property of any man. And if they expelled out of their own society, and, on satisfying their conditions, re-admitted those who had been expelled, they did in this only exercise a right, which any private company, like a knot

* Lectures on Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 43.

of artists or philosophers, may freely exercise; namely, to give the benefit of their own company or conversation to whom, and on what terms, they judge proper: a right which can never justly be considered as in the least infringing on the secular powers. The christians every where acknowledged themselves the subjects of the state, whether monarchical or republican, absolute or free, under which they lived; entitled to the same privileges with their fellow-subjects, and bound as much as any of them to the observance of the laws of their country. They pleaded no exemption but in one case; a case wherein every man, though not a christian, has a natural title to exemption; that is, not to obey a law which is unjust in itself, and which he is persuaded in his conscience to be so. But in regard to rights merely of a personal or a private nature, over which the individual has a greater power, far from being pertinacious asserters of these, they held it for an invariable maxim, that it is much better to suffer wrong, than either to commit or to avenge it."

When the christians increased in number, especially in large cities, differences would arise between individuals concerning matters of property and of civil rights. These disputes and differences would lead to law suits before the heathen judges or magistrates. These law suits would

increase the differences already existing, and bring a scandal upon the profession of christians, whose criterion had been declared by their Lord and master to be mutual love. Examples of this kind existed in the church of Corinth, and the conduct of those christians is censured by the apostle Paul, 1 Cor. vi. 1. He advises them to settle all their disputes among themselves, and, in order to this, to appoint some of their brethren as arbitrators, instead of appealing to the civil magistrate.

These primitive and chosen arbiters claimed no coercive power of any kind over their fellow christians. The judgment they pronounced was very properly termed, in primitive times, the judgment of charity, or love. By this principle alone were the judges influenced, (without salary or emoluments) to undertake the office; by this alone were the parties disposed to submit to the sentence: and by this principle alone, where an injury had been committed, the offender was induced, as far as possible, to make reparation, and the offended as readily to grant forgiveness No mention do we find of bailiffs or tipstaffs, fines, imprisonments, or distraining of goods. As the principal view in examining and deciding such questions, was the radical cure of the evil, that is, of every thing that might look like animosity, or

discontent among the disciples of Christ; they neither had, nor desired to have, any other means of enforcing their decisions, than such as the love of peace and union, and the interests of the common cause necessarily gave them. To have applied as umpires in christian states, in after times, have done, for the interposition of the secular arm to enforce their decrees, would have been recurring to that very evil, for the prevention of which, they had been nominated as judges by their brethren.*

The members of the church, who were to be judges of the conduct of their brethren, either by the matter being brought before them as a body, or before those whom they should delegate, could not be any distinct body of men. Indeed, the apostle did not take upon himself to judge of these matters. It appears, that in cases only, in which a private interview, or the interposition of the delegates of the christian congregation, or church, had been unsuccessful, that the matter was brought before the church. This plan had been pointed out by Christ, Mat. xviii. 15—18. "If thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault, between thee and him alone; if he hear thee, thou has gained thy brother; but if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or

* Campbell's Lectures on Ecclesiastical History.

two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established; and if he neglect to hear them, tell it to the church, but if he neglect to hear the church let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican. Verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." In acting thus, according to my advice and instruction, ye will have the approbation of heaven. The practice of the apostles was in strict conformity to the injunctions of their master.

Happy had it been for the church, and happy for the world, if the professed disciples of Jesus had adhered to the precepts of their master, and followed the directions and advice of his apostles; but there were not wanting men in the early periods of christianity, who, ambitious of being the leaders and heads of a party, imposed upon the judgment of their weak brethren. Judaizing teachers arose and formed to themselves a party. Dissentions were the consequence. Still clinging to the Mosaic ritual, they sought to blend the law and the gospel together.

In the course of time, attempts were made to unite the mysteries of pagan theology with the christian system. Ashamed of the cross of Christ, and of being known as the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth, whom the Jews had put to an ignomi-

nious death, a sect arose, which denied the reality of the sufferings, death, and resurrection of Jesus, these were known by the name of Gnostics.— "Intoxicated with a fondness for their opinions, not a few of the christians were induced to secede from all association with the advocates for sound doctrine, and to form themselves into various sects, which, as time advanced, became daily more extensive and numerous, and were for several ages, productive of very serious inconveniencies to the christian commonwealth."*

To the corruption of christian doctrine, and perversion of christian practice, soon succeeded the attempt at dominion over conscience. They who ought to have considered themselves as the servants of the church, assumed authority to dictate in matters of faith, and claimed for themselves powers and privileges, incompatible with the rights of their brethren, and instead of being helpers of others, and ministers to their common interests and advantage, became lords over God's heritage.

The church being divided, upon subjects, some of which were of very trivial import, such as the celebration of Easter, and others of like indifference, but for which, they who took the lead, mutually reviled and anathematized each other, an

* Mosheim's commentaries, vol. 1. p. 308.

opportunity was given to men of ambitious views, to improve the dissentions they had occasioned to their own aggrandizement and worldly interests.

Thus the way was paved for the introduction of worldly policy into the christian church, and the union of civil and ecclesiastical authority, which was completed by Constantine, called the first christian emperor. From this time, "the prerogatives of the King of heaven were settled, or changed, or modified in the cabinets of an earthly monarch.*

There must have been a very great departure from the purity and simplicity of the gospel, or Constantine would never have obtained so much influence among the christians, and the tale of his conversion would not have obtained credit. Indeed, it had so much the appearance of being the effect of superstition or of fraud, that it is a little questionable whether it was at all really believed. The historian of his own life, who, at the command of the emperor, twenty years after, penned the particulars respecting the vision of the cross on the face of the sun, and the legend surrounding it, does not appear to credit it, but says, "who could doubt the word of an emperor, when that word was confirmed by a royal oath?"†

* Gibbon's Rome. vol. 1. p. 345.

† Eusebius in the life of Constantine. See an excellent dissertation on this subject, in the appendix to Dr. Gregory's 1st volume of his History of the Christian Church; also Dr. Priestley's Church History.

Constantine, although he professed the christian faith, retained a deal of pagan superstition, he was pleased to be represented with the symbols of the god of light and poetry. To such a man the plain, unadorned worship sanctioned by christianity, would appear exceedingly dull and insipid.

The simple rites and institutions of the founder of christianity, were superseded by pomp and show, by splendid trappings, and gorgeous ceremonials. Titles and dignities, not only unknown to christianity, but forbidden by Christ, were conferred upon these who officiated as ministers, who were more the dependants on a court and the equipage of princes, than overseers and pastors of the christian church. They who had been known only as ministers, pastors, and brethren among their fellow christians; now assumed the dignity of lords, formed themselves into a distinct class of men, assumed the title of the clergy, while their flock was herded under the name of the laity.*

Thus become a worldly priesthood, their spirit and temper would be transferred to their worship, and a system of dogmas, of creeds and articles of faith, would be introduced in the place of that

* The progress of ecclesiastical authority gave birth to that memorable distinction of the laity and clergy, which had been unknown to the Greeks and Romans.—Gibbon's Rome, vol. i. p. 340.

faith, piety, and rational devotion, which the gospel inculcates, and which God approves.

The loose wanderings of the imagination were gradually confirmed by creeds and confessions of faith. The freedom of private judgment submitted to the public wisdom of synods, and the authority of a theologian was determined by his ecclesiastical rank. Uniformity of opinion, and of practice in religious worship was attempted; it was inforced by penal statutes, fines, confiscations, imprisonments, exile and death. "Whole troops of those who were styled heretics were massacred, particularly at Cyzicus, and at Samosata. In Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Galatia; and in many of the provinces, towns and villages were laid waste and utterly destroyed." *

Thus was verified the declaration of the apostle Paul, Acts xx. 29. "For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock." This melancholy fact, will be exemplified in the subsequent pages of this work.

* Julian Epist. 52.

CHAP. IV.

On Superstition and its effects on Literature, Religion, and Social Happiness. Instances and illustrations, &c.

The doctrines taught by Christ and his apostles, are plain and easy of comprehension. The precepts of the gospel have a happy tendency to promote the welfare of the human race. The former display the character of the Divine Being in the most amiable light; the latter direct us to the practice of those things which are connected with our present and future well-being. The gospel reveals a God of unbounded goodness, of infinite mercy, and of unceasing benevolence.—Superstition reverses the whole; it inspires the most gloomy apprehensions, and creates the most tormenting fears. It presents to our view a Being unlovely, and of a character not to be contemplated without the greatest horror, nor to be approached, but in a way abhorrent alike to reason and revelation. To superstition we owe the multiplicity of intermediate advocates which a misguided judgment, or capricious fancy created. The invocation of saints and angels would never have been thought of, had not very gross misconceptions of the divine character been entertained,

and a great departure from the simplicity of the gospel taken place. Had not reason been trampled on, the heathens would not have multiplied their gods, nor had recourse to such low and ridiculous means of appeasing their supposed anger. The accidental flight of birds, the palpitations of reeking entrails, and the dispositions of chickens, would never have been converted into good or ill omens, so as to become to them a source of satisfaction or of uneasiness. Had the professed followers of Jesus of Nazareth, kept alive the spirit of piety and devotion which he inculcated, and of which his whole life was so striking an example, they would not have become subject to that spirit of bondage engendered by superstition. But, in proportion as they departed from the spirit of the gospel, and rational piety decreased, superstition made its inroads; and an undue importance was attributed to rites and ceremonies, while their end and design vanished.

Superstition began to discover itself even in the time of the apostles. Paul, in writing to the Galatians, ch. iv. 10, 11, says, "ye observe days, and months, and times, and years, I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labor in vain." And to the Colossians he says, ch. ii. 18—23. "Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshiping of angels,—why as though living in the world

are ye subject to ordinances, after the commandments and doctrines of men? Which things have indeed a show of wisdom in will-worship, and neglecting of the body; not in any honor to the satisfying of the flesh."

In the time of Tertullian, superstition had made considerable progress: especially with respect to baptism and the Lord's supper. He says, "before we go to the water we declare in the church before the bishop, that we renounce the devil, his pomp, and his ministers. We are then dipped three times, saying more than our Lord in the gospel prescribed. We then taste of milk and honey, and from that day abstain from our usual washings a whole week. We take the sacrament of the Lord's supper both at the usual time of eating, and in those assemblies which are held before day-break, nor do we take the elements from any other hands than those of the clergy, we annually make oblations for the dead as in commemoration of their proper birth. We think it wrong to fast, or to kneel on the Lord's day, or in all the interval between Easter and Pentecost. We are anxious lest any part of the sacramental bread or wine fall to the ground.—We sign ourselves with the sign of the cross in the forehead, whenever we go from home or return, when we put on our clothes or our shoes, when we go to the bath, or sit down to meat,

when we light our candles, when we lie down, and when we sit. For all these observances," he says, "we have no rule besides tradition." *—This was a close imitation of the conduct of the Pharisees to whom Christ said, "ye make void the commandments of God by your traditions."

Superstition, like a noxious plant, had no sooner taken root, than it grew with amazing rapidity. From a kind of affection and esteem for those who had distinguished themselves in promoting the cause of christianity in the world, it proceeded to a boundless veneration, and attached a sanctity to their memory, which afterwards led to the exalting them as objects worthy of a homage little less than that which is due to the fountain of existence and the source of all good. In process of time the mother of Jesus was invoked under the high titles of the "Mother of God," "Queen of Angels," "Tower of Strength," "Queen of Virtues," and called upon as the all-prevailing mediatrix, to intercede with the Father and the Son in behalf of those who addressed to her their prayers and supplications. Prayers were offered to Peter, Paul, and all the holy apostles;—to the primitive martyrs of the christian faith, dignified with the title of saints;—and to others of later times whose greater austerities,

* De Corona, Sect. iii. p. 101.

and supposed great virtues, obtained for them the same appellation; whose names are recorded in the calendar, and which are too numerous to be inserted in this place.—Not content with these, angels and archangels have been, and are still invoked, in the religious worship of a large class of our fellow-men bearing the christian name, such as St. Michael, St. Gabriel, and others, at the mention of whose names the people are directed by their ritual to say, "pray for us." Whatever are the motives of those who practice such a system of worship, of which it is not my province to judge, the fact remains the same, and an impartial spectator judging only from what he witnesses, would be led to conclude that the great infinite and eternal Being, by whom all things were created, and by whom all things are upheld, is less the object of divine worship, than the multitude of saints and angels to whom they address the principal part of their supplications.

Superstition assumed the venerable form of religion; abstruse and fanatical explanations of scripture bewildered the imaginations of the multitude; and christianity was defended, not with the invincible arm of simplicity and truth, but by the glittering and brittle weapons of sophistry and invective. An increasing veneration for saints and martyrs was greatly promoted, not only by the christian emperors, who erected su-

perb churches over their remains, but by the exhortations of the Fathers of the church, who inculcated the belief of extraordinary miracles performed by their relics; and incited a degree of worship towards those departed saints, whom they represented as interceding with God in favor of those by whom they were invoked. About the year 386 the piety of considerable numbers of the people consisted chiefly in the carriage and preservation of bones and relics; and extraordinary revelations were pretended to have been made from heaven, for the discovery of the remains of celebrated martyrs to the faith. Their bodies had commonly been secretly interred, by the pious zeal of their followers, in some obscure place; whence, after the persecution ceased, they had been brought forth, and decently buried. This custom, in some measure, gave rise to the translation of relics, which was still farther advanced by a conformity to the practices of the pagans, who carried about the images of their gods with great solemnity. Constantine commanded the bodies of St. Andrew and St. Luke to be conveyed away from the sepulchres where they were deposited, to the magnificent church at Constantinople, which he had dedicated to the twelve apostles. The remains of St. Stephen, after they had remained buried and unknown more than three centuries, were said to have been

revealed by Gamaliel, the tutor of St. Paul, to the favored Lucianus, a priest, and being discovered in the place to which he had directed the search, were removed with the utmost solemnity to Jerusalem; where they became so celebrated from the miracles they were said to have performed, that many devout visiters to Jerusalem enriched their native cities, on their return, with small portions of these surprising remains. An oratory, or chapel, was always erected over this sacred deposit, which was called a memorial of the martyr whose relics it contained. The tomb of our Savior at Jerusalem was held in great estimation, and was resorted to by crowds of pious visiters, who carried away with them large portions of holy earth, which was highly prized. One of the most extraordinary discoveries of this century was that of the cross on which Christ had suffered; which was said to have been found by Helena, the mother of Constantine, on her visit to the holy sepulchre. Pieces of this precious wood were distributed throughout the christian world, and the cross, according to the testimony of St. Paulinus, containing a vital virtue in an inanimate and insensible substance, yielded, and continued to yield almost daily, its precious wood to the desires of an infinite number of persons, without suffering any diminution,

or appearance of having been touched.* A degree of respect not less superstitious than that paid to the wood of the cross, was demonstrated by Constantine towards the image of Christ, which he commanded to be made of the most precious materials, and to be placed in the most superb apartment of the imperial palace.†

The baneful effects of superstition soon became visible in the influence it had on literature and social life. In the fourth century, men affected a monastic state; retired from the world; and secluding themselves from all the concerns of life, indulged the anti-social principle, under pretence of devoting themselves to the service of that Being who is the universal parent and benefactor of man; and who has so constituted our nature that a large portion of our happiness must be derived from an intercourse with our species.

The Egyptian Anthony,‡ appears to have been the first who induced any considerable number to

* Tillemont, Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. c. 5. † Eusebius' Life of Constantine, b. iii. c. 49.

‡ This Anthony is reported to have had many visits from the Devil, who appeared to him in various forms; sometimes alone, and sometimes attended by a multitude of demons, in the form of lions, tygers, bulls, serpents, wolves, and even asses, who all attacked him at once, but were unable to prevail against him. The combat was long and obstinate; during which Christ is said to have been present, for lifting up his

associate with him in the monastic state. Numbers, seized by a fanatical spirit, voluntarily inflicted upon themselves the severest sufferings, and were content to be deprived of every earthly good. In this solitary state, like their leader the illiterate Anthony, they rejected learning as useless, if not pernicious, and professed to be solely occupied in silence, meditation, and prayer. When, however, they were formed into regular societies, they employed some part of their time in study. Their melancholy modes of life prepared and qualified them for all the vagaries of a heated imagination: they had prophetic dreams, saw visions, conversed with the different inhabitants of the invisible world, and many closed a life of madness in despair. The emperor Constantine contributed greatly to the respect paid to this state, by his attachment to those who devoted themselves to divine philosophy, or monk-

eyes, he saw the roof of the place uncovered, and a ray of light shining through it upon him. On this the demons disappeared, his pain left him, and the hut was found to have received no injury. He then asked why Christ had not come to his assistance sooner, and was answered, "I was here, Anthony, but I waited to be a spectator of your combat; and since you have not sunk under it, I shall always be your helper, and shall make your name famous in all places." The Devil, afterwards tried various methods to seduce Anthony, but was foiled in all his attempts. *See the Life of Anthony, by Athanasius.*

ery. Considerable numbers of the softer sex forsook their elegant abodes, and all the endearments of domestic life, to dwell in caves and deserts. Among these, Paula, a matron, descended from one of the most illustrious families at Rome, with her daughter Eulalia, rent asunder every delicate domestic tie; and, forsaking her home, her country, and her weeping offspring, she visited Jerome in Palestine, accompanied him in his visit to Epiphanius at Cyprus, and went to Paulinus at Antioch.* Egypt was the great theatre for monastic action; and, at the close of the fourth century, it was computed that twenty-seven thousand monks and nuns were to be found in that country. As neither opulence nor talents were required from these solitary devotees, monkery offered an agreeable asylum to the indolent and illiterate, who, if their pretensions to austerity were sufficiently fervent, were at once elevated into stations of peculiar honor and respectability.

Under the auspices of an emperor who publicly professed the faith of the church, we naturally expect to see its external respectability increase. Constantine not only greatly enlarged and improved the edifices already erected, but he constructed a considerable number of additional

* Eusebius' Life of Constantine, b. iv. c. 28.

temples, which he dedicated to departed saints, and adorned them with pictures or images, and the most costly magnificence. A very superb structure was reared, by the orders of the emperor, over the sepulchre of Christ at Jerusalem. Constantinople was adorned by the emperor with a superb church, dedicated to the twelve apostles, which he proposed to make his own mausoleum; not perhaps without a latent hope that his soul might be benefited by his dust being mingled with the bones of those holy men, which he had carefully endeavoured to collect wherever they lay dispersed. Numberless churches, in different places, were erected over the tombs of the martyrs, which were only used on particular occasions, and were distinguished by the name of Martyria. These places were decorated with every ornament, which formerly embellished the temples of the heathens, and christian rites were solemnized with all the pomp of lights, lustrations, and of splendid garments, which had distinguished the pagan ceremonies.* †

* See Dr. Gregory's History of the Christian Church.

† That the pagan rites and ceremonies were transferred to the christian worship, after it became contaminated by worldly interference, there can be little doubt. The heathen temples and altars, are seldom mentioned by the ancients without the epithet of *perfumed* or *incensed;* the practice of incense or perfumes is common in the churches in Italy. The

From a mistaken notion of the character of God, and under the impressions and influences of superstition, men were led to acts of self-

use of holy water, as it is called, is derived from the heathens. The Jesuit la Cerda in his notes on a passage in Virgil, where this practice is mentioned, says, "Hence was derived the custom of holy church, to provide purifying or holy water, at the entrance of their churches. The superstitious use of holy water is carried so far at Rome, says Dr. Middleton, that they had an annual festival, called the "benediction of horses;" which is celebrated with much solemnity in the month of January; when the inhabitants of the city and neighbourhood send up their horses, asses, &c. to the convent of St. Antony, near St. Mary the Great, to have this ceremony performed upon them; "among the rest," says the Dr. "I had my own horses blessed at the expence of about eighteen pence."

The burning of lamps and wax candles before the shrines and images of their saints—the votive offerings—religious pomps and processions—penances, flagellations, and various other particulars, discover a close imitation of the rites and ceremonies practised by pagan Rome.—Gregory Thaumaturgus is commended by Gregory of Nissa, for changing the pagan festivals into christian holidays, the better to draw the heathens to the religion of Christ.

St. Jerome says, that "paganism had many observances, which, to the reproach even of christians, implied a great strictness of manners and discipline. Juno had her priestesses, devoted to one husband; Vesta her perpetual virgins; and other idols their priests also under vows of chastity." * To wipe of this reproach from the christian church, monasteries and nunneries were established, recommended chiefly by

* Tom. iv. part 314.

mortification and penances. St. James of Nisibe voluntarily deprived himself of the use of fire during his whole lifetime. He lay upon the ground; he never wore any woollen clothes, but only used goat skins to cover his nakedness.

St. Julian only eat bread made of millet, and abstained from the use of almost all kinds of drink. St. Martianus never eat but once a day, and that very sparingly, so that he continually endured the tortures of hunger and thirst; this holy man had a disciple who never touched either bread or meat.

St Eusebius used to wear an iron chain round his body; his continual fastings and other kinds

the writings and authority of St. Jerome. Vigilantius, who lived towards the end of the fourth century, publicly charged the ruling clergy with idolatry and paganizing, on the account of several heathenish customs introduced at that time into the christian church, especially the veneration of relics, and the lighting up of candles to them in broad daylight. St. Jerome, who answers him does not deny the practice, nor its being borrowed from the pagans, but defends it. "That," says he, "was once done to idols, and was then to be detested, but this is done to the martyrs and is therefore to be received." The remonstrances of Vigilantius were treated as *heretical, impious*, and *diabolical*.

For a particular account of the similarity of the superstitions of ancient and modern Rome, the reader is referred to Dr. Conyers Middleton's Letter from Rome; from which the above is chiefly extracted.—See also Dr. Geddes Miscellaneous Tracts.

of macerations, rendered him so lean and emaciated, that his girdle would continually slide down upon his heels; and Publius the elder voluntarily submitted to mortifications of the same kind.

Simeon only fed upon herbs and roots. St. Theodosius the bishop, used to wear a hair cloth round his body and iron chains at his hands and feet. St. Zeno never rested on a bed, nor looked into a book. Macedonius, during forty years never used any other food than barley. Bishop Abrahames never tasted bread during the whole time of his being a bishop, and carried his mortifications so far as to forbear the use of clean water.

Theodoret, who wrote the lives of the solitaries, also relates, that some of these holy men used to wear iron shirts, and others were constantly burdened with cuirasses inwardly armed with points. Some would willingly expose themselves to the scorching rays of the sun, on summer days, and to the nipping cold of winter evenings; and others as it were buried themselves alive in caverns, or in the bottom of wells, while others made their habitations, and roosted upon the very tops of columns.

St. Simeon Stylites fixed his habitation on a column fifty cubits high. Numbers of people resorted to it from all parts, in order to consult

him upon different subjects, and he delivered his oracles to them from his exalted situation. One of the methods of mortifying himself, was, to make frequent genuflexions, which he did so rapidly, it is said, and in such numbers that a person who one day espied him, at a distance and attempted to count them, grew tired, and left it off when he had counted two thousand.* In this wretched state he continued during thirty-seven years of his life; and his sublime piety was at his decease eagerly emulated by one Daniel a monk, who resided on a pillar, and died at the advanced age of eighty years.

Baradus, a monk of Syria, aspiring after a more perfect kind of self-denial than that to which he had for some time accustomed himself, erected on the summit of a mountain, a box so constructed as not to admit of his standing in a perpendicular posture, and which having no close cover, exposed him to all the inclemencies of the wind, the rain, and the sun. Tired of this posture, or having ceased to attract the notice of others, he attempted by another device to obtain the popular regard. For this purpose he contrived to be raised from the prone to an erect posture; and continually stood upright, covered with a garment of skin, with only a small aper-

* Boileau's History of the Flagellants.

ture in his box sufficient to allow of his drawing his breath, and stretching out his hands to heaven.

From one absurdity superstition leads to another.—Very early in the fifth century it was reported that the Virgin Mary, had manifested herself to several persons, and wrought several miracles in favor of the consubstantialists. Her image, holding in her arms an infant Jesus together with the images of those who during their residence on earth had acquired the reputation of superior sanctity, was honored with a distinguished situation in the church, and in many places invoked with a peculiar kind of worship, which was supposed to draw down into the images, the propitious presence of the saints or celestial beings they represented. A superstitious respect was paid to the bread and wine used in the celebration of the Lord's supper. These elements were thought to be of use to the sick in a medicinal way, and to be a means of preserving persons in journeying by land, and in their voyages by sea; and as persons might not have carried home with them a sufficient quantity for such use, it was customary for the priests to keep a quantity of the consecrated bread to distribute occasionally, as it might be wanted. Austin says "If any one fall sick, let him receive the body and blood of Christ, and let him keep a part of this little body, that he may find the accomplish-

ment of what St. Jerome says, *Let those that are sick go to the church to receive strength of body.* The same Father also mentions a woman who had made a plaister of the sacramental bread for a sore eye.* Several of the christians interred a quantity of it in the sepulchres of their departed relatives. A superstitious fear was produced by this excessive veneration for the elements of the Lord's table, and the memorial of the death and sufferings of Jesus Christ, which had been celebrated by christians on every Lord's day, was attended by very few who professed themselves christians.

Superstition found a powerful patron in Gregory the Great, who encouraged the use of pictures and images in churches, and strongly insisted upon the efficacy of relics. He refused, however, to transport any part of the body of St. Paul to Constantinople, since, he asserted, that this sacred relic was indued with powers so formidable, that the temerity of those who dared to approach it was punished by their being seized with terror, or perhaps visited with a frightful apparition. He graciously sent to the empress, who had preferred this request, a portion of the filings of St. Paul's chain, to place in the church then building at Constantinople in honor of that

* See Basnage—Larroche—Dr. Priestley's Corruptions of Christianity, and Gregory's History of the Church.

apostle. A lucky method was devised, which, while it added to the coffers of the priests, displayed alike the ingenuity of the inventor, and the credulity and superstition of the multitude. Instead of distributing the precious remains of a saint, they touched the body with a piece of cloth, which immediately received the wonderful power to cure diseases, and in many instances to work miracles. Some impious Greeks having dared to doubt of the efficacy of such relics, were convinced of their infidelity by Leo, bishop of Rome, who took a pair of scissars, and cut the sacred cloth, from which drops of blood are said to have immediately gushed out !!!

It would be almost endless to recount the numerous instances of superstition in different periods of the christian church. Places of worship, because of their supposed sanctity, became a sanctuary for thieves and murderers, from which the hand of justice could not drag them. Divination by lots was practised in imitation of the heathens, and the bible, which was intended to teach men their duty to God and to one another, was used to foretel the fortunes of any one who should open it at random, by reading the first passage which presented itself to the person as applicable to his circumstances. The possession of a tooth or a toe nail of some saint was more sought, after than that spirit of the gospel which

consists in righteousness and true holiness; the whole of religion was supposed by many to consist in an attendance upon outward acts of devotion, in going to churches, bringing offerings to the altar, lighting candles in consecrated places, and such like vain services.

Towards the conclusion of the tenth century a custom was introduced among the Latins, of celebrating masses, and abstaining from flesh, in honor of the Virgin Mary every sabbath day.—Also the ceremony of baptizing bells with holy water. About 968, John XIII. sprinkled with holy water a large bell; which was cast for the Lateran at Rome, blessed it and pronounced it sacred. From which is come the custom of consecrating all bells used in churches. Upon this occasion they pray, that when the bell shall sound, they may be delivered from the ambushes of their enemies, from apparitions, tempests, thunder, wounds, and every evil spirit. During the service, they make many aspersions of holy water, and several unctions on the bells, both within and without, and at each unction they pray, that the bell may be "sanctified and consecrated, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, to the honor of Emanuel, and under the patronage of such and such a saint."* Godfathers and

* Sueur A. D. 968.

godmothers were appointed on this occasion to answer questions instead of the bell; and they pray that God would give the bell his holy spirit, that it may be sanctified for the purposes above-mentioned, and especially for driving away witches and evil spirits, and for preventing tempests in the air, which were supposed to be caused by those spirits. The bell had also a name given to it as in baptism.*

The superstitions of the Romish church were supported by pretended miracles, and especially those of the apparitions of dead persons. Among the variety of frauds practised on the credulity of the multitude, the page of history does not record one more extraordinary than the celebrated imposition, performed at Bern, in 1509, by the fraternity of monks, called Dominicans. A dispute had arisen between them and the monks of the order of St. Francis, respecting the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. The latter maintained that she was born without original sin, the former affirmed the contrary. The doctrine of the Franciscans, in a superstitious age was popular; and the Dominicans imperceptibly lost ground. To support the credit of their order, they resolved, in a chapter held at Vimpsen, in 1504, to have recourse to fictitious

* Dr. Priestley's History of Corruptions, vol. ii. p. 140.—Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 150.

visions and dreams, in which the people at that period had an unlimited faith; and they determined to make Bern the scene of their operations. A person named Jetzer, who was extremely simple and much inclined to austerities, and who had taken their habit of 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 tremendous form, 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 alarming 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 his 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 fearful lamentations, alarmed the unfortunate Jetzer, and engaged him to promise to perform all 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 performing 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 by two other spirits. Morning no sooner arrived, than Jetzer gave an account of this apparition to the rest of the convent, who unanimously advised him to undergo the discipline which was enjoined; and each consented to bear his share of the task imposed. The deluded brother obeyed, and was admired as a saint by the multitude that crowded about the convent, while the four friars, who managed the imposture, magnified in the most pompous manner the miracle of this apparition, in their sermons and in their discourse. The following night 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 impostor conversed much with Jetzer on 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 Bern would be destroyed for harboring such pests 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 circumstance. 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 which were employed to adorn the statue of the Virgin in the great festivals; the little images, which on these days are set on the altars, were made use of for angels, which being tied to a cord that passed over Jetzer's head, rose up and down, and danced round 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, she told Jetzer, that she would add 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 fanatic into the greatest agony. The next night, this pretended Virgin brought, as she said, some of the linen in which Christ had been buried, to soften the wound, and gave Jetzer a soporific draught, which 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 awaked, 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 other draughts, which threw him into convulsions, and 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 cheek 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 honor that was due to him, in saying that she was conceived and born without sin.

The apparitions, false prodigies, and absurd stratagems of the Dominicans, were repeated every night; and the matter was at length so grossly over-acted, that, 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, concluded that the best method would be to confess the whole to Jetzer, and to engage him, by the most seducing promises of opulence and reputation, to prosecute the cheat. Jetzer was persuaded, or at least appeared to be so. But the Dominicans, suspecting that he was not entirely to be depended upon, resolved to poison him; his constitution, however, was so vigorous, that, though they gave him poison 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 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 had swal-

lowed it, he escaped once more. Finding at last an opportunity of escaping from the convent, he threw himself into the hands of the magistrates, to whom he made a full discovery of this ill-conducted plot. The affair being brought to Rome, commissaries were sent to examine the matter; and the whole deception being fully proved, the four friars were solemnly degraded from their priesthood, and, horrible to tell, 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; while others have, possibly with injustice, charged his death on his adversaries; since after all, the most probable supposition is, that his vigorous constitution, though not destroyed, was yet undermined by the sufferings it had undergone, which certainly might hasten, though they did not immediately effect, his dissolution.*

In the sixteenth century arose the order of the Jesuits, whose founder was Ignatius Loyola.—He was introduced into the world in a stable, his mother having chosen that situation to imitate the mother of Jesus. Ignatius was early in life page to king Ferdinand of Spain, and afterwards served in the army, but was a man of pleasure to the age of twenty-nine, when being dangerously

* Hottinger, Hist. Helvet. Eccl. p. 334. Ruchat's Hist. de la Reform. en Suisse. Burnet's Travels.

wounded at the siege of Pampeluna, he diverted himself with reading books of chivalry and romance, and by accident stumbled upon the lives of the fathers, which he regarded as a romance of a different kind, and was so impressed therewith, and fired by their example, that he formed a plan of spiritual knight errantry.

His first resolution was to make a pilgrimage to the holy land, going barefooted, and clothed in sackcloth; but being prevented in this he went to Notredame de Monserrat, near Barcelona, and there, watching in the church all night, he solemnly hung up his arms, by way of renouncing his profession as a soldier, and devoted himself to the service of the Virgin Mary. He wore an iron chain round his loins, and a rough hair cloth under his clothes. He also whipt himself three times a day, lay on the bare ground, begged his bread from door to door, and made so dirty and hideous an appearance, that the boys hooted at and pelted him as he went along, and thence he retired to a cavern in the neighbourhood, where he was found almost dead with his excessive mortifications and carried to the hospital. He underwent much persecution, and struggled with many difficulties, but his persevering and indefatigable spirit overcame them all.—He was the founder of a society which afterwards became one of the most powerful of all the orders

of the church of Rome, and which were the most learned of all the religious bodies of their time. At his death, which happened in 1556, he had the satisfaction to see his society established in most parts of the world. They had then a hundred colleges, without reckoning the noviciates, the professed houses, and missions, which in all composed thirteen provinces, administered and filled by more than a million of Jesuits.*

St. Francis Xavier, the apostle to the Indies, one of the fraternity of the Jesuits, began his career in life, under the most painful mortifications, and doing the greatest penance. In a miserable thatched cottage near Padua, he passed forty days, exposed to the injury of the weather, lying on the bare ground, rigidly discipling himself, fasting all the day, and sustaining nature only with the little pittance of bread, which he begged about the neighbourhood; but tasting all the while the sweets of paradise in contemplating the eternal truths of faith.

He possessed great powers of mind, but was also very superstitious. He was exceedingly devoted to the service of the Virgin Mary. He petitioned for nothing from the Lord, but by the intercession of his mother. He never undertook a journey, or any matter of consequence without

* Hist. de la Compagnie de Jesus.

imploring her protection, and in all dangers he had recourse to her.

When he passed whole nights at his devotions, it was always before the shrine of the Virgin.—"I have taken," says he, "the queen of heaven for my protectress, that by her prayers I may obtain the pardon of my innumerable sins."

This knight of the Holy Virgin, died at the age of 46, worn out and brought to an early grave by the rigors of superstition. The powers he possessed, under the influence of sober reason, employed in the promotion of rational piety and the christianity of the New Testament, would have done much towards the deliverance of the human race from ignorance and vice. But he became a saint in his turn, and we are told by the historian of his life, that many miracles were wrought by his dead body; and that many blind, lame, and diseased persons, were cured by the cross on which an image of himself was placed.

As saints and miracles are generally connected, we are informed by the biographer of St. Francis, that, in a little chapel, at the castle of Xavier, in the kingdom of Navarre, there is an ancient crucifix, made of plaster, of about the stature of a man, in the last year of the father's life, this crucifix was seen to sweat blood in very great abundance every Friday; but after St. Francis was dead the sweating ceased, and to the pre-

sent time, it is said, the crucifix is to be seen, at the same place, with the blood congealed along the arms and thighs to the hands and sides.*

Father de Primare, describing his voyage to China, says, " we had gone upwards of fifty leagues beyond the streights of Sunda, our pilot must have been most egregiously mistaken in his reckoning. We were therefore at a loss to know how to reach China that year; but finding no human assistance could avail us, we addressed ourselves to heaven and St. Francis Xavier in order that we might reach the wished for port that year.—We had already begun the devotions of our office in honor of that great saint, to whom we added a vow, whereby we bound ourselves, either to take the communion in the first port of China, or to raise a contribution to build, in the island of Sanchon, a little chapel over the grave of the apostle."

" We afterwards espied the promised land, it was the island of Sanchon, whether St Francis had conducted us within a day's journey of the sepulchre;—we approached the spot, espied a pretty large stone standing upright, and the moment we read the portentous words following, *Here St. Francis Xavier was buried*, we kissed the sacred earth several times; some of our

* See the Life of St. Francis Xavier.

company watered it with their tears, and I myself felt sensations of so soft and so consolatory a nature, during a quarter of an hour I was in a kind of extacy. After celebrating mass, we sung *Te Deum,* and kissed the ground a hundred times; then we respectively took up a little portion of the earth to preserve it as a precious relic, singing the praises of the saint, whose spirit we had endeavored to inherit."

Father de Tartre describes the situation of himself and the crew in a ship in a storm in the eastern seas, expecting the ship would go to pieces every moment, or be inevitably lost, says, "To pacify the wrath of heaven and procure to ourselves the protection of the holy patroness in whom we confided, I was desired to offer up two vows in the name of the whole crew, one to St. Francis Xavier, the other to the Blessed Virgin." The father adds, "It is not in vain that persons invoke the name of the mother of God, nor that of the great St. Francis Xavier, in seas which their miracles have made so famous. Next to the compassion of our Savior, we owe our deliverance to the Blessed Virgin and the apostle of the Indies.

Father Stanislaus Arlet describes, with great pleasure, the superstition practised by some of the Indian converts. "Happening," says he, "to be on one of these missions in passion week,

I had the consolation to see in the church, above 500 Indians rigorously chastising their bodies, on Good Friday, in honor of Jesus being scourged; but a circumstance which forced tears of tenderness and devotion from my eyes, was the sight of a company of young Indians, of both sexes, who with eyes cast humbly down, their heads crowned with thorns, and their arms stretched out on stakes disposed in the form of a cross, imitating for above an hour in this posture, the painful condition of the crucified Savior, whose image stood before their eyes." *

Such was the superstition which the missionaries planted in the Indies. At the distance of two centuries, a celebrated modern traveler, imbued with the same spirit, visited the places, regarded as holy, in the land of Palestine, and has given full proof of his being a legitimate son of mother church.

In speaking of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, this author says, "Christian readers will, perhaps, inquire what were my feelings on entering this awful place; I really cannot tell;—so many objects rushed at once over my mind, that I was unable to dwell upon any one particular idea. I continued near half an hour upon my knees in the little chamber of the Holy Sepulchre,

* The Travels of the Jesuits.

with my eyes rivetted on the stone, from which I had not the power to turn them. All I can say is, that when I beheld this triumphant sepulchre, I felt nothing but my own weakness, and when my guide exclaimed with St. Paul, "O death where is thy sting? &c." I listened as if death was about to reply, that he was conquered and enchained in this monument."

The same writer describes very minutely a circumstance which requires no small share of faith to believe. "Proceeding," says he, "fifty paces farther on the mountain, you come to a small mosque of an octagonal form, the relic of a church, erected on the spot from which Christ ascended to heaven, after his resurrection. On the rock may be distinguished the print of a man's left foot, the mark of the right also was formerly to be seen. From an examination of this print, it has been concluded, that our Savior, had his face towards the north, at the moment of his ascension, as if to renounce the south, involved in errors, and to call to the faith barbarians destined to overthrow the temples of false gods, to create new nations, and to plant the standard of the cross on the walls of Jerusalem."

"In the way down Mount Sinai a great stone is shown, which, according to the monks, is the place where Elias rested himself, after his flying from Jezebel. A little below this, the Moham-

medans show the print made by Mohammed's camel in the rock, as he was traveling this way; this print they kiss very devoutly!" *

Who would have expected to have heard in the nineteenth century, of the superstitious devotion of a monarch leading him to tambour a robe for the Holy Virgin Mary; or that priests could be found to trump up the story of her appearance to one of the bishops to commission him to inform Ferdinand VII. that she had graciously accepted the garment, that her son was highly pleased with it; and that she promised the king her special protection. The long reign of superstition in Spain, has reduced the mass of the people to such a degraded state, that the grossest absurdities will obtain credence and currency in that country.

The following instance of superstition occurred a short time since in France.

In July, 1814, M. Baron, Counsellor of the Cour Royale of Nismes, conceived the project of voting to God a child of silver, in the event of the Duchess d'Angouleme giving a prince to France. He communicated it to the Marguillerie; it assembled—deliberated, and this project of M. Baron was soon changed into a religious vow, unanimously formed, which was so-

* Chateaubriand's Travels in Palestine.

lemnly proclaimed the 19th of July, in the parish church of St. Castor, and in a church dedicated to St. Francis de Salles. The whole city of Nismes was informed of it—it was talked of in the societies—it was talked of *tete a tete*—it excited the people to repeat without end their *paters* and *aves*, who, after they had inflamed their passions by crying *Vive le Roi!—Vive les Bourbons!*—came to kneel at the altar, where their imaginations were again filled with the same objects. A deputation of the Marguilliers of the parishes of the city of Nismes, consisting of M. M. the Viscount de Bernis, the Abbe d'Esgrigny, the Viscount de Suffren, the Marquis d'Assas, the Marquis de Rochemaure, the Marquis de Montcalm, the Marquis de Calviere Vesenobre, Trinquilages, first Advocate General of the court of Nismes, and Froment Secretary of the King's Cabinet, having had the honor of being admitted to an audience of Madame the Duchess d'Angouleme, to communicate to her the vow of which she was the object, M. Trinquilagues spoke as follows:—

"Madame,

"In the name of the administrators of the parishes of the city of Nismes, we come to present to you the homage of a religious act with

which they have been inspired by their ardent love for the blood of their King, and their profound veneration for your Royal Highness. Like all Frenchmen, they have felt that there is wanting to our happiness a son of yours; and they ask it of him from whom emanates every good. They have deposited at the foot of the altar their vow to consecrate to him a monument of their gratitude. They would have left this vow of their hearts under the veil of the sanctuary, and have waited in respectful silence for the benefit which their prayers solicited; but your Royal Highness has often said that the love of the French could only convey consolation to your heart; and they rejoiced at the thought that, in communicating their sentiments, they might perhaps soften a moment of melancholy recollection, &c."

The church of Rome is not the only one in which superstition exists. In our own country we discover it, in the sign of the cross in baptism—in turning to the east—bowing at the name of Jesus—kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's supper—in the regulations respecting canonical robes—in the consecration of churches and church yards, &c. &c. for which practices we shall look in vain in any part of the New Testament.

The following specimen of superstition was exhibited by Archbishop Laud, when he conse-

crated the churches of Saint Catharine Cree, Saint Giles, and others in London.*

"The bishop came attended with several of the high commission, and some civilians. At his approach to the west door of the church, which was shut and guarded by halberdeers, some, that were appointed for that purpose, cried with a loud voice, *Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the King of Glory may come in!* Presently the doors were opened, and the bishop, with some doctors and principal men, entered. As soon as they were within the place, his lordship fell down upon his knees; and, with eyes lifted up, and his arms spread abroad, said, *This place is holy, the ground is holy: in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy.* Then, walking up the middle aisle, towards the chancel, he took up some of the dust, and threw it into the air several times. When he approached near the rail of the communion-table, he bowed towards it five or six times; and, returning, went round the church, with his attendants, in procession, saying first the hundredth, and then the nineteenth psalm, as prescribed in the Roman pontifical. He then read several collects, in one of which he prays God *to accept of that beautiful building*, and concludes thus, *We consecrate this*

* See Rushworth's Historical Collections, vol. ii. p. 76.

church, and separate it unto thee as holy ground, not to be prophaned any more to common use. In another he prays, *That all, who should hereafter be buried within the circuit of this holy and sacred place, may rest in their sepulchres in peace till Christ's coming to judgment, and may then rise to eternal life and happiness.*

"Then the bishop, sitting under a cloth of state, in the aisle of the chancel, near the communion table, took a written book in his hand, and pronounced *curses* upon those who should hereafter profane that holy place by musters of soldiers, or keeping profane law-courts, or carrying burdens through it; and, at the end of every curse, he bowed to the east, and said, *Let all the people say Amen.* When the curses were ended, which were about twenty, he pronounced a like number of blessings upon all that had any hand in framing and building that sacred and beautiful Church, and on those that had given, or should hereafter give, any chalices, plate, ornaments, or other utensils: and, at the end of every blessing, he bowed to the east, and said, *Let all the people say Amen.* After this came the sermon, then the sacrament, which the bishop consecrated and administered in the following manner.

"As he approached the altar, he made five or six low bows; and, coming up to the side of it,

where the bread and wine were covered, he bowed *seven* times. Then, after reading many prayers, he came near the bread; and, gently lifting up the corner of the napkin, beheld it; and, immediately letting fall the napkin, he retreated hastily a step or two, and made three low obeisances. His lordship then advanced; and, having uncovered the bread, bowed three times as before: then he laid his hand on the cup, which was full of wine, with a cover upon it, which having let go, he stepped back, and bowed three times towards it: then he came near again; and, lifting up the cover of the cup, looked into it; and, seeing the wine, let fall the cover again, retired back and bowed as before. Then the elements were consecrated, and the bishop, having first received, gave it to some principal men in their surplices, hoods, and tippets; after which, many prayers being said, the solemnity of the consecration ended."

The effects of superstition are alike pernicious, whether arising from the corruptions of christianity, or the perversion of natural religion. Exercised in christian Europe, or on the plains of Hindostan, it is destructive of human improvement and happiness. Instances of its effects among professed christians have been already adduced. The following particulars relative to the superstition of the Hindoos, are selected

from Dr. Buchanan's Christian Researches. In the journal of his tour to the temple of Juggernaut in Orissa in the year 1806, he says,

" We know that we are approaching Juggernaut (and yet we are more than fifty miles from it) by the human bones we have seen for some days strewed by the way. We have been joined by several large bodies of pilgrims, perhaps 2000 in number, who have come from various parts of Northern India, some have been two months on their march. Numbers of pilgrims die on the road; and their bodies generally remain unburied. The dogs, jackals, and vultures, seem to live here on human prey. Wherever I turn my eyes, I meet death in some shape or other."

" When the multitude first saw the temple of Juggernaut, they gave a shout and fell to the ground and worshiped.—I passed a devotee, who lay himself down at every step, measuring the road to Juggernaut, by the length of his body, as a penance of merit to please the god."

" I have seen Juggernaut. No record of ancient or modern history, can give, I think, an adequate idea of this valley of death; it may truly be compared with the valley of Hinnom. The idol called Juggernaut, has been considered as the Moloch of the present age. Two other idols accompany him, his brother and sister, for there are *three* deities worshiped here."

"On the great day of the feast, the idol was brought out of his temple, amidst the acclamations of hundreds of thousands of his worshipers. The throne of the idol was placed upon a stupendous car or tower, about sixty feet high, resting on wheels which indented the ground deeply, as they turned slowly under the ponderous machine. The idol is a block of wood, having a frightful visage painted black, with a distended mouth of a bloody color, his arms are of gold, and he is dressed in gorgeous apparel. After the tower had proceeded some way, a pilgrim announced that he was ready to offer himself a sacrifice to the idol. He laid himself down in the road before the tower, as it was moving along, lying on his face, with his arms stretched forward. The multitude passed round him leaving the space clear, and he was crushed to death by the wheels of the tower. A shout of joy was raised to the god."

"On the 19th June, 1806, a woman devoted herself to the idol. She laid herself down on the road in an oblique direction, so that the wheel did not kill her instantaneously, but she died in a few hours."

The worship of Juggernaut is not celebrated with blood only, but by the grossest and vilest obscenities; nor are its rites confined to the temple in Orissa. "The English," says Dr. B.

"will not expect to hear that the blood of Juggernaut is known at Calcutta, but alas! it is shed at the very doors of the English, almost under the eye of the Supreme Government. Moloch has many a tower in the province of Bengal: that fair and fertile province which has been called "The Garden of Nations." Close to Ishera, a beautiful villa, on the river's side, about eight miles from Calcutta, once the residence of Governor Hastings, and within sight of the present Governor General's country house, there is a temple of this idol, which is often stained with human blood. At the festival of the Rutt Jattra, held near Ishera, on the Ganges, in May, 1807, a young man devoted himself a victim to the idol."

Another sanguinary rite of the Hindoo superstition, is the Female Sacrifice. The number of women burned alive on the funeral pile of their husbands, in the year 1804, within thirty miles round Calcutta, from the 15th of April to the 15th October, was *one hundred and fifteen!* By an account taken 1803, the number of women sacrificed that year, within the same distance from Calcatta, was *two hundred and seventy-five!* *

Had superstition gone no further than the practising of the idle vagaries of a heated imagination; and its devotees satisfied themselves with

* See Dr. Buchanan's Christian Researches, where this subject is treated at large.

playing the part of fools or madmen, pleasing or tormenting themselves as they thought fit, it would have been a matter of comparatively little importance. It might have been a subject for the admiration of the ignorant, and of pleasantry or regret for wise men. But unhappily for the world, superstition and bigotry are closely connected; and its devotees, like the sycophants at the court of Nebuchadnezzar, have not contented themselves with setting up their idol, but have demanded for it a common and public adoration, under the penalty of the fiery furnace. Superstition debases the human character, is unfavorable to literature, and has in all ages led to persecutions, in which the enlightened, the conscientious, and the virtuous, have, generally, been the victims.

CHAP. V.

The rise and progress of the Papacy.—General Councils, &c.

During the apostolic age, the ministers of the gospel were the servants of the churches; the instructors of the ignorant; the overseers and pastors of the flock of Christ. There was then no lord bishops, nor popes, to usurp dominion over the consciences of their brethren. No national church existed in the three first centuries of the christian era. Whatever were the views of aspiring ecclesiastics, destitute of worldly power, their fulminations and anathemas fell harmless to the ground; they were generally returned by a salute of the same kind from the enemy's battery.

Constantine took the church, that is the bishops, under his protection, erected them into a worldly state; bestowed the titles of patriarchs, exarchs, and metropolitans upon them, and endowed them with wealth and authority. Priests soon discovered how unfit they were to be trusted with power, and sought to free themselves from the fetters of civil authority. Not content with dominion over the conscience, they sought

dominion over the civil power, and in process of time accomplished their designs. These servants of servants, as they were accustomed to style themselves, became the lords and tyrants of the human race, and arrogated to themselves authority in heaven, earth, and hell.

The bishop of Rome, who has occupied for ages such a high rank in christendom, was, until the beginning of the seventh century, on a level with the other bishops, in point of rank and authority.

From the beginning of the seventh century to the time of the reformation, letters were neglected, and in proportion credulity and superstition, the inseparable companions of ignorance, prevailed among men, even of the highest rank. It was during this time that the pope and his agents introduced maxims and notions very different to what the world had entertained to that time. *

The grand foundation upon which the fabric of a universal and infallible church is built, is the promise of Christ to Peter, Matt. xvi. 18.—"Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, &c." "Peter," it is said, "was made the head of all the apostles, and supreme pastor to feed the whole flock of Christ. That after

* Bower's History of the Popes, preface. Clarendon's Religion and Policy, vol. i. p. 25.

the ascension of his master, he traveled to Rome, where he fixed his apostolic chair, and sealed his faith by a glorious martyrdom under Nero. From this singularly privileged apostle, the subsequent bishops of Rome, in one uninterrupted line of succession, inherit the spiritual supremacy which unites the whole catholic church of Christ into one compact body of believers under one head: their body is the one, the holy, the catholic or universal, the Roman in fine and apostolic church."*

"The bishops of Rome had, as they pretended," (says Bower) "till the year 1662, a pregnant proof, not only of Peter's erecting their chair, but of his sitting on it himself; for till that year, the very chair on which they believed, or would make others believe, he had sat, was shown and exposed to public adoration on the 18th of January, the festival of the said chair; but while it was cleaning, in order to be set up in some conspicuous place of the Vatican, the twelve labors of Hercules unluckily appeared engraven on it."

Whether Peter was ever at Rome is difficult to determine and of no great consequence.—The history of the Acts of the Apostles is silent

* Short View of the History of the Christian Church, by the Rev. Joseph Reeve, 1802, vol. 1. p. 3. See also Barruel's History of the French Clergy, 1794.

on this head, as are also the Epistles of Paul. One thing is certain, that Peter never claimed, either supremacy or infallibility. In writing to the churches, he exhorts elders, and calls himself an elder, thereby placing himself on the same level as a servant and minister of Christ. On one occasion his conduct had exposed him to the rebuke of his fellow apostle Paul; who reproved him because he was to be blamed, Gal. ii. 11. If then the supremacy and infallibility of Peter cannot be established, the supremacy and infallibility of the bishop of Rome, which is founded upon it, falls to the ground.

There was a kind of nominal primacy given to the bishops of Rome out of compliment, that city being considered as the metropolis of the world, and the seat of the imperial government. But after the seat of government was removed to Constantinople, the patriarch of that city was complimented with the ecclesiastical primacy and the title of universal bishop, this took place A. D. 595.

Gregory the first, (afterwards surnamed the Great) who was a monk of St. Bennett's order, wrote a letter to the emperor Mauritius, beseeching him not to approve of his election, and fled to a mountain to avoid being found, until he was discovered by a pigeon, and when he could not avoid the acceptation of his office, to show

his great humility, he styled himself *Servus Servorum Dei;* servant of the servants of God.—But it cannot be denied that from the time that he was pope he used all the means he could, fair and foul, to make himself greater than his predecessors.* This pope manifested very great zeal against the patriarch of Constantinople, who in those days began to assume the title of universal bishop. "He maintained with great warmth, that whoever assumed that heretical, blasphemous, and infernal title, was the follower of Lucifer, and herald of antichrist, and that it neither did nor could belong to any bishop whatever." †

Gregory, when the title was first assumed, was indefatigable in application for its suppression.—but all his interference was in vain. Rome's remonstrances were treated very lightly.

About this time the emperor Mauritius, whom the pope could not draw into his views, but who favored the patriarch of Constantinople, was dethroned and basely murdered, by a centurion of the name of Phocas, who usurped the throne. The innocent wife and three daughters of the late emperor had taken refuge in one of the churches of Constantinople. The patriarch protected and defended them, and would not suffer them to be dragged by force from their asylum.

* Clarendon's Religion and Policy, vol. i. p. 47. † Dr Campbell's Lectures on Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 57.

Phocas desisted from force, and by means of the most solemn oaths prevailed on the ladies to quit their sanctuary In consequence of which they soon after became the helpless victims of his fury, and were put to death on the same spot where the emperor, and five of his sons, had been murdered a short while before.

Gregory has been canonized by the church, and if dissimulation, hypocrisy, and flattery entitle any one to that honor he richly deserved it. To show this saint in his proper colors we need only to view his conduct to the late emperor Mauritius, and his conduct afterwards to Phocas the murderer. In writing to the emperor Mauritius, he speaks of himself as *dust* and *a worm;* and makes large protestations of his veneration and love for the emperor. "We do all," says he, "with tears and prayers beg that almighty God would preserve your and your son's empire safe, in the constancy of his love, and would with the assistance of his majesty, extend your victories over all nations." Again he says, "And we do all pray unanimously together, that almighty God would grant you long and quiet times, and that your piety's most happy offspring may long flourish in the Roman common-wealth."

It might reasonably have been expected, that the news of the murder of the emperor and all his family, would have filled this pious man with

sorrow, and overwhelmed him with grief. But far from being affected with the intelligence, he prepared to pay his devoirs to the rising sun, and to make his court to Phocas the murderer. And when the picture of Phocas and Leontia his wife was sent to Rome, he ordered it to be set up in the oratory of St. Cæsarius, in the imperial palace, with great solemnity, and with a pompous inscription.*

Phocas had no sooner seated himself on the throne, to which he had waded through blood, than this consummate hypocrite addressed to him a congratulatory letter, couched in the most flattering and fulsome terms.†

* See Dr. Geddes Miscellaneous Tracts, vol. ii. p. 416.

† *Gregory to Phocas Augustus.*

Glory be to God in the highest, who, according as it is written, changeth the times and transfers kingdoms; that also is manifest to all, which he has condescended to speak by his prophet, saying, The highest ruleth in the kingdom of men, and he giveth it to whom he pleaseth: the regiments of mortal life are in the incomprehensible dispensation of almighty God; and so when the sins of many that are righteous are to be smitten, one is exalted by whose hardness the necks of the subjects are depressed with the yoke of tribulation; and which we in our affliction have long experienced; at another time again, when the merciful God has decreed to comfort the hearts of many mourners with his consolation, he raiseth one to the top of the empire, through the bowels of whose mercy, he pours the grace of his rejoicings into the

Complimented by Gregory and his successor Boniface the third, Phocas took the supremacy from the bishop of Constantinople, and conferred it by a new decree, in perpetuity, on the Roman

minds of all, with the abundance of which joys we the sooner believed we should be strengthened, because we rejoiced so upon the benignity of your piety being raised to the empire. Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad upon your gracious deeds, and let all the people of the commonwealth, who hitherto have been so grievously afflicted, triumph: may the proud minds of your enemies be depressed by the yoke of your domination; and the contrite and distressed minds of subjects be raised by your mercy; may the virtue of the heavenly grace make you terrible to the enemies, and piety make you benign to the subjects: may the whole commonwealth be in peace in your most happy times, and may the prey of peace under the pretence of actions be removed. Let the snares of testaments, and the free gifts violently exacted, cease; and let the secure possession of their goods return to all; that so they may rejoice in the enjoyment of those goods without fear, which they have acquired without fraud: and let every one's liberty be restored under the yoke of your pious empire; for the difference which is between the kings of the nations, and the emperors of the commonwealth, is, that the kings of the nations are lords of slaves, but the emperors of the republic are lords of freemen: but we can express this by praying better then by suggesting. May almighty God therefore by his grace hold your piety's heart in his hand, in every thought and deed; and may the holy spirit, by dwelling in your heart dispose it to do every thing that is just and merciful: that so your clemency after a long reign on earth, may attain the heavenly kingdom.

pontiff. Thus the church of Rome, by her acceptance of the gift from the hands of the murderer, has declared to the world the proper source of her *primacy* and *universality;* and has proclaimed herself in the language of Gregory, who is acknowledged to have been as great a pontiff as ever filled the chair of St. Peter, to be vain-glorious, proud, profane, impious, execrable, blasphemous, antichristian, heretical, diabolical, for these are some of the epithets he bestows on any one who shall accept the title of universal bishop.*

While we have such an undoubted historical foundation, on which to build the supremacy and infallibility of the Romish Church, it would be spending time uselessly to hunt after traditions, either to prove or to refute the notion of an uninterrupted succession from St. Peter: not to mention the schisms which divided the church; nor the antipopes which cursed and reviled each other. Succeeding ages improved upon the system, the arrogance of the soverign pontiff lost nothing from time. The titles of *most holy*, his *holiness*, our *lord the pope*, were assumed by this pretended successor of the fisherman of Gallilee; and the riches of the world found their way into the chests of these "servants of servants." And

* Dr. Campbell's Lectures. Dr. Geddes' Tracts.

when other means failed to replenish the treasury of the holy see, recourse was had to the sale of indulgences and licences for sinning, which roused the spirit that led the way to the reformation.

Of Councils little need be said; a number of fallible individuals cannot be free from error any more than one. The decrees of councils for the purpose of determining what men ought to believe, and how they ought to worship God, are to be regarded in no other light than as usurpations on the rights of human kind, as arrogant assumptions of power, and as libels on the New Testament. They have been, in all ages, whether bearing the name of synods, consistories, high commission courts, assemblies, or associations for the purpose of directing or restraining public opinion, destructive to liberty of conscience, and by checking inquiry, and laying an embargo on private judgment, fatal to the propagation of truth.

Whenever an opinion, or doctrine was broached in the world, that obtained or was likely to obtain celebrity, the priesthood took the alarm, and a council or assembly of priests was convened for the purpose of stopping, as was alleged, the progress of error. and promoting the peace of the church and the world. The highways were covered with troops of bishops galloping from every side to the association, and while they

labored to reduce the whole world to their own particular opinions, the public establishment of the posts was almost ruined by their hasty and repeated journeys.*

The first general council was held at Nice, in the year 325. It was convened on account of what was called the Arian Heresy, At this council was framed the Nicene creed.

The second general council was held at Constantinople in 381. In this council the Nicene creed was recited, to which was added the article of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit.

The third was that of Ephesus, and held A. D. 421. It was convened for the purpose of suppressing the heresy of Nestorius, who held certain doctrines so denominated by the orthodox bishops of the established church. St. Cyril composed twelve anathemas against the heretic, which were returned by a dozen Nestorius composed against St. Cyril! Nestorius was summoned to the council, but did not appear; he was, however, condemned and deposed, by the following sentence, "Our Lord Jesus Christ, whose holiness has been outraged by the blasphemies of Nestorius, declares by this holy council that he is excluded from the communion of priests, and from the assembly of the faithful."

* Gibbon's Rome, vol. iii. p. 398.

The emperor, having a great regard for Nestorius, on account of his purity of manners and general good conduct, hesitated for some time to confirm the sentence of the council, but at last yielded to the intreaties of the orthodox.

The council of Chalcedon was the fourth, held A. D. 451. In this council it was decreed by the sixth canon, that monks, or nuns, should not contract marriage under pain of excommunication, and by the twenty-fourth canon, that all monasteries which had been once dedicated, by the authority of the bishop, should for ever remain in that state, and never more become secular.

Of the fitness of these holy fathers to dictate to the world in matters of faith, and the folly of those in after times in submitting their consciences to such decisions as the standard of truth, we may judge from the following circumstance.

Several of the fathers of the church who attended the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, towards the middle of the fifth century, were so ignorant as to be unable to write their own names to the acts of the councils, but were compelled to subscribe in this form: "I, such a one, have subscribed by the hand of such a one, because I cannot write." Or, "such a bishop having said that he could not write, I have subscribed for him.* "

* Jorton's Eccl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 77.

Implicit faith, the legitimate offspring of ignorance, was nurtured in general councils, and by them introduced into the world. One of its excellencies is, that it may be possessed, without the trouble of investigation, or the least exercise of reason. The councils determined the faith of the multitude without being able to give a rational definition of their own. "Implicit faith," says Dr. Campbell,* "is a curious device for pleasing God, and being saved by the faith of others. It is, in fact, an *imputative faith*, at least as extraordinary as the *imputative justice* which brought so much obloquy on some of the reformers. It is as if I should call one an *implicit mathematician*, who knows not a tittle of mathematics, not even the definitions and axioms, but is convinced of the knowledge of some other person who is really, or whom he supposes to be an adept in that science."

"To believe implicitly," says a learned writer of the catholic church, "is to believe in general universally all that holy mother church believes, so as to dissent from her in nothing, nor disbelieve any of her articles."†

Implicit faith has been sometimes, ludicrously called the *collier's faith*, from the noted story of one who examining an ignorant collier on his re-

* Lectures on Ecc. History, vol. ii. p. 257. † Bonn

ligious principles, asked him what it was that he believed. He answered, "I believe what the church believes." The other rejoined "What then does the church believe?" He replied, "The church believes what I believe." The interrogator desirous of getting a direct answer, if possible, said, "Tell me then, I pray you, what it is which you and the church both believe." The only answer the collier could give, was, "Why truly, sir, the church and I both believe the same thing!"

This is a doctrine naturally resulting from the decrees of councils, and synods;—the faith, more or less, of every religious hierarchy, in all countries; and a kind of leaven, too often mixed up with the religious systems of those who profess to have discarded all human interference in matters of religion.

Many minor councils were held, occasioned by the circumstances of the times, or the influence of those in power who wanted to carry some favorite measure, and to obtain thereto the sanction of the eeclesiastical body; the transactions of which we shall not now investigate. In the fifteenth century was held the council of Constance, and in the following the council of Trent, but as they will be referred to in the subsequent pages, when we come to the events of those times, they are purposely omitted here.

HISTORY OF PERSECUTIONS.

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Part Second.

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CHAP. I.

Of the Persecutions the Christians suffered under Pagan Rome during the three first centuries.

In times of ease and tranquillity, it is profitable to review the history of former ages. The early christians maintained the profession of their faith, at the risk of all that was dear to them, even of life itself. The ruling powers were inimical to christianity at its origin, and united to effect its extirpation. The founder and head of christianity was put to a cruel and ignominious death. His disciples and apostles were treated in the same manner. And the whole body was considered as a sect every where spoken against.— But the religion of Jesus extended itself under oppression, and triumphed over persecution.—

"The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church."

The progress of christianity was contemplated by the Jewish priests and rulers, with the utmost jealousy and apprehension. They opposed the doctrine of Christ with violence and rancor; imprisoned the apostles and their disciples, ill-treated and scourged them, and upon some of them inflicted capital punishment.* Stephen was stoned to death; James, the son of Zebedee was put to the sword by Herod Agrippa, and James the Just was slain in a cruel manner.† Paul suffered at Rome under Nero; as also Peter is said to have done.

The christians who dwelt at Rome were made subject to very unjust laws, and otherwise experienced the most severe and iniquitous treatment at the hands of the emperor Nero. His example was, in this respect, pretty uniformly followed by his successors during three centuries; although their severity was not carried to the same extent. We have been for ages in the habit of considering the number of these persecutions as decidedly fixed at ten; but the early history of christianity does not appear by any means to warrant this.‡

* See the Acts of the Apostles. † Josephus' Antiq. b. xx. c. 8.
‡ See Mosheim's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 167, note *x*, in which this opinion is canvassed at considerable length.

"As the Romans allowed to every citizen the free exercise of his own reason and judgment in regard to matters of a divine nature, it has afforded grounds for surprise to many, that they should have discovered a temper so inhuman and implacable in their carriage towards the christians, a set of men of the most harmless inoffensive character, who never harbored in their minds a wish or thought inimical to the welfare of the state. But it is not difficult to account for this. The Romans it is true, extended their toleration to every kind of religion, from whence no danger to the public safety was apprehended, but at the same time, they would not endure any one to deride or attempt to explode the religion of the state, or that which had the support of the laws."*

Christianity, in its principles and tendency, was directly opposed to the religion of the pagan world; and was styled by Tacitus and Suetonius an *odious superstition.* The Romans were attached to the worship of a multiplicity of gods, whose household maintained an immense number of priests, augurs and soothsayers, besides artificers, architects, goldsmiths, shrinemakers, &c. who from this source obtained their wealth. The priests also, from the supposed sanctity of their character, had great power, and influence over

* Mosheim's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 171.

the people. The christian religion teaching the doctrine of one God, and being unadorned with splendid rites, and unattended with costly sacrifices, these men would naturally enough foresee in the spread of christianity, the downfall of their trade, and the overthrow of their system. * They would, therefore, unite all their power and influence to effect its extirpation, if possible.

Foremost in the rank of those emperors on whom the church looks back with horror as her persecutors, stands Nero, a prince whose conduct towards the christians admits of no palliation, but was to the last degree, unprincipled and inhuman. The dreadful persecution which took place by order of this tyrant, commenced at Rome about the middle of November, A. D. 64. †

Nero, who was strongly suspected of wantonly setting the city of Rome on fire, wishing to throw the guilt from himself, charged the crime on the christians, who lay at that time under the odium of being enemies to the gods and the religion of the nation. And though no credit was given to the accusation, yet on that pretence he exercised upon them the most shocking barbarities. They were imprisoned and tortured.—Some were crucified, and others were impaled, being held in an upright position by stakes thrust

* "Ye know that by this craft we have our wealth." Acts xix. 25.

† Mosheim.

through their jaws; and some were thrown to the wild beasts. But what was particularly insulting and cruel, great numbers of them, wrapped in garments dipped in pitch, and other combustibles, were fastened to posts, and fire was put to them, that they might give light to the city, and expire in this most excruciating torture.—Nero is said to have illuminated his own gardens, in this shocking manner, and by this light to have amused himself in driving his chariot. In this persecution the tender sex was not spared, and notwithstanding the general odium under which the christians then lay, these cruelties excited the compassion of many, who could not but perceive that these sacrifices were made to gratify the cruelty and caprice of one man, and not for any purpose of public utility.*

From the death of Nero, till the latter end of the reign of Domitian, a period of about thirty years, the christians remained unmolested, but were under that emperor again involved in all the horrors of persecution, though of but short duration.

Domitian, who in the latter part of his reign resembled Nero, imitated him also in his persecution of the christians, though he does not appear to have carried it to the same extent, nor

* Tacitus' An. lib. xv. S. 44. Sueton. Nero, S. 16.

with the same violence. It is probable that the governors of the provinces, who were not well-disposed to the christians, would embrace every opportunity of inflicting punishment upon them. And as the christian religion struck at the root of their ancient idolatry and superstitions, its professors would be regarded as the cause of all the public calamities which happened. If the Tiber flowed higher than usual, or the Nile not so high; if there were earthquakes, pestilence, or famine, the multitude were enraged, and clamored for the christians to be thrown to the lions in the public games.*

During the reign of Nerva, who succeeded Domitian, the christians enjoyed rest; but were again persecuted in the reign of Trajan, who being intent on restoring the empire and extending the bounds of it, procured from the senate an order to restore the ancient religion, which had in a great measure decayed by means of the progress and influence of christianity.

The younger Pliny, the favorite of the emperor, and governor of Bithynia, was one, among others, who carried the orders of Trajan and the senate into execution. But so great was the number of the persons whose lives were forfeited by this edict, that he was at a loss how to proceed,

* Tertullian's Apol. ch. 40.

and applied to the emperor for further instructions. "Suspending," says he, "all judicial proceedings, I have recourse to you for advice. For it has appeared to me a matter highly deserving of consideration, especially on account of the great number of persons who are in danger of suffering. Many of all ages, and every rank, of both sexes also, are accused and will be accused. Nor has the contagion of this superstition (so Pliny called the christian religion) seized the cities only, but the lesser towns also, and the open country, nevertheless, it seems to me that it may be restrained and corrected."

The emperor approved of the conduct of Pliny, and ordered that the christians should not be sought out; but that if any were regularly convicted of being christians, and did not retract, by performing some act of worship to the gods, they should be punished. This was a regulation, but not a suppression of the persecution.

One of the martyrs of principal note in this persecution was Symeon the son of Cleopas, he suffered at the age of one hundred and twenty.

But the most distinguished martyr in this persecution was Ignatius bishop of Antioch. Being brought before the emperor himself, when he was on his expedition against the Parthians, he was by him sentenced to be thrown to the wild beasts at Rome; and this he heard not only without

dismay but with satisfaction. On his journey through Asia Minor, he earnestly exhorted the christians to whom he had access, to persevere stedfastly in the profession of christianity.

The rescript of Adrian, successor to Trajan, to the proconsul of Asia, abated the persecution, but by no means put a stop to it. Tertullian tells us, that some few christians were put to death by the governors of provinces, but the greater part were dismissed. There appears to have been at this time an emulation of the crown of martyrdom; for, according to Tertullian, Antoninus, who was proconsul of Asia, when the christians came in a body, before his tribunal, ordered some of them to be put to death; and said to others, "Ye wretches! if you will die, ye have precipices and halters."

Adrian was succeeded in the government, by Antoninus Pius, who reigned twenty-three years; he was one of the best of the emperors, and was distinguished for his justice and humanity. He was far from persecuting the christians, though they were persecuted in his reign, by some governors of provinces, it is probable by virtue of some former imperial edicts which do not appear ever to have been recalled; or from the clamors of the populace. The superstitious people ignorant of the laws of nature, attributed every phenomenon of an alarming kind to the anger

of the gods, on account of the spread of the christian religion, and sought to appease them, by the destruction of its adherents. The christians complained of these outrages, and Justin Martyr presented an apology to the emperor on their behalf, which was well received. The emperor issued an edict in favor of the christians, in which he says, " If any person will still accuse any of these men of being a christian, let the accussd be acquitted, though he appear to be such a one, and let the accuser be punished."*

This liberal conduct of the emperor restrained the fury of the populace, and we read of no more persecutions during his reign.

Marcus Aurelius, though in many respects an excellent character, was excessively devoted to the pagan superstitions, and, under the idea that to maintain the religion of his forefathers would be the most effectual means of preserving his empire, he issued rigorous edicts against the christians, which were diligently executed by the governors of provinces.

He does not appear to have been at all affected by the apologies, which were presented to him by christian writers. He attributed the fortitude of the christians under their sufferings to obstinacy, and, with Pliny the younger, thought that

* See Lardner's Heathen Testimonies, vol. ii. p. 155, in which this Edict is inserted at length, translated from Eusebius, b. iv. c. 13.

to be a sufficient cause of punishment. Justin, one of these apologists, tells the emperor, "Things that have happened, but a few days ago, in your city, and which are every where done in like manner by the presidents without reason, have compelled me to make this address to you." In another part of this address, Justin says, "Every where, if any Gentile was admonished, or reproved for a fault, by a father, a neighbour, a child, a friend, a brother, a husband, or a wife, he would presently have his reprover brought before a governor who would be willing to inflict death upon him."

Athenagorus, tells this emperor and Commodus, that all other people experienced the benefits of their equitable government, "but we christians," says he, "because no regard is had to us, nor any provision made for us, though we do no evil and are in all things obedient to the Divine Being, and your government, are harrassed, and persecuted for the name only. We therefore intreat you to take care of us, that we may no longer be put to death by sycophants." *

M. Aurelius continued the persecution of the christians with unrelenting rigor to the end of his reign, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the christian apologists. They are said to

* Lardner's Heathen Testimonies, vol. ii. p. 184.

have suffered more during his reign than in all the time of his predecessors. Eusebius says, that, owing to the part the populace took against the christians, the number of martyrs was exceedingly great.

In this persecution the venerable and illustrious Polycarp suffered. He had been the companion of the apostle John, and was bishop of Smyrna. When brought before the proconsul and urged by him to renounce Christ, he replied, "Fourscore and six years have I served him, and he has never done me an injury, how can I blaspheme my king and my savior?" Being threatened to be thrown to the wild beasts, and appearing indifferent to it, he was then threatened with fire, to which he answered, "you threaten me with fire which burns for an hour, and then is extinguished; but you are ignorant of the fire of the future judgment, and everlasting punishment, reserved for the wicked; but why do you delay? appoint which you please."

Proclamation was then made, that Polycarp had persisted in professing himself a christian, he was sentenced to be burned alive. When the pile was ready, he undressed himself, and as they were about to nail him to the stake, he said, "Let me be as I am. He that enables me to bear the fire, will also enable me to remain unmoved within the pile, without your fastening

me with nails." They, therefore, only bound him, and after permitting him to pray, when he had concluded, fire was put to the pile; but as he did nor die so soon as they expected, he was, at the request of the people, despatched with a sword. Among many other victims that suffered during this reign was Justin, the learned and enlightened apologist, who was afterwards surnamed the martyr, to distinguish him from other persons of the same name.*

At Lyons and Vienne, in Gaul, the most shocking scenes of barbarity and cruelty were exhibited in the persecution of the christians, which took place in that country under the reign, and which were carried on with the knowledge and approbation, of this philosophic emperor.

The persecution began with excluding the christians from the baths, the market and all places of public resort. Then the populace insulted them, in the most outrageous manner, dragging them about, plundering their goods, and thereby obliging them to keep within their houses. After this, being regularly accused before the magistrates, they were, on the confessing themselves to be christians, sent to the prisons till the arrival of a president of a province.

The torture was applied, in order to make them confess the truth of what was laid to their

* Eusebius' Hist. b. iv. c. 16.

charge; especially to Sanctus, a deacon of Vienne, Maturus, a young convert, Attalus, a native of Pergamus, and Blandina, a slave.

To all the questions put to Sanctus in order to prove the vile charges against himself and his brethren, he answered, "I am a christian." This provoked the executioners so much that they applied red-hot plates of iron to the tenderest parts of his body, till he was all one wound, and had hardly the appearance of the human form.

At this time one Biblias, who had renounced the faith, being produced in order to repeat the calumnies with which she had been induced to charge the christians, was filled with remorse, and openly retracted what she had alleged, saying, how could the christians eat infants, when they did not even eat the blood of brute animals.

Pothinus, the bishop of Lyons, who was more than ninety years old, was brought before the tribunal, and on his confession, without any regard to his age or weakness, he was insulted in the most outrageous manner by the mob, who beat him with their fists, kicked him, and otherwise ill-treated him as if they were avenging the cause of their gods upon him.

The populace having been clamorous to have the christians thrown to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre, that spectacle was at length provided for them on this occasion, and Maturus,

Sanctus, Blandina and Attalus, were brought out for this purpose. But before the productiou of the wild beasts, Maturus and Sanctus were made to suffer the torture in the amphitheatre as if it had not been applied before; and every thing that an enraged multitude had called for having been tried upon them, they were at length roasted in an iron chair, till they yielded an offensive smell of burnt flesh.

Blandina was then produced, and when she was fastened to a stake a wild beast was let loose upon her: this she bore with great fortitude; but as the beast did not meddle with her, she was remanded back to prison.

Attalus was led round the amphitheatre with a board held before him, on which was inscribed, *This is Attalus the Christian.* But when it was discovered that he was a Roman citizen, the president remanded him back to prison, until he should learn the will of the emperor concerning him and others in the same predicament.

The answer of the emperor was, that they who confessed they were christians should be put to death, but that those who denied it should be set at liberty. In consequence of this answer another assembly was held, the confessors were produced before it, and those of them who were Roman citizens were beheaded, and the rest thrown to wild beasts. Many who had before renounced

christianity through fear of punishment, now revoked their recantation, and declaring themselves christians suffered with the rest. These had been encouraged to this step by Alexander a Phrygian, with whom the multitude was much enraged; he was called before the council, and confessing himself a christian, he was sentenced to be thrown to the wild beasts, and the day following was led into the amphitheatre in company with Attalus; but previous to their being exposed to the beasts, they were both caused to undergo a variety of tortures.

Blandina was brought from prison again, together with a young man of the name of Ponticius, about fifteen years of age, who had been brought every day to see the sufferings of others. This youth was called upon to acknowledge the heathen gods, but refused. The multitude had no compassion either for the tender years of Ponticius, or the sex of Blandina, both were made to go through the whole circle of tortures, Ponticius expired under them, and Blandina, after being scourged and placed in the hot iron chair, was put into a net, and exposed to a bull, being tossed by him for some time, she was at last dispatched by a sword. The multitude far from being affected by this horrid spectacle, afterwards vented their rage upon the dead bodies of the christians. Those who had been suffocated in

prison, were thrown to the dogs, and were watched day and night, lest any person should bury them. Even in this condition, the heathens asked them where was their God, and what their religion had done for them.

The christians had some years of repose during the first part of the reign of Severus, owing, it is supposed by historians, to the influence of a favorite slave, who was well-disposed towards them.

Many christians in Africa suffered during this reign. Rutilius, who had fled from place to place, was at length apprehended, and though grievously tormented, and then burned alive, he bore the whole with great resolution. Martius was also condemned by the proconsul Scapula to be thrown to the wild beasts. This persecution was particularly severe in Alexandria, and in Egypt in general. At this time Leonidas, the father of the celebrated Origen was beheaded. Potamiæna, a woman distinguished for her beauty and chastity, after much torture, was, with her mother put to death, by having boiling pitch poured over them from head to foot! The christians in the city of Lyons again suffered extremely.*

"In this reign happened the martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas, and their companions.—Perpetua had an infant at the breast, and Felicitas was just delivered at the time of their being

* See Priestley's History of the Christian Church.

put to death. Perpetua had an aged father who continued an heathen, and who with all the eloquence of grief, besought his daughter to spare his old age, and to compassionate her infant.—She thinking herself bound by higher considerations to adhere to her religion, her father was obliged to desist from his importunity.

"These two young beautiful and amiable women, mothers of infant children, after suffering much in prison, were exposed before an insulting multitude, with many virtuous companions, to a wild cow. She mangled their bodies in a manner so horrid, that even the brutal mob were somewhat softened, and called out for a more mild and speedy mode of execution. They were then carried to a conspicuous place, and put to death by the sword.

"The days of chivalry were not yet come, those days which purified Europe from such brutality. What a spectacle was here! a crowd of Romans, polished by letters and boasting of philosophy, exulting in the agonies of young and elegant women, in the tenderest and most melting circumstances of life—mothers of crying infants! Let the rational inquirer attempt to account for the spread of humane sentiments in later times, and perhaps he may find we have reason to thank christianity for a change so remarkable. Certain it is that the Romans, in the most polished pe-

riods of their empire, were delighted with scenes of cruelty, exhibited upon occasions of public rejoicing, which would shock the most vulgar of modern times, to observe but for a moment." *

Some of the soldiers who had attended these executions and had witnessed the uncommon fortitude of the martyrs, voluntarily offered themselves as victims declaring they also were christians. The prefect being alarmed at the zeal of the soldiers, refused to immolate any more victims, and they were suffered to depart.

Caracalla, the son of Severus who reigned six years, from A. D. 211 to A. D. 217 was a monster of wickedness, but he spared the christians, as did also Heliogabulus, a man of a similar character. However odious these men were as profligates, they did not add to their crimes, the more enormous one of religious persecution. But as the laws against the christians were unrepealed, some of the governors of the provinces taking advantage of that circumstance, ill-treated and harrassed them.

During the reign of Alexander Severus the christians were not persecuted, except in some instances by the governors of the provinces, who put the existing laws in force against them.—Maximin, his successor though an enemy to

* A. Robinson.

the christians, only ordered that their ministers should be put to death, probably judging that by smiting the shepherds he should more effectually disperse the flocks. This persecution, however, did not extend to all the provinces of the empire, so that the christians enjoyed the privilege of safety and rest by fleeing from those provinces in which the presidents were their enemies, to others in which the pro-consuls were favorable towards them.

The persecutions of the christians ceased till the time of Decius, about A. D. 249, who during his short reign manifested the most implacable hatred to them. According to a fragment of a letter of Dionysius to Fabius, preserved in Eusebius,* a grievous persecution had been raised in Alexandria, said to have been fomented by a soothsayer and poet, who is not named, who irritated the multitude against the christians, as the enemies of their religion, and exhorted them to contend for the superstition of the country. They first of all seized on a man of the name of Metras, who refused to pronounce certain words, which it was known christians would not do. His refusal subjected him to their gross violence; they beat him with clubs, and pricked him in the face and eyes with sharp reeds, and at last stoned

* See Lardner's Heathen Testimonies, and Priestley's Church History.

him to death. After this they dragged a christian woman, named Quinta into an idol temple, and when she refused to perform the rites of it, they tied her feet together, and dragged her through the streets, which were paved with rough stones. They then scourged her, and afterwards stoned her to death. Houses were plundered of whatever was valuable, and what was deemed not worth their carrying away, they broke in pieces. In short the multitude carried their fury so far that no christian could appear in the public streets or highways without being insulted and abused by them.

This was a little before the dreadful edict of Decius, which when it arrived filled all the christians in Egypt with the greatest consternation. Many suffered during this persecution, which appears to have been general throughout the empire, as it was ordered by an imperial edict.

Origen, who had distinguished himself so much among the christians, was particularly aimed at in this persecution, and apprehended, and though he was then in an advanced age, showing an example in himself of that fortitude which he had so early in life, and so often afterwards, recommended to others, he bore a great variety of tortures with an invincible fortitude. He survived this persecution, but by what means is not now known. He wrote several letters afterwards,

highly edifying to those who might be brought into the same circumstances, and died at the age of seventy.*

About the year 256, Valerian, who in the beginning of his reign had been exceedingly friendly to the christians, began a severe persecution of them, to which he was instigated by their enemies, and especially the heathen priests. Both men and women suffered death, some by scourging, some by the sword, and some by fire.

Amongst many great men who perished in this persecution, we must not omit to mention Cyprian, the celebrated bishop of Carthage. He behaved with such unexampled firmness, as inspired his fellow christians with an enthusiasm of admiration, who, in the ardor of their sympathy, exclaimed, "*Let us die with him.*"

Previous to the persecution under Diocletian, the christians enjoyed fifty or sixty years of peace; but their sufferings were very great during his reign. Maximian, the son-in-law of Diocletian, was a great agent and promoter of this persecution, the infamy of it, therefore should be jointly shared by the father and the son. The first edict, which was published about Easter, in the year 303, at Nicomedia, where Diocletian and Maximian then were, ordered,—"That all chris-

* Priestley's History of the Christian Church.

tian churches should be demolished to their foundations,—that their sacred books should be burned,— that those christians who enjoyed any honors should be deprived of them,—and that private persons should be made slaves, if they did not renounce christianity." *

This edict was immediately pulled down, and the person who did it, executed. Another edict was published, by which the christian clergy were ordered to be committed to prison. and commanded to sacrifice to the heathen deities.— A third edict followed, ordering those who refused to sacrifice, to be exposed to torture.— Truly dreadful were the engines of torture and of death, which were employed upon this occasion, in order to exterminate christians and christianity. Peter, a young man of the bed chamber of the emperor, and much in favor before this time, was first stripped naked, and then whipped till his bones were laid bare. He was afterwards washed with vinegar and salt, and then slowly roasted upon a gridiron. Steadfast in his attachment to the faith of Christ, he endured all with a dignified patience, and died a martyr to the doctrine of a future life. It happened that the palace took fire, which offered a fair occasion to throw an odium on the christians, and they were

* Priestley's History of the Christian Church.

blamed for it, so that the persecution was carried on with iucreasing severity, under the pretext of revenging this evil upon them. Agreeably to the imperial mandate, christians were now murdered in crowds, with their children and whole families, some were cut off by the sword, and some were burned; many were thrown bound into the sea, and some were even taken out of their graves, and thrown into the ocean.

At Tyre, many were thrown to wild beasts.—In Egypt, some were beheaded, and others famished to death. Some were crucified with their heads downwards, and suffered to remain in that state, till they perished with hunger. Numbers had their flesh torn from their bones till they died.—Women half naked, were fixed by one foot to very high machines,—others fixed to two elastic branches of trees, were torn limb from limb, by their rebounding to their natural position. Thirty, sixty, and one hundred, men, women and children were sometimes put to death in one day! At Pontus, the sufferings of the martyrs were still more horrible.—Some had reeds thrust under the nails of all their fingers, some had hot lead poured upon them, and others were tortured in their private parts, and their bowels! * This is but a specimen of this terrible persecution. The

* Priestley's History of the Christian Church.

numbers that suffered, and the variety of their tortures, exceeded the calculation of the most observing of that time.

An occasional stop was put to this persecution, by a disorder which attacked G. Maximian at this time.—He was afflicted with a terrible ulcer, which bred worms, and the stench of which was intolerable, even to himself. Finding no relief from his physicians, or his heathen gods, he wished to be commended to the god of the christians, that he might cure his disease. He therefore published a rescript in favor of the christians. which Dr. Lardner has given us at length in his Heathen Testimonies, as follows :—

"*The Emperor* CÆSAR GALERIUS VALERIUS MAXIMIAN, *Invincible, August, High Priest, To the People.*

"Among other things which we have ordered, with a view to the benefit and prosperity of the public, we did indeed formerly strive to correct all things according to the ancient laws and established constitution of the Romans; and among other things, that the christians who had forsaken the religion of their ancestors, should return to a right mind ; forasmuch as by some means such an obstinacy hath seized them, and such was their folly, that they followed not the institutions of the ancients, which possibly some of their own ancestors had appointed, but according to their

own fancy, and just as they pleased, they made laws for themselves, to be observed and followed by them, and in many places, they drew over multitudes of people to follow their customs.—Wherefore, when after we had published our edict, that they should return to the institutions of the ancients, many have been exposed to danger, and many have been greatly afflicted, and have undergone various kinds of deaths; and forasmuch as great multitudes persist in their opinions, and we perceive that they give not due worship and reverence to the immortal gods, nor yet worship the god of the christians; we, duly considering our accustomed mildness and humanity, with which we are wont to dispense pardon to men, have thought proper, readily to hold forth to them our indulgence, that they may at length be christians, and that they may rebuild the houses in which they have been used to assemble, provided they do nothing contrary to good government.—By another letter, we shall make known our pleasure to the judges, for the direction of their conduct. Wherefore, agreeably to this our indulgence, they ought to pray to their god for our welfare, and for that of the public, and for their own; that on all sides, the public may be preserved in safety, and they may live securely in their own habitations."*

* Lardner's Testimonies.

Maximian did not long survive this edict, and its beneficial effects were not general. For Maximin, who ruled in the east, not approving of it, did not publish it in the proper forms, but only mentioned it to some of the governors, as they did to others. Sabinus, however, the prætorian prefect, wrote to all the governors of the provinces, stating, that as it was not possible to reduce the christians by any means to the obedience of the laws, they should not be any more molested. On this the persecution ceased, the christians were restored to their churches, and those who had been condemned to the mines were set at liberty.*

This favorable state of things lasted but a very short time. For in six months after, Maximin, who had been created Cæsar in A. D. 306, and who governed in the East, procured formal applications to be made to him from Antioch, and other cities, requesting that no christians might be permitted to reside in them. The emperor readily complied with the petitions which he himself had suggested, and the heathen rites being restored with great zeal in all places, the persecution of the christians commenced afresh.

The rescripts against the christians were also, by order of Maximin, engraved on brass, and set up in the cities, and read in the schools.

* Eusebius' Hist. b. ix. c. 1.

A copy of this emperor's rescript, addressed to the people of Tyre, is given by Eusebius, of which the following is a translation, by Dr. Lardner.

"Now at length the impudent confidence of men, having once shaken off the dark mists of error and ignorance, which for a time blinded the minds of men, rather miserable than wicked, may discern that the world is governed by the indulgent providence of the immortal gods. It is impossible to say how grateful, how delightful, how acceptable, your pious resolution for the honor of the gods has been to us. Nor was it before unknown to any, how great is your respect and veneration for the gods, which have been manifested not by words only, but also by great works, on which account your city may be deservedly styled the seat and habitation of the immortal gods; and it is evident by many proofs, that she flourishes by the advent and presence of the heavenly deities.

And now your city, negligent of your own particular interest, and no longer sending to me the requests which you were formerly wont to send, conducive to your own prosperity; when it perceived that the promoters of the detestable vanity began to creep abroad again, and that, like fire carelessly raked up, it broke out with redoubled violence, immediately without delay, you had recourse to our piety, as the metropolis of all reli-

gion, requesting redress and assistance; nor can it be doubted that this wholesome design has been put into your minds by the immortal gods. for the sake of your pious regard for them. The most high and most mighty Jupiter, who presides in your famous city, who preserves your country gods, your wives, your children, your families, and houses, from destruction, has suggested this petition to you. He it is who hath breathed into your minds this salutary resolution, evidently showing how excellent, and noble, and profitable, it is to worship him, and to perform the sacred rites and ceremonies of the immortal gods with due veneration. Who can be so void of all sense and reason, as not to know, that it is owing to the propitious favor and bounty of the gods towards us, that the earth does not neglect to restore to us the seeds committed to it, that the hope of the husbandman is not disappointed, that the aspect of destructive war is not immoveably fixed on the earth, that our bodies are not destroyed by the intemperance of the air, that the sea is not perpetually tossed and made to overflow with stormy winds, and that the earth, the mother and nurse of all things, is not rent asunder by agitations within its own bowels, and mountains swallowed up by vast and unexpected scissures? There is no man who does not know that all these, and worse calamities have hereto-

fore often happened; and they have befallen us on account of the pernicious error, and empty vanity, of those execrable men, which are so spread as to cover almost the whole earth with shame and dishonor." After some other things, he adds,

"Let men now look into the open fields, and see the flourishing corn waving its full ears; let them see the meadows bedecked with plants and flowers, that have been watered with seasonable rain; let them observe the calm and agreeable temperature of the air; let all men, therefore, henceforth rejoice, that by your piety and respect for the sacred rites of religion, the deity of the most valiant and most potent Mars has been appeased, and that they may now securely enjoy the benefits of a profound and delightful peace. As many have forsaken that blind error, and intricate maze of vanity, and are returned to a right and sound mind, let them rejoice abundantly, as men delivered from a dangerous tempest, or a grievous disease, and who have now before them the prospect of a pleasant and comfortable life for the time to come. But if any still persist in their vain and detestable folly, let them be expelled far away from your city, and country, as you have desired; that thus, conformably to your laudable care in this matter, your city being purged from all defilement and wickedness, you

may according to your own genuine disposition, with all due veneration and solemnity, perform the sacred rites of the immortal gods. And that you may know how grateful this your petition has been to me, and that, without decrees and without petitions, I am of myself forward to encourage well-disposed minds, we permit you to ask the greatest benefit you can ask, as a reward for so religious a purpose. Take care that you ask immediately, and that you receive what you ask; for you shall obtain it without delay; which benefit, bestowed upon your city, shall be henceforward, throughout all time, a monument of your devout piety for the immortal gods, and shall declare to your children and posterity, that you have received from our hands a recompence of your love and virtue." *

"We see here," says Dr. Priestly, "all kinds of prosperity confidently ascribed to the influence of the heathen gods, in consequence of the observance of the ancient rites, and on the other hand, every species of temporal calamity is ascribed to the neglect of those rites, in consequence of the general spread of christianity, which is here clearly acknowledged, and grievously lamented."†

But Maximin was disappointed in his expec-

* Testimonies, vol. iii. p. 316. † Priestley's History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 407.

tation of the rich harvest he had promised to himself from the observance of the heathen rites, and from his persecution of the christians; for there soon after followed a total failure of the usual quantity of rain, to which succeeded a famine, attended as usual by a dreadful pestilence. Maximin was also worsted in a war which he carried on against the Armenians, who were generally christians. Soon after this arrived the news of the defeat of Maxentius by Constantine and Licinius, and their rescript in favor of the christians. This tyrant finding himself unable to oppose them, now published a rescript of his own, by which he exempted all christians from punishment, but this disguise was too flimsy, the christians saw through it, and, as was to be expected, detested the persecutor.

Thus ended this great persecution till it was revived for a short time by Licinius, A. D. 316.—Contending for empire against Constantine, and knowing that the christians would take part with his rival, he hoped to secure the assistance and support of the heathens, by showing his hostility to the christians. Though this persecution was short, yet many fell the victims to the tyrant's cruelty. Constantine, by conquering Licinius became the sovereign of the Roman empire, declared himself a convert to the christian faith and the protector of its professors.

CHAP. II.

Of Persecutions under those called Christian Emperors.

Constantine began his reign by allowing the christians the full exercise of their religion, and restoring to them whatever they had been deprived of in the late persecution, he likewise ordered large sums of money to be given to some of the bishops who were eminent, for the purpose of defraying such expenses, as they should deem most necessary. The banished were recalled; those who had been condemned to the mines were set at liberty; those who had been degraded were restored to their honors, and if they did not choose to resume their former offices, they were allowed the profits of them and to live as they pleased. The property of the martyrs which had been confiscated, was restored to their natural heirs, or, if no heirs could be found, to the churches.*

Constantine built a magnificent church over the sepulchre of Christ, said to have been found in an uninjured state, under a heap of rubbish; he also built a church at Bethlehem, and another

* Eusebius' Life of Constantine.

on the mount of olives, and afterwards ornamented them with splendid decorations.

At Constantinople, he not only built many magnificent churches, but abolished all idolatry within its precincts, so that no trace of the heathen worship remained. He afterwards ordered all the heathen temples to be shut up, and forbade all sacrifices to the heathen gods through all the Roman empire.* We do not find these arbitrary and unjust edicts followed by personal violence to individuals, owing perhaps more to the indifference of the heathens respecting their religion, than to either the lenity or justice of the emperor. These edicts do not appear to have been rigorously executed, for the heathen worship was continued in most places, especially in the villages. The heathens being for the most part to be found in villages, and not in cities, they got the name of *pagani*, *pagans*, from *pagus*, a village.†

During the persecutions of the christians by the heathen emperors, they were united, and notwithstanding the differences of opinion that existed among them, they manifested towards each other christian charity and brotherly affection; but no sooner was their faith embraced by the emperor, and supported by the civil power, than they began to anathematize and curse each other

* Eusebius' Life of Constantine.
† Dr. Priestley's History of the Christian Church.

on account of the different tenets they held on religious subjects, and by enlisting the emperor of their party, the majority found themselves able to enforce their own peculiar notions, by inflicting pains and penalties on the minority.

"A principle had very early discovered itself amongst the christian clergy, and by them propagated amongst the common people, of the most pernicious tendency, which rent the church in pieces, and deluged it with blood. This principle, made an agreement in points of theological controversy the test of sound christianity, and departed from the eternal rule laid down by the founder of this religion, "that those are his disciples indeed, who do whatsoever he commandeth them." *

To terminate the disputes which existed among the different parties, Constantine summoned a general council which was held at Nice, in which among other things settled by this conclave the opinions of Arius were condemned as heretical, and the creed called the Nicene creed, which was to be the standard of orthodoxy, was framed, to which the following anathema was subjoined: "the catholic and apostolic church of God anathematizes those who say that there ever was a time when the Son was not, or that he did not

* A. Robinson.

exist before he was generated, or that he was made out of nothing, or out of any other substance, or that he is subject to change." Arius was sent into banishment, and his followers were ordered to be called Porphyrians, from Porphyrius, a heathen who wrote against christianity.

When the council of Nice broke up, Constantine wrote letters to different churches branding Arius with every abominable name, and threatening to put every one to death, who should find any of the books of Arius, and not immediately burn them. A measure, which if rigidly put in execution, would have been much more dreadful, than the edict of any heathen emperor against the christians. Uniformity of faith was his great object; but to accomplish this, he should have had the powers, not only of the emperor of Rome, but of the emperor of the universe!

Constantine, who just now regarded Arius, as the child and agent of the devil, presently recalled him from banishment, and recommended him to be again admitted into the communion of the church. The emperor left to himself still regarded the question as a trifle; but instigated by bishops what have not civil rulers done in the blessed business of religious murder! Athanasius opposed the admission of Arius into the church, and was in his turn banished, being accused by the Arians of certain crimes, The bi-

shops at last all yielded, (for the emperor bid them do so) and Arius was received to communion. Now the Arians triumphed, and instigated the emperor to call a synod for the condemnation of Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, who was an Ebionite, holding doctrines similar to those afterwards called Socinian. He was deposed from his see and deprived of his honors. Thus went on in each party, the work of persecution! The emperor, finding he could not with safety introduce Arius into Alexandria, sent for him to Constantinople. The bishop Alexander refused to admit him to communion, but the emperor commanded, and the good bishop yielded. The next Sunday was fixed upon for the admission of Arius into the church; but the day before, being easing himself, his bowels gushed out, and he died.

The orthodox party triumphed on the death of Arius, and ascribed it to the peculiar judgment and visitation of God, on account of his heresy. Mr. Gibbon says, "Those who receive the literal account of this story, may take their choice betwixt miracle and poison." And the eloquent historian seems to throw suspicion upon the orthodox enemies of Arius.*

The following rescript, preserved by Eusebius, will show the zeal of Constantine in the cause of

* History of the decline and fall of the Roman empire.

orthodoxy, and the persecuting spirit he manifested towards those whom he denominated heretics.

"*The emperor*, CONSTANTINE, *the great* AUGUSTUS, *to the heretics.*"

"Know by this law, O ye Novatians, Valentinians, Marcionites, Paulians, and Cataphrygians, who all of you make up your heresies for your peculiar congregations; in what lies is your folly involved, and with what deadly poisons do your doctrines abound, so that the healthy are made sick, and the living are brought to everlasting death by your means! O ye enemies of truth, adversaries of life, and counsellors of destruction, every thing with you is hostile to truth and congenial to the most abominable wickedness, being full of absurdity and fiction, by which you fabricate your lies! You afflict the innocent, and withhold light from the believers: continually offending under the pretence of piety, you defile every thing. You wound the innocent and pure conscience with deadly blows. You in a manner deprive the eyes of men of day-light. What occasion is there to mention particulars. For to treat properly of your mischiefs would require much time, and is inconsistent with my engagements. For so large and immense is your wickedness, and so full of all abominations, that a whole

day would not suffice to describe it. Besides, we ought to turn away our ears from hearing such things, and our eyes from seeing them, not to defile our own sincere and pure faith with the particular enumeration of them. Why then should we any longer bear such mischiefs; especially since long forbearance, as in a pestilential disorder, is a means of infecting those who are well? Why then should not I, as speedily as possible, cut up by the roots, as we may say, so great wickedness by public animadversion?

"Wherefore, since it is not possible to bear your most deadly and destructive tenets any longer, we declare by this law, that none of you presume to hold any public assembly for the future. We have therefore given orders to demolish all the places in which you hold your meetings. We carry our provision so far, as to forbid such assemblies of superstitious madness to be held not only in a public place, but not even in a private house. Wherefore, as is much more honourable, you who wish for the true and pure worship, come to the catholic church, and partake of its sanctity, by which you may come at the truth.—But let the deceit of your perverse understanding be far removed from the happiness of our times. I mean the accursed and destructive madness of heretics and schismatics. For it becomes me, on account of the happiness which I derive from

God, to provide that they who pass their lives in good hope may be brought from all error into the right way, from darkness to light, from folly to truth, from death to salvation.

"Wherefore, to give necessary force to this law, I give orders, as was said before, that all places of assembly for your superstition, I mean all houses of prayer belonging to heretics, if they can be called houses of prayer, be without appeal, taken from them, aud immediately given to the catholic church, and all other places to the public, and that no opportunity of meeting in them again be allowed; that in no place, public or private, your unlawful assemblies may, from the present day be held." *

"This law," says Robinson, "is full of persecution and injustice, and this zeal for uniformity answered no end, but that of more strongly confirming the heretics in heresy. Virtue and not faith is the foundation of christian communion; this maxim, if acted upon, would have saved the lives of thousands piously murdered for the propagation of truth!"

Constantine did not long survive Arius. He was succeeded in the empire, by his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. Constantine the eldest recalled Athanasius from ba-

* Eusebius' Life of Constantine, b. iii. c. 63.

nishment, and restored him to his bishopric.—Constantius, after his elder brother's death, convened a synod at Antioch in Syria, where Athanasius was again deposed and banished. In this council a new creed was drawn up, and, to effect a uniformity of faith among the christians, the expressions were made very general, so as to suit both the orthodox and Arians. The good fathers took care to add a few anathemas, especially upon those who should preach a doctrine different to what this council had received, because, as they say, " they did *really* believe and follow all such things as the scriptures contain. " So that at this time the whole christian world was under a synodical curse, the opposite councils having damned one another and all that differed from them. And if councils, as such, have any authority to anathematize all who will not submit to them, this authority equally belongs to every council ; and therefore it was but a natural piece of revenge, that as the council of Nice had sent all the Arians to the Devil, the Arians, in their turn, should take the orthodox along with them for company, and thus repay one anathema with another." *

Contantius enlisted himself on the Arian side and favored the bishops of that party only, he

* Dr. Chandler.

ejected Paul the orthodox bishop from the see of Constantinople, as a person altogether unworthy of it, and gave it to Macedonius. Macedonius had a scheme of faith different from both the orthodox and arians, which he openly promulgated after he got possession of his bishopric. Athanasius and Paul were afterwards restored to their respective sees. They were both soon after again banished; again recalled by Constans, and after that again banished by Constantius. These circumstances did not take place without much tumult and bloodshed. The ministers of religion become a worldly priesthood, the contest was no longer about the plain uncorrupted doctrines of christianity, but about power and dominion, preferments, large revenues, and secular honors. The bishops were installed by armed men, and while they could keep their situation and enjoy its emoluments, they showed those who thought differently from themselves, neither justice nor mercy, anathematizing them, and persecuting them to the utmost of their power. This made Julian say of them, "that the generality of christians were greater enemies to each other, than wild beasts were to human kind."

Upon the succession of Julian to the empire, the contending parties were kept in tolerable peace and order. The bishops which his predecessor had banished he recalled, restored their

effects which had been confiscated, and forbade any one to injure or hurt them. He caused, says Ammanianus Marcellinus, a heathen writer, the christian bishops and people, who were at variance with each other to come into his palace, and there admonished them, that they should every one profess their own religion, without molestation, provided they did not disturb the public peace by their divisions. This was an instance of moderation worthy the attention and imitation of rulers in general.

When solicited to interpose his authority to settle the disputes of the different parties, he refused, saying, "that he was not so well acquainted with the matter of their disputes as a just and impartial judge ought to be, he hoped they would excuse him, lest he should be guilty of some injustice, and settle matters of such importance among themselves."*

Julian behaved towards the christians on his first accession to power, with much clemency, yet afterwards his conduct was very different.—He did not indeed publish sanguinary laws, but he commanded that the children of christians should not be instructed in the Greek language; and that no christian should bear any office in the army, nor have any concern in the management and distribution of the public revenues.—

* Bower's History of the Popes, vol. i. p. 168.

He taxed very heavily and demanded contributions from all who would not sacrifice, to support the expenses of his eastern expeditions. And when the christians complained to him of the oppression of the governors of the provinces, he dismissed the complainants with saying in a scornful manner, " your God has commanded you to suffer persecution." He deprived the clergy of the immunities, honors. and revenues, which Constantine had bestowed upon them; abrogated the laws made in their favor; destroyed several of their churches, and stripped them of their treasure and sacred vessels. Some he punished with banishment, others with death, under pretence of their having pulled down some of the pagan temples, and offered insult to himself.

This emperor, however he might conform to the outward profession of christianity during the life-time of his uncle, was devoted to the worship of the heathen gods, yet is generally designated in history by the name of Apostate. * It is very probable that Julian's hatred to christianity was increased by the bitterness of spirit

* Lord Clarendon doubts the propriety of the appellation of Apostate, which has been so uniformly given to Julian, he says, " That he was a great enemy to the christians, and that he found a way to discredit and dishonor christianity by his wit and mirth and scoffs and discountenance, (which made a greater impression upon the christians of that age, and made

discovered by the heads of the different parties among christians; and his conduct towards them in some measure influenced by theirs towards each other.

Valens the arian emperor persecuted the orthodox, and those who held the arian system of doctrines less rigidly than himself. Making his own faith the standard, all who differed from him were sent into banishment. The consubstantialists were almost exterminated in the eastern empire; and in Thrace, Bithynia, the country about the Hellespont, and even the provinces more to the east, they had neither churches nor clergy.

more of them to renounce their faith, than any one of the bloody persecutions had done,) is very clear; yet I have never seen ground enough to conclude that he ever embraced the christian faith, or was instructed in it; for though he had conformed in some outward appearance to the commands of his uncle the emperor Constantine, yet he appeared always addicted to the religion of the gentiles." His lordship, supposes, also, that the account which historians have given of his death, and the contemptuous speech, he is said to have uttered respecting Christ in his dying moments, are unfounded; and that the over zeal of religious persons of that age, who thought him an apostate, led them to load his memory with too many reproaches, Ammanianus Marcellinus, who was with him in his last battle, says, "that he died with as great serenity and tranquillity of mind as any Roman general of whom we have received very good account in story." *Religion and Policy*, vol. 1. p. 24.

The violence of the arians compelled the other party to have recourse to the justice and clemency of the emperor. But, instead of obtaining any redress of their grievances, they are said to have been treated with a degree of cruelty shocking to humanity.

The emperor Theodosius was a warm advocate for uniformity of faith, and when he could not effect this by gentle methods, he had recourse to force. He enacted a law, by which he forbade all who had been declared heretics, to hold any assemblies for public worship, to teach their opinions, or to ordain bishops. Some he banished from the cities, and others from the empire itself.

In the reign of Maximus, A. D. 385, a new sect arose in the christian church, known by the name of Priscillianists, from Priscillian their founder, a man of a noble family, very wealthy, learned, and eloquent. Priscillian made many converts by his teaching, both among persons of rank and of the lower classes. His sect was famous for self-denying virtues. His crimes were, differing from the opinions of the priests, possessing soundness of heart, and displaying sterling integrity in his conduct. At the instigation of the bishops, Maxentius referred the cause of Priscillian to Evodias, a violent man, who sentenced him to death; he was executed with several of his disciples.

The Donatists, from one Donatus, make a conspicuous figure in the history of persecution. The Theodosian code is full of edicts against these sectaries, who had separated from the church in order to establish a more pure communion. For so slight a heresy, simply for dividing from a body of men, arrogantly calling themselves the catholic church, the pious saint Augustine, declared they would be eternally damned in hell. He did more, he urged most vehemently their persecution on earth.

" Hard, indeed, is the lot of heretics, to be damned in both worlds; great is the catholicism, and charity of the catholic church, which so zealously promotes, and in part inflicts this damnation!

" The philosopher will be astonished, that it could once be supposed, that the universal parent could rejoice in the torment of his children, whose only fault was a sincere desire to obey his will, and a scrupulous fear of acting contrary to it; but the politician will inform him, that the peace of a state requires the governors to overrule such dispositions in the subject, and the emolument of men in power, and no regard to religion, or to God, is at once the end and the reward of this murderous policy.

" The Donatists, agreeably to the wishes of our political saint, were most cruelly persecuted.

Three hundred of their clergy, and several thousands of private persons, were stripped of their wealth, churches, and honors, and banished their country. The whole sect was stripped of the rank of citizens, and their worship proscribed.—Heavy fines were imposed upon such as persevered in their heresy, and, if those fines proved ineffectual, the imperial court were to cut them off. The heretics triumphed in their religion, many, perhaps thousands, were murdered by the forms of law, and the country was thrown into tumult and confusion.

"The conquering Genseric rescued the oppressed christians, and availed himself of their just alienation from a government, under which they suffered the loss of property, liberty, and life.—Thus, as Gibbon observes, 'the intolerant spirit which disgraced the triumph of christianity, contributed to the loss of the important provinces of the west.'

"But although Genseric, to serve his own views of domination, and to gratify his mind, rescued the donatists from persecution, he soon turned the edge of persecution against those who had persecuted his sect. Many, who were called catholics, were stripped of their honors and sent into banishment by this victorious barbarian. Hunneric, his son, continued the persecution begun by his father, but death soon arrested him in his

mad career. Thrasimund, his nephew, carried his persecution so far, and so long indulged his intolerant spirit, that on his death bed he extorted from his successor a solemn oath, that he would never tolerate the Athanasians. But his successor judged it better to disregard his wicked oath, than drink the blood of his innocent subjects." *

Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, persecuted the Novatians, a sect who separated from what was called the church. He interdicted their worship, confiscated the utensils of their churches. He banished those he did not murder, from their dwellings and from that city. He caused a young and beautiful female philosopher, named Hypatia, to be murdered. Peter a reader of the church, and a member of the disciples of Cyril, were the perpetrators of this murder,—this elegant lady was of the religion of the Greeks

This *pious saint*, obtained the condemnation of Nestorius, whose heresy consisted in maintaining that there were two persons, as well as two natures, in Christ. Yet in spite of his heresy, he was not without friends, and it cost Cyril much trouble to procure his condemnation. The eastern bishops protested against these proceedings, and in their turn condemned the heresy of Cyril, and by their sentence deprived him of all his ho-

* A. Robinson.

nors. But they were not able to carry their sentence into execution. They however, says Robinson, made an effort, and placed soldiers at the door of the cathedral. A rigorous assault was made, and much blood spilt. The mind of the emperor Theodosius was distracted at these proceedings, and he called God to witness his innocence of the conduct of the ambitious and abandoned priests. Such was the conduct of councils and synods!—Cyril, after much difficulty at last triumphed, and Nestorius was sent into banishment in the year 435.

In the reign of the emperor Anastatius, a furious dispute broke out among the christians of that time, concerning the question, "Whether one of the Trinity was crucified, or whether only the man Jesus suffered?" The contest was carried on with much animosity. Vitalian with an army of Huns and Bulgarians defended the catholic faith. He depopulated Thrace, besieged Constantinople, and slew sixty-five thousand of his fellow christians, to obtain the establishment of the doctrine of the council of Chalcedon.

The emperor Leo ordered that no person should act as an advocate in any tribunal, but a catholic. Pope Gelasius banished some manichæans from Rome. Justinian took from the heretics all their churches, and gave them to the catholics. He allowed three months for the conversion of here-

tics, and if not accomplished in that time, they were deprived of the rights of men and citizens.

Justinian persecuted the Jews and Samaritans. They rose in rebellion against him in their own defence, in which twenty thousand suffered death, and as many were sold to perpetual slavery.—After shedding the blood of thousands on account of what was deemed heresy, this emperor is said to have imbibed heretical opinions, and to have died in sentiments nearly akin to those of the gnostics.

The contest concerning the worship of images was continued for almost a century, with the utmost violence, and nearly cost the emperor Leo his life and his kingdom. The pages of ecclesiastical history are stained with the relations of the wars, tumults and persecutions occasioned by the disputes concerning this silly practice. Such was the zeal of the priesthood for the worship of images, that many of the priests declared it was more commendable for a man to frequent every brothel in the city, than to neglect the adoration of images. Those who renounced images were accounted by Basil, bishop of Cesarea, as those who had denied Christ. Such was the effect of superstition and priestcraft.

Charlemagne has been canonized by the church, the murder of heretics was the high road to his saintship. Although his private life was far from

being free from vices of a gross kind, yet he had a large share of zeal for the church and for religion. He appointed the punishment of death for the following crimes:—The refusing to be baptized—The false pretence of having been baptized—A relapse into idolatry—The murder of a bishop or priest, (for the murder of others was but a venial crime)—Humam sacrifices—Eating flesh in Lent. *

The Paulicians, a sect, which in the ninth century was very considerable, and supposed by historians to have held tenets similar to the manichæans, were persecuted with great rage and violence. Goaded by the cruelties exercised upon them, they rose in a body in defence of their rights and liberties. They carried on a war against Curopolates and Leo, their oppressors, with varied success, but at last they were overpowered, many hewn to pieces by the sword, and others transported to Thrace.

Their sufferings were very great during the reign of the empress Theodora, who during her son's minority, published a decree, by which all the Paulicians were sentenced to death, who did not renounce their faith, and thus violate their consciences. The execution of this decree was dreadful. These pious people were required by their tyrants to kill, with their own hands, their

* Gibbon's Rome, vol. v. p. 137.

pastor, Sylvanus, for whom they had the highest esteem. Indignant at such a proposal, they refused to stain their hands with the blood of their teacher and their friend; but one, of the thousands of this sect, could be found who did not prefer death to such an act. About one hundred thousand of these reputed heretics were despoiled of their goods, and perished by fire and sword. And yet the destroyers of these men called themselves christians; nay more, they arrogated to themselves the title of *true* and *orthodox* christians.—How often has christianity been made a cloak to cover the foulest deeds, and the ladder by which ambitious men might climb to power. Christianity breathes a different spirit; all such crimes commited in its name, are to be attributed to the unhallowed, unnatural union of church and state.

During the reign of Alexius Commenus, who ascended the throne of Constantinople, A. D. 1081, a sect arose, called by historians Bogomilans, very much akin to the Paulicians in their doctrines and religious practices. The principal man among them was Basil, a physician, a very popular preacher, who had twelve assistants, who were called apostles, and who also taught with address and success.

The emperor sent for Basil in order to converse with him. When he was introduced the emperor was sitting with his brother Isaac. His

majesty with a countenance open and full of sweetness, rose and received him with the most polite affability. He told him, that himself and his august brother were extremely desirous to be informed of his doctrine, that they were both prepared to receive with the utmost docility whatever he should advance as proceeding from the oracle of God, and that they were ready to perform any duties which he should think fit to appoint. Most reverend father, added the emperor, I feel an extreme veneration for you, I am charmed with your virtue, and I wish to be thoroughly instructed in the mystery of that sublime doctrine, by which you daily convince so many of the unprofitableness of our popular divinity. Basil conversed prudently, was sent for frequently, and always met with the same courtesy; but whether he suspected the sincerity of his two illustrious disciples; or whether he had not got rid of that tremor, which new and magnificent objects produce, or whatever other cause operated, he discovered no eagerness to proselyte his auditors. The emperor, with uncommon condescension, made him sup at his own table, and the brothers both protested their sincerity, pressed him to open all his heart, and offered to retire with him to a part of the palace free from interruption and noise. At length he agreed, and along with his two pupils he went into a private

apartment hung with tapestry, to open his lectures. Here with all sincerity and good faith, Basil laid open his opinions of the religion of Jesus. The royal brothers listened, and heard him with marks of approbation. The tutor felt the subject and grew warm and eloquent, the disciples professed themselves instructed and pleased. All on a sudden the emperor drew the tapestry aside, and discovered to Basil a secretary writing at a table. At the same time he ordered the doors to be opened, and followed by his brother he went out, leaving Basil to his reflections, who was presently conducted to prison.

The palace was suddenly in motion. The council was assembled. Officers, civil and military, the patriarch, and ecclesiastical senate attended, and Basil was brought out to answer to a charge of heresy. The discourse which he had delivered, as the secretary had taken it down, was read. The evidence was said to be incontestible, and the doctrine execrable. The clergy thought he deserved to be burnt to death. Basil, far from blushing or recanting, confirmed all he had advanced, and with a manly courage declared he was ready to suffer any thing, and even to be burnt to death rather than deny what he thought to be true.

The emperor, having by his treachery secured the heresiarch, and having understood that he had

a great number of disciples in the city, published an edict that Basil and all his followers should be burnt alive. Many were arrested. The senate was convened. The emperor mounted his throne, and commanded the guilty to be brought in. Some acknowledged themselves Bogomilans, others denied. The clergy sat, the monks stood round to dispute against error, and to applaud whatever the emperor should do. Some persisted; others said they were othodox and had been slandered. At length Alexius rose up in fury, and exclaimed, "I command two large fires to be instantly kindled, and in one a cross to be erected, Let those who choose to die in the catholic faith be burnt in the fire where the cross stands; and let those who choose to die in error be burnt in the other. It is better for christians who are innocent to die, rather than to lie under the scandal of heresy, and to give occasion to the weak to stumble through suspicion of the purity of their faith." The guards instantly took the prisoners away. The flaming furnaces were quickly prepared. The cross was set up. The prisoners arranged themselves. Some drew near to this, and others to that. The city was in an uproar. The people execrated the tyrant. Suddenly, the guards turned about (they had received private orders,) dismissed the catholics, and returned with the Bogomilans to prison. There the priests

went to plague them into orthodoxy, some recanted, others died in prison.

The barbarous dissembler, who had betrayed Basil, affected great esteem for him, sent for him to the palace to try to convince him, and used every method he could to make him recant his doctrine, that he might save his life. Basil was immoveable, and the venerable old man, was committed to the flames, in a public place, in the presence of an innumerable concourse of spectators!

Thus perished, by means of a perfidious royal murderer, a venerable man, at the age of eighty-two years. He was born in the year 1034, had spent fifteen years in study, and having fine popular talents, he had preached and given public instruction for fifty-two years. He and his colleagues, whom the populace called his apostles, had widely extended their doctrine and influence, and Basil had the happiness at a time of life when other teachers are generally neglected, to see himself on a pinnacle of popularity and pleasure from which he might survey a wide surrounding scene flourishing under his hand. This had not made him giddy or imperious, he never altered his habits or his manners, and modesty, frugality, and simplicity adorned this fine old man.*

This effort to suppress heresy was the last ex-

* Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches, p. 82.

ploit of Alexius. The gout, with which he had long been afflicted, seized on his vitals, and hastened him to the grave; he died in the seventieth year of his age. This wicked old man went down to the tomb stained with the blood of the innocent. There we leave him.—In the day when God shall judge the world, every man will receive a just and equal sentence from him who seeth not as man seeth.

About the year 1160, a sect known by the name of Poplicani, spread from the south of France to England, and were also pretty numerous in Germany, Spain, and Italy. They were called heretics, which was a sufficient reason why they should be persecuted. Wherever they were discovered, they were ordered to be imprisoned, their goods confiscated, and their meetings, as far as possible, prevented. At Vezelai, seven of them expiated their supposed crimes in the flames which holy mother church lighted up for the benefit of the orthodox.

In 1176, the archbishop of Narbonne, and many other bishops of the province, called an assembly for the purpose of judging some heretics called *Goodmen*. These holy bishops, who supposed they were authorized by heaven to exercise dominion over the consciences of others, condemned these *goodmen* as heretics, and treated them as if they had been wicked and *evil doers*. Their

only crimes appear to have been an adherence to the literal meaning of scripture, an objection to oaths, and making reflections on the scandalous lives of the clergy.

At this time a sect, deemed heretical, appeared in Lombardy called *Cathari*, and afterwards were known by the name of *Albigenses*. These appear to be the same people known in history by the name of Waldenses. As the inquisition was established for the purpose of hunting down these men, we shall defer the particulars of their history, till we have given a brief account of that infamous tribunal, which has been dignified by the name of the *Holy Office*.

CHAPTER III.

The Rise and Progress of the Inquisition.

During several centuries, the pious work of persecution was committed to the spiritual guides of the church—these, who assumed the name of pastors and bishops, instead of feeding and taking care of the flock of Christ, had been sedulously employing themselves in stirring up and aiding the civil power to carry their murderous designs against reputed heretics into execution; but notwithstanding all their exertions, heretics still existed, increased and extended themselves. The pope arrived at the plenitude of his power, and the civil governments of the nations bowed beneath his authority: it was deemed desirable that some more effectual method should be adopted to extirpate heresy. About the year 1200, says Limborch,* the pope founded the orders of the Dominicans and Franciscans, that they might preach against heretics. Dominic and his followers were sent into the country of Thoulouse, where they preached with great vehemence against the heretics in that quarter. Father

* Hist. Inquisition, vol. i. p. 60.

Francis and his disciples manifested the same zeal against those of Italy. They were both commanded by the pope to excite the catholic princes and people to extirpate heretics, and in all places to inquire out their number and quality; and also respecting the zeal of the catholic bishops in the pious work of extermination, and to transmit a faithful account to Rome; hence they obtained the name of inquisitors.

Dominic being sent into the country of Thoulouse was confirmed in his office by the papal authority. Preaching one day in the church of St. Prullian, he declared openly in his sermon in the midst of a crowded audience, that "he was raised to a new office by the pope," adding, "that he was resolved to defend with his utmost vigor, the doctrines of the faith; and that if the spiritual and ecclesiastical arms were not sufficient for that end, it was his fixed purpose to call in the secular arm, to excite and compel the catholic princes to take up arms against heretics, that the very memory of them might be entirely destroyed." This pious firebrand* had the honor given

* Dominic descended from an illustrious Spanish family, of the name of Gusman; was the son of Felix and Joanna, and born in the village of Calaroga. His mother during her pregnancy, is said to have dreamed she was with child of a whelp, carrying in his mouth a lighted torch, and that after its birth it put the world in an uproar by its fierce barkings, and at

him by historians of being the first to suggest the establishment of the court of inquisition.—He was a man of violence and blood.

At the commencement, the inquisitors had no tribunal, they only enquired after heretics; after they had detected them, they forwarded their information to the bishops, with whom the sole power of judging rested.

The pope, desirous of expelling the Albigenses from the country of Thoulouse, was continually pressing Raymond, earl of Thoulouse to banish them from his dominions; and when he could not prevail on him to drive out so great a number of men, or to persecute them, he ordered him to be excommunicated as a favorer of heretics. He also sent his legate to many of the prelates, commanding them to make inquisition against the Albigenses in France, and to destroy them. He wrote to Philip, king of France, that he should take up arms against those heretics, and use his utmost power to suppress them; that by endeavoring to prevent the progress of their heresy, he might not be under the suspicion of being tainted with it himself.

length set it on fire by the torch which it carried in his mouth. His followers have interpreted this dream, of his doctrine, by which he enlightened the world; while others, if dreams presage any thing, think that the torch was an emblem of that fire and faggot by which an infinite multitude of persons were burnt to ashes.—*Limborch's Hist. Inq. vol.* i. *c.* 10.

Dominic sent many persons, wearing crosses, to destroy the Albigenses, and caused the friars of his order to promise plenary indulgences to all who would engage in the pious work of murdering them. These cross-bearers filled all places with slaughter and blood, and burnt many of those whom they had taken prisoners. In the year 1209, Biterre was taken by them, and all the inhabitants without regard to age, sex, or condition, were cruelly put to the sword, and the city itself destroyed by the flames: and though there were several catholics in the city, all were condemned to the same common fate, lest any of the heretics should escape;—Arnold, abbot of Cisteaux, cried out, "slay them all, for the Lord knows who are his." Carcasone was also destroyed; Alby and La Vaur taken by force, and great many persons burnt to death. They hanged the governor of the city, who was of a noble family; beheaded eighty persons of inferior degree, and did not spare even the women. They seized on Pulchra Vales, a large city near Thoulouse, and burnt in it 400 Albigenses. They took Avignon by treachery, and in despite of their oaths plundered the city, and killed great numbers of the inhabitants: and at last forced the Earl of Thoulouse to surrender that city also;—despoiled him of his dominions, and would not absolve him from his excommunication, but

on the condition that he should walk in penance to the high altar in his shirt and breeches, and barefooted. Upon this destruction of the Albigenses, the inquisition proceeded with vigor, and was established by several councils at Thoulouse and Narbonne.

In 1232 the inquisition was introduced into Arragon, and pope Gregory gave a commission to the Archbishop of Tarracone and his suffragans to proceed against all persons infected with heretical pravity; and the inquisition was in consequence carried on there with the greatest vigor.

In 1251 pope Innocent IV. created inquisitors in Italy, and the office was committed to the friars minors, and predicants. The friars minors were appointed in the city of Rome, Tuscany, the duchy of Spoletto, Campanio, Maritanio, and Romania. To the predicants he assigned Lombardy, Romaniola, the Marquisate of Tarvesano, and Genoa: and in process of time tribunals of the inquisition were erected in Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Ragusia, and in all places where the power of the pope could extend itself.—Those whom the judges condemned were treated in the most cruel manner.

By the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, the several kingdoms of Spain became united. In

the year 1478, the inquisition was introduced into that country with greater pomp and power than it had before appeared in any other country. The jews were the first who felt its fury; within a few years two thousand of them, of both sexes, were burnt; others professing repentance, were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to wear crosses. The bones of others who were dead, were taken out of their graves, and burnt to ashes, their effects confiscated, and their children deprived of their honors and their offices. The terrified jews fled, some into Portugal, others into Italy and France, leaving their property behind them, which was seized for the king's use. In 1491, to effectually purge their kingdoms from the jewish religion, Ferdinand and Isabella, by a law, ordered the jews to depart all their dominions within four years; forbidding them ever to return to Spain under the punishment of immediate death. Most writers affirm that there were 170,000 families who departed, while others state the number of persons at 800,000.* Such are the effects of bigotry and

"The dispersion of the Spanish jews, is reckoned by all of that nation and religion, to have been both as to hardship and as to their numbers, nothing inferior to that which followed upon the destruction of the city of Jerusalem; above 800,000 men, women, and children having been driven out of Spain at this time." *Dr. Geddes' Misc. Tracts.*

intolerance backed by the civil power.—Such the glorious triumphs of *priestcraft* and *kingcraft* united !!

In 1499 Ferdinand and Isabella upon visiting their new conquests, found that in the seven years that the Granada Moors had been under their government, few or none of them had been converted to christianity: in consequence of this discovery, they sent for the archbishop of Toledo, who at that time was the famous Ximenes, to whom they gave a solemn charge, that as he had any regard for the honor of the christian religion, the salvation of thousands of souls, and the security of Spain, to take some course or other to convert the Moors to the christian faith. Ximenes at first attempted by flattery and great presents to bring over to the christian profession the great men among the Moors; but finding this did not succeed to his wish, and that several of the principal men went about among their friends and relatives to dissuade them from embracing christianity: the archbishop became enraged, and commanded them to be apprehended, and loaded them with irons, threw them into dungeons, and ordered them to be treated as malefactors. By the excessive cruelty to which Zagri, a Moorish chief, had been subjected in prison, he renounced his religion, and was baptized; his example was followed by others, upon whom similar cruel-

ties had been exercised, and who were converted by similar arguments.

As the profession of christianity had been taken up by these poor creatures from motives of fear, and to avoid the persecutions of their christian tormentors, and not from a conviction of its truth and importance; it is not to be wondered that many should relapse again into their former religious practices. The inquisition regarding these forced baptisms as valid, exercised their cruelties upon those who had relapsed. There were not less than 100,000 living and dead, present and absent, that were condemned for apostacy by the inquisition at Seville in the space of forty years; of which number 4,000 were burnt, and 30,000 were reconciled, the rest having made their escape into Barbary.

By means of this desolation, occasioned by the conduct of the inquisition, no less than 5,000 houses were left without inhabitants, within the district of the inquisition in Seville. The owners of these houses complained to the king of the losses they sustained. Most of the counsellors of state were of opinion, that the inquisition ought not to be suffered to make such dreadful havoc of the people, telling the king plainly, that if a stop was not put to the fury of that court, it would in a short time turn Spain into a complete desert. The king appearing to pay no at-

tention to these remonstrances, a large sum of money, of which he was much in need at that time, was offered him, if he would consent to abolish the inquisition. The king seemed half inclined to do that for money, which a sense of justice could not prevail upon him to do; but superstition, that principle which has such influence over the minds of its devotees, marred the whole. Thomas de Turrecremata, a Dominican friar, who was then the inquisitor general, as soon as he heard of the affair, dreading the effect the money might produce upon the feelings of the king, repaired to the palace, obtained an immediate audience of the king and queen, and pulling from under his habit a crucifix, and holding it forth to them, said, "I am not a stranger to the bargain that is going on here; our blessed Savior Christ Jesus was sold by the wretched Judas for thirty pieces of silver;—if you reckon that Judas did well in selling him to his enemies, you may follow his example and sell him for a great deal more; but that I may not seem to have any hand in such an abominable bargain, I do here lay down my authority, and do you answer to God for what will be the consequence of it." The king and queen were so struck and overawed by this vehemence of the bishop, and by the superstitious regard they paid to his supposed sacred character and authority; that no person after-

wards dare mention to them the desolations which the inquisition occasioned.*

Charles V. of Spain, who with great difficulty had brought the inquisition into the Netherlands recommended it to his son Philip in his will—we have the clause of it given by Cæsar Carena, from Lewis Paramus, in his treatise of the office of the holy inquisition *(Prælud. sect. 22.)* in which the the emperor thus speaks:

"Out of regard to my duty to Almighty God, and from my great affection to the most serene prince Philip II. my dearest son, and from the strong and earnest desire I have, that he may be safe under the protection of virtue, rather than the greatness of his riches, I charge him with the greatest affection of soul, that he take especial care of all things relating to the honor and glory of God, as becomes the most catholic king, and a prince zealous for the divine commands; and that he be always obedient to the command of our holy mother the church. And, among other things, this *I principally and most ardently recommend* to him, highly to honor, and constantly to support, the office of the holy inquisition, as constituted by God against heretical pravity, with its ministers and officials; because by this single remedy the most grievous offences against

* See Dr. Geddes' Tracts.

God can be remedied. Also, I command him that he would be careful to preserve to all churches and ecclesiastical persons their immunities."—And in the codicil to his will he thus enjoins his son: "I ardently desire, and with the greatest possible earnestness, beseech him, and command him, by his regards to me his most affectionate father, that in this matter, in which the welfare of all Spain is concerned, he be most zealously careful, to punish all infected with heresy with the severity due to their crimes, and that to this intent he confer the greatest honors on the office of the holy inquisition, by the care of which the catholic faith will be increased in his kingdom, and the christian religion preserved." * †

* See Limborch's Hist. Inquis. vol. i. p. 156.

† Charles V. relinquished the government of an Empire to become the inhabitant of a Monastery, where, if he put off the character of a hero, he assumed that of a superstitious bigot. Mr. Murray has brought forward Charles among the examples by which he illustrates the power of religion on the mind. "In his retreat," says this author, "he enjoyed more solid happiness, than all his grandeur had yielded him: as a full proof of this he has left this short but comprehensive testimony"——"I have tasted more satisfaction in my solitude, in one day, than in all the triumphs of my former reign. The sincere study, profession, and practice of the christian religion, have in them such joys and sweetness, as are seldom found in courts and grandeur." It is a great pity that the study of the christian religion had not influence enough on the mind of this

Philip gave full proof of his zeal to execute his father's commands. For as Farnianus Strada testifies of him, when he was requested by many to grant liberty of religion in the Low Countries, he prostrated himself before a crucifix, and uttered these words: "I beseech the divine majesty,

royal professor, to have caused him to bequeath a better legacy to his son, than the solemn injunction to foster and protect such an infamous tribunal as the inquisition.

For the honor of christianity, however, it may be remarked, Charles was rather the pupil of monks, than the disciple of Jesus. "He endeavored," says Robertson, "to conform in his manner ofliving, to all the rigor of monastick austerity. He desired no other society than that of monks, and was almost continnally employed with them in chanting the hymns in the Missal. As an expiation for his sins, he gave himself the discipline in secret with such severity, that the whip of cords which he employed as the instrument of his punishment, was found after his decease tinged with his blood.* — Nor was he satisfied with these acts of mortification, which, however severe, were not unexampled. The timorous and distrustful solicitude which always accompanies superstition still continued to disquiet him, and depreciating all that he had done, prompted him to aim at something extraordinary, at some new aud siugular act of piety that would display his zeal, and merit the favor of heaven. The act on which he fixed was as wild and uncommon, as any that superstition ever

* This instrument, it is said, was held in great esteem by his son Philip, who a little before his death commanded it to be brought to him, and as it was stained in the blood of his father Charles, he sent it to his son Philip III. Some historians report that it was preserved with the greatest care as a most precious relic, and is still to be found among the pious monuments of the House of Austria. See *Baker's History of the Inquisition*, page 354.

that I may always continue in this mind; that I may never suffer myself to be, or to be called the Lord of those anywhere, who deny thee the Lord." Nor is this any wonder, for the priests endeavored to persuade the kings of Spain, that the inquisition was the only security for their Kingdom. Leonardus Kellius, of the college of jesuits at Cremona, declares in a letter to Cæsar Carena, that the catholic kings and catholic religion have one common interest and cause. We

suggested to a weak and disordered fancy. He resolved to celebrate his own obsequies before his death. He ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel of the monastery. His domestics marched thither in funeral procession, with black tapers in their hands. He himself followed in his shroud. He was laid in his coffin, with much solemnity. The service for the dead was chanted, and Charles joined in the prayers which were offered up for the rest of his soul, mingling his tears with those which his attendants shed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral. The ceremony closed with sprinkling holy water on the coffin in the usual form, and all the assistants retiring, the doors of the chapel were shut. Then Charles rose out of the coffin and withdrew to his apartment, full of these awful sentiments, which such a singular solemnity was calculated to inspire. But either the fatiguing length of the ceremony, or the impression which this image of death left on his mind affected him so much, that next day he was seized with a fever. His feeble frame could not long resist its violence, and he expired on the twenty-first of September, after a life of fifty-eight years, six months, and twenty-five days." *Robertson's Charles V. 4to. 3rd vol. pp.* 415, 416.

cannot be surprised, that under such a baneful influence, the kings of Spain should have been violent promoters of the inquisition, and cruel persecutors of those who were denominted heretics. *

Philip II. showed himself the devoted friend to the inquisition, not only in the Netherlands, but in Spain also. He gave some horrid specimens of his love for persecution and cruelty, in the year 1559, in two cities in Spain, when he came thither from the Low Countries. "Immediately on his arrival," as Thuanus relates, "he began to chastise the sectaries. And whereas, before this, one or more, just as it happened, were delivered to the executioner, after condemnation,

* The throne itself in Spain and Portugal was subjected to the dominion of priests and the inquisition; of this a memorable instance occurred so late as the 18th century. The king of Spain then reigning, was present at an *auto da fe.* Being young, aud better nature not extinguished in him, he betrayed symptoms of compassion for the sufferings of the unhappy victims, whom the flames were slowly consuming. The inquisitors were alarmed, the royal tear was deemed to have vitiated the holy sacrifice, and as an atonement, the monarch was sentenced to penance, and humiliation the most disgraceful. His shoulders were bared, and he was whipped by the grand inquisitor; after which, a vein in his arm was opened, and the blood that issued was thrown into the fire with a solemn anathema as accursed. *

* Essay on Learning and the Arts, by the Rev. Geo. Walker.

for heresy; all that were condemned throughout the whole kingdom were kept against his coming, and carried together to Seville and Valladolid, where they were brought forth in public pomp to their punishment. The first act of faith was at Seville, the 8th of the calends of October; in which John Ponce de Leon, son of Rhoderic Ponce, Comte de Baylen, was led before the others as in triumph, and burnt for an obstinate heretical Lutheran. John Consalvus, a preacher, as he had been his companion in life, was forced to bear him company in his death; after whom followed Iaabella Venia, Maria Viroes, Cornelia, and Bohorches; a spectacle full of pity and indignation, which was encreased, because Bohorches, the youngest of all of them, being scarce twenty, suffered death with the greatest constancy. And because the heretical assemblies had prayed in the house of Venia, it was included in her sentence, and ordered to be levelled with the ground. After these, came forth Ferdinand San Juan, and Julian Hernandez, commonly called the little, from his small stature, and John of Leon, who had been a shoemaker at Mexico in New Spain, and was afterwards admitted into the college of St. Isidore; in which his companions studied, as they boasted, the purer doctrine privately Their number was encreased by Frances Chaves, a nun of the convent of St. Elisabeth,

who had been instructed by John Ægidius, a preacher at Seville, and suffered death with great constancy. From the same school, came out Christopher Losada, a physician, and Christopher de Arellanio, a monk of St. Isidore, and Garsias Arias; who first kindled those sparks of the same religion amongst the friars of St. Isidore, by his constant admonitions and sermons, by which the great pile was afterwards set on fire, and the convent itself, and good part of that most opulent city almost consumed. He was a man of uncommon learning, but of an inconstant, wavering temper; and, being exceedingly subtle in disputing, he refuted the very doctrines he had persuaded his followers to receive, though he brought them into danger on that account from the inquisitors. Having, by these arts, exposed many whom he had deceived to evident hazard, and rendered himself guilty of the detestable crime of breach of faith; he was admonished by John Ægidius, Constantine Ponce, and Varquius, that he had not dealt sincerely with his friends, and those who were in the same sentiments with himself; to which he replied, that he foresaw, that in a little time they would be forced to behold the bulls brought forth for a lofty spectacle; meaning thereby, the theatre of the inquisitors. Constantine answered, You, if it please God, shall not behold the games from on high, but be yourself

amongst the combatants. Nor was Constantine deceived in his prediction: for afterwards, Arias was called on; and whether age had made him bolder, or whether, by a sudden alteration, his timorousness changed into courage, he severely rebuked the assessors of the inquisitory tribunal; affirming, they were more fit for the vile office of mule keepers, than impudently to take upon themselves to judge concerning the faith, of which they were scandalously ignorant. He farther declared, that he bitterly repented that he had knowingly and willingly opposed, in their presence, that truth he now maintained, against the pious defenders of it; and that from his soul he should repent of it whilst he lived. So at last, being led in triumph, he was burnt alive, and confirmed Constantine's prophecy. There remained Ægidius and Constantine, who closed the scene; but death prevented their being alive at the show. Ægidius having been designed by the emperor, Philip's father, for bishop of Tortona, upon the fame of his piety and learning, being summoned, publicly recanted his errors, wrought on either by craft, or the persuasion of Sotus, a Dominican; and hereupon was suspended for a while from preaching, and the sacred office, and died some time before this act. The inquisitors thought he had been too gently dealt with, and therefore proceeded against his body, and condemned him

dead to death, and placed his effigies in straw on high, for a spectacle. Constantine, who had been a long while the emperor's confessor, and had always accompanied him in his retirement, after his abdication from his empire and kingdoms, and was present with him at his death, was brought before this tribunal, and died a little before the act, in a nasty prison. But, that the theatre might not want him, his effigies were carried about in a preaching posture. And thus this show, terrible in itself, which drew tears from most who were present, when these images were brought on the scene, excited laughter in many, and at length indignation. *

The above-named victims passed the flames to receive the reward of their labors and their sufferings.—But intolerance thirsted for more blood.

The same scene was shortly after renewed at Valladolid. Before Philip's arrival in that city, an *auto da fe* had been celebrated, in which a great many protestants were committed to the flames. There were still in the prisons of the inquisition more than thirty persons, against whom the same dreadful punishment had been denounced. Philip, eager to give public proof of his abhorrence of these innovators, desired the

† See Limborch, vol. 1. p. 157. also R. Gonsalvus Montanus' discovery of the Inquisition, (trans.) printed at London 1569, 4to. Baker's history of the Inquisition, 4to. p. 57.

inquisitors to fix a day for their execution; and he resolved to witness it. The dreadful ceremony, (more repugnant to humanity, as well as to the spirit of the christian religion, than the most abominable sacrifices recorded in the annals of the pagan world) was conducted with the greatest solemnity which the inquisitors could devise; and Philip, attended by his son Don Carlos, by his sister, and by his courtiers and guards, sat within sight of the unhappy victims. After hearing a sermon from the bishop of Zomora, he rose from his seat, and having drawn his sword, as a signal, that with it he would defend the holy faith, he took an oath administered to him by the inquisitor general, to support the inquisition and its ministers against all heretics and apostates, and to compel his subjects every where to yield obedience to its decrees.

Among the protestants condemned, there was a nobleman of the name of Don Carlos di Sessa, who, when the executioners were conducting him to the stake, called out to the king for mercy, saying:—"And canst thou thus, O king! witness the torments of thy subjects, save us from this cruel death, we do not deserve it." No," Philip sternly replied, "I would myself carry wood to burn my own son, were he such a *wretch* as thou." After which he beheld the horrid spectacle that

followed, with a composure and tranquility that betokened the most unfeeling heart. *

Philip, not content to exercise his cruelty by land, established the inquisition also in the ships. For in the year 1571, a large fleet was drawn together under the command of John of Austria, and manned with soldiers listed out of various nations. King Philip, to prevent any corruption of the faith, by such a mixture of various nations and religions, after having consulted pope Pius V. deputed one of the inquisitors of Spain, fixed on by the inquisitor general, to discharge the office of inquisitor; giving him power to preside in all tribunals, and to celebrate acts of faith, in all places and cities they sailed to. This erection of the inquisition by sea, Pius V. confirmed by a bull sent to the general inquisitor of Spain, beginning, "Our late most dear son in Christ." Jerome Manrique exercised the jurisdiction granted him, and held a public act of faith in the city of Messina, in which many underwent divers punishments.

He also established it beyond Europe, not only in the Canary Islands, but in the new world of America; constituting two tribunals of it, one in the city of Lima, in the province of Peru; the other in the province and city of Mexico. The

* Watson's Hist: Philip II. vol. 1. p. 139.

inquisition at Mexico was erected in the year 1571, and in a short space gave large proofs of its cruelty. Paramus relates, that in the year 1574, the third after its erection, the first act of faith was celebrated with a new and admirable pomp, in the Marquisses' market-place, where they built a large theatre, which covered almost the whole area of the market-place, and was close to the great church; where were present the vice-roy, the senate, the chapter, and the religious. The vice-roy, the senate, and a vast number of others, went with a large guard, in solemn procession, to the market-place, where were about eighty penitents; and the act lasted from six in the morning to five in the evening. Two heretics, one an Englishman, the other a Frenchman, were released. Some for judaizing, some for polygamy, and others for sorceries, were reconciled. The solemnity of this act was such, that they who had seen that stately one at Valladolid, held in the year 1559, declared, that this was not inferior to it in majesty, excepting only that they wanted those royal personages here, which were present there. From this time they celebrated yearly solemn acts of the faith, where they brought Portuguese Jews, persons guilty of incestuous and wicked marriages, and many convicted of sorcery and witchcraft. *

* Limborch, vol. 1. p. 159.

The method of the tribunal of the inquisition, in use in Spain, is this. The king proposes to the pope the supreme inquisitor of all his kingdoms, whom the pope confirms in his office. The inquisitor thus confirmed by the pope, is head and chief of the inquisition in the whole kingdom, and hath given him by his holiness full power in all cases relating to heresy. It belongs to his office to name particular inquisitors, in every place where there is any tribunal of the inquisition, who nevertheless cannot act unless approved by the king; to send visitors to the provinces of the inquisitors, to grant dispensations to penitents and their children, and to deliberate concerning other very weighty affairs. In the royal city the king appoints the supreme council of the inquisition, over which the supreme inquisitor of the kingdom presides. He hath joined with him five counsellors, who have the title of apostolical inquisitors, who are chosen by the inquisitor general upon the king's nomination. One of these must always be a Dominican. The supreme authority is in this council of the inquisition. They deliberate upon all affairs with the inquisitor general, determine the greater causes, make new laws according to the exigency of affairs, determine differences amongst particular inquisitors, punish the offences of their servants, receive appeals from inferior tribunals, and from them there

is no appeal but to the king. In other tribunals there are two or three inquisitors: they have particular places assigned them, Toledo, Cuenca, Valladolid, Calahorre, Seville, Cordoue, Granada, Ellerena; and in the Aragons, Valencia, Saragossa, and Barcelona.

These are called provincial inquisitors. They cannot imprison any priest, knight, or nobleman, nor hold any public acts of faith, without consulting the supreme council of the inquisition. Sometimes this supreme council depute one of their own counsellors to them, in order to give the greater solemnity to the acts of faith.

These provincial inquisitors give all of them an account of their provincial tribunal once every year to the supreme council; and especially of the causes that have been determined within that year, and of the state and number of their prisoners in actual custody. They give also every month an account of all monies which they have received, either from the revenues of the holy office, or pecuniary punishments and fines.

In the year 1557 John III. erected the court of inquisition in Portugal, after the model of the Spanish inquisition. It was principally levelled against the Jews; who to the present day are subject to its severe proceedings, being liable to all the penalties decreed against heretics. And because the opinions of the Jews were gaining

ground in those parts of the East Indies subject to the crown of Portugal; Cardinal Henry, inquisitor general of the kingdom of Portugal, erected in the year 1560, the tribunal of the inquisition in the city of Goa, the metropolis of that province.

The Popes, Innocent, Alexander, and their successors labored hard to establish the friar inquisitors in the commonwealth of Venice; but could not succeed. The conduct of these spiritual monsters had rendered them objects of hatred and dread to the republicans. But Nicholas IV. arriving at the popedom, being of the order of minor friars, to accomplish the wishes of his predecessors, and to advance the friars of his own order, intreated the senate so ardently, that it was resolved to receive the inquisition, but still with certain limitations. It was agreed in council, that the duke alone should have power, to give aid to the inquisitors to exercise their office. To this the pope consented, and framed a bull given at Rieti, the 28th of August, 1289, inserting in it the aforesaid determination of the council, made the 4th of the same month. And this is the beginning in Venice of the office of the inquisition, mixed of secular and ecclesiastical persons; the whole depending for its existence and power on the government of Venice

and not on the court of Rome, and in this it differed from the inquisition in every other country.*

And that the inquisition might proceed every where without any impediment, pope Paul III. anno 1542, deputed six cardinals to be inquisitors general of heretical pravity, in all christian nations whatsoever; and gave them authority to proceed without the bishops, against all heretics, and persons suspected of heresy, and their accomplices and abettors, of whatsoever state, degree, order, condition and pre-eminence; and to punish them, and confiscate their goods; to degrade, and deliver over to the secular court the secular and regular clergy in holy orders; and to do every thing else that should be necessary in this affair. Pius IV. enlarged their power; and in 1564, gave them authority to proceed against all manner of persons, whether bishops, archbishops, patriarchs or cardinals, who were heretics, or suspected of heresy. At length Sixtus V. anno 1588, appointed fifteen congregations of the cardinals, and assigned to each of them their proper business. To these were added a commissary, and an assessor general. Whatever the majority of these cardinals agree is looked on as the decree of the whole congregation.—They meet twice a week; on Wednesdays in

* See Father Paul's Hist. of the Inquis. in Venice, London 1676. p. 839.

St. Mary's church, supra Minervam; and on Thursdays in the pope's presence. In this congregation his holiness decides or confirms the votes of the counsellors and cardinals, and makes a prayer when the congregation comes in.

The attempts, however, to introduce the inquisition, did not alike succeed everywhere. It was never in the power of the pope to establish it in many of the countries subject to the see of Rome. It existed but a short time in France, and when expelled could never be reinstated;—it could never be established in Germany.*

Such was the hatred which the inhabitants of the Netherlands bore to the proceedings of the inquisitors, that they broke out into open revolt, threw down the images in the temples, and proceeded to other acts of violence. The bloody duke of Alva was sent with an army to quell the tumult—he committed acts of the greatest cruelty, and put to death, by fire and sword, multitudes of persons of all ages, sex, and conditions. At length the people, warmed with the remembrance of their former freedom, took courage and arms, and after they had recovered their liberty, drove out the inquisition from the whole country.

This institution was no doubt well calculated

* Du Pin Eccles. Hist. vol. xi. p. 154, fol. London, 1699.

to produce a uniformity of religious profession, but, like every other scheme for uniformity of opinion, it was by no means calculated to promote sincerity of religious practice. Its natural tendency was to destroy the sweets of social and domestic life; to banish all freedom of thought and speech; to produce the most intolerable slavery by rendering men subject to priestly tyranny and domination—a tyranny, which in all ages of the world has been the most galling and detestable. The effect produced upon the character of the Spanish nation, by the inquisition, has been great and lasting. From an open, brave, free, and lofty minded people, they have become weak, superstitious, jealous and enslaved. The holy office, as it is called, taught the people only by lessons of treachery and cruelty. The sound of its name became dreadful. The late philanthropic Howard, when he saw the inquisition at Valladolid, says, "I could not but observe that even the sight of it struck terror into the common people as they passed." We shall see, in the recital of some of the acts of this most infamous tribunal, that the name itself was calculated to inspire horror, to all who were within its jurisdiction.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Ministers or Officers of the Inquisition.

In every province of Spain there are two or three inquisitors; one judge of the forfeited effects; one executor, three notaries, two for secrecy, and the third for sequestrations; a gaoler; a door-keeper, and a physician. Besides these, there are assessors, councellors, familiars and others; also, a promoter fiscal, a receiver of the forfeited effects, and visiters of the inquisitors.

In the church of Rome, there are two sorts of judges of faith; the ordinaries, such as the pope and bishops, who, when ordained or consecrated, are believed to receive by divine right, power and jurisdiction over heretics; and delegates, to whom the office of judging heretics is particularly given by the pope; these are called inquisitors, and have full power, and jurisdiction against all heretics and apostates. Generally speaking no one can be deputed to the office of apostolic inquisitors under the age of forty years; yet because knowledge and prudence sometimes supply the defect of age, the pope determines by a general decree, that a person of thirty years old, who is remarkable for wisdom and prudence, may be an apostolic inquisitor in Spain and Portugal.

The office of inquisitor is perpetual; it does not close at the death of the pope who conferred it, although the jurisdiction delegated might not have been used; because they are appointed under this form, "We constitute you our vicegerents till we shall specially recal the commission."

This office is accounted of so great dignity in the church of Rome, that the title of *most reverend* is given to the inquisitors, equally as to bishops; and because they are appointed by the pope to their jurisdiction, they are advanced to the principal part of the episcopal office, and are therefore thought to deserve the honor of an equal title of dignity with the bishops themselves. They have the power to excommunicate, suspend, and interdict. They can grant indulgences of twenty or forty days, and give full pardon to all their officers. They can proceed against persons of all ranks, against bishops, priests and friars, yea, against princes and kings. In Spain and Portugal the inquisitors have commonly claimed authority over the subjects of foreign princes. Of this we have an instance in Thomas Maynard, an English consul at Lisbon, who was thrown into the prison of the inquisition, under pretence that he had spoken something against holy mother church; of which when Cromwell was informed, he demanded of the king to set him at li-

berty. The king replied, that it was not in his power, that the consul was detained by the inquisitition, over which he had no authority. Cromwell ordered the English resident to inform the king, that as his majesty had no authority over the inquisition, he would immediately declare war against it.—This declaration terrified both king and priests, and Maynard was soon set at liberty.

The inquisitor may also appoint a vicar general over his whole province, with a power of proceeding to a definitive sentence on the impenitent and relapsed, and of receiving informations and accusations against any persons, and of citing, arresting, and putting in irons witnesses and criminals, and of putting them to the question, or torture; and indeed they are empowered to do every thing which the inquisitor himself, if present could do.

The counsellors or assessors of the inquisition are learned and skilful persons,such as divines, canonists, and lawyers, to assist them with their advice. The inquisitors are not bound to follow the advice of these counsellors, but can act according to their own judgment. These officers are sworn to secrecy, and are not acquainted with the names of the prisoners or of the witnesses.

It may excite surprise with some, that the office of making inquisition against heretics and

heresy should have been committed to persons so ignorant as the inquisitors appear to have been. The author of the history of the inquisition of Goa, being under examination respecting some articles of his faith, cited John iii. 5. "except a man be born again of the water and the spirit, &c." The lord inquisitor who examined him was astonished, and asked where the passage was to be found. * He was equally ignorant of the canon of the council of Trent, about the worship of images. So that he concludes that the ignorance of the inquisitors in matters of faith exceeds all belief † Father Ephraim, a capuchin friar, who was a prisoner in the inquisition at Goa, says, that nothing was so troublesome to him in the prison, as the ignorance of the inquisitor and his assessors, when they ex-

* Dr. *Geddes* gives a worse account of their stupidity and ignorance. The writer of the *Repertorium*, printed at *Venice, An.* 1558, to shew his critical learning, saith, the word *Hæreticus*, according to some is compounded of *Erro* and *Recto*, because a heretic errs from what is right. According to others, it is derived from *Erciscor*, which signifies to divide; and, according to some, it comes from *Adhæreo*, because it is a person adhering obstinately to an error that makes him a heretic. And with the same stock of learning it was that another inquisitor proved, from St. *Paul's* words, *Hæreticum devita*, that christians were commanded to deprive heretics of their lives. *Geddes' Tracts, Vol.* 1. *p.* 425, *2nd. edition.*

amined him, which was so very great, as that he verily believed that not one of them had ever read the holy scriptures. And yet these wretchedly ignorant beings have the audacity to judge and condemn to prison, and the most excruciating tortures, and to death, men wiser and better than themselves!

The promoter fiscal is that officer of the inquisition who acts the part of accuser; he may be called the *Devil* of the holy office.* It belongs to him to examine the depositions of witnesses, and give information of criminals to the inquisitors; to demand their apprehension, and when apprehended or admonished to accuse them.

The notaries, registrars, or secretaries, of the inquisition, write down the injunctions, accusations, and all the pleadings of the causes; the deposition of the witnesses, and answers of the criminals; whether they tremble or hesitate in speaking, whether they frequently interrupt the interrogatories by hawking or spitting, or whether their voice falters, that by these circumstances they may know when to put them to the torture. These notaries may be chosen from the laity, or from the monks and clergy. They are sworn to secrecy.

The judge and receiver of the forfeited effects,

* In our old law books, the king's attorney general, who is the public accuser, is denominated the *King's Devil.*

is the treasurer of the holy office, who demands, defends, and sells, the confiscated goods of heretics, and pays the salaries and other expences of the inquisition.

The executors are they who perform the commands of the inquisitors. They apprehend and keep in custody criminals, and pursue them in places to which they may have fled for safety. All persons, even magistrates, are obliged to assist them, in apprehending any one, upon penalty of a large fine, and being put under the ban.

The familiars are the bailiffs of the inquisition; which though a vile office in other courts, is esteemed so honorable in this, that there is not a nobleman in Portugal who is not in it, and such are commonly employed by the inquisition to apprehend people. It is no wonder that persons of the highest rank seek to be thus employed, since the pope annexes the grant of plenary indulgences to the office.* If several persons are to be apprehended at the same time, the familiars so manage the matter, that they know nothing of each other's arrest. And at this the familiars are so expert, that a father, and his three sons, and three daughters, who lived together in the same house, were all carried prisoners to the inquisition, without knowing any thing of each other's

* Dr. Geddes' Miscel. Tracts. vol. i. p. 426. 2nd Edit.

being there, till seven years afterwards, when they of them who were alive, came forth in an act of faith.

The visiter of the inquisition is one who goes into the provinces where the inquisitors are, and reports to the inquisitor general and council, whatever he thinks proper to be amended; and whither the several inquisitors have observed the various orders and rules prescribed to them, &c. —He may very properly be called the *spy* of the inquisition.

The qualificators are employed in correcting and amending of books, and are commonly Dominican friars.

The gaolers are the keepers of the prisons; they are directed by the inquisitors, how to dispose of their prisoners, and are strictly charged, not to give nor to suffer them to receive any manner of intelligence.

The inquisitors and all their officers are sworn not to discover any thing that is said or done within the walls of the inquisition to any person whatsoever; neither is there any thing more severely punished by this court than the violation of *that* oath.

The reader who would wish for more extensive information respecting the privileges, powers, and responsibilities of these officers, is referred to the very excellent and elaborate History of the Inquisition, by Limborch, translated by Dr. Chandler.

CHAP. V.

Of the Prisons of the Inquisition.

THESE prisons are called in Spain and Portugal, *Santo Casa*, i. e. the holy house. Every thing, it should appear in this office must be holy. The prisons are so built, as the author of the history of the inquisition describes them, that they will hold a great number of persons. They consist of several porticos; every one of which is divided into several small cells of a square form, each side being about ten feet. There are two rows of them, one built over the other, and all of them vaulted. The upper ones are enlightened by iron grates, placed above the height of a tall man. The lower ones are under ground, dark, without any window, and narrower than the upper ones. The walls are five feet thick. Each cell is fastened with two doors, the inner one thick, and covered with iron, and on the lower part of it is a small window, through which the prisoner receives his meat, linen, &c. which is shut with two iron bolts. The outer door is entire, without any opening. The outer door is generally opened in the morning from six to eleven o'clock, to admit air into the cells.

All criminals have not like places of imprisonment, the cells of some being more gloomy and dismal than those of others, according to the degree or quality of the persons and their offences.

In Portugal all the prisoners, men and women, without any regard to birth or dignity, have their heads shaved the first or second day of their imprisonment. Every prisoner has two pots of water every day, one for the purpose of washing himself, the other to drink.

The provisions which are allowed are according to the season, and the prices of the market. A rich person may be indulged if he choose at his own expence, to live beyond the ordinary rate of prison maintenance. But this indulgence is not allowed to prisoners of all sorts, but to such only as are apprehended for small offences, who are condemned for a fine.* If the inquisitors find by the accusation that any persons are to be punished with forfeiture of all their effects, they do not suffer them to live so plentifully. The poorer prisoners have a very small pittance allowed them for their maintainance.

In the upper cells the prisoners are sometimes allowed coals, which they must light, and with which they must dress their own food; they

* R. Gonsalvius Montanus.

are also sometimes allowed a candle. Those who are confined in the lower cells generally sit in darkness, and are sometimes kept there for several years, without any one's being suffered to go or speak to them, except their keepers; and they only at certain hours, when they give them their provision. They are not allowed even books of devotion, but are shut up in darkness and solitude, that they may be broke with the horrors of so dreadful a confinement, and by the miseries of it forced to confess things which oftentimes they have never done.

And how dreadful the miseries of this prison are, we have a famous instance given us by Reginald Gonsalvius Montanus. * A certain English ship put in at the port of Cadiz, which the famliars of the inquisition, according to custom, searched upon the account of religion, before they suffered any person to come a shore. They seized on several English persons who were on board, observing in them certain marks of evangelical piety, and of their having received the best instruction, and threw them into jail. In that ship there was a child, ten or twelve years, at most, old, the son of a very rich English gentleman, to whom, as was reported, the ship and principal part of her cargo belonged. Amongst

* Discovery of the Spanish inquisition.

others, they took up also this child. The pretence was, that he had in his hands, the psalms of David in English. But those who knew their avarice and cursed arts, may well believe, without doing any injury to the holy inquisition, that they had got the scent of his father's wealth, and that this was the true cause of the child's imprisonment, and of all that calamity that followed it. However, the ship with all its cargo was confiscated; and the child, with the other prisoners, was carried to the gaol of the inquisition at Seville, where he lay six or eight months. Being kept in so straight confinement for so long a while, the child, who had been brought up tenderly at home, fell into a very dangerous illness, through the dampness of the prison, and the badness of his diet. When the lords inquisitors were informed of this, they ordered him to be taken out of the gaol, and carried, for the recovery of his health, to the hospital which they call the Cardinal. Here they generally bring all who happen to fall ill in the prison of the inquisition; where, except the medicines, of which, according to the pious institution of the hospital, there is plenty, and a little better care, upon account of the distemper, nothing is abated of the severity of the former gaol; no person besides the physician, and the servants of the hospital, being allowed to visit the sick person; and as soon as ever he

begins to grow better, before he is fully recovered, he is put again into his former gaol. The child, who had contracted a very grievous illness from that long and barbarous confinement, was carried into the hospital, where he lost the use of both his legs: nor was it ever known what became of him afterwards. In the mean while it was wonderful, that the child, in so tender an age, gave noble proofs how firmly the doctrine of piety was rooted in his mind; oftentimes, but especially morning and evening, lifting up his eyes to heaven, and praying to him, from whom he had been instructed by his parents to desire and hope for certain help; which the gaol-keeper having often observed, said, he was already grown a great little heretic.

About the same time a certain person was taken up and thrown into the same gaol, who had voluntarily abjured the Mahometan religion, and came but a little before from Morocco, a famous city of Mauritania, and capital of the kingdom, into that part of Spain which lies directly over against it, with a design to turn Christian. When he had observed that the Christians were more vicious and corrupt than the Moors he had left, he happened to say, that the Mahometan law seemed to him better than the Christian. For this the good fathers of the faith laid hold of him, thrust him into gaol, and used him so

cruelly, that he said publicly, even when in confinement, that he never repented of his christianity, from the day he was baptized, till after his having been in the inquisition, where he was forced against his will to behold all manner of violences and injuries whatsoever.

The complaint of Constantine of Seville was no less grievous concerning the barbarities of his prison, who, though he had not undergone the torture, yet so bewailed his misery, that he would exclaim, "O my God, were there no Scythians in the world, no cannibals more fierce and cruel than Scythians, into whose hands thou couldest carry me, that I might but escape the paws of these wretches."

The author of the history of Goa agrees in this account, who frankly owns, that through the cruelty and length of his imprisonment, he fell into despair, and thereby often attempted to destroy himself; first by starving himself, and because that did not succeed,he feigned himself sick; and when the physician of the inquisition found his pulse unequal, and that he was feverish, he ordered him to be let blood, which was done again five days after. When the doctor was gone, he unbound his arm every day, that so by the large effusion of blood, he might continually grow weaker and weaker. In the mean while he eat very little, that by hunger and loss

of blood, he might put an end to his miserable life. Whilst he was in this sad condition, he had sent him a confessor of the Franciscan order, who, by various, arguments of comfort endeavored to recover him from his despair.—They also gave him a companion in his gaol which was some comfort to him in his confinement. But growing well again after about five months, they took his companion from him. The lonesomeness of his gaol brought on again his melancholy and despair, which made him invent another method to destroy himself. He had a piece of gold money, which he had concealed in his clothes, which he broke into two parts; and making it sharp, he opened a vein in each arm, and lost so much blood. that he fell into a swoon, the blood running about the gaol. But some of the servants happening to come before the usual time to bring him something, found him in this condition. The inquisitor hereupon ordered him to be loaded with irons upon his arms and hands, and strictly watched. This cruelty provoked him to that degree, that he endeavoured to beat his brains out against the pavement and the walls; and undoubtedly the ligaments upon his arms would have been torn off, had he continued any longer it that state. Upon this they took off his chains, gave him good words, encouraged him, and sent him a companion, by whose con-

versation he was refreshed, and bore his misery with a little more easiness of mind. But after two months they took him from him again, so that the solitude of his gaol was more distressing to him than before.

The prisoners, as soon as ever they are thrown into gaol, are commanded to give an account of their name and business. Then they enquire after their wealth, and to induce them to give in an exact account, the inquisition promises them, that if they are innocent, all that they discover to them shall be faithfully kept for, and restored to them; bnt that if they conceal any thing, it shall be confiscated, though they should be found not guilty. And as in Spain and Portugal most persons are fully persuaded of the sanctity and sincerity of this tribunal, they willingly discover all their prossessions, even the most concealed things of their houses, being certainly persuaded, that when their innocence shall appear, they shall soon recover their liberty and effects together. But these miserable creatures are deceived; for he that once falls into the hands of these judges, is stripped at once of all he was possessed of. For if any one denies his crime, and is convicted by a sufficient number of witnesses, he is condemned as a negative convict, and all his effects confiscated. If to escape the gaol, he confesses his crime, he is guilty by his own confession, and

in the judgment of all justly stripped of his effects. When he is dismissed from prison as a convert and penitent, he dares not defend his innocence, unless he deisres to be thrown again into gaol, and condemned, and, as a feigned penitent, to be delivered over to the secular arm.

The solitude to which the victims of tyranny are condemned, in the prisons, of the inquisition is truly dreadful. No one must so much as mutter, or make the least noise. If any one bemoans himself, or bewails his misfortune, or prays to God with an audible voice, or sings a psalm, the gaoler immediately comes to him and admonishes him that he must keep silence, if this mandate be not shortly obeyed, the prisoner is severely beaten with a stick. A prisoner in the inquisition, says Dellon, coughed, the gaoler came to him, and admonished him to forbear coughing, the poor man answered, it was not in his power. However, being admonished a second time, and because he did not refrain coughing, he was stripped naked, and cruelly beaten; this encreased his cough, for which the gaoler beat him so often, that at last he died under the hands of his tormentor.

If any one falls sick in prison, he is attended by a surgeon and physician, who administers medicines for the recovery of his health; and if there be any danger he has a confessor sent to him.

Particular care is taken not to put two, or more, in the same cell, that they may not concert together to conceal the truth, to effect their escape, or to evade the interrogatories. The principal reason, appears to be, that they may, through the irksomeness of their imprisonment, confess whatever the inquisitors may require.

The inquisitors are obliged to visit their prisoners twice every month, and inquire whether they have necessaries allowed them, and whether they are well or not;—various other mere common-place questions are proposed to the prisoners, which are intended to signify nothing; for if any complaints are made, no redress whatever is obtained.

The gaolers have it in their power greatly to injure their prisoners by defrauding them of their provisions, although they take a solemn oath to the contrary. The following extract from R. Gonsalvius Montanus, of the conduct of a gaoler in his own time, is a striking proof of this.

He says,* "Gaspar Bennavidius was keeper of a gaol. He was a man of monstrous covetousness and cruelty, who defrauded his miserable prisoners of a great part of their provisions, which were ill dressed, and scarce the tenth part of what was allowed them, and sold it secretly, for no great price, at the Triana. Besides, he wholly kept from them the little money allowed

* Discovery of the Spanish Inquisition, p. 39 &c.

them to pay for the washing of their linen; thus suffering them to abide many days together in a nasty condition, deceiving the inquisitor and treasurer, who put that money to the keeper's account, as though it had been expended every week for the use of the prisoners, for whom it was appointed. In short, his thefts and injuries with which he plagued his prisoners, who were otherwise miserable enough, were so numerous, that some persons of interest with the inquisitors at length accused him before them. Upon this he was imprisoned himself; and being found guilty of many false accusations, he received this sentence: that he should come out at a public act of faith, carrying a wax candle in his hand, be banished five years from the city, and forfeit the whole sum of money, which by virtue of his office he was to have received from the holy tribunal.

This very man, whilst he was keeper, had in his family an ancient servant maid, who observing the distress of the prisoners, laboring under intolerable hunger and nastiness, through the wickedness and barbarity of her master, was so moved with pity towards them, being herself well inclined to the evangelical piety, that she often spoke to them through the doors of their cells, comforted them, and as well as she could exhor- them to patience, many times putting them in

meat under their doors, in proportion to the mean and low abilities of her condition. And when she had nothing of her own, by which to show her liberality to the prisoners of Christ, she stole good part of that provision from her master, which he had stolen from the prisoners and restored it to them

By means of this servant the prisoners had information of the state of the affairs of their brethren and fellow prisoners, which much comforted them, and was oftentimes of great service to their cause. But at length the matter was discovered by the lords inquisitors, by whom she was thrown into prison for a year, and underwent the same fate with the other prisoners, and condemned to walk in the public procession with a yellow garment, and to receive two hundred stripes; which was executed upon her the following day, through the city, with the usual pomp and cruelty. To all this was added banishment from the city and its territories, for ten years. Her title was, "the favoress and aidress of heretics."—What excited the implacable indignation of the lords, the fathers of the faith, against her, was, that they discovered in her examination, that she has revealed the secrets of the most holy tribunal to some of the inhabitants of the city, particularly relating to the provision allotted to the prisoners. From both these examples, and from their dif-

ferent and unequal punishment, any one may see how much safer it is to add to the affliction of the prisoners in their gaol, than to comfort them by any act of humanity and mercy whatsoever.

The same historian gives us an account of the conduct of the inquisition toward one of their gaolers, who from motives of humanity had been induced to show kindness to one of his prisoners. Peter ab Herera, was appointed keeper of the tower of Triana, which is a prison of the inquisition. In this prison was a certain good matron, with her two daughters, who were put in different cells, and ardently desired the liberty of seeing each other, and comforting each other in so dreadful a calamity, they therefore earnestly intreated the keeper, that he would suffer them to be together for one quarter of an hour. Moved with humanity and compassion, he allowed them to be together for half an hour. This was judged by the lords inquisitors to be so heinous a crime, that they ordered him to be immediately thrown into prison, and such was the cruelty of his treatment, and the disorder of his mind which followed upon it, that he became distracted. His madness did not, however, save him from a more grievous punishment; for after lying a year in prison, he was brought out, clothed in a yellow garment, a halter about his neck, as though he had been a common thief, and sentenced, first to receive two

hundred lashes through the streets of the city, and then to be sent to the gallies for six years. The poor wretch, as he was carried forth to be whipped, throwing himself from the ass on which he was seated, snatched a sword from the inquisitory alguazile, and would certainly have killed him, had he not been prevented by the populace. For this offence, the lords inquisitors sentenced him to six additional years, confinement to the gallies!!!

Such are the prisons, and such the treatment of the unfortunates who become the inmates of them. This short sketch does not contain a thousandth part of what might be told—volumes might be filled with the detail—yet from this brief account we have enough to shock the feelings of humanity; but we are only on the threshold of this great slaughter-house, erected by a worldly priesthood, and dedicated to the infernal deities;—whose officers have completely rivalled the heroes of Danté and Milton.—Had these celebrated poets laid the scene of their poems within the walls of the inquisition, they would have heightened the horror which is now inspired by the description they have given us of their infernal regions!

CHAPTER VI.

Of the manner of proceeding before the Tribunal of the Inquisition.

The court of inquisition proceeds summarily, and most commonly upon a denunciation, as they term it, which does not, like an accusation, disable the person who makes it to be a witness.

All people however infamous, and though they stand convicted of perjury, are in cases of heresy admitted as witnesses, mortal enemies alone excepted; and this exception is of little use to the accused person, as he does not know who they are who have given information against him.

From the obligation to accuse heretics, no persons, whatever their rank or dignity, are exempted; brother must accuse brother, the wife the husband, and the husband the wife, the son his father, &c. when heretical or suspected of heresy.

Joan, the daughter of Charles V. was cited by the inquisitors to be interrogated by them concerning some things relating to the faith, her father advised her to make her deposition without delay, lest she should incur excommunication.

After the prisoner has spent two or three days and nights in his melancholy apartment, he is

carried by his keeper before the inquisitors; who before they ask him a question, make him take an oath, to return true answers to all their interrogatories; and if he has ever been guilty of any heresy, to confess it to them.

The first question the prisoner is asked, is, "Whether he knows, why he was taken up by the inquisition?" and if he answers, "That he does not know;" he is then asked, "Whether he knows for what crimes the inquisition useth to imprison people?" if he answers, "for heresy," he is admonished upon the oath he has taken, to confess all his heresies, and to discover all his teachers and complices: if the prisoner denies that he ever held any heresies, or had ever any communication with any heretics, he is gravely told, that the holy office does not use to imprison people rashly or without having good grounds for what they do, and that therefore he would do well to confess his guilt, and that the rather, because the holy office, contrary to the custom of all other courts, is severe to those that deny, but merciful to all that confess their guilt.

If the prisoner persists in denying, that he ever held any heresies, his gaoler is called in, and commanded to carry him back to the place from whence he came, and the prisoner is admonished strictly to examine his own conscience, that the next time they send for him, he may be prepared

to make true and full confession of all his heresies, teachers, and accomplices: The prisoner having been allowed two or three days more to do this in: he is brought before the inquisitors a second time, and is asked, "whether he comes prepared to confess? "and if he answers" that he cannot without accusing himself or others falsely, make any such confession as they desire of him;" they then ask him where he was born, and what his parents were; and where he went to school, and who were his schoolmasters, and where he has lived all his time, and with whom he has conversed most, and who has been his confessor, and when he was last at confession, and at the sacrament?" with twenty more such questions: and being told, that they have sufficient proof of his being a heretic; they command him since he cannot repent of his heresies, unless he confesseth them all, to go back to his prison, and there pray to God for grace to dispose him to make a true and full confession to the saving of his soul, which is all they seek after: and being again allowed two or three days to pray, and consider on what the inquisitors have said to him, he is brought before them a third time; and in case he persists in pleading, not guilty, he is then asked some questions concerning the heretical doctrines he stands charged withal: for example, whether he believes Christ to be bodily

present in the sacrament, and that it is lawful to adore images, and to pray to saints and angels? And if he affirms, that he did always firmly believe these, and all the other doctrines of the Roman church; he is asked, if he always believed these doctrines how he came to speak against them? and if he denies that he ever did, he is then told, that since he is so obstinate in his heresies, of which they have a sufficient proof before them, they will order their advocate fiscal to form his process, and to convict him of them. But in case the inquisitors have not sufficient evidence, notwithstanding, to draw a confession from the prisoner, they have told him more than once, that they had: they then tell the prisoner, that though they may not have sufficient proof of his heretical words and actions to convict him of them, that yet they have sufficient to put him on the rack to make him confess them.

The place of torture in the Spanish inquisition is generally an under-ground and very dark room, to which one enters through several doors. There is a tribunal erected in it, in which the inquisitor, inspector, and secretary sit. When the candles are lighted, and the person to be tortured is brought in, the executioner, who was waiting for him, makes a very astonishing and dreadful appearance. He is covered all over with a black linen garment down to his feet, and tied close to

his body. His head and face all hid with a long black cowl, only two little holes being left in it for him to see through. All this is intended to strike the miserable wretch with greater terror in mind and body, when he sees himself going to be tortured by the hands of one who thus looks like the very devil.*

The day being fixed, when he is to undergo the torture, if he does not prevent it by such a confession as is expected from him, he is led into this dismal place, attended by an inquisitor, and a public notary, who is to write down the answers the prisoner returns to the questions which shall be put to him by the inquisitor, whilst he is upon the rack; during the time the executioner is preparing that engine of unspeakable cruelty, and his taking off the prisoner's clothes, the inquisitor is still exhorting the prisoner to have compassion both on his body and soul, and by making a true and full confession of all his heresies, to prevent his being tortured: but if the prisoner saith, that he will suffer any thing, rather than accuse himself or others falsely, the inquisitor commands the executioner to do his duty, and to begin the torture; which in the inquisition is given by twisting a small cord hard about the prisoner's naked arms, and hoisting him up from

* Gonsalvius Montanus.

the ground by an engine to which the cord is fastened; and as if the miserable prisoner's hanging in the air by his arms, were not torment enough, he has several quassations or shakes given him; which is done by screwing his body up higher, and letting it down again with a jerk, which disjoints his arms, and after that the torture is much more exquisite than it was before.

When the prisoner is first hoisted from the ground, an hour glass is turned up, and, which, if he does not prevent it by making such a confession of his heresies as the inquisitor that is present all the while, and is continually asking him questions, expects from him, must run out before he is taken down;—to promise to make such a confession, if they will take him off the rack, not being sufficient to procure him that mercy, no more than his crying out that he shall expire immediately if they do not give him some ease; that, as the inquisitors say, being no more than all that are upon the rack do think they are ready to do.

If the prisoner endure the rack without confessing any thing, which few, or none, however are able to do; so soon as the hour-glass is out, he is taken down, and carried back to his prison, where there is a surgeon ready to put his bones in joint. And though in all other courts, the prisoner's having endured the rack without confessing

the crimes for which he was tortured, clears him, and makes void all the evidence that was against him, yet in the inquisition, where whatsoever humanity and right reason have established in favor of the prisoner, is left to the discretion of the judge, it is commonly otherwise; the prisoners that will not confess any thing, being usually racked twice; and if they stand it out, though few of them can do that, they are racked the third time.

But if the prisoner makes the confession the inquisitor expects he should, on the rack, it is written down verbatim by the notary, and is, after the prisoner has had rest for a day or two, carried to him to set his hand to it, which if the prisoner does, it puts an end to his process, the want of sufficient evidence to have convicted him, being abundantly supplied by this extorted confession, being thus signed by him: But in case the prisoner, when it is brought to him, refuseth to sign it, affirming it to be false, and to have been extorted from him by the extremity of the torture, he is then carried to the rack a second time, to oblige him to repeat and sign the same confession.

It is a very hard matter for any one that is a prisoner in the inquisition for heresy, to escape the rack, since neither the professing and maintaining the doctrines to be true wherewith he is

charged, nor the denying of them, can secure him from it, the first being commonly racked, to discover their teachers and accomplices; and the second, to oblige them to confess their own guilt; and if a prisoner does confess his having spoken some heretical words, but to save his estate, stands in his having spoken them rashly, and in a passion, without a heretical mind, he is racked to make him discover whether it was so or not, or whether his thoughts were not the same with his words. If a prisoner either makes no confession at all, or does not confess the particular heretical words, or facts wherewith he stands charged, and with which the inquisitors will never acquaint him; he is asked whether he has any thing besides his denial to offer in his own defence, and if he has, to make use of it: for now the advocate fiscal, upon their having evidence enough against him, is ordered to form his process. Here, if the prisoner allegeth, that unless they will be pleased to let him know the particular heretical words, or facts, he stands charged withal, and who the persons are that have informed and witnessed against him, that it will not be possible for him to make any defence; he is told, that cannot be done, because, to let him know the particular heretical words or facts might lead him to the knowledge of the informers and witnesses; who, by the fundamental law of the inquisition, must

never either directly or indirectly be discovered to him.

Now for this singular and inhuman custom of not letting their prisoners know the particular facts they stand charged withal, nor who they are that have informed and witnessed against them, the inquisitors have nothing to say, but that it is necessary to the security of the lives of the accusers and witnesses, which, if they were known, would be in so great danger, that none would dare to venture to inform or bear witness against heretics in their court. And yet such is the degraded state of the populace in the countries subject to this iniquitous tribunal, that any one who should offer the least affront to another for having been an informer, would run the risk of being insulted by the multitude.

The prisoner being thus denied the knowledge of the things and persons, without which it is scarcely possible for him, though quite innocent, to make any defence, he is, notwithstanding that, graciously asked by the inquisitors, whether he desires to have an advocate and proctor to help him to make it: if the prisoner saith he would, he is not to name them, but must take those the inquisitors shall appoint, and who before they have seen their client, must take the following oath.

"I. N. Doctor of both laws, do in the presence of the lord's inquisitors of this place against heretical pravity, having my hand on the holy gospel of God, promise and swear sincerely and faithfully to defend and maintain the cause of N. a prisoner, in the prison of this holy office, who stands accused and impeached for causes mentioned in its acts: but so as not to use any trick or cavil, or to instruct my said client how to conceal the truth in judgment: and I do farther promise and swear, that if I shall by any way discover my said client to be guilty of the crime or crimes wherewith he stands charged, that I will thereupon immediately dismiss his cause; and if by having searched narrowly into his case, I shall discover that he has had complices in his heresies, that I will inform against them to this holy office: all which I do promise upon pain of perjury, and of an excommunication, from which I cannot be absolved by any but by this holy office. So help me God, and these holy gospels."

The same oath is taken by the prisoner's proctor, though from the tenor of the oath, and the subjection of the officers to the court, no good can possibly result to the unhappy man, but by their means his chances of a successful defence are greatly lessened. These officers know no more of the accusers and witnesses against the prisoner than himself; and all the questions with which the prisoner may furnish his advocate, they are put by him in form and then delivered to the inquisitors.

The prisoner is asked also, whether he has any witnesses of his orthodoxy; and if he names any, they are sent for, and heard by the inquisitors:

and as these witnesses go to the inquisition with trembling hearts, so they are extremely cautious, not to say any thing concerning the prisoner, that shall imply their having lived in any intimacy with him, for fear of bringing themselves under a suspicion of heresy: and by the laws of the inquisition, no relation of the prisoner within the fourth degree can be a witness for him. When the prisoner's advocate and proctor are dismissed, they take an oath that they have no copy of the defence the prisoner made for himself, and that they will never speak of it to any person whatever, neither is the prisoner ever suffered to see the depositions of his own fearful witnesses, any more than the depositions of those that are against him.

A process is carried on in this court against those who have murdered themselves, or who have died a natural death in the prisons. In the first case the process is short; a prisoner having murdered himself is deemed sufficient proof of his guilt. In the second, the process is carried on by the advocate fiscal in the same manner as if the prisoner had been living; the prisoner's friends are summoned to appear before the inquisitors within forty days, to give their evidence, or to offer any thing in vindication of the deceased; if none appear, as they seldom have the courage to do, the deceased, after the expiration of ten

days, is acquitted or condemned as he would have been had he been living- If condemned, his whole estate is forfeited, and his body and effigies are burnt at the next act of faith; as also are the bodies of those who have murdered themselves.

The power of the inquisitors extends not only to those that died in prison, but to the bodies, estates, and good names of all, that after their decease shall be convicted of having died heretics: and though as to the estates of those that are convicted of having died heretics, they can go no farther than forty years, yet to the taking of their bones out of their graves and burning them, and the depriving them of their good name, there is no limitation of time.

The causes for which the torture is inflicted are various.—If the person accused cannot make his innocence appear with satisfaction to the inquisitors, although he is not found guilty, either by his own confession or by the testimony of witnesses, yet if there be but half proof of his crime, he is put to the torture.

"A noble lady, Joan Bohorquia, the wife of Francis Varquius, a very eminent man, and lord of Higuera, and daughter of Peter Garsia Xeresius, was put into the inquisition at Seville. The occasion of her imprisonment was, that her sister, Mary Bohorquia, a young lady of eminent piety,

who was afterwards burnt for her pious confession, had declared in her torture that she had several times conversed with her sister concerning her own doctrine. When she was first imprisoned, she was about six months gone with child; upon which account she was not so straitly confined, nor used with that cruelty with which the other prisoners were treated. Eight days after her delivery, they took the child from her, and on the fifteenth, shut her close up, and made her undergo the fate of the other prisoners, and began to manage her cause with their usual arts and rigor. In so dreadful a calamity she had only this comfort, that a certain pious young woman, who was afterwards burnt for her religion by the inquisitors, was allowed her for her companion. This young creature was, on a certain day, carried out to her torture, and being returned from it into her gaol, she was so shaken, and had all her limbs so miserably disjointed, that when she lay upon her bed of rushes, it rather increased her misery than gave her rest, so that she could not turn herself without the most excessive pain. In this condition, as Bohorquia had it not in her power to show her any, or but little outward kindness, she endeavored to comfort her mind with great tenderness. The girl had scarcely begun to recover from her torture, when Bohorquia was carried out to the same exercise, and was tortured

with such diabolical cruelty upon the rack, that the rope pierced and cut into the very bones of her arms, thighs, and legs; and in this manner she was brought back to prison, just ready to expire, the blood immediately running out of her mouth in great plenty. Undoubtedly they had burst her bowels, insomuch that the eighth day after her torture she died. And when after all, they could not procure sufficient evidence to condemn her, though sought after and procured by all their inquisitorial arts; yet, as the accused person was born in that place, where they were obliged to give some account of the affair to the people, and indeed could not by any means dissemble it; in the first act of triumph appointed after her death, they commanded her sentence to be pronounced in these words, "because this lady died in prison (without doubt surpressing the causes of it) and was found to be innocent upon inspecting and diligently examining her cause, therefore the holy tribunal pronounces her free from all charges brought against her by the fiscal, and absolving her from any farther process, doth restore her both as to her innocence and reputation; and commands all her effects, which had been confiscated to be restored to those to whom they of right belonged, &c." And thus, after they had murdered her by torture with savage cruelty, they pronounced her innocent.

The following account of the torture of Isaac Orobio, is given by Limborch,* who had it from the mouth of the sufferer.

Isaac Orobio, (a physician) was accused to the inquisition of being a jew, but denied that he was one. After three years which he had been in gaol, and several examinations, and the discovery of the crimes to him of which he was accused, in order to his confession, and his constant denial of them, he was at length carried out of his gaol, and through several turnings brought to the place of torture. Here the inquisitor again admonished him to confess the truth, before his torments began. When he answered he had told the truth, the inquisitor gravely protested, that since he was so obstinate as to suffer the torture, the holy office would be innocent, if he should shed his blood, or even expire in his torments. When he had said this, they put a linen garment over his body, and drew it so very close on each side, as almost squeezed him to death. When he was almost dying, they slackened at once the sides of the garment; and after he began to breathe again, the sudden alteration put him to the most grievous anguish and pain. When he had overcome this torture, the same admonition was repeated, that he would confess the truth,

* Hist. Inquis. vol 2, p. 221.

in order to prevent further torment. And as he persisted in his denial, they tied his thumbs so very tight with small cords, as made the extremities of them greatly swell, and caused the blood to spurt out from under his nails. After this he was placed with his back against a wall, and fixed upon a little bench. Into the wall were fastened little iron pullies, through which there were ropes drawn, and tied round his body in several places, and especially his arms and legs. The executioner drawing these ropes with great violence, fastened his body with them to the wall; so that his hands and feet, and especially his fingers and toes being bound so straitly with them, put him to the most exquisite pain, and seemed to him just as though he had been dissolving in flames. In the midst of these torments, the torturer of a sudden drew the bench from under him, so that the miserable wretch hung by the cords without any thing to support him, and by the weight of his body drew the knots yet much closer. After this a new kind of torture succeeded. There was an instrument like a small ladder, made of two upright pieces of wood, and five cross ones sharpened before. This the torturer placed over against him, and by a certain proper motion struck it with great violence against both his shins; so that he received upon each of them at once five violent strokes, which put him to

such intolerable anguish that he fainted away. After he came to himself, they inflicted on him the last torture. The torturer tied ropes about Orobio's wrists, and then put those ropes about his own back, which was covered with leather to prevent him hurting himself. Then falling backwards, and putting his feet up against the wall, he drew them with all his might, till they cut through Orobio's flesh even to the very bones; and this torture was repeated thrice, the ropes being tied round his arms about the distance of two fingers breadth from the former wound, and drawn with the same violence. But it happened, that as the ropes were drawing the second time, they slid into the first wound; which caused so great an effusion of blood, that he seemed to be dying. Upon this the physician and surgeon, who are always ready, were sent for out of a neighbouring apartment, to ask their advice, whether the torture could be continued without danger of death, lest the ecclesiastical judges should be guilty of an irregularity, if the criminal should die in his torments. They, who were far from being enemies to Orobio, answered that he had strength enough to endure the rest of the torture, and hereby preserved him from having the tortures he had already endured repeated on him, because his sentence was, that he should suffer them at one time, one after another. So

that if at any time they are forced to leave off through fear of death, all the tortures, even already suffered, must be successively inflicted to satisfy the sentence. Upon this the torture was inflicted the third time, and then it ended. After this he was bound up in his own clothes, and carried back to his prison, and was scarcely healed of his wounds in seventy days. And inasmuch as he made no confession under his torture, he was condemned, not as one convicted, but suspected of Judaism, to wear for two whole years the infamous habit called sanbenito, and after that term to perpetual banishment from the kingdom of Seville.

Gonsalvius gives us an account of another kind of torture. This is a wooden bench, which they call the wooden horse, made hollow like a trough, so as to contain a man lying on his back at full length; about the middle of which there is a round bar laid across, upon which the back of the person is placed, so that he lies upon the bar instead of being let into the bottom of the trough, with his feet much higher than his head. As he is lying in this posture, his arms, thighs, and shins are tied round with small cords or strings, which being drawn with screws at proper distances from each other, cut into the very bones, so as to be no longer discerned. Besides this, the torturer throws over his mouth and nostrils a thin cloth,

so that he can scarcely breathe through them; and in the mean while a small stream of water, like a thread, falls from on high, upon the mouth of the person lying in this miserable condition, and sinks down the thin cloth to the bottom of his throat; so that there is no possibility of breathing, his mouth being stopped with water, and his nostrils with the cloth; so that the poor wretch is in the same agony as persons ready to die. When this cloth is drawn out of his throat, as it often is, that he may answer to the questions, it is all wet with water and blood, and is like pulling his bowels through his mouth. There is also another kind of torture peculiar to this tribunal, which they call fire. They order a large chaffing-dish full of lighted charcoal to be brought in, and held close to the soles of the tortured person's feet, greased over with lard, so that the heat of the fire may more quickly pierce through them.

This is inquisition by torture, when there is only half full proof of the crime. However, at other times torments are sometimes inflicted upon persons condemned to death, as a punishment preceding that of death. Of this we have a remarkable instance in William Lithgow, an Englishman, who was taken up as a spy in Spain, and was exposed to the most cruel torments upon the wooden horse. But when nothing could be

extorted from him, he was delivered to the inquisition as an heretic, and was condemned, in the beginning of Lent, to suffer the night following, eleven most cruel torments; and after Easter to be carried privately to Granada, there to be burnt at midnight, and his ashes to scattered in the air. When night came on his fetters were taken off, then he was stripped naked, put upon his knees, and his hands lifted up by force; after which opening his mouth with iron instruments, they filled his belly with water till it came out of his jaws. Then they tied a rope hard about his neck, and in this condition rolled him seven times the whole length of the room, till he was almost quite strangled. After this they tied a small cord about his great toes, and hung him up thereby with his head towards the ground, and then cut the rope about his neck, letting him remain in this condition till all the water discharged itself out of his mouth; so that he was laid on the ground as just dead, and had his irons put on him again. But beyond all expectation, and by a very singular accident, he was delivered out of gaol, escaped death, and fortunately returned to England.*

Many more instances might be produced of those who have suffered the torture in the prisons

* Gonsalvius Discovery of the Inquisition.

of the inquisition, but the foregoing must suffice. The reader is referred to a long narrative of the proceedings in the inquisition in Lisbon, against a person who was a prisoner there for nearly five years, and after suffering many cruel and excruciating tortures on the rack, came out in an act of faith with his life, but was robbed of all his property. He afterwards resided in London, and such was the opinion he entertained of these *holy fathers*, that he could not be persuaded that they were human beings, but insisted "that they were devils come from hell, who having taken the shape of men upon them, must, when they left the bodies which they had assumed, return to the place from whence they came." The whole narrative is exceedingly interesting, but too long for insertion; the general outline is the same as that in the cases of Bohorquia and of Orobio, related above.*

We proceed now to another exhibition of the cruelty of these holy barbarians, manifested in what they call an *act of faith.* When a competent number of prisoners are convicted of heresy, either by their own voluntary, or extorted confession, or upon the evidence of certain witnesses, a day is fixed by the chief inquisitor for a gaol delivery, which is called by them, an act of the faith, and which is always upon a Sunday. In

* Dr. Geddes' Tracts, vol. 1. 2nd Edition.

the morning of the day the prisoners are all brought into a great hall, where they have the habits put on they are to wear in the procession, which begins to come out of the inquisition about nine o'clock in the morning.

The following narrative of the procession, &c. which took place in an act of faith celebrated at Lisbon, on the 10th of May, 1682, is given us by Dr. Michael Geddes, who was an eye witness of the same.*

The first in the procession are the Dominican friars, who carry the standard of the inquisition, which on the one side hath their founder, Dominic's picture, and on the other side a cross, betwixt an olive tree and a sword, with this motto, *Justitia et Misericordia:* next after the Dominicans come the penitents, some with benitoes, and some without, according to the nature of their crimes; they are all in black coats without sleeves, and barefooted, with a wax candle in their hand; next come the penitents who have narrowly escaped being burnt, who over their black coat have flames painted, with their points turned downward, to signify their having been saved, but so as by fire; this habit is called by the Portugueze, *fuego revolto,* or flames turned up side down: next come the negative and relapsed that are to be burnt, with flames upon their habit,

* See his Mis. Tracts, vol. 1, p. 442. 2nd Edition.

pointing upwards, and next come those who profess doctrines contrary to the faith of the Roman church, and who besides flames on their habit pointing upward, have their picture, which is drawn two or three days before, upon their breasts, with dogs, serpents, and devils, all with open mouths painted about it.

Pegna, a famous Spanish inquisitor, calls this procession, *horrendum ac tremendum spectaculum*, (a horrid and tremendous spectacle,) and so it is in truth, there being something in the looks of all the prisoners, besides those that are to be burnt, that is ghastly and disconsolate, beyond what can be imagined, and in the eyes and countenance of those that are to be burnt, there is something that looks fierce and eager.

The prisoners that are to be burnt alive, besides a familiar, which all the rest have, have a a jesuit on each hand of them, who are continually preaching to them, to abjure their heresies; but if they offer to speak any thing in defence of the doctrines they are going to suffer death for professing, they are immediately gagged, and not suffered to speak a word more.

This I saw done to a prisoner, presently after he came out of the gates of the inquisition, upon his having looked up to the sun, which he had not seen before in several years, and cried out in a rapture; "how is it possible for people that be-

hold that glorious body, to worship any being but him that created it!" After the prisoners, comes a troop of familiars on horseback, and after that the inquisitors, and other officers of the court upon mules; and last of all comes the inquisitor general upon a white horse, led by two men, with a black hat, and a green hatband, and attended by all the nobles, that are not employed as familiars in the procession.

In the Terreiro de Paco, not far from the inquisition, there is a scaffold erected, which may hold two or three thousand people; and at the one end sit the inquisitors, and at the other end the prisoners, and in the same order as they walked in the procession, those that are to be burnt, being seated on the highest benches behind the rest, and which may be ten feet above the floor of the scaffold.

After some prayers, and a sermon, which is made up of encomiums on the inquisition, and invectives against heretics, a secular priest ascends a desk, which stands near the middle of the scaffold, and who having first taken all the abjurations of the penitents who kneel before him, one by one in the same order they walked in the procession, at last he recites the final sentence of the inquisition upon those that are to be put to death, in the words following.

"We, the inquisitors of heretical pravity, having, with the concurrence of the most illustrious *N.* lord archbishop of Lisbon, or of his deputy, *N.* called on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of his glorious mother, the Virgin Mary, and sitting on our tribunal, and judging, with the holy gospels lying before us, that so our judgment may be in the sight of God, and our eyes may behold what is just in all matters betwixt the magnific doctor *N.* advocate Fiscal on the one part and you, *N.* now before us, on the other, we have ordained, that in this place, and on this day you should receive your definite sentence;

"We do therefore by this our sentence put in writing, define, pronounce, declare, and sentence thee, *N.* of the city of Lisbon, to be a convicted, confessing, affirmative, and professed heretic, and to be delivered, and left by us as such, to the secular arm: and we by this our sentence, do cast thee out of the ecclesiastical court, as a convicted, confessing, affirmative and professed heretic, and we do leave and deliver thee to the secular arm, and to the power of the secular court; but at the same time do most earnestly beseech that court so to moderate its sentence, as not to touch thy blood, or to put thy life in any danger.

Is there in all history, an instance of so gross and impudent a mockery of God, and the world, as this of the inquisitors earnestly beseeching the civil magistrates not to put the heretics they have condemned, and delivered to them, to death? For were they in earnest when they make this solemn petition to the secular magistrates, why do they bring their prisoners out of the inquisition, and deliver them to those magistrates, in coats painted over with flames? why

do they teach, that all heretics, above all other malefactors, ought to be punished with death? and why do they never resent the secular magistrates having so little regard to their earnest and joint petition, as never to fail to burn all the heretics which are delivered to them by the inquisition, within an hour or two after they have them in their hauds? And why in Rome, where the supreme, civil, and ecclesiastical authority are lodged in the same person, is this petition of the inquisition, which is made there as well as in other places, never granted? Certainly, not to take any notice of the old canon, which forbids the clergy to have any hand in the blood of any person whatsoever, would be a much less dishonor to the inquisition, than to pretend to go on, observing that canon, by making a petition which is known to be so contrary to their principles and desires.

The prisoners are no sooner in the hands of the civil magistrate, than they are loaded with chains, and before the eyes of the inquisitors; and being carried first to the secular gaol, are within an hour or two brought from thence before the lord chief justice; who, without knowing any thing of their particular crimes, or of the evidence that was against them, asks them one by one, In what religion they intend to die? If they answer, that they will die in the communion of the Ro-

man church, they are condemned by him, to be carried, forthwith to the place of execution, and there to be first strangled, and afterwards burnt to ashes. But if they say, they will die in the protestant, or in any other faith that is contrary to the Roman, they are then sentenced by him, to be carried forthwith to the place of execution, and there to be burnt alive.

At the place of execution, which at Lisbon, is the Ribera, there are so many stakes set up as there are prisoners to be burnt, with a good quantity of dry furze about them: the stakes of the profest, as the inquisitors call them, may be about four yards high, and have a small board whereon the prisoner is to be seated, within half a yard of their top; the negative and relapsed being first strangled and burnt; the profest go up a ladder betwixt the two jesuits which have attended them all day; and when they are come even with the forementioned board, they turn about to the people, and the jesuits spend near a quarter of an hour in exhorting the profest to be reconciled to the church of Rome; which if the profest refuse to be, the jesuits come down, and the executioner ascends, and having turned the profest off the ladder upon the seat, and chained their bodies close to the stake, he leaves them, and the jesuits go up to them a second time, to renew their exhortation to them,

and at parting tell them, "That they leave them to the devil, who is standing at their elbow to receive their souls, and carry them with him into the flames of hell-fire, so soon as they are out of their bodies!" Upon this a great shout is raised, and as soon as the jesuits are off the ladders, the cry is, "Let the dogs' beards, let the dogs' beards be made;" which is done by thrusting flaming furzes fastened to a long pole against their faces; and this inhumanity is commonly continued until their faces are burnt to a coal, and is always accompanied with such loud acclamations of joy as are not to be heard upon any other occasion; a bull feast, or a farce, being dull entertainments to the using of a profest heretic thus inhumanly.

The profest's beards having been thus made, as they call it in jollity, fire is set to the furzes which are at the bottom of the stake, and above which the profest are chained so high, that the top of the flame seldom reacheth higher than the seat they sit upon: and if there happen to be a wind, and to which that place is much exposed, it seldom reacheth so high as their knees: so that though if there be a calm, the profest are commonly dead in about half an hour after the furze is set on fire; yet if the weather prove windy, they are not after that, dead in an hour and a half, or two hours, and so are really roasted, and not burnt to death; but though out of hell there

cannot possibly be a more lamentable spectacle than this, being joined with the sufferer's, so long as they are able to speak, crying out, *Misericordia por amor de Dios*, mercy for the love of God; yet it is beheld by people of both sexes, and of all ages, with such transports of joy and satisfaction, as are not on any other occasion to be met with.

When Mr. Wilcox (afterwards bishop of Rochester) was minister to the English factory at Lisbon, he wrote the following Letter to Dr. Gilbert Burnet, dated Lisbon, Jan. 15, 1706, which corroborates the account given by Dr. Geddes, Limborch, and others.

"My Lord,

"In obedience to your lordship's commands, of the 10th ult. I have here sent all that was printed concerning the last Auto da Fé. I saw the whole process, which was agreeable to what is published by Limborch and others upon that subject. Of the five persons condemned, there were but four burnt; Antonio Tavanes, by an unusual reprieve, being saved after the procession. Heytor Dias, and Maria Pinteyra, were burnt alive, and the other two first strangled. The execution was very cruel. The woman was alive in the flames half an hour, and the man above an hour. The present king and his brothers were seated at a window so near, as to be addressed to a considerable time, in very moving terms, by the man as he was burning. But though the favor he begged was only a few more faggots, yet he was not able to obtain it. Those which are burnt alive here, are seated on a bench twelve feet high, fastened to a pole, and above six feet higher than the faggots. The wind being a little fresh, the man's

hinder parts were perfectly wasted; and as he turned himself, his ribs opened before he left speaking, the fire being recruited as it wasted, to keep him just in the same degree of heat. But all his entreaties could not procure him a larger allowance of wood to shorten his misery and despatch him."

The first that suffered martyrdom in Spain for being a protestant, was Mr. Nicholas Burton, an English factor, who was burnt at Seville, in the reign of Queen Mary of England; Mr. Burton's goods and notes having been all seized when he was apprehended, the merchants of London, to whom those goods and notes belonged, sent one Mr. Frampton to recover them, and dispose of them; but the inquisitors, after having baffled Mr. Frampton for some months with frivolous pretences, put a full stop to his negotiation, by imprisoning him on suspicion of heresy.*

* At Seville, in Spain, A. D. 1559, eighteen persons were burnt, among whom were six women; and the year following, fifteen, among whom were four women;—a great number of others were condemned to perpetual imprisonment; to whipping; sent for years to the gallies; and sentenced to divers other punishments, disgraceful and cruel! Succeeding years produced a multitude of victims who shared the same fate from the hands of these blood-thirsty bigots. For a list of these sufferers in the cause of religion and truth, the reader is referred to a table given by Gonsalvius, at the end of his History of the Discovery of the Inquisition, and to Dr. Geddes' Tracts, 1st vol.—Gonsalvius' list relates to Seville, and Dr. G.'s to Lisbon—two places only out of many where the like atrocities were committed. How suitable is the language of srcipture, which describes this ungodly church as drunken with the blood of the saints and martyrs!

CHAP. VII.

Of the Crimes cognizable by the Inquisition.

THE motto of the inquisition is, *Justice and Mercy.* From the foregoing account, therefore, of the dreadful punishments awarded against, and inflicted on the prisoners, the reader expects to hear that they were sinners of no common magnitude; guilty, if possible, of greater enormities than those enumerated in the first chapter of Paul's epistle to the Romans, or in the black list of crimes mentioned, 1 Tim. i. 9, 10. No; they were neither robbers, nor murderers—in a word, they were *Heretics.* Heresy, in the opinion of bigots, is the most damning crime of which a man can be guilty. For the discovery and extirpation of heresy, the inquisition was professedly established. The inquisitors are called inquisitors of heretical pravity.

In the orthodox church of Rome, and, (it may with too much truth be added,) in other churches, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Dissenting, heresy is a departure from the commonly received opinions of the party established by law, or otherwise. Wherever priests, or images of priests, exist, we may expect to hear of heresy and of heretics.

Heretics are classed by the inquisition as follows: open and concealed heretics;—suspected—negative and affirmative—penitent and impenitent—arch-heretics—believers in heretics—receivers, defenders, and favorers of heretics, All of these are subject to the judgment of the inquisition and punished accordingly. There are other crimes, cognizable by common courts, yet subject to the inquisition, on account of suspicion of heresy being attached to the perpetrators, Thus the net is woven so close that it is hardly posssible for any individual to escape. The first punishment ordained against heretics is excommunication. The subject thereof is cast out of the pale of the church and denied the protection and aids of humanity. By a solemn anathema the victim is delivered over to the devil, cursed in this world, and, as far as priests can effect it, in the world to come. The anathema is couched in the most dreadful terms language can afford; descending to the most minute particulars—cursing the victim from the crown of the head to the soles of his feet—his meat and drink—his goods and chattels—his fields—his cattle—and every one that takes part with him, or affords him the least assistance;—and concluding thus: "Let him be excommunicated and accurst by the authority of the omnipotent God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and of St. Peter, and all the saints, and

separated from the society of christians, and from the doors of our Holy Mother Church, where there is remission of sins, and let him be *anathema maranatha*, to the end of the world, with the devils in hell. So let it be;—once, twice, thrice, Amen.*

This is extended even to the posterity of heretics, to those of the second generation by the father's side, and to the first by the mother's. All heretics are refused christian burial; being too abominable to be put into holy ground.

The matter does not rest here:—this is followed up by a confiscation of property, which helps to replenish the coffers of these holy fathers, whose hearts are, doubtless, where their treasure is. The confiscation of effects is so rigidly enforced, that if a person has previously alienated his property, the contract is declared null, and the act a fraud; the persons in whose favor the alienation has been made, is obliged to deliver up the effects, upon pain of excommunication, and all its consequences.

Sometimes a whole community has been put under the ecclesiastical ban, and a nation cursed for the conduct of an individual in power. Strange as this may seem to us, whole nations have been terrified by the magic wand of these spiritual

* Limborch's History of the Inquisition.—Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Low Countries.

sorcerors, who arrogate to themselves the power of binding and loosing, in heaven, earth ,and hell.

Those who read prohibited books, render themselves suspected of heresy, and as such, are liable to be called to a severe account by the inquisition, Pope Pius V. by a bull, excommunicated all who should knowingly read, keep in their houses, print, &c. any prohibited books, without the authority of the apostolic see. Persons importing any heretical books into catholic countries are liable to be whipped, or banished according to the pleasure of the lords inquisitors. Persons suspected of keeping or reading heretical books may be put to the torture to discover the truth. Persons who may even wrap up goods they sell in the leaves of prohibited books, are in danger of excommunication. Should parts of books be declared free from heresy, yet it is dangerous to read even those parts. Nor is it even allowed to read any books published by a heretical writer or heretical printer, although those very books may not contain any thing which holy church would deem heretical. By such prohibitions, it is not surprising that whole nations should be rendered completely ignorant and superstitious. The stream of knowledge is cut off from the people.

"Imagine to yourself," says the author of a letter on the mischievous influence of the Inquisition

in Spain, published 1811, * "a young man beginning his studies in Spain, and who, after having spent some years at the university, either from a natural disposition, or from the insinuations of some enlightened man, begins to perceive that all his labor is in vain, and that he must seek for instruction elsewhere than in the schools. Although these necessarily occupy his time, the thirst for knowledge gives him strength, and he seeks for books to satiate it. Oh! history—yes: history is indispensable—but where shall he study it? Essays on history he dares not in conscience read,—the holy inquisition has prohibited them all, and there is an excommunication against those who should possess them. Millot, Condillac, Voltaire—it is needless to repeat the list. In Spain, no elementary works of this description have been written; they must be sought in a language not easily understood, and all foreign writers stumble upon the usurpations and the children of the popes.—The inquisition prefers that young men should not know history. Even ecclesiastical history is a dangerous business, for Fleury is suspicious: his dissertations are prohibited: Racine! even those who possess a licence are not allowed to read him: and with respect to Moshiem, he has been declared to

* pp. 17, 18, 19.

distil poison. Locke is prohibited as well as every book to be found in Spain which follows his traces. The lists of prohibitions do not omit a single author who has treated of laws and politics; and from the crafty Machiavel to the modest Filangieri, they are all alike under the blackest anathema. If you wish to study laws, you may read the *Nueva Recopilacion,** *and the Febrero.*"†

The same writer says, "the expurgatory list is an index of all the excellent books that have ever appeared in the republic of letters, including even (till very lately) the bible." To despise the prohibition is to risk the danger of excommunication, which can only be removed by the party delivering up his books, accusing the friend through whose means he procured them, and betraying the confidence placed in him. If he continue his studies it must be with great danger, and great caution, "a perpetual vigilance is necessary. It is necessary to depend on the prudence, on the firmness of many others; and neither prudence nor vigilance can ensure you against certain accidents. It has not been only on one occasion, that either on a suspicious or unseasonable visit from some officer of the holy office, or on some sort of alarm, I have had to remove part

* New Abridgement: an undigested compilation of the Laws of Spain.
† Febrero. A sort of Attorney's Guide.

of my books, and to call upon my friends to divide the rest of them in their respective houses; for not only in servants, in one's very relations, one can have no confidence in these matters.—Who can help being enraged at seeing an ignorant minister of the tribunal walk in, and demand, in the most despotic tone, that you should open your library to him, to see him noting down the books you have collected with so much trouble and expense, and carry them to rot in heaps in the halls of the inquisition, with a thousand others which have shared the same fate. I have seen ten or twelve copies of the large edition of the French Encyclopedia, lying amidst an infinite number of other expensive works, in the inquisition at Seville. But it is not confined to this; the name of the guilty person remains suspended in the tribunal; he is for ever to be looked upon as suspicious; and besides the humiliation of enduring a severe reprimand, the wretch who has met with this misfortune must be in continual apprehension and dread, lest one of those secret causes should be pending against him, which end, perhaps, after six or eight years, in confinement. Are these trifling evils? even if they were, who, that has blood in his veins, can consider as a trifling evil, even a breath proceeding from such arbitrary injustice and tyranny?" *

* Letter on the Spanish Inquisition.

With the re-establishment of popery on the continent, has revived the dread of discussion, and investigation. To keep the key of knowledge from the people has ever been the trick of the priests;—to preserve the sanctity of religion is the ostensible,—to maintain a system of delusion and the emoluments arising from it—the real object. At Nice, the clergy have demanded that an index should be published by authority of books to be read by the inhabitants. At Rome and throughout the pope's states, the booksellers are required to give an account of their stock of books on hand.—The dread of political and religious heresy is so great that we need not be surprised if we soon hear, "that no man may buy or sell (books) save he that hath the mark of the beast." *

* By the public journals we are informed of these proceedings.—NICE, *April* 12, 1816. The Curés of this place have demanded that an index should be published by authority of books to be read by the inhabitants. This demand is made on the ground of the dangerous tendency of the French principles of politics and philosophy which have spread amongst all classes.

ROME, *July* 24, 1816.—His eminence cardinal Fontana, has notified to all booksellers throughout the states of his holiness that they are to return an account of their stock of books on hand.

Political writings, journals, and romances, are severely prohibited, because it cannot but be known that this branch of

Polygamy is another crime which the inquisition notices and punishes, but principally because the guilty persons incur the suspicion of heresy, and unless they abjure as heretics, may be condemned to the gallies.

Those who celebrate mass and administer the sacraments, not being priests, are vehemently suspected of heresy, and must abjure as heretics, and then be delivered over to the secular arm to be punished with death.

A. D. 1392, Sept. 30, one James, of the order of minor friars, in the duchy of Utretcht, was condemned to be burnt with fire in a cauldron, for having celebrated the sacraments, not being in priest's orders; but was at last *graciously* taken out and beheaded on the spot.

A certain countryman at Thoulouse, called Rolland, believed that he had the power from the Lord, to celebrate mass, which he did secretly in his own house daily; for this he was imprisoned in the inquisition, and there he was prevailed on to recant his error. During his imprisonment he relapsed and repeated the ceremony. And before he was punished as a relapse he died in prison, without a confession of his crime, and without

literature has been very fatal to religion and authority, by bringing into discussion the sacred dogmas of our belief, the ceremonies of worship, and the acts of the sovereign authority.

taking the eucharist from the hand of a priest.—The inquisitors ordered his body to be taken up and burnt at the next act of faith.*

Blasphemy is another of the crimes punishable by the holy office. This consists not only in a person's denying the existence of Deity, or in reviling his character and attributes; but his denying the cross or chrism he received in his forehead at his baptism. Pegna thinks those are to be reckoned among the greatest blasphemies which are uttered against the "*most holy Mary, Virgin mother of God.*" Next to this is the blasphemy against the holy fraternity of the priesthood. Gonsalvius relates, that a certain person having a quarrel with a priest in Spain, said, in the hearing of others, that "he could not believe that God would come into the hands of so profligate an adulterer." For thus blaspheming a priest, he was fined by the vicar of the ordinary, and afterwards imprisoned a year in the inquisition; brought out in an act of faith, without cloke or hat, bearing a wax candle, his tongue gagged with a wooden gag, and being forced to abjure as lightly suspected, he was again fined, and set at liberty.

Fortune-tellers, astrologers, witches, &c. are regarded as a sort of heretics, and severely pu-

* Limborch, vol. 2, p. 74.

nished. Of these the inquisitors, within the space of 150 years, burnt 30,000.

The jews are very cruelly treated by the inquisition; which although not designed to compel them to turn christians, is introduced against those who, having professed christianity, relapse into judaism; or if they speak heretical blasphemies, or pervert a christian from the faith, or hinder infidels from being converted, &c.—When suspected, they are liable to the torture, imprisonment, whipping, and burning.

In the 6th council of Toledo, the following decree was published against the jews :—

"We the holy council, with the consent of the most christian prince and his nobles, and most illustrious persons, publish this sentence, pleasing to God, that whosoever shall enjoy the kingdom for time to come, shall not ascend the royal throne, before he hath promised upon the holy sacraments, that he will suffer no persons but catholics to dwell in his kingdom.—And if any one after his accession to the kingdom, shall rashly violate this promise, let him be *Anathema Maranatha* before the eternal God, and become fuel for the everlasting fire, and all who agree with him !!" *

In Portugal the crime against nature is, also, cognizable by the tribunal of the holy inquisition, and is punishable with death, and confiscation of effects. But if such a one dies a natural death his effects are not confiscated although

* Limborch, vol. 2, p. 95.

he had been convicted, or confessed, when he was alive. To sinners of this class a church is a city of refuge, to which they may flee and be safe, nor can they be dragged from it.

Thus it appears that the most wicked and abominable among men, are treated with more lenity, than those who are stigmatized as heretics. The man who fears God, and works righteousness, because he will not bow his will and conscience to these lords over God's heritage, is accused of crimes, in comparison of which all other crimes are in the eyes of the holy inquisitors a species of virtue—is reviled—tortured—tormented—burnt in this world—and *piously* consigned to eternal burnings in the next! O superstition this is thy doing! This is the consequence of departing from the pure and simple precepts of the amiable, the meek, and the lowly Jesus, who, when his disciples in a moment of undue zeal against the Samaritans, who refused to receive him into one of their villages, said, "shall we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them?" replied, "ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them."

CHAP. VIII

Of the Abolition of the Inquisition in Spain by the French Emperor—its restoration by Ferdinand VII. The state of the Inquisition in Goa, in the beginning of the XIX Century—its Abolition, &c. &c.

Prior to the year 1784, the inquisition had boldly incroached upon the prerogative of the sovereign; and in order to get rid of this interference Charles III. in that year issued a decree which subjected the privileges of the holy office to the cognizance of the monarch. From this time, no nobleman, or minister, and indeed no man holding any office civil or military, was to be liable to be brought before that court, if the royal sanction were not previously obtained. In the following reign, the inquisition was kept under strict control by the prince of peace, so that it had become little more than a mere office of policy to pursue political heretics at the time that Buonaparte invaded Spain.

The diffusion of knowledge throughout Europe had diminished the barbarous rigor exercised by this tribunal at the early periods of its establishment. And considering the fatal effects of super-

stition on the mind of the populace of that country, and the total ignorance of every thing like real christianity, it was not to be expected that many victims would be found to glut the maw of this modern Moloch. "The fact is," says the Spaniard before quoted, "that whatever disposition this tribunal might have to burn, there were very few who had any to undergo such an operation; and that he who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the holy office, if he could not deny his heresy, was in the greatest hurry to abjure it."

The same writer gives an account of an auto da fé, about the year 1781, in which a female heretic was burnt at the stake. The writer was an eye-witness, and though then a child, he says, "I have still (in 1811) the recollection of the last victim who perished in the flames of the inquisition at Seville. I cannot exactly state the time, but by one more or less, it is thirty years since this barbarous act was committed—I, at that time very little, saw the pile, and there is not a native of Seville, who either did not see, or has not heard from his parents a particular description of it."

The subject was an unhappy woman, the daughter of poor, but respectable parents. She had been blind from her earliest infancy, and her face greatly deformed by the small pox. This

poor blind and deformed girl, accustomed to go only to church, and to have no intercourse but with her confessors, must have soon learnt that devotion was the sole means of subsistence and of pleasure of which her circumstances did not deny her. This class of religious are called in Spain *Beatas*, (devotees.)

She was accused of heresy to the inquisition, and confined in the prisons of the holy office for three or four years, during which time there was scarce a graduate, who did not attempt the conversion of the heretic, but in vain. The tribunal declared her an obstinate heretic, and appointed a time for the auto da fé. Almost the whole population of Seville went to be spectators of this act. It lasted from the early part of the morning until night. The criminal was conducted, gagged and mounted on an ass, in the midst of divines, who endeavored to subdue her obstinacy by new arguments, and vie with the multitude in stunning her with repeated shouts of "long live the faith." Her cause was read from the pulpit in the principal church of the Dominicans, intermixed with obscenities expressed in the grossest terms. Nothing now remained but to deliver her up to the secular judge that she might be punished with death. A retraction previous to this act, might have saved her life, but the unfortunate fanatic persisted in not

making it, and was delivered up. The approaching punishment, and depression of spirits, occasioned by the fatigues of the day, made her desist from her obstinacy when it was too late. She was converted to the satisfaction of the monks who were present; but the punishment could not even be deferred. She alone obtained as a favor to be burned after death; and was strangled in the evening amidst the tears of all devout souls, who admired the pious artifice by which this opportunity was taken of sending her to heaven, to prevent her falling again into heresy." *

The French having invaded Spain, and effected a revolution in the government, the emperor Napoleon abolished the inquisition, declaring, that " Priests may guide the minds of men, but must exercise no temporal, or corporeal jurisdiction over the citizens!"

The following is a copy of the decree by which a tribunal was abolished that had long been the scourge of virtue, integrity, and religion;—the engine of priestly craft, and of priestly cruelty.

In our Imperial Camp at Madrid, Dec. 4, 1809.

NAPOLEON, EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

We have decreed and do decree as follows:—

ART. 1. The tribunal of the inquisition is abolished as contrary to the civil sovereignty and authority.

* Spaniard Letter on the Inquisition, pp. 13, 14.

ART. II. The property belonging to the inquisition shall be put under sequestration, and shall be united to the domain of Spain, to serve as a guarantee for the *vales* and for all other acts of the public debt.

Spain did not long remain free from this dread tribunal. Ferdinand VII. who had been some years a captive in a foreign land, was at last, by means of the British arms, restored to his throne. On the re-assumption of power his first acts were those of cold blooded tyranny, some of the best and bravest among the Spaniards, men who had bled to obtain the freedom of their country, and the restoration of Ferdinand, were condemned by him to become the inmates of loathsome dungeons ;—and in order to effect the purposes of his tyranny and accomplish the designs of the priesthood, to whom he appears to be entirely devoted, and by whom he is governed; he published a decree for the restoration of the holy office.—Amongst other reasons for the re-establishment of this court, are assigned the causes which have operated to the injury of religion in Spain, and principally, " the sojournment of foreign troops of different sects, *almost all infected with sentiments of hatred against our religion.*" It is greatly to be lamented that British valor and British treasure shouldhave been employed, and the blood of thousands shed, to effect the restoration of

one who has proved himself utterly unworthy of even the common respect of mankind. The following is a copy of

THE DECREE

OF FERDINAND THE SEVENTH,

For the re-establishment of the Inquisition in Spain, Dated Madrid, July the 21st, 1814.

The glorious title of *Catholic*, which distinguishes us from among all other christian princes, is owing to the perseverance of the kings of Spain, who would never tolerate in their states any other religion than the catholic, apostolic, and Roman. This title imposes upon me the duty to render myself worthy of it by all the means which heaven has placed in my power. The late troubles, and the war which has desolated during six years every province in the kingdom; the long abode which has been made in Spain by troops of different sects, almost all of whom were infected with sentiments of hatred towards our religion; the disorder which has been the infallible result of this; and the inattention with which the affairs of our holy religion have been treated during this unfortunate period; all these circumstances united have laid the field open to wicked persons, who have never experienced any check; dangerous opinions have been introduced, and have taken root in our states by the same means as they are spread in other countries. Wishing then to remedy so grievous an evil, and to preserve among my subjects the holy religion of Jesus Christ, which they have always revered, and in which they have lived and always wish to live, either on account of the personal obligation of having no other imposed on the princes who reign over them by the fundamental laws, which I have promised and sworn to observe, or because this religion is the most certain means of sparing my people from intestine dissentions, and insuring to them that tranquility in which they

stand in need,—I have judged it necessary, under the present circumstances, that the tribunal of the holy office should resume its jurisdiction. Upon this subject, learned and virtuous prelates, many respectable corporations and grave personages, ecclesiastics and seculars, have represented to me that Spain is indebted to this tribunal for the good fortune of not having fallen, in the 16th century, into errors which have caused so many misfortuues among other nations; and that on the contrary, at that period, the sciences were here cultivated with distinction, and Spain produced a multitude of great men distinguished by their knowledge and their piety. It has further been represented to me, that the oppressor of Europe has not neglected to employ, as an efficacious method of introducing the corruption and discord which supported so well his projects, the suppression of this tribunal, under the vain pretext that it could exist no longer in consequence of the enlightened state of the present age, and that the pretended cortes, general and extraordinary, under the same pretext, and under the favor of the constitution, which they tumultuously decreed, abolished also the holy office, to the regret of the whole nation. For these causes, I have been earnestly supplicated to re-establish it in the exercise of its functions; and yielding to considerations so just, and to the wish manifested by my people, whose zeal for the religion of our ancestors has anticipated my orders, by hastening to recal spontaneously the subaltern inquisitors of some provinces. I have, therefore, resolved, that from this moment, the supreme council of the inquisition, and the other tribunals of the holy office, shall resume their authorities conformable to the concessions which have been made to them by the sovereign pontiffs, at the instance of my august predecessors, and by the prelates of the dioceses, and by the kings who have assured to them the full exercise thereof, observing in this double jurisdiction, ecclesiastical and civil, the ordonnances which were in force

n the year 1808, and the laws which have, on different occasions, been made for obviating certain abuses. But, as independent of these ancient laws, it may be proper to add new ones on this subject, and my intention being to perfect that establishment in such manner as may render it eminently useful to my subjects, it is my desire that, as soon as the said supreme council of the inquisition shall be assembled, two of the members who compose it, joined to two of the members of the council of Castile, both appointed by me, shall examine the forms and modes of proceeding of the holy office, in its processes, and with respect to the censure and prohibition of books; and if they find that the interests of my subjects, or the claims of sound justice, require any reform or change, they will make a report to me, supported by their observations, in order that I may take the necessary resolutions.

I, THE KING.

This decree is countersigned by his excellency, Don Pedro Macanaz, whose grandfather passed the greater part of his life in prison, at the commencement of the last century, and died in exile, for having written against the inquisition!!!

The Pope's Nuncio, who had been banished the kingdom for his resistance to the abolition of the inquisition, was, as might be expected, recalled, and admitted to the enjoyment of the highest degree of court favor.

The policy of strengthening the power of the crown by that of the church was, in the mean time pursued without intermission. By a royal decree, the tribunal of the Rota of the apostolical nuncio was installed, August 22, 1814, on which

occasion its members, by the mouth of the dean of the tribunal, made a very loyal address to the king. Enumerating the advantages which will accrue from the re-establishment of this court, they observe, that " concord between the priesthood and the government being thus secured, the basis of the tranquility and safety of the state can no longer be shaken; for the philosophers of the day have obstinately sought to disturb that concord, only the better to succeed in overthrowing successively the altar and the throne."

The inquisition being thus restored to the state in which it was before its abolition by the French, the same laws exist—the inquisitors have regained the power; and, from the spirit of intolerance and cruelty manifested by the present government of Spain, it is not to be expected that they will exercise that power with less rigor.—The times may prevent their causing their victims to expire in the flames: yet who can tell the secret acts of cruelty that may be inflicted within the walls of that mansion of misery. The inquisitors can keep their prisoners as long as they choose, and dispose of them as they please;—the veil of secrecy may be thrown over the foulest deeds, and midnight assassinations may be substituted for public acts of faith.

Some reform in the tribunals of the inquisition has been set on foot in the present year, (1816,)

which, it is said, will extend to all the countries where this institution exists. In the brief addressed by his holiness to the congregation charged with the labor, his holiness says, " Do not forget that the way to render religion powerful in all states is to show her divine and bringing to mankind only consolation and benefits; the precepts of our divine master, love each other, ought to be the law of the universe." All legal proceedings in religious matters shall be subjected to the forms of proceeding in civil and criminal matters: accusation, denunciation and inquisition, in matters of faith, cannot serve to begin a legal proceeding; it cannot be founded except in facts. Persons under a judicial sentence, the accomplices of the accused persons declared infamous by a court of justice, cannot be heard as witnesses. All persons, of whatever theological communion they may be, shall be admitted if they are called in exculpation by the accused.—The relations and servants are excluded from being heard either for or against the accused. The proceedings shall be public, and no witnesses shall ever be allowed to adduce hearsay evidence. Cardinal Fontana has been the principal agent in this business. We would fain indulge the hope that a reform in this court will soon be followed by its total abolition, in all places where it now exists.

The following particulars relative to the inquisition at Goa, as it existed in 1808, are extracted from Dr. Buchanan's Christian Researches. The Dr. lodged in the house of one of the inquisitors.

At that period the inquisitors were much employed in the business of the holy office, the Dr's. host told him that he sat on the tribunal three or four days every week.

The Dr. took an opportunity to put Dellon's book on the inquisition at Goa, into the hands of the inquisitor, which he effected by placing it on the table before him, while himself was occupied in writing in his journal. In perusing this book, the holy father betrayed evident signs of uneasiness;—turned over the pages with rapidity, and when he came to a certain place exclaimed *Mendacium! Mendacium!** the Dr. requested that he would mark the passages which were not true, for further discussion; for he had other books on the subject—other books!" said the inquisitor, looking with an enquiring eye on those which lay on the table.

"Next morning after breakfast we resumed the subject of the inquisition. The inquisitor admitted that Dellon's descriptions of the dungeons, of the torture, of the mode of trial, and of the Auto da Fé were, in general, just; but he said the writer judged untruly of the motives of the inquisitors, and very uncharitably of the character of the Holy Church; and

* A Falsehood! A Falsehood!

I admitted that, under the pressure of his peculiar suffering, this might possibly be the case. The inquisitor was now anxious to know to what extent Dellon's book had been circulated in Europe. I told him that Picart had published to the world extracts from it, in his celebrated work called 'Religious Ceremonies,' together with plates of the system of torture and burnings at the Auto da Fé. I added that it was now generally believed in Europe, that these enormities no longer existed, and that the inquisition itself had been totally suppressed; but that I was concerned to find that this was not the case. He now began a grave narration to show that the inquisition had undergone a change in some respects, and that its terrors were mitigated.

'I had already discovered, from written or printed documents, that the inquisition of Goa was suppressed by Royal Edict in the year 1775, and established again in 1779, subject to certain restrictions, the chief of which are the two following, viz. 'That a greater number of witnesses should be required to convict a criminal than were before necessary, and, 'that the Auto da Fé should not be held publicly as before; but that the sentences of the tribunal should be executed privately, within the walls of the inquisition.'

'The chief argument of the inquisitor to prove the melioration of the inquisition, was the superior *humanity* of the inquisitors. I remarked, that I did not doubt the humanity of the existing officers; but what availed humanity in an inquisitor? He must pronounce sentence according to the laws of the tribunal, which are notorious enough; and a *relapsed heretic* must be burned in the flames, or confined for life in a dungeon, whether the inquisitor be humane or not. 'But if,' said I, 'you would satisfy my mind completely on this subject, show me the inquisition.' He said it was not permitted to any person to see the inquisition. I observed that mine might be considered as a peculiar case; that the character of

the inquisition, and the expediency of its longer continuance had been called in question; that I had myself written on the civilization of India, and might possibly publish something more on that subject, and that it could not be expected that I should pass over the inquisition without notice, knowing what I did of its proceedings; at the same time, I should not wish to state a single fact without his authority, or at least his admission of its truth. I added, that he himself had been pleased to communicate with me very fully on the subject, and that in all our discussions we had both been actuated, I hoped, by a good purpose. The countenance of the inquisitor evidently altered on receiving this intimation, nor did it ever after wholly regain its wonted frankness and placidity; after some hesitation, however, he said he would take me with him to the inquisition the next day.'

The next morning the Dr. accompanied the inquisitor to the holy office. "He led me first to the great hall of the inquisition. We were met at the door by a number of well-dressed persons, who, I afterwards understood, were the familiars, and attendants of the holy office- They bowed very low to the inquisitor, and looked with surprise at me. The great hall is the place in which the prisoners are marshalled for the procession of the Auto da Fé. At the procession described by Dellon, in which he himself walked barefoot, clothed with the painted garment, there were upwards of one hundred and fifty prisoners. I traversed this hall for some time, with a slow step, reflecting on its former scenes, the inquisitor walking by my side in silence. I thought of the fate of the multitude of my fellow-creatures who had passed through this place, condemned by a tribunal of their fellow sinners, their bodies devoted to the flames, and their souls to perdition. And I could not help saying to him, "would not the Holy Church wish, in her mercy, to have those souls back again, that she might allow them a little further probation?" The inquisitor an-

swered me nothing, but beckoned me to go with him to a door at the end of the hall. By this door he conducted me to some small rooms, and thence to the spacious apartments of the chief inquisitor. Having surveyed these, he brought me back again to the great hall; and I thought he seemed now desirous that I should depart. 'Now, Father,' said I, 'lead me to the dungeons below; I want to see the captives.'—'No,' said he, 'that cannot be.' I now began to suspect that it had been in the mind of the inquisitor, from the beginning, to show me only a certain part of the inquisition, in the hope of satisfying my inquiries in a general way. I urged him with earnestness, but he steadily resisted, and seemed to be offended, or rather agitated, by my importunity. I intimated to him plainly, that the only way to do justice to his own assertions and arguments, regarding the present state of the inquisition, was to show me the prisoners and the captives. I should then describe only what I saw; but now the subject was left in awful obscurity. "Lead me down," said I, 'to the inner building, and let me pass through the two hundred dungeons, ten feet square, described by your former captives. Let me count the number of your present captives, and converse with them. I want to see if there be any subjects of the British government, to whom we owe protection. I want to ask how long they have been here, how long it is since they beheld the light of the sun, and whether they ever expect to see it again. Show me the chamber of torture, and declare what modes of execution, or of punishment, are now practised within the walls of the inquisition, in lieu of the public Auto da Fé. If, after all that has passed, Father, you resist this reasonable request, I shall be justified in believing, that you are afraid of exposing the real state of the inquisition in India." To these observations the inquisitor made no reply, but seemed impatient that I should withdraw- "My good Father," said I "I am about to take my leave of you, and to thank you for your hospitable

attentions, (it had been before understood, that I should take my final leave at the door of the inquisition, after having seen the interior,) and I wish always to preserve on my mind a favorable sentiment of your kindness and candor. You cannot, you say, show me the captives and the dungeons; be pleased, then, merely to answer this question; for I shall believe your word:—How many prisoners are there now below in the cells of the inquisition? The inquisitor replied, "that is a question which I cannot answer." On his pronouncing these words, I retired hastily towards the door and wished him farewell.

"From the inquisition I went to the place of burning in the *Campo Santa Lazaro*, on the river side, where the victims were brought to the stake at the Auto da Fé. It is close to the palace, that the vice-roy and his court may witness the execution; for it has ever been the policy of the inquisition to make these spiritual executions appear to be the executions of the state. An old priest accompanied me who pointed out the place and described the scene. As I passed over this melancholy plain, I thought on the difference between the pure and benign doctrine, which was first preached to India in the apostolic age, and that bloody code, which, after a long night of darkness, was announced to it under the same name! I was not satisfied with what I had seen or said at the inquisition, and I determined to go back again. The inquisitors were now sitting on the tribunal, and I had some excuse for returning; for I was to receive from the chief inquisitor, a letter which he said he would give me, before I left the place, for the British resident in Travancore, being an answer to a letter from that officer.

"When I arrived at the inquisition, and had ascended the outer stairs, the door-keepers surveyed me doubtingly, but suffered me to pass, supposing that I had returned by permission and appointment of the inquisitor. I entered the great

hall, and went up directly towards the tribunal of the inquisition, described by Dellon, in which is the lofty crucifix. I sat down on a form, and wrote some notes; which I desired one of the attendants to carry in my name to the inquisitor. As I walked up the hall, I saw a poor woman sitting by herself, on a bench by the wall, apparently in a disconsolate state of mind. She clasped her hands as I passed, and gave me a look expressive of her distress. This sight chilled my spirits. The familiars told me she was waiting there to be called up before the tribunal of the inquisition. While I was asking questions concerning her crime, the second inquisitor came out in evident trepidation, and was about to complain of the intrusion; when I informed him I had come back for the letter from the chief inquisitor. He said it should be sent after me to Goa; and he conducted me with a quick step towards the door. As we passed the poor woman I pointed to her, and said to him with some emphasis, "behold, Father, another victim of the holy inquisition!" he answered nothing. When we arrived at the head of the great stairs, he bowed, and I took my last leave of the inquisitor, without uttering a word."

July 1813 this wicked institution was abolished, and its buildings laid open to public curiosity. May the time speedily come, when not only on the ruins of the inquisition in Goa, but on the ruins of every persecuting institution throughout the world, the foot of the passenger may tread, and the shouts of exultation and praise ascend to him who "breaketh the staff of the wicked, and the sceptre of evil rulers."

In Spanish America the inquisition still exists. The republican general Morellos was made pri-

soner by the royalists, and carried before the tribunal of the inquisition at Mexico, by which he was condemned as a *heretic*, *deist*, *atheist*, and *materialist*, and sentenced to death by the archbishop, and given up to the military tribunal, who also condemned him to die, and he was accordingly executed on the 22nd Dec. 1815.

"Every one must be sensible," says Dr. Campbell, "that there is something in the constitution of this tribunal, so monstrously unjust, so exorbitantly cruel, that it is matter of astonishment, that in any country, the people, as well as the secular powers, would not have encountered any danger, than have submitted to have received it."

The hatred and detestation of the court of inquisition, are not engrossed by protestants, a great portion of the catholics hold it in equal abhorrence;—how they are satisfied to continue in a church perpetrating such abominable murders, must be left to themselves—to their own master they must stand or fall. For my own part, rather than live under the jurisdiction of such a court, as that of the inquisition, I would dwell with the Arabs of the desert, take up my abode with the savage tribes of American Indians, or sojourn with the shaggy tenants of the forest, whose ferocity is far inferior to that which has been manifested by lords inquisitors!!

CHAP. IX.

A Sketch of the Early History and Persecutions of the Vaudois or Waldenses.—Recent Persecutions, &c. &c.

THESE people are distinguished in history by different names, arising from some particular circumstances relating to them.

It is not my intention to enter particularly upon the etymology of their different appellations—They were called Vaudois—Valdenses—Waldenses—Caldenses—from their being the inhabitants of vallies.

Some writers have supposed that Peter Waldo was the founder of this people, and that they were called Waldenses from him—Waldo began to preach against the Romish church about the year 1159 or 1160; but the Vaudois produce in their own language, acts and monuments of affairs relating to the reformation done in the year 1100, and others in 1120, a considerable period before Waldo began his public life.

The Vaudois pretended to derive their doctrines from the preaching of the apostles, and particularly of Paul, who they supposed preached in the vallies of Piedmont on his journey from

Rome to Spain. They likewise asserted, that the doctrines they received from the apostles had been preserved among them uncorrupted, and free from human inventions. From a perusal of the profession of faith which they published, one is led to entertain doubts on this head. One thing appears evident, that whatever corruption of christian doctrines might have crept in amongst them, the grand errors of the Romish church had never been introduced,—they had no images—invocation of saints—prayers for the dead—or belief in purgatory. They made the scriptures their guide, as far as they understood them; and never admitted any other head of the church than Jesus, the high priest and prophet of their profession.—Their form of church government was conformable to that of the apostles;—they had pastors, elders, and deacons;—but no lord bishops—no idle shepherds, living upon the flock they were destined to feed.

Their manners were chaste and pure—This was acknowledged even by their enemies, Reinerius Saccho, who was one of the first inquisitors employed by Rome against them, says, "they live justly before the face of the world and are chaste." The president De Thou, commonly called Thuanus, says, "that the Vaudois observe the ten commandments of the law, which give the rules of living holily and piously, they

give no sort of encouragement to any kind of vice in their assemblies. They have in horror and detest all sorts of unlawful oaths, perjuries, quarrels, seditions, debaucheries, &c." And Claudius de Seissel, abp. of Turin, in a book he wrote against them in the year 1500, confesses, in formal terms, "that as to their life and manners, they live in the world without reproach, observing with all their power the commands of God."

Some of the Vaudois coming into the kingdom of Arragon in 1194 were banished that kingdom and all the dominions thereto belonging, by a decree of Ilfonso, as enemies to Christ, and public enemies to himself and his kingdom. In Flanders, in 1236 and the two following years they were cruelly persecuted by one Robert, a monk, who had been a Vaudois; this wicked ecclesiastic burnt or buried alive about 50 men and women in the space of two or three months.

The persecutors not content to burn them, invented another punishment more dreadful. They caused them to be flead down to the waist, and then to be fastened to a post in a place full of hornets, which tormented them night and day until they expired! *

The vallies of Piedmont appear to have been their common asylum and hiding-place, during

* Boxhorn, Hist. of the Low Countries. Brandt's Hist. Reform. in the Low Countries.

the persecution of the heathen Roman empire; as there is no account of the persecution of Nero, Domitian, or of any of the Pagan emperors reaching them. And into these vallies the followers of Waldo retired, from the persecutions they suffered in France and in Flanders. They remained in this retreat, in tolerable quiet until the year 1487, when Pope Innocent VIII. made a holy war against them in order to cut them off from the face of the earth. For though they had been cited before the inquisition in the time of former popes, they never appeared; and though excommunicated they were not terrified, nor did they suffer therefrom.

The crusade of Innocent, in the year 1487, obliged the Vaudois to take up arms in their own defence, and, though few in number, they contended against a mighty host of disciplined warriors, sent against them by the king of France, and the duke of Savoy. These wars continued with varied success for many years, in which the cruelties exercised upon these unoffending people, whenever they fell into their power, were of the most execrable kind. Every sort of treachery was used to get them into their power; and promises made to them in the sacred name of the great Creator of the universe, were broken, whenever the infamous end they had designed by them was answered. Thousands and tens of

thousands were massacred in the most inhuman manner, attended with acts of the most diabolical nature. Their women and maidens were forcibly made subservient to their brutal desires, and then butchered without mercy. This state of warfare was at last terminated by a treaty into which they entered with their persecutors:—they yielded up their arms upon the promise of a safe conduct to retire into Switzerland, this took place 1686.

The treatment of those who were imprisoned by the duke of Savoy, to the number of 10,000, was cruel in the extreme. The following account is given by Peter Boyer, one of their ministers, in his history of the Vaudois, which was dedicated to our king William III.

"It would be a hard matter," says this historian, "to represent the miseries and calamities these prisoners suffered during their captivity. They were dispersed, men, women, and children, in fourteen prisons or castles of the state of Piedmont, and they were more or less ill-treated according to the humors of those who had the command of the prisons; but it is certain that in every prison they were exposed to great inconveniences and miseries.

In their prisons they had nothing but bread and water, and of that not enough—the quality of their bread was exceedingly bad—and the water foul and stinking. They had nothing to

sleep on but the hard bricks, with which the floors were paved, and no straw allowed them. In these miserable places they were crowded almost to suffocation—filled with vermin, which eat into their very flesh. They were exposed to excessive heat in the summer, and to the extreme of cold in the winter, being allowed neither fire nor candle, nor any covering for themselves in the night, although the rooms where they slept had no glass in the windows, and were exposed to the mountains whose tops were covered with eternal snow.

This was the situation of the Vaudois when the duke of Savoy published his proclamation for their release, and for their retiring into Switzerland. Much artifice was used on this occasion by the agents of the duke, who represented to these poor creatures, the rigor of the season—the difficulty of the march—the cruelty of the soldiers, &c. this they did to cause them to change their religion.

The prisoners from the Mondovi were forced to begin their march at five o'clock in the evening of the same day that liberty was granted them to leave their native vallies. This distressed people, most of them sick and emaciated, were made to travel over snow and ice, four or five leages, without any rest, *one hundred and fifty*, sunk under their burdens and died, their brethren

being too weak to afford them any assistance. Others were obliged to march over the mountains in the midst of a terrible tempest, ninety-six of whom perished, being overwhelmed in the snow. Some merchants who afterwards passed over these mountains, saw the dead bodies extended on the snow;—the mothers having their children in their arms! Out of the 10,000, only 2,500 escaped; many of these were in such a miserable state, that when they came to the gates of Geneva they died, finding the end of their life in the beginning of their liberty—Others were so sick that they were expected to expire every moment, in the arms of those who had the charity to support them—Others through the extremity of cold had lost the use of their tongues—Some were scarcely able to proceed one step further—while others had lost the use of their hands and could not stretch them out to receive the charity that was offered them. The greater part of them were half naked, all bearing marks of the cruelties they had suffered. After they had reposed themselves at Geneva, and taken refreshment before they went into Switzerland, the company that first arrived, went to meet those that came after, to inform themselves of their relations of whom they had heard no news since their surrendering their native vallies. The father asked for his children, the children for their parents;

the husband sought the wife, and the wife the husband; and every one endeavored to hear something of their friends and relations, but in vain, for the greater part of them had died in prison. This was such a spectacle that the bystanders melted into tears, while these miserable people, oppressed with excessive grief had no power to weep, the fountains of their eyes had been dried by the greatness of their calamities.

Thus were the vallies of Piedmont dispossessed of their inhabitants, and thus was the torch of the gospel which shone for so many ages, extinguished—thus did treachery and perfidy triumph over the simplicity of this people.

After the Vaudois were driven from their vallies, the duke of Savoy and the council of propagation employed all the means in their power to fill them with foreigners, that those of the Vaudois, who through fear of death or imprisonment, had abjured their religion, might not assist the banished to return into their country. They transported most of them into the districts of Verceil, to inhabit there, contrary to the promise that had been given them. In short, the whole of the conduct of the ruling power towards this poor oppressed people, was marked by the greatest duplicity, fraud, and prevarication.

Notwithstanding all the machinations of their

enemies to prevent the return of the Vaudois to their native vallies, they effected it by prodigies of valor. And a discord taking place between the duke of Savoy, who had persecuted them so grieviously, and the king of France, they were established in their ancient situation. When tyrants disagree the people sometimes benefit by the quarrel. When a sovereign is taught by circumstances to feel his own weakness, and has an apprehension of danger from a sceptred brother, he condescends to seek the assistance of the people. The duke of Savoy to strengthen himself against the power of France, gave those who had returned their liberty, furnished them with arms, and invited others to return.

In the course of human affairs, monarchs are sometimes brought into circumstances which inform them of their dependence on the people; and by an over-ruling providence are constrained to sacrifice their narrow policy to the general good. The faith of princes is proverbial, and their affection for each other is something akin to that which is entertained by beasts of prey. These demigods trample on the rights of the people when they think themselves strong enough to do without them, but no sooner are their personal interests in danger, than they seek to make a common cause with those they have despised, persecuted, and trodden underfoot. It is happy

for mankind, that the union of tyrants is but a rope of sand.

The Vaudois, who returned to their vallies in 1696, recovered the possession of their country, and some remains of their property; but their limits were greatly contracted, and they were confined to the thirteen churches which exist at the present day.

The house of Savoy did not cease to impose shackles on the Vaudois, whom it affected in all its edicts to denominate heretics, and by which they were laid under various restrictions both painful and degrading.

During the persecution of the Vaudois, in the year 1655, Oliver Cromwell interested himself much in their favor. No sooner did the news reach him, than he arose "like a lion out of his place," and by the most affecting appeals to the protestant princes on the continent, he excited the commisseration of the whole christian world. For the relief of the sufferers he promoted a subscription in England, and gave £2000 from his own private purse! He wrote a letter to the duke of Savoy, which had the effect of suspending the persecution for a time. The duke's mother, in reply to his highness' letter, expressed her "wonder that the malice of men should ever proceed so far as to clothe such *paternal and tender chastisements of their most rebellious and inso-*

lent subjects in characters so black and deformed." —" She was persuaded when he came to be more particularly informed of the truth of all that had passed, he would be so satisfied with the duke's proceedings, that *he would not give the least countenance to his disobedient subjects.* However for his highness' sake, they would not only freely pardon their *rebellious subjects,* for the very *heinous crimes* which they had committed, but would also grant them such privileges or favors as would give the protector full proof of the great respect they entertained for his person and mediation."

A treaty was afterwards made, by which the Vaudois were placed under British protection. This treaty was ratified at different times, and the worship of these protestants, supported by English contributions down to the time on which the present Sardinian king was expelled from Piedmont. Regardless as the French revolutionary government was in many instances of church property, yet so great was the respect paid to the virtues and poverty of the Vaudois, that even that government not only endowed the protestant church of the Vaudois with a provision arising out of the revenues of the country, larger than the sum they had been in the habit of receiving from England, but they made that perpetual which was before precarious, and they also gave them perfect and complete civil equality.

When at length the French were obliged to give up Italy, and the king of Sardinia was restored among the other *legitimates*, he issued a proclamation, declaring as *null* every act which had taken place during his absence. By this general declaration, the Vaudois have been actually deprived of the revenues for the support of their religion, and as our minister has neglected to insert, in the new treaties, the old covenant in their favor, they are again subject to the fury of bigotry, and the rage of persecution.

Who could have thought that in the nineteenth century, those abominable edicts by which this persecuted people had been formerly harrassed, would have been carried into execution, but such is the case.

Victor Emanuel arrived at Turin on the twentieth of May, 1814, and on the twenty-first, he published a manifesto, by which he put in force all the edicts which his predecessors had issued.

The following is extracted from a sketch of the present state of the Vaudois, written by a person educated among them, dated Turin, January 20th, 1816.

" Immediately after the return of the king to his dominions, the Vaudois were deprived of all their employments, such as receiverships of the contributions, collectors of salt duties, secretaries of the communes, judges, &c. and their

young men of merit, who had served with honor in France, were refused permission to enter the army, with the declaration that no protestant officers would be received among the king's forces. About the beginning of May, 1794, the French had made themselves masters of the fort of Mirebone, situated at the extremity of the valley of Luserne, and the Vaudois were accused of having been concerned in the surrender, though there was not one of them in the fort. But the fanatical Piedmontese laid hold of this accusation as a pretence for planning a second St. Bartholomew, to be carried into execution in the communes of St. John and La Tour, on the 14th or 15th of May, 1794, by the murder of the old men, the women and the children who were left behind in the villages, while all the Vaudois who were able to bear arms were on the mountains, to oppose the invasion of the French troops. The venerable Curé of Luserne, Don Briansa, was the first to put the Vaudois upon their guard; and a M. Odette, a captain of the militia, and a rich person of the neighbourhood, repaired to Paul Vertu at La Tour, declaring that he would shed the last drop of his blood in their defence. Towards the night of the 14th of May, the house of the Curé of La Tour, the church, the convent of Recollects, and some catholic houses were filled with assassins. While the fatal moment was approaching,

seventeen expresses had been sent to general Godin, who commanded in the valley, and had then his head quarters five miles above La Tour, to give him information of these circumstances; but he could not believe that such horrors were in contemplation. At length, some persons of distinction having thrown themselves at the feet of the general, and entreated him to send some companies of Vaudois militia to La Tour, he entertained no further doubts on the subject, but complied with their request, and prepared to retreat with the rest of his army. The troops arrived at La Tour at the commencement of the night, when the rain was pouring in torrents, which, doubtless, had retarded the projected massacre. The assassins now took to flight; and after their departure, a list of the conspirators was discovered, which was sent to the Duke of Aosta, our present king. Not one of them, however, was either punished or sought after. Is not this evidence that the court did not disapprove of this execrable design? The brave general Godin was disgraced, without receiving any recompence for his long services, and retired to Nyon, in Switzerland, where he died.

"Charles Emanuel III. who called us *his good faithful Vaudois*, would not revoke one of the oppressive edicts, and we could not have any physicians or advocates of our religion, nor any

military promotion above the rank of serjeant, except in the militia; whilst under the last (French) government, three attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel, two or three that of major, and more those of chief of battalion, captain, lieutenant, and many received decorations. If they are dismissed from the service of France, what can they do, having no other resource than their military talents which the king will not value at all in protestants? The Vaudois avow their having favored the principles of liberty of conscience, and of breaking the chains by which they had been bound for ages. Posterity will judge whether this be a crime before God, or even before men. They had rendered services, most powerfully enjoined by humanity, to their deliverers, (and masters) the commune of Bobbi alone having furnished, on the application of their very worthy pastor, the late M. Roston, volunteers, who carried three hundred sick and wounded soldiers over the heights of the Alps. For this service they received the acknowledgments of the grand army of Italy, by an order of the day, dated 3rd Prim. An. 8, (24th Dec. 1799,) and signed by Suchet, General of Division, &c. This humane conduct was represented by the priests and other cruel enemies of the Vaudois, to have been the natural effect of their political opinions, notwithstanding that the Russians and Austrians

met with a similar reception from them (never in the least interrupting their perfect liberty of conscience), as appears by the testimonials received from Marshal Suwarrow and Prince Bagration (who shewed the greatest favor), of Prince Kevenhuller, General Niemsell and, above all, the brave Count Nieper, who constantly interested himself on behalf of the Vaudois, and was respected by them as their benefactor,—at whose suggestion they sent to Count Bubna a short list of their requests, of which we give the substance :—

"1. That they may have secured to them a perfect liberty of conscience, and of situation, in common with other subjects of his Sardinian majesty.

"2. That their religion may be no obstacle to their employment in civil and military offices, according to the scale of promotion.

"3. That they may keep the property acquired beyond the limits to which they were confined, and that they may be permitted to make further acquisitions, should they meet with a fair opportunity.

"4. That they may be permitted to settle in any part of his Sardinian majesty's dominions, where they may find it their interest so to do.

"5. That the support of their pastors may be insured by the enjoyment of the property granted to them under the French government (that of a salary of one thousand francs to each of the thirteen pastors) or in such mode as shall please his Sardinian Majesty.

"6. That they may be permitted to keep open the temple built at St. John, beyond the ancient limits, as well as to

build others, and to keep schools where it shall be found necessary for the pastors to reside.

" 7. That they may have liberty to print, within the dominions of his Sardinian majesty, such books as are necessary for conducting their public worship, or to bring them from abroad.

" 8. That persons educated in their religion may have perfect liberty to practise as physicians, apothecaries, surgeons, advocates, and notaries.

" 9. That in forming the municipal councils, regard be paid in each commune to the proportion of the mixed population, and that strangers to the commune or indigent catholics do not receive appointments, without their consent.

" 10. That they may be permitted to inclose their burial places with walls, and to repair or build edifices adapted to public worship or instruction.

" 11. That childreu, under fifteen years of age, may not, under whatever pretence. be compelled or induced to change their religion.*

" 12. That they may not be under the necessity of observing the festivals pointed out in the almanac, which may render them idle, or seduce them to debauchery.†

" 13. Finally, That they may wholly, and in every respect partake of the privileges of the catholic subjects of his Majesty, in the same manner as they enjoyed them after the revolution until the re-establishment of his Sardinian Majesty on the throne of his ancestors by English generosity. Let the *status quo* of January 1813, be established with respect to whatever relates to the Vaudois.

* Our children are liable to be taken away, without resource, from their parents, and to be shut up in convents.

† Certain Vaudois found among the mountains, watering meadows on the day of a saint to them unknown, were compelled to pay penalties because they had neglected to keep the festival.

"M. Count Bubna was not successful, any more than the English envoy, Mr. Hill, who, at the request of a deputation of Vaudois, consisting of M. M. Meile, Pegran and Rostaing, ministers, Brezzi and J. P. D. Vertu, promised to take an active part on our behalf, but whose application appears to have been coldly received by the ministers, under the pretence that our situation was not worse than before the revolution, without reflecting that our slavery could not in effect be worse than at that time. The king, also, received the deputation of the Vaudois; but he did not promise them any relief, and in truth granted them none, doubtless by the advice of his confessor. The Vaudois entertained hopes that the arrival of the queen would prove a favorable event for them, and the same deputation was appointed to wait on her majesty; but she would not deign to admit them to an audience, notwithstanding the positive assurances to the contrary of the minister of the interior, Count Vidua. The government has not made any public declaration respecting the purchases of national property and churches; and since opinions are divided on this subject, the state of uncertainty is fatal to those, whose pressing necessities render them desirous of parting with what they bought. Neither has any declaration been published respecting the Vaudois officers returned

from France, and who have no other resource than their military talents.

The situation of the pastors is truly deplorable; for the government have condemned M. M. Vertu and Brezzi (who rented from the Protestant ministers the property granted by the French government, of the value of one thousand francs each,) to re-imburse a sum of about ten thousand francs advanced by them to the protestant ministers, as they were authorized to do, and to claim the same from the pastors, who are absolutely compelled to borrow the means of existence, and of course find it impossible to satisfy such a claim.

The protestant population of the Vaudois communes amounts to 19,770, and that of the Catholics to 1,725. This is a glaring instance of the rights and privileges of the majority being sacrificed to the will of the minority.

Such, reader, is the situation of a people in the nineteenth century,—in an age boasting its civilization and liberality—of a people whose only crime is the worshiping the Father of all, according to the dictates of their consciences—but contrary to the forms of a worldly establishment.

CHAP. X.

Of Wickliff—Lord Cobham—John Huss—and Jerome of Prague.

In every age of the world, witnesses have existed in favor of truth. Persecution has not been able fully to tame the human mind;—even death, in its most cruel forms, has not pervented men from following those, whom priests have denominated heretics.—The blood of the martyrs has been the seed of the church. The dispersion of the Waldenses was the means of spreading their tenets, and of introducing the light of the gospel into countries clouded with the darkness of monkish ignorance and superstition; and of exciting an opposition to the rule of priests, and to the domineering influence of the Romish church. England was visited by a number of the persecuted from Flanders and Germany. Their opinions and their zeal were adopted by John Wickliff, a name that will be esteemed by every friend to liberty in this country, as long as our island shall be inhabited by the human race.

This celebrated scholar was born in 1324, and educated at Oxford, where he distinguished him-

self particularly in the contest that was then carrying on between the members of that university and the mendicant friars. From opposing those beggars who were supported by the court of Rome, he was led to see more of the corruptions of that court and of the system they maintained, than perhaps he would otherwise have done.

The speculative corruptions which had crept into religion were the first subject of his inquiry. Many of these he traced out from their origin. He attacked next the usurpations of the court of Rome. On this subject he was very copious; it was his favorite topic, and seldom failed, however coolly he might begin, to give him warmth and spirit as he prooceeded. For the freedom he thus took with the conduct of priests, a violent clamor was raised against him. The archbishop of Canterbury taking the lead, resolved to prosecute him with the utmost rigor. But heresy was a new crime in England. The church had slept for ages and was unprepared for the attack. Records, however, were searched, and precedents examined, till at length Wickliff's opinions were declared heretical.

It does not appear that Wickliff denied the supremacy of the pope; he retained many of the absurd notions of the Romish church. He deemed it wrong to take away the life of man on any account, and that war was utterly unlawful,

and much more war in the name of religion, such as the popes promoted during the great schism. "When," said he, "will the proud priest of Rome grant indulgences to mankind to live in peace and charity, as he now does to fight and kill one another?" We need not be surprised that such a man should be hated by the friends of the papal hierarchy. This severe remark drew upon him the resentment of pope Urban, and was likely to have involved him in greater trouble than any he had experienced. But soon after he was struck with the palsy, and though he survived for some time, it was in a kind of seclusion, in which his enemies did not molest him and he died quietly in his bed, at Lutterworth, in the year 1384.—His enemies attributed his death to the judgment of heaven, and said it was evident, from the manner of it, that "the curse of God was upon him."

In the eighth session of the council of Constance, forty-eight articles of the opinions of Wickliff were condemned, and he himself being also condemned, as an obstinate heretic, his bones were ordered to be dug up and burned.

Wickliff was one of the first heralds of the reformation; he translated a book into the vulgar tongue, which contained the heresy of all heresies, namely the scriptures of the New Testament. This terrible book was long hidden from the

common people, as containing every thing alarming to the dignity and importance of the church and clergy. It was wise in popes, cardinals, and priests, who attached to themselves the glory and riches of the world, and who claimed privileges above the kings of the earth,—never to let it be discovered to the people that their master was a carpenter, low in the estimation of men, and without a place to lay his head, and who had explicitly renounced all worldly jurisdiction and honor, both to himself and followers, by unequivocally declaring, " His kingdom is not of this world."

Wickliff's greatest heresy seems to have been his publication of the New Testament. For this atrocious action, never to be forgiven, his heretical bones, after slumbering in the ground, were dug up and burned, for the honor of the church.

The light which Wickliff struck out, illuminated great numbers in England, and after his death reached other countries, especially Germany. Indeed there is a point beyond which imposture cannot go; it requires some semblance of virtue, in an age at all enlightened, in the man who would deceive with effect. But the clergy were without even the appearance of religion, in their lives at this time—and had lost all sense of shame and decorum. Those who could not judge of the reasonableness of a religious system,

could form some estimate of the obligation of honesty and temperance. The profligacy of all orders of priests, made men suspect that authority which they pretended to derive from the holy and benevolent Jesus.*

Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham) embraced and openly avowed the doctrines of Wickliff, and soon became an object of persecution.

When Henry IV. came to the crown it was supposed that he inclined to the opinions of the reformers; but finding that the ecclesiastical interest was the most able to support his pretensions, he attached himself to it. The clergy were high in their demands. Their friendship was only to be purchased by the death of the lollards.

Henry IV. died in 1413 and was succeeded by his son, Henry V. Lord Cobham was not only in favor with the people, but also with the king. The archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, alarmed at the progress of lollardism, and yet afraid of proceeding openly against lord Cobham, requested an order from the king to send commissioners to inquire into the growth of heresy at Oxford. The result of which was, that the increase of heresy was particularly owing to the influence of lord Cobham, and it was determined to institute a prosecution against him.

* A. Robinson's History of Persecution.

The archbishop at the head of a body of ecclesiastics, waited upon Henry; and with as much acrimony as decency would admit, laid before him the offence of his servant the lord Cobham, and begged his majesty would suffer them for Christ's sake to put him to death.*

The king told the archbishop he was averse from shedding blood in the cause of religion. Such violence he thought more destructive of truth than of error; and said he would expostulate with lord Cobham, and if that should prove ineffectual, he would then leave him to the censures of the church. The king sent for his lordship, and pathetically exhorted him to retract his errors. Lord Cobham replied, "I ever was a dutiful subject to your majesty, and I hope ever will be. Next to God, I profess obedience to my king. But as for the spiritual dominion of the pope, I never could see on what foundation it is claimed, nor can I pay him any obedience. As sure as God's word is true, to me it is fully evident, that he is the great antichrist foretold in holy writ." At this reply, the king was so shocked, that he turned away in evident displeasure, and, from that time, withdrew every mark of favor from him.

The archbishop immediately cited lord Cobham to appear before him on a fixed day, but

* Gilpin's Life of Lord Cobham.

that high spirited nobleman would not suffer the summoner to enter his gate. On the day appointed the court met, but the accused not appearing, he was, in consequence, pronounced contumacious, and was excommunicated without further ceremony. Eleven days after, the primate sat in the chapter house of Paul's, assisted by the bishops of London and Winchester, when lord Cobham was brought before him by the lieutenant of the tower.

In his examination he behaved with firmness—he read a paper containing his sentiments on the sacrament of the Lord's supper, penances, images, and pilgrimages. This he was informed was not sufficiently explicit; and he was also pressed for his opinion on other subjects—to which he made no other reply than this, "you see me in your hands, and may do with me what you please."

He was at another time called before the archbishop who was surrounded by a numerous throng of friars and monks, as well as seculars. Amidst the contemptuous looks of these fiery zealots, lord Cobham, attended by the lieutenant of the tower, walked up undauntedly to the place of hearing.

The archbishop, with an appearance of great mildness told him, that "he expected to have found him at their last meeting suing for absolution; but that the door of reconciliation was

still open, if reflection had brought him to himself." "I have trespassed against you in nothing," said lord Cobham, "I have no need of your absolution." Then kneeling down, in a most solemn and impressive manner, he supplicated mercy and absolution from the Deity. Rising, with tears in his eyes, he turned to the assembly, and stretching out his arm, cried with a loud voice: "Lo! these are your guides, good people. For the most flagrant transgressions of God's moral law was I never once called in question by them. I have expressed some dislike to their arbitrary appointments and traditions, and I am treated with unparalleled severity. But let them remember the denunciations of Christ against the Pharisees: all shall be fulfilled."

The grandeur and dignity with which he spake, threw the court into confusion. But the archbishop reverted to the subject of the sacrament; and told lord Cobham, the doctrine of the court was the determination of the church and holy doctors. To which he replied, "I know none holier than Christ, and the apostles, and this determination is surely none of theirs. It is plainly against scripture. I believe the scriptures, and all that is founded upon them, but in your idle determinations I have no belief."

Through the whole of his examination he behaved with equal spirit. When the censure of the

church was pronounced, he said, "you may condemn my body, my soul you cannot hurt;" and after a proper address to the people, he fell on his knees, and begged God to forgive his enemies. He was then sent to the tower. While his adversaries seemed to be irresolute about what they should do with him, he made his escape; and flying to Wales, continued there four years. He was then, however, apprehended, on the idle pretence of having encouraged the assembling of twenty thousand men in St. Giles's fields, with a view to dethrone the king; and then both as a traitor, and a heretic, he was burned alive, being suspended with an iron chain, and fire put under him, at Tyburn, a punishment which he bore with the greatest fortitude. This was in A. D. 1414.*

When the disciples of Wickliffe were persecuted in England, many of them left the country, and some of them went into Bohemia. A Bohemian nobleman who had studied at Oxford, and who was a great admirer of Wickliff, introduced his books into that country. At his return to Prague, he renewed his acquaintance with John Huss, and put into his hands the writings of Wickliff; these writings struck Huss with peculiar force. He would mention among his friends his meeting with the works of Wickliff as the most

* See the life of Lord Cobham by Gilpin.

fortunate circumstance of his life; and called him an angel, sent from heaven to enlighten mankind. In public and in private he embraced every opportunity to inveigh with great warmth against ecclesiastical abuses. He would point out the bad administration of the church, and the bad lives of the clergy, and would pathetically lament the miserable state of the people who were under the government of the one, and the influence of the other. The profligacy of the Bohemian clergy was at that time notorious.

Huss became every day more popular, his followers increased. The sovereign pontiff was alarmed; he thundered out a bull against the heretics, directed to the archbishop of Prague. The archbishop, a legitimate son of the church, declared Huss a heretic, and forbade his preaching, and ordered also all the books of Wickliff to be burned.

To crush Huss and his adherents, a council was summoned at Constance. To this council flocked from all parts of Europe, princes and prelates, clergy and laity, regulars and seculars. "There were," says Fox, "archbishops and bishops, 349; abbots and doctors, 564; princes, dukes, earls, knights and squires, 16,000; common women, 450; barbers, 600; musicians, cooks and jesters, 320." To have seen such a cavalcade, who would not have joined in the cry, "The church, the church, is in danger!!"

To this council Huss was cited to answer to the charges which would be preferred against him. He obeyed the summons, having first obtained a safe conduct from the emperor Sigismond, and also a testimonial from the bishop of Nazareth, the inquisitor general of heresy in Bohemia.*

Soon after his arrival at Constance, notwithstanding the safe conduct of the emperor, he was made a prisoner, and eight articles of accusation brought against him. For his defence against these accusations he was not allowed an advocate; this being a privilege never granted to persons accused of heresy. The emperor not only shamefully violated his faith with Huss, but said to him, "depend upon it, if you continue obstinate, I will make a fire with my own hands, to burn you, rather than you shall escape."

To the various accusations brought against him, Huss replied with firmness. Endeavors were used to induce him to recant, but he remained inflexible. On the 6th July, 1415, the sentence of condemnation was pronounced, "That John Huss, being a disciple of Wickliff of damnable memory, whose life he had defended, and whose doctrines he had maintained, is adjudged by the council of Constance (his tenets having

* Gilpin's Life of Huss.

been first condemned) to be an obstinate heretic; and as such to be degraded from the office of a priest, and cut off from the holy church." After this he was degraded by taking off the priest's vestments with which he had been clothed, and clipping his tonsure in the form of a cross, this was performed by seven pious bishops, each cursing him in the name of the Lord. Their last act was to adorn him with a large paper cap, on which various, and horrid forms of devils were painted. This cap one of the bishops put upon his head; with this unchristian speech, "Hereby we commit thy soul to the devil." Huss smiling, observed, "it was less painful than a crown of thorns." After this he was presented to the emperor by the bishops, who told him they had done all the church allowed. What remained was of civil authority. Sigismond ordered the duke of Bavaria to receive him, who immediately gave him into the hands of an officer, who had orders to see him burned with every thing about him!

At the gate of the church a guard of 800 men was waiting to conduct him to the place of execution. He was first led to the gate of the episcopal palace, where a pile of wood being kindled his books were burned before his face. Huss smiled at this indignity. He was then conducted to the stake to which he was fastened with wet cords and a chain round his body. Before

the fire was kindled, the duke of Bavaria rode up and exhorted him once more to retract his errors. "I have no errors," said he, "to retract: I endeavored to preach Christ with apostolic plainness, and I am now prepared to seal my doctrine with my blood."

The faggots being lighted, he recommended himself into the hands of God, and began a hymn, which he continued singing, till the wind drove the smoke and flame in his face. For sometime he was invisible. When the rage of the fire abated, his body, half consumed, appeared hanging over the chain. The malice of his enemies pursued his very remains; his ashes were gathered up, and cast into the Rhine; that the earth might not feel the load of such enormous guilt!*

Huss expired in the flames; but the cause for which he died survived him, and animated his friend, the accomplished Jerome of Prague. Jerome had become acquainted with the writings of Wickliff, when he visited Oxford. At his return to Prague, he professed himself an open favorer of him, and finding that his doctrines had made considerable progress in Bohemia, and that Huss was the head of the party which had espoused those doctrines, he attached himself to him.

* Gilpin's Life of Huss.

Jerome went to Constance to plead the cause of his friend Huss, he arrived there three months before the death of that celebrated martyr, but finding that he could be of no service to him, he returned to Bohemia, after having posted up papers in Constance, declaring his readiness to appear before the council if he could procure a safe conduct, which he could not obtain.

At Hirsaw he was seized by an officer of the duke of Sultzbach, who, after informing the council, received orders to send him immediately to Constance. The elector palatine met him, and conducted him in triumph into the town, himself riding upon horseback, with a numerous retinue, who led Jerome after him, like a wild beast, in fetters, by a long chain.

He was brought before the council, and being accused of heresy, the multitude exclaimed, "Away with him, burn him, burn him!!! Jerome replied, "Since nothing will satisfy you but my blood, God's will be done!! From this assembly he was carried to a dungeon, under the custody of a guard, till the council should determine how to dispose of him. From this dungeon, he was conveyed to a strong tower, where his hands being tied behind his neck, he was left to languish, in that painful posture, during the space of two days, without any aliment but bread and water. These severities, and others which were

inflicted upon him, were intended to force a recantation from him, which the council much desired. Being brought before the council three times for this purpose, he at last yielded. He was freed from the fetters with which his body had been loaded, but he felt a greater burden on his mind, and his prison became much more gloomy.

His judges not being satisfied with his recantation, determined to bring him to a second trial, upon, what they asserted, new evidence which had transpired. This amidst all his distresses, was consolation to him, and he rejoiced at an opportunity of acknowledging publicly the shameful defection, which hung so heavy upon him.

The following is the account given by Poggio, the celebrated Florentine, in a letter to his friend Aretin. The writer was present at the council, during the trial, and was, also, a spectator of the death of Jerome. Being the testimony of a catholic, it is, on that account, the more valuable. It is copied from the translation of Mr. Gilpin, in his life of Jerome.

" In the midst of a short excursion into the country, I wrote to our common friend; from whom, I doubt not, you have had an account of me.

" Since my return to Constance, my attention hath been wholly engaged by Jerome, the Bohemian heretic, as he is called. The eloquence, and learning, which this person hath

employed in his own defence are so extraordinary, that I cannot forbear giving you a short account of him.

"To confess the truth, I never knew the art of speaking carried so near the model of ancient eloquence. It was indeed amazing to hear with what force of expression, with what fluency of language, and with what excellent reasoning he answered his adversaries; nor was I less struck with the gracefulness of his manner; the dignity of his action; and the firmness and constancy of his whole behavior. It grieved me to think so great a man was laboring under so atrocious an accusation. Whether this accusation be a just one, God knows; for myself, I enquire not into the merits of it; resting satisfied with the decision of my superiors.—But I will just give you a summary of his trial.

"After many articles had been proved against him, leave was at length given him to answer each in its order. But Jerome long refused, strenuously contending, that he had many things to say previously in his defence; and that he ought first to be heard in general, before he descended to particulars. When this was over-ruled, 'Here,' said he, 'standing in the midst of the assembly, here is justice; here is equity. Beset by enemies, I am already pronounced a heretic: I am condemned, before I am examined.—Were you Gods omniscient, instead of an assembly of fallible men, you could not act with more sufficiency.—Error is the lot of mortals; and you, exalted as you are, are subject to it. But consider the higher you are exalted of the more dangerous consequence are your errors.—As for me, I know I am a wretch below your notice: but at least consider, that an unjust action, in such an assembly, will be of dangerous example.'

"This, and much more, he spoke with great elegance of language, in the midst of a very unruly and indecent assembly: and thus far at least he prevailed; the council ordered, that he should first answer objections; and promised that he should

then have liberty to speak. Accordingly, all the articles alledged against him were publicly read; and then proved; after which he was asked; whether he had ought to object? It is incredible with what acuteness he answered; and with what amazing dexterity he warded off every stroke of his adversaries. Nothing escaped him: his whole behavior was truly great and pious. If he were indeed the man his defence spoke him, he was so far from meriting death, that in my judgment, he was not in any degree culpable.—In a word, he endeavored to prove, that the greater part of the charge was purely the invention of his adversaries.—Among other things, being accused of hating and defaming the holy see, the pope, the cardinals, the prelates, and the whole estate of the clergy, he stretched out his hand, and said, in a most moving accent 'On which side, reverend fathers, shall I turn me for redress? whom shall I implore? whose assistance can I expect? which of you hath not this malicious charge entirely alienated from me? which of you hath it not changed from a judge into an inveterate enemy?—It was artfully alledged indeed! Though other parts of their charge were of less moment, my accusers might well imagine, that if this were fastened on me, it could not fail of drawing upon me the united indignation of my judges.'

"On the third day of this memorable trial, what had past was recapitulated: when Jerome, having obtained leave, though with some difficulty, to speak, began his oration with a prayer to God; whose assistance he pathetically implored. He then observed, that many excellent men, in the annals of history, had been oppressed by false witnesses, and condemned by unjust judges. Beginning with profane history, he instanced the death of Socrates, the captivity of Plato, the banishment of Anaxagoras, and the unjust sufferings of many others. He then instanced the many worthies of the old Testament, in the same circumstances, Moses, Joshua, Daniel, and almost all the prophets; and lastly those of the new, John the baptist,

St. Stephen and others, who were condemned as seditious, prophane or immoral men. An unjust judgment, he said, proceeding from a laic was bad; from a priest, worse; still worse from a college of priests; and from a general council, superlatively bad.—These things he spoke with such force and emphasis, as kept every one's attention awake.

"On one point he dwelt largely. As the merits of the cause rested entirely upon the credit of witnesses, he took great pains to show that very little was due to those produced against him. He had many objections to them, particularly their avowed hatred to him; the sources of which he so palpably laid open, that he made a strong impression upon the minds of his hearers; and not a little shook the credit of the witnesses. The whole council was moved; and greatly inclined to pity, if not to favor him. He added, that he came uncompelled to the council; and that neither his life nor doctrine had been such, as gave him the least reason to dread an appearance before them. Difference of opinion, he said, in matters of faith had ever arisen among learned men; and was always esteemed productive of truth, rather than of error, where bigotry was laid aside. Such he said was the difference between Austine and Jerome: and though their opinions were not only different, but contradictory, yet the imputation of heresy was never fixed on either.

"Every one expected, that he would now either retract his errors, or at least apologize for them: but nothing of the kind was heard from him: he declared plainly, that he had nothing to retract. He launched out into high encomiums of Huss; calling him a holy man; and lamenting his cruel and unjust death. He had armed himself, he said, with a full resolution to follow the steps of that blessed martyr; and to suffer with constancy whatever the malice of his enemies could inflict. 'The perjured witnesses, (said he) who have appeared against me, have won their cause: but let them remember they have their evi-

dence once more to give before a tribunal, where falsehood can be no disguise.'

"It was impossible to hear this pathetic speaker without emotion. Every ear was captivated; and every heart touched. —But wishes in his favor were in vain: he threw himself beyond a possibility of mercy. Braving death, he even provoked the vengeance which was hanging over him. 'If that holy martyr, (said he, speaking of Huss,) used the clergy with disrespect, his censures were not levelled at them as priests, but as wicked men. He saw with indignation those revenues, which had been designed for charitable ends, expended upon pageantry and riot.'

"Through this whole oration he showed a most amazing strength of memory. He had been confined almost a year in a dungeon; the severity of which usage he complained of, but in the language of a great and good man. In this horrid place he was deprived of books and paper. Yet notwithstanding this, and the constant anxiety, which must have hung over him, he was no more at a loss for proper authorities, and quotations, than if he had spent the intermediate time at leisure in his study.

"His voice was sweet, distinct, and full: his action every way the most proper either to express indignation, or to raise pity; though he made no affected application to the passions of his audience. Firm, and intrepid he stood before the council; collected in himself; and not only contemning, but seeming almost desirous of death. The greatest character in ancient story could not possibly go beyond him. If there is any justice in history this man will be admired by all posterity.— I speak not of his errors: let these rest with him. What I admire was his learning, his eloquence, and amazing acuteness. God knows whether these things were not the ground-work of his ruin.

"Two days were allowed him for reflection; during which

time many persons of consequence, and particularly my lord cardinal of Florence, endeavored to bring him to a better mind. But persisting obstinately in his errors, he was condemned as an heretic.

"With a cheerful countenance, and more than stoical constancy, he met his fate; fearing neither death itself, nor the horrible form, in which it appeared. When he came to the place, he pulled off his upper garment, and made a short prayer at the stake; to which he was soon after bound with wet cords, and an iron chain; and inclosed as high as his breast with faggots.

"Observing the executioner about to set fire to the wood behind his back, he cried out, "Bring thy torch hither. Perform thy office before my face. Had I feared death, I might have avoided it."

"As the wood began to blaze he sang a hymn, which the violence of the flame scarce interrupted.

"Thus died this prodigious man. The epithet is not extravagant. I was myself an eye-witness of his whole behavior. Whatever his life may have been, his death, without doubt, is a noble lesson of Philosophy." *

"*Constance, May* 20, 1416."

The council having performed its work of murder, pope Martin V. published a bull, declaring all persons, who approved the doctrines of Wickliff, Huss, and Jerome of Prague, should be delivered up to the secular courts to be punished as heretics. The agents of the holy sèe were active, and in the kingdom of Bohemia in a sbort time, many persons were condemned for heresy, and put to death by various punishments.

* See, also, Shepherd's Life of Poggio.

HISTORY OF PERSECUTIONS.

Part Third.

CHAP. I.

A brief view of the Reformation, and its effects.

THE reformation from popery is an event of such wonderful importance in the history of the human mind and of human affairs, that we cannot look with too much interest to the causes which produced it, into the character of those who begun and conducted it, or into its consequences reaching to the present times, and destined to reach no doubt to times far remote, and to end in a state of things of which we can have very inadequate conceptions. So firmly fixed was the papal power in the time of Leo X. when the reformation burst out, as to seem to defy all opposition; but looking back we can now trace the

operation of causes which naturally led to the events of the 16th century. The discovery of the mariner's compass; the discovery of the new world; the growth of commerce; the rise of free commercial cities; and, above all, the invention of printing, had let in a flood of knowledge on the minds of men, had conducted it by innumerable channels into every quarter of Europe, and had given men a taste for discussion and a thirst of enquiry, and had communicated a boldness and adventurousness of intellect, and excited large and undefinable expectations.

At the same time that these causes had favored a strong sense of independence in the people, the corruptions of the church of Rome, and the insolence, and exactions, and tyranny of the priesthood, had begotten an almost universal feeling of impatience, disgust, resentment and abhorrence. Another sentiment might be added to these—contempt; which is usually more fatal to churches and governments than hatred: the papal see could not have been seriously opposed with success if it had not been first the object of ridicule; the reformers were the successors, in natural order, of the wits and poets, who had levelled their satire at the monastic orders, and even at the pontificate. It may suffice to have adverted to this previous state of things to show that the reformation, wonderful as it was, was no

miracle. In the order of providence, wickedness, whether spiritual or temporal, corrects itself, and corruption breeds reform.*

Martin Luther was born in Saxony, became a monk of the Augustin order, and professor of divinity in the academy of Wittemberg. He was learned, eloquent, and intrepid, every way fitted for the great and important work to which providence had called him.

In 1517, Tetzel was sent by Leo X. who at that time sat in the chair of St. Peter, to sell indulgences in the diocese of Magdeburg. Luther had not previously considered this subject, but seeing the people going in crowds to buy them, he told them there were things more pleasing to God, than the running in crowds to buy pardons.—He called indulgences " nets, with which priests fish for money." He proposed to the people such plain questions as the following:—"Why does not the pope, who takes so many souls out of purgatory for money, do the same out of charity?"

Tetzel was a man of shameless impudence and profligacy. His want of decency was so great that, boasting of the efficacy of indulgences, he said, " that, even if any one had ravished the mother of God, he (Tetzel) had the power to efface his guilt," and, that " he had saved more

* Christian Reformer, vol 2, p. 50.

souls from hell by these indulgences than St. Peter had converted to christianity by his preaching!"

Cardinal Cajetan declared, "that one drop of Christ's blood being sufficient to redeem the whole human race, the remaining quantity that was shed, 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.*

Luther, fired with indignation at such abomination, declared his abhorrence both of the doctrines and the abettors of them with considerable warmth; his friends were alarmed for his safety. He was advised by the bishop of Brandenburg to be careful of himself, for that in attacking the power of the church, he might bring himself into a disagreeable situation. But Luther went on preaching against indulgences. Every body was surprised, that a simple monk should have the zeal and courage to oppose the extortions of the pope and his ministers, when so many bishops and powerful ecclesiastics kept a profound silence, and left their churches a prey to avarice and imposture.

The conduct of Luther roused the rage of Tetzel; he called him a blasphemer, and burnt the theses which Luther had published on the

* The rate of absolution for individuals was six sous for the poor, and a crown for the rich; those for communities were much dearer A nobleman of Bern gave a valuable house as the price of absolution for himself, his ancestors, and the subjects on his estates.—Hess's Life of Zwingle, by Lucy Aikin, 8vo. pp. 89—90.

subject. He also declared that "whoever should write against indulgences, or the power of the pope, must expect eternal damnation hereafter, and the most rigorous punishment at present." These propositions of Tetzel were burnt at Wittemberg by the students to revenge the affront offered to their master.

Leo resolved to take measures against the spreading heresy. A monitory was addressed by him to Luther, commanding the reformer to appear at Rome within the space of sixty days, and defend himself against the imputations charged against him in respect of his doctrines. But before the sixty days had expired, he sent instructions to his legate at the imperial court, to call Luther personally before him, and, in case he should persist in his heretical opinions, to detain him until he received further orders from Rome. Persons were appointed by the legate to hear him, who were his avowed adversaries.

Not having resolved upon open hostility against the pope, Luther was in great difficulty; to disobey would be to deny the authority of the church—to yield might place him entirely in the power of his enemies. He intreated that he might be allowed to defend himself before a competent jurisdiction in some part of Germany; this, through the influence of the university of Wittemburg and the elector of Saxony, was granted;

and the legate was empowered to hear and judge the cause of Luther at Augsburg. To this place the reformer repaired. On the eve of his departure he wrote to his friend Melancthon in the following terms, which display the greatness of his mind on so trying an occasion.—"I know nothing new or extraordinary here (says he) except, I am become the subject of conversation throughout the whole city, and that every one wishes to see the man, who is to be the victim of such a conflagration. You will act your part properly, as you have always done; and teach the youth entrusted to your care. I go, for you and for them, to be sacrificed, if it should so please God. I rather choose to perish, and, what is more afflicting, to be for ever deprived even of your society, than to retract what I have already justly asserted, or to be the means of affording the stupid adversaries of all liberal studies, an opportunity of accomplishing their purpose."*

With the cardinal he had three conferences; in dispute Luther was the superior, but the legate endeavored to save his dignity by telling the reformer, that the pope had sent him not to dispute but to decide and admonish. After the conferences with the cardinal terminated; Luther wrote "An appeal from Leo prejudiced and misled, to Leo better informed." This was, accord-

* See Roscoe's Leo X. v. iii. pp. 229, 230.

ing to his directions, posted up in the great squares of the city; a bold and daring measure to which, at that period, none but Luther would have had courage to have resorted.

When the result of this ineffectual citation was known at Rome, Leo issued 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.

This provoked Luther to a still bolder measure than he had yet adopted, which was an appeal from the pontiff to a general council; the bare mention of which to the court of Rome is equivalent to a declaration of war.

Luther addressed another letter to Leo X. "which in its purport may be considered one of the most singular, and in its consequences as one of the most important that ever the pen of an individual produced. Under the pretext of obedience, respect and even affection for the pontiff, he has conveyed the most determined opposition, the most bitter satire, and the most marked contempt." *

Leo, 15th of June, 1520, issued a bull, which contained a condemnation of Luther's doctrines, but allowed him sixty days to retract them. All the books he had published, or that he should

* See Roscoe's Leo X. ch. 19, in which copious extracts are given from this Letter.

publish, were ordered to be burned, and all christian princes were exhorted to seize his person and his adherents, after that time should be expired, with a promise of reward. In this bull Luther is designated as the greatest of heretics. Luther treated the pope with contempt, and, accompanied by the doctors of the university of Wittemburg, with the students and the people, having lighted a great fire, threw into it the pope's bull, with all the decretals, saying, "since thou hast troubled the holy one of God, may eternal fire consume thee.

Luther followed this bold action by a public declaration that he had thrown off the yoke of the pope, and that he would sacrifice every thing to the truth which he taught. The pope sent his nuncios to Frederic, elector of Saxony, with a request that he would order the books of Luther to be burned, or at least that he would keep him in close custody, if he did not choose to send him in irons to Rome, which would be most agreeable to his holiness.

The elector promised to consider of the matter, and in the mean time consulted with Erasmus, who was then at Cologne. After pausing some time, Erasmus said, that Luther had committed two great crimes—he had touched the crown of the pope, and the bellies of the monks, which made the elector laugh. He then said more se-

riously that Luther was justifiable in checking the abuses that had crept into the church, but he wished he had used more moderation.

The elector prevailed upon the emperor to allow Luther a hearing before he should be condemned; the emperor permitted the elector to bring Luther with him to worms, where the diet was to be held.

The necessity of a general reformation at this time, was acknowledged, even by those who were not friendly to Luther. The enemies of Luther dreaded his appearance at the diet, and one of them delivered a flaming invective against him, in which he said, that Luther's books were full of as many heresies as would justify the burning of 100,000 heretics!!!

Summoned to appear at this diet, he presented himself, notwithstanding the recent and terrible example of Huss, with decency and dignity. Here he underwent an examination as to his writings and his intention of defending his doctrines. Respecting some he said, he was not capable of such cowardice as to retract; he was, however, ready to retract any thing that he should be shown by the word of God to be an error. He referred the assembly to the advice of Gamaliel, "if this thing be of man it will come to nought, but if it be of God, ye cannot destroy it." "Unless," said he "I be convinced by the testi-

mony of scripture or by evident reason (for I cannot rely on the authority of the pope and councils alone, since it appears that they have frequently erred and contradicted each other) and unless my conscience be subdued by the word of God, I neither can, nor will retract any thing; seeing that to act against my own conscience is neither safe nor honest." After which he added in his native German, "Here I take my stand, I can do no other; God be my help! Amen."

Notwithstanding the safe conduct that had been given to Luther, some of the ecclesiastical princes, and of the secular also, solicited the emperor to arrest him; saying that so fine an opportunity of extinguishing heresy ought not to be lost, and alledged the conduct of the council of Constance in justification—this the emperor refused, saying, "I will not blush with the emperor Sigismond," alluding to that emperor's shameful violation of the safe-conduct which he had given to Huss, at the council of Constance. It was therefore signified to Luther that he had leave to depart.

After Luther and his friends had left the diet, an imperial edict was issued on the 26th May, but dated the 8th, that it might appear as if it had been dictated when the diet was full. In this edict Luther was represented as a devil who

had taken the form of a man, and of a monk, to conceal himself and destroy mankind. He was condemned and banished as the author of schism, and an obstinate and notorious heretic, and every person was ordered to apprehend him. The elector of Saxony to defeat this design formed against Luther, seized him on his return from the diet, with an armed force, and lodged him safe in his castle at Wartburg.

The reformation was forwarded by the translation of the scriptures which Luther published. The papal party was alarmed and endeavored to suppress it, but could not. Many of the princes of the empire forbade the use of it, and ordered the copies to be burned. But the effect this work produced on the minds of the public could not be removed. They were astonished to find how contrary the precepts of the founder of christianity are to the inventions of priests, who pretend to be his ministers. The advocates for the reformation in other countries, followed the example of Luther, and translated the scriptures into their respective languages.

Luther was assisted in the work of reformation by many learned and able men. By the zeal of numbers in this great work, there was scarcely a town or village in Germany, in which the doctrines of the reformation were not preached. The princes of the empire espoused the cause, think-

ing that if Luther was suppressed they would be at the mercy of the pope. On this ground they refused to enforce the edict, of the diet of Worms against him. The elector of Saxony was threatened by the pope, with "all the evils that could be inflicted on him in this world, and with eternal fire and damnation in the world to come, if he did not change his conduct;" i. e. if he did not prevent the spread of the Lutheran heresy.

The elector, insulted in such a gross manner, ordered the nuncio to be told that he would not receive the pope's bull. The princes of the empire met at Nuremberg. and drew up a list of a hundred grievances: in which, after enumerating abuses, they said, "that if they were not effectually remedied by the pope, they would relieve themselves by throwing off so tyrannical a yoke, and give to Germany its ancient rights and original liberty." The nuncio refused to receive this writing, but it was widely circulated throughout Germany, and copies of it were sent to Rome.

While things were thus going forward in Germany, the dawn of the reformation gradually arose on other nations. Some of the most considerable provinces of Europe had broken their chains, and withdrawn themselves from the discipline of Rome, and the jurisdiction of its pontiff. The reformed religion was introduced into Sweden, by one of Luther's disciples. It was also received

in Denmark, by Christiern II. who was exceedingly desirous that his subjects should be instructed in the doctrines of Luther. Margaret, queen of Navarre, and sister of Francis I. was very favorable to the new doctrines; she encouraged several pious and learned men to propagate the principles of the reformation in France, and to erect protestant churches in that kingdom.—The doctrines of the reformation made some progress in Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, and in the Netherlands, and had in all those countries many friends, of whom several repaired to Wittemberg, to improve their knowledge, by a personal interview with Luther.*

The reformation was promoted in Switzerland by Zuinglius and Calvin, and was introduced into Poland, by means of the Lutherans, the reformed in Switzerland, and the Bohemian brethren, all of whom were well received by many of the nobility, nor was the king himself ill-disposed towards them; and even the senate was filled with the friends of the reformation.

A set of reformers arose in Poland of a bolder kind than those who had protested in general against popery; they objected not only to the doctrines of transubstantiation, but also to the doctrines held by the protestants respecting the trinity. The head of this body of christians was

* Dr. Gregory's Hist. of the Christian Church.

Faustus Socinus, a gentleman who left his native country, and a large estate, in pursuit of theological truth. Mosheim says, these reformers instead of following the steps of others, who usually began by proposing their doctrines to the vulgar, addressed themselves to the learned and the wealthy, though they did not neglect the poor. By appealing to the learned it would appear they had no dread of the investigation which such men were able to institute. While on the other hand, by rejecting every thing they deemed mysterious and inexplicable, their doctrine was reduced to the level of the meanest capacity.

In England a good foundation had been laid for its introduction by the labors of Wickliff and his followers. In 1515, Richard Hunn, a merchant, had a disagreement with the clergy, who finding he was possessed of Wickliff's bible, caused him to be apprehended as a heretic and murdered in prison, condemned him afterwards as a heretic, and burnt his body. This caused the clergy to be hated by the populace. In this state of public feeling the publication of tracts in the English language which had been circulated in Germany made a considerable impression; but at the same time irritated the clergy still more.—These sons of ignorance procured the death of six women, who were burned alive at Coventry, for only teaching their children the creed, the

Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments in English.*

Henry VIII. became the champion of the church by writing against Luther, for which he was honored by the pope with the title of *Defender of the Faith:* a title which has ever since been used by the monarchs of Great Britain.—Henry was the instrument of separating England from the popish yoke, though the motives for his acting against the see of Rome, were founded in the desire to promote his own gratification, and to obtain a divorce from his wife. This tyrannical debauchee became himself head of the church, and a kind of pope in his own right. The reformation proceeded, notwithstanding the opposition of Henry and his daughter Mary; until the expulsion of the papal authority and domination was effected.

The reformation was introduced into Scotland at an early period, by persons who had resided in Germany, and being embraced by some of the nobility, and others of great power and influence, it gained ground very rapidly. One of the most active premoters of the reformation in this country was John Knox, a disciple of Calvin, a man

* In the beginning of the reign of Henry V. an act passed which expressed that, whoever should read the scriptures in their mother tongue, then called Wickliff's language, they should forfeit their lands, life, and goods to the king from their heirs for ever. *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans.*

of great zeal, undaunted resolution, and being supported by a strong party who opposed the court, he was not exposed to much personal danger,

Ireland followed the fate of England in all its changes with respect to the reformation, The views of Henry VIII. were carried into effect in that country by Brown, a monk of the order of Austin, who had been made archbishop of Dublin. He was deprived of his dignity by queen Mary, but under Elizabeth, the reformation was re-established in Ireland, as well as in England.

After living to see his labors crowned with considerable success, Luther died in peace, contrary to the wishes of some, and the expectations of many; A. D. 1546, aged 63 years.

The effects produced by the reformation, upon the political, moral, and literary condition of man, were great and important. The pope claimed the right of exalting kings and emperors to the throne, and of treading them under his feet if he found them no longer subservient to his views.—The principles of the reformation taught mankind the weakness and the fallibility of this pretended vicar of Christ, this vicegerent of heaven. During the ages of superstition, the priests had proclaimed that resistance to the decrees of the sovereign Pontiff, was resisting the will of heaven, and the consequence no less than an infinity of

punishment in the world to come. But no sooner was it shown that the power which the pope of Rome assumed was blasphemous arrogance, and spiritual tyranny, to accomplish worldy purposes, than princes and people adopted the maxim, that, " rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God." The spirit of popery is exclusive and intolerant. " By me king's reign," had been the insolent language of more popes than one. Awakened to a knowledge of their strength as well as a sense of their rights, the princes of Europe found their interests in cultivating the esteem of their people, and their strength in promoting the wellfare and happiness of the community. The people who em braced the reformation, made a common cause with their sovereigns, and hence arose a closer union, a community of interests between the prince and the people. Both were delivered from the excessive and burdensome power of the clergy, and the social order was regulated and improved.

In a moral point of view much has been gained by the reformation. The pope and his agents pretended on certain conditions, and for pecuniary considerations, to absolve men from the con sequences of their crimes.* This had a tendency

* Tetzel the agent for selling indulgences was caught in a way he little expected. " Having picked up a considerable sum at Leipsic, a gentleman of that city knowing of this, and

to destroy every proper idea of morality. Guilt was balanced against a sum of money, and superstition set the conscience of the wretch at ease for the moment, while it prepared him for a repetition of old, or the commission of new crimes.

The doctrines of the reformers were, that repentance and amendment of life, were absolutely necessary, to prepare the mind for that pardon which the gospel offers—and which it offers only to the penitent—that indulgences and purgatory were the inventions of priests to fill their coffers from the pockets of the blind and credulous multitude.—That holiness of heart and of life is required by the gospel, and that nothing can be substituted in the stead thereof. Thus by introducing a real and pure morality instead of a fictitious and spurious one, the reformation ought to be regarded as highly important and beneficial to man.

having no veneration for such superstitions, went to Tetzel, and asked him, if he could sell him an indulgence before-hand for a certain crime, which he would not specify, and which he intended to commit. Tetzel said, Yes; provided they could agree upon the price. The bargain was struck, the money paid, and the absolution delivered in due form. Soon after this, the gentleman, knowing that Tetzel was going from Leipsic well loaded with cash, way-laid him, robbed him, and cudgelled him; and told him at parting, that this was the crime for which he had purchased an absolution. George, duke of Saxony, a zealous friend to the court of Rome, hearing of this robbery, at first was very angry; but, being informed of the whole story, he laughed heartily, and forgave the criminal."—*Jorton's Life of Erasmus.*

The ignorance which the barbarians of the north brought into Europe, seconded by the continual wars and devastations which from the time of their appearance desolated that part of the globe, had extinguished in it almost every ray of learning. The maxim of the Romish church was, that "ignorance is the mother of devotion." It followed therefore, as a consequence, that no more knowledge should be permitted than would be favorable to the system of superstition, which formed the ground work, or basis, of that hierarchy. Learning as far as possible was rendered inaccessible to the laity. The study of the ancient languages was represented as idolatrous and abominable. Above all, the reading of the holy scriptures was severely interdicted.* To read the bible without the permission of one's superiors was a crime; to translate it into the vulgar tongue, equal to felony.

The popes had indeed their reasons for preventing the words of Jesus Christ from reaching the people, and a direct comunication from being established between the gospel and the christian. When it becomes necessary to keep in the shade

* Whether his Lordship of Lincoln would wish to prohibit the reading of the Bible by the lower classes of the people, is best known to himself: of his fulminations against the Bible Societies, every one may form his own opinion. After the specimens of apostolic zeal, and christian charity, which his Lordship has given, no man will doubt from whom he has received his commission to preach the gospel.

objects as conspicuous as faith and public worship, it behoved the darkness to be universal and impenetrable. When the numerous legions of mendicant monks were found insufficient for this purpose, the horrible inquisition was invented, to extinguish by blood and tears every spark of light which the night should exhibit. *

The publication of the bible in the vulgar tongue has, in all ages, been the greatest eyesore to priests, and accounted by them the most heinous of crimes. The *specious* argument at the time, was, that the bible of Wickliff—of Luther—of the English translation in the time of Henry VIII. abounded with errors—the *real* design of priests, was to keep that book entirely from the public. In our own day, a celebrated scholar has declared that it ought not to be put into the hands of the people without being accompanied with the book of common prayer.—To this we only reply by asking, "Was the bible read and understood before the book of common prayer was in existence."?—The answer is obvious.

The art of printing, that inestimable blessing to the human race, and one of the greatest gifts providence ever bestowed on man, has been the means of shedding light on the intellectual world. Happily this invention preceded the reformation,

* Villiers, on the Reformation of Luther.

and was a powerful means by which Luther was enabled to prosecute his great and important work. However diligent the preacher, and expeditious the pen; yet the press increases in a ratio of ten thousand to one the means of information and instruction. Through the medium of the press, Luther addressed the learned in the Latin, and the commonalty in the German language. This in a great measure rendered him successful. The priests declared they must destroy the PRESS or the PRESS would destroy them. Every friend to liberty of conscience entertains the hope, that in this, they will not prove false prophets.

CHAP. II.

Of Persecutions among Protestants.

Long had the night of ignorance prevailed, when the day of reformation dawned on the world.—The reign of papal superstition and of priestly domination had been cruel and bloody. The reformers snapped the chains that held mankind in bondage;—they freed themselves from the yoke; but it is a fact, that cannot be denied, and must not be palliated, themselves retained, in many instances, the love of dominion and the spirit of persecution. Luther, who had been the champion of liberty, though averse to the taking away the lives of those denominated heretics, yet thought they ought to be banished. He allowed that "heretics may be corrected, and forced at least to silence, if they publicly deny any one of the articles received by all christians, and particularly that Christ is God; affirming him to be a mere man or prophet." "This," says he, "is not to force men to the faith, but to restrain from public blasphemy." In another place he goes farther and says, that "heretics are not indeed to be put to death, but may however be confined,

and shut up in some certain place, and put under restraint as madmen." As to the jews, he was for treating them more severely; and was of opinion, that "their synagogues should be levelled with the ground, their houses destroyed, their books of prayer, and of the talmud, and even those of the old testament, be taken from them; their rabbies be forbid to teach, and forced by hard labor, to get their bread; and if they would not submit to this, that they should be banished, as was formerly practised in France and Spain."*

He persuaded the electors of Saxony not to tolerate in their dominions, the followers of Zuinglius, in the opinion of the sacrament, because he esteemed the real presence an essential or fundamental article of faith; nor to enter into any terms of union with them, for their common safety and defence, against the endeavors of the papists to destroy them. And accordingly, notwitstanding all the endeavors of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, to get them included in the common league against the papists, the elector would never allow it, being vehemently dissuaded from it by Luther, Melancthon, and others of their party, who alledged, "That they taught articles contrary to those received in Saxony; and that therefore there could be no agreement of heart with them." †

* See his Letters to Lineus. † ibid.

These were the sentiments which Luther avowed at a time when some of those who adhered to the doctrines of the reformation were persecuted to death by the papal power. Henry Voes and John Esch, two Austin friars, expired in the midst of flames witn an undaunted courage.—A third involved in the same condemnation was carried back to prison and privately murdered.—This is the first blood that was shed in the Low Countries on account of religion after the reformation.*

"The condition of the peasants in Germany in the year 1524 was deplorable, if there be any thing to deplore in a deprivation of most of the rights and liberties of rational creatures. The feudal system, that execration in the eyes of every being that merits the name of man, had been established in early ages in Germany in all its rigor and horror. It had been planted with a sword reeking with human gore in the night of barbarism, when cannibals drank the warm blood of one enemy out of the skull of another, and it had shot its venomous fibres every way, rooted itself in every transaction, in religion, in law, in diversions, in every thing secular and sacred, so that the wretched rustics had only one prospect for themselves and all their posterity, one horrid prospect of everlasting slavery."†

* Brandt's Hist. of the Reformation. † Robinson's Eccles. Researches.

In the following year broke out what is denominated the "war of the peasants," which raged for several years, and was very destructive. This insurrection is charged by the enemies of the reformation upon the new doctrine, and it may be safely admitted that Luther prepared the way for it, by arousing men to a sense of their condition as reasonable and moral creatures, by opposing and defying authorities hitherto esteemed sacred, and by putting into the hands of the people the New Testament, that book of all others most dangerous to a despotic government. But instead of a reproach to the reformation it is an honor to it to have in the smallest degree incited the peasants to resistance; for in their circumstances resistance was a sacred duty, and there can be pointed ont scarcely one general rising of the people against a government which has not been justified by necessity,—the common error of the people is tame submission. Successful rebellion and resistance to tyranny has ever been esteemed by mankind an act of heroism, and its champions crowned with honor and glory; the unsuccessful, though no less worthy, have been doomed to chains, to imprisonment, and ignominous death, by tyrants; and to infamy, by the sycophants that surround a court, and the base herd under their influence.

Religion, also, mingled itself with the other

causes of discontent and rebellion, and the attention of the peasants was soon directed to Thomas Muncer, a reformed teacher among the baptists, or as they were then called anabaptists. Muncer had committed, in the opinion of Luther, an unpardonable sin, not only in carrying the reformation further than he had, but in carrying it on without him.

"Thomas Muncer was preaching in the country and surveying the condition of the tenants; and it is natural to suppose that he heard and saw their miserable bondage, and that on Luther's plan there was no probability of freedom flowing to the people. It was only intended to free the priests from obedience to the pope, and to enable them to tyrannize over the people in the name of the civil magistrate. Mnncer saw this fallacy, and remonstrated against it, and this was the crime which Luther punished with an unpardonable rigor, and which the followers of Luther have never forgiven to this day. "Muncer," say they, "was a man well skilled in the knowledge of scripture, before the devil inspired him; but then he had the arrogance not only to preach against the pope, but against Master Doctor Martin Luther himself:" as if Martin of Saxony had any better patent for infallibility than Leo of Rome." *

* Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches.

Muncer joined the armed peasants and became their leader. His first act was to publish a manifesto, stating the grievances of which they complained. This manifesto contains, says Robinson, "the rights of man.":—Voltaire says, "Lycurgus might have signed it."

Luther was obeyed to his heart's content.—The regular troops of the several princes exterminated the associated anabaptists—Muncer, their leader, perished on the scaffold, at Mulhausen, 1525. The same grievances, however, and the same principles of truth and liberty, made other anabaptists and other insurgents, and until the year 1535, Germany was the scene of horrid outrages. The anabaptists seem to have become frantic, both by persecution and by power; they seized upon Munster, the capital of the bishoprick of Westphalia, and there they chose an artisan, John of Leyden, for their king, who, if his enemies may be credited, played many kingly tricks, and gave himself up to tyranny and lust. This prophet-king, says Voltaire, had one virtue which is not rare with bandits and tyrants—valour: he defended Munster against Valdeck, its bishop, with intrepid courage for a whole year; and in the extremity to which he was reduced by famine, he refused all accommodation. At length he was taken by treachery, with arms in his hands; captivity did not shake his constancy:

the bishop having asked him how he dared to make himself king, the prisoner in his turn demanded by what right the bishop dared to be a temporal prince: "I have been elected by my chapter," said the prelate; "and I by God himself," replied John of Leyden. The bishop, after having shown him as a monster for some time, from town to town, caused him to be put to death, by having his flesh torn off with red-hot pincers." *

When bishops were thus savage, it cannot be wondered at that anabaptists were monsters.†

The anabaptists were cruelly persecuted, and many of them put to death. That they committed great crimes cannot be denied; but oppression had driven them to extremes, and if any excuse can be formed for them we must seek it in the conduct of their persecutors. It is an observation of one well acquainted with mankind, "oppression will make a wise man mad,"

Carlostadt, the early friend of Luther, and the first that advocated his cause, outstripped his master in the course of the reformation, for this neither Luther nor his friends could ever forgive him. The independence of mind which Carlostadt manifested, was nothing less than heresy in the opinion of the reformer, who caused his friend to be driven from Wittemberg, and at last

* Essay on Universal History. † Christian Reformer vol. 2, p. 340.

from Saxony. Switzerland afforded him an asylum, he was a public teacher at Basil for ten years; he died there in 1541, esteemed while living, and eulogized after his death by Zuinglius, the celebrated Swiss reformer.

The anabaptists had the favor and countenance of Carlostadt, which is a circumstance much to their honor, when the high character Carlostadt sustained is taken into the account. The calumnies against them, handed down through the generations of bigots, sink into nothing, or rather recoil with infamy on their accusers, when contrasted with the approbation of such a man as Carlostadt.

John Calvin, another of the reformers, and to whom the christian world is, on many accounts, under very great obligations, was, however, well known to be in principle and practice a persecutor, So entirely was he in the persecuting measures, that he wrote a treatise in defence of them, maintaining the lawfulness of putting heretics to death. And that by heretics he meant such who differed from himsslf, is evident from his treatment of Castellio and Servetus.

The former, not inferior to Calvin himself in learning and piety, had the misfortune to differ from him in judgment, in the points of predestination, election, free-will and faith. This Calvin could not bear, and therefore treated Castellio in

so rude and cruel a manner, as probably his warmest friends will be ashamed to justify. In some of his writings he calls him "Blasphemer, reviler, malicious barking dog, full of ignorance, bestiality and impudence; impostor, a base corrupter of the sacred writings, a mocker of God, a contemner of all religion, an impudent fellow, a filthy dog, a knave, an impious, lewd, crooked-minded vagabond, beggarly rogue." At other times he calls him "a disciple and brother of Servetus, and a heretic." Castellio's reply to all these flowers, is worthy the patience and moderation of a christian, and from his slanderer he appeals to the righteous judgment of God.

Calvin represented Castellio as a profligate scoffer at religion; yet this same Calvin had given him a testimonial signed with his own hand, as to the integrity of his conduct, declaring, "that he had behaved himself in such a manner, that he was, by the consent of all of them appointed to the pastoral office." Castellio solemnly protested that he had never injured Calvin, and that the sole reason of his displeasure against him was because he differed from him in opinion.—On this account he endeavored to render him every where impious, prohibited the reading of his books; and, what is the last effort of enmity, endeavored to excite the civil magistrate against him to put him to death. But God was pleased

to protect this good man from the rage of his enemies. He died at Basil, in peace; and received an honorable burial, the just reward of his piety, learning, and merit.*

Jerom Bolsec who had been a Carmelite monk but had embraced the reformed religion, excited the wrath of Calvin by differing from him on the subject of free-will and predestination. Calvin was present at a sermon preached by him at Geneva, upon these articles; and, the sermon being ended, publicly opposed him in the congregation. When the assembly was dismissed, poor Bolsec was immediately apprehended, and sent to prison; and soon after, by Calvin's counsel, banished for sedition and pelagianism from the city, and forbid ever to come into it, or the territories of it, under pain of being whipped.†

Calvin's treatment of Michael Servetus, a Spanish physician, is of itself sufficient to justify the opinion, that had he been a lord inquisitor, he would have filled the office in a style of eminence and been the most renowned on the list of persecutors. Servetus differed in opinion from Calvin, for which he had as great a right as Calvin had to differ from the church of Rome. The publication of Servetus' book, entitled "Restitutio Christianismi" which he had before sent to Calvin in MS. so enraged him, that he formed

* Chandler's History of Persecution. † ibid.

the determination to destroy him. In writing to his friends Viret and Farrel, he tells them, that "if this heretic, Servetus, should ever fall into his hands, he would take care that he should lose his life."

Servetus had before published a book, entitled, "De trinitatis erroribus," which gave offence to the principal reformers. Œcolampadius at Basil was required to examine this book, and declared it heretical. No sooner had Servetus published his "Restitutio Christianismi," than Calvin procured his apprehension and imprisonment at Vienne, and in order to strengthen the evidence against him, sent to the magistrates of that city the letters and writings which Servetus had sent to him in confidence at Geneva. This is evident from the sentence itself which was pronounced against him, in which those writings, as well as his printed book, are expressly mentioned, as containing proof of his heresy. Servetus escaped out of this prison, but was sentenced, if he could be caught, to be burned in a slow fire. His effigy and his books were burned. And though Calvin positively denied his having had any correspondence with the popish persecutors of Vienne, yet the letters and papers which he had sent to them, and the actual production of those papers against Servetus, is sufficient evidence to the contrary.

Servetus having escaped from the prison at Vienne, travelled to Geneva, where soon after his arrival, Calvin spirited up one Nicholas de la Fountain, probably one of his pupils, to make information against him; wisely avoiding it himself, because, according to the laws of Geneva, the accuser must submit to imprisonment with the party he accuses, till the crime appears to have a solid foundation and proof. Upon this information Servetus was apprehended and imprisoned. Calvin ingenuously owns, that this whole affair was carried on at his instance and advice; and that, in order to bring Servetus to reason, he himself found out the party to accuse him, and begin the process against him. And therefore, though, the action, after its commencement, was carried on according to the course of law; yet, as Calvin accused him for heresy, got him imprisoned, and began the criminal process against him, he is answerable for all the consequences of his trial, and was in reality the first and principal author of his death; especially as the penal laws against heretics seem at that time to have been in force at Geneva, so that Servetus could not escape the fire upon his conviction of heresy.

When he was in gaol, he was treated with the same rigor as if he had been detained in one of the prisons of the inquisition. He was stripped

of all means of procuring himself the conveniences and supplies he needed in his confinement. They took from him ninety-seven pieces of gold, a gold chain worth twenty crowns, six gold rings, and at last put him into a deep dungeon, where he was almost eaten up with vermin. All this cruelty was practised upon a protestant in the protestant city of Geneva! Besides this, he could never get a proctor or advocate to assist him, or help him in pleading his cause, though he requested it, as being a stranger, and ignorant of the laws and customs of the country. Calvin, at the request of the judges, drew up certain propositions out of Servetus' books, representing them as blasphemous, full of errors and profane reveries, all repugnant to the word of God, and to the common consent of the whole church; and, indeed, he appears to have been acquainted with, and consulted in the whole process, and to have used all his arts and endeavors that Servetus might not come off with impunity.

It is but a poor and mean excuse that Calvin makes for himself in this respect, when he says; "As to the fact, I will not deny, but that it was at my prosecution he was imprisoned:—But that after he was convicted of his heresies, I made no instances for his being put to death." But what need of instances? He had already accused him, got him imprisoned, prosecuted him in a criminal

court for the capital crime of heresy, and actually drew up forty articles against him for heresy, blasphemy, and false doctrine. When he was convicted of these crimes, the law could not but take its course; and his being burnt to death was the necessary consequence of his conviction. What occasion was there then for Calvin to press his execution, when the laws themselves had adjudged him to the flames? But even this excuse, poor as it is, is not sincerely and honestly made: for Calvin was resolved to use all his interest to destroy him. In his letter to Farrel, he expressly says, "I hope, at least, they will condemn him to death, but not to the terrible one of being burned." And in another to Sultzer, "Since the papists, in order to vindicate their own superstitions, cruelly shed innocent blood, it is a shame that chrisiian magistrates should have no courage at all in the defence of certain truth.—However, I will certify you of one thing, that the city treasurer is rightly determined, that he shall not escape that end which we wish him." And in another to the church at Franckfort, "The author (Servetus) is put in gaol by our magistrates, and I hope he will shortly suffer the punishment he deserves. There was but one way possibble for him to escape; and that was by bringing his cause from the criminal court, where he was prosecnted, before the council of

the two hundred. And this Calvin vigorously opposed and reflected on the syndic himself for endeavoring it. He says, "that he pretended illness for three days, and then came into court to save that wretch (Servetus) from punishment; and was not ashamed to demand, that the cognizance of the affair should be referred to the two hundred. However he was unanimously condemned." Now, what great difference is there between a prosecutor's endeavoring to prevent the only method by which a criminal can be saved, and his actually pressing for his being put to death? Calvin actually did the former, and yet would fain persuade us he had no hand in the latter.

It is much of a piece with this, his desiring that the rigor of Servetus's death might be mitigated: for as the laws against heretics were in force at Geneva, the tribunal that judged Servetus could not, after his conviction of heresy, absolve him from death, nor change the manner of it, as Calvin says he would have had it; and therefore his desiring that the rigor of it might be abated, looks too much like the practice of the inquisitors, who when they deliver over a heretic to the secular arm, beseech it so to moderate the rigor of the sentence, as not to endanger life or limb.*

* Chandler's History of Persecution.

It is a melancholy consideration that this deed of blood not only met with apologists in Melancthon, Bucer, the pastors of the church at Basil, the ministers of Bern, of Zurich, and those of Scaffhausen; but was absolutely approved by them. Farrel who had himself suffered persecution, said, that Servetus deserved to die a thousand deaths, and intimated that the judges would be very cruel, and enemies to Christ and his church, if they did not make an example of him. Bucer said, he deserved to have his entrails plucked out and to be torn to pieces. Bullinger said, the the magistrates acted nobly, and that punishing such obstinate heretics was for the glory of God !!!* These men were loud in their condemnation of the popish party for persecuting the reformers, yet manifested the same persecuting spirit towards those who objected to their dogmas. They denied to others that liberty which they claimed for themselves; and in their turn became lords over God's heritage.

With the theoretical opinions of Calvin, and his coadjutors, or with those of any of the reformers, I have nothing at present to do. Were their religious creeds as true and as pure as the gospel itself, their acts of persecution and of cruelty are

* See Letters printed at the end of Calvin's Institutes.—Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches.—Life of Servetus, 1724.—Also, an Apology for the Life and Writings of Servetus, by R. Wright.

deserving of the severest condemnation. To extenuate their crimes, would be to apologize for iniquity, and to become a partaker in their guilt; for,

"He who allows oppression shares the crime."

It is not my intention to impute their conduct to their peculiar religious tenets; it was rather the fruit of that leaven of priestly craft and fondness for dominion, which, however it might in a manner partake of the spirit of the times, is detestable; especially in men who professed to make the gospel of Jesus their guide, and called themselves christians; and who ought to have kept in mind, that, though they trampled upon, and beat, their fellow servants here, with impunity, they must stand before the judgment seat of him, who will say, "Inasmuch as ye did this to the least of these my brethren, ye did it to me."

Valentinus Gentilis, an Italian, being forced to leave his country on account of his religion, retired to Geneva, where there was a church of Italian refugees; but having given offence by his writings to Calvin, he was apprehended, and forced by him and others to a public abjuration of his opinions, and condemned in 1558 to an exemplary sentence, viz. "That he should be stripped close to his shirt, then barefoot and bare-

headed should carry in his hand a lighted torch, and beg God and the court's pardon on his knees, by confessing himself maliciously and wickedly to have spread abroad a false and heretical doctrine; but that he did now from his heart detest and abhor those abominable, lying, and blasphemous books he had composed in its defence; in testimony of which he was to cast them, with his own hands, into the flames, there to be burned to ashes. And for more ample satisfaction, he was enjoined to be led through all the streets of Geneva, at the sound of a trumpet, in his penetential habit, and strictly commanded not to depart the city without permission." And this penance he actually underwent.

Finding means to escape from Geneva, he fled to Gaium, subject to the canton of Bern, where he was apprehended and sent to Bern, at which place he was sentenced to be beheaded, and this sentence was executed in September, 1556.

In the year 1632, Nicholas Anthoine was condemned by the council of Geneva to be first hanged, and afterwards burned; because, "that having forgotten the fear of God, he had committed the crime of apostacy and high treason against God, by having opposed the doctrine of the holy trinity, denied our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, blasphemed his holy name, renounced his baptism, and the like.

At Basil, since the reformation, heresy was deemed a crime deserving the punishment of death. One David George, whose heresy was discovered after his death, was taken out of his grave, and, with his books and pictures, burned to ashes by order of the magistrates.

At Zurich, one Felix Mans was drowned, because he would not suffer his children to be baptized. Ochinus, with his children, in the depth of winter, and in his old age, was banished, because he was an Arian. John Sylvanus, superintendant of the church of Heidelburg, was put to death by order of Frederic, elector palatine, being accused of arianism.

In the year 1658, by an edict published at Warsaw, all the Socinians were required to leave the kingdom of Poland for ever, and capital punishment was denounced against all those who should either profess their opinions, or harbor their persons. They were first indulged with three years to settle their affairs, and dispose of their effects before they went into exile; but this term was afterwards reduced to two years. In the year 1661 the terrible edict was renewed, and all the Socinians that yet remained in Poland were barbarously driven out of that country, some with the loss of their goods, others with the loss of their lives, as neither sickness nor any domestic consideration could suspend the execu-

tion of that rigorous sentence. In consequence of these severe measures the Socinians sought an asylum among their brethren in Transylvania. A considerable number were dispersed through the adjacent provinces of Silesia, Brandenburgh, and Prussia, where their posterity still subsist.—Others repaired to Holland and England. Thus their churches, after having existed for more than a hundred years in Poland, were at last extirpated from it, and overwhelmed in the storm of persecution, when they had before increased and flourished amidst scenes of oppression and blood.* Nor did they meet with much protection and favor in other countries; for whithersoever they retreated they found formidable enemies. The secular and ecclesiastical powers united against them, and they were every where

* It may be observed, that the protestants in Poland, who had suffered the unitarians to be banished about twenty years before, were afterwards reduced to such a poor and distressed situation, as to need the liberal services of other nations, and to solicit King Charles the Second for a brief in their favor.—They willingly permitted nay promoted severe and intolerant measures against the unitarians, when it was in their power to have prevented them, if so much as one of their deputies had protested against them in the Diet; and now weakened by the loss of the whole unitarian interest, it came to their own turns to be sufferers. They had never lost either country or liberty, if they had not voted themselves out of both, by their former votes against the unitarians. *Toulmin's Life of Socinus.—Note.*

condemned by the laws of the church and the state.*

In Holland, in the very infancy of the reformation, the Lutherans and Calvinists condemned each other for their supposed heterodoxy respecting the sacrament, and regarded compliance and mutual toleration to be things intolerable, The prince of Orange, and states of Holland, were not inclined to favor any party in preference to the other, but the ecclesiastics, who adhered to the tenets of their different leaders, were not under the influence of such just sentiments; they could advocate the cause of persecution, and yet call themselves the disciples of Jesus. Strange inconsistency! Nothing could serve these aspiring men but to possess the dominion over conscience; they succeeded so far as to obtain the aid of the civil power to carry their designs into execution. The anabaptists felt the effects of their domination. In Friezeland and Groningen, several placards were published against them, forbidding them to preach, and also persons from letting their houses and ground to them, under the penalty of a large fine, or confinement to bread and water for fourteen days. If they offended the third time, they were to be banished the city, and the jurisdiction thereof. Whosoever was discovered to re-baptize any person, should

* Toulmin's life of Socinus, p. 272, &c.

forfeit twenty dollars; and upon a second conviction to be put to bread and water, and then be banished. Unbaptized children were made incapable of inheriting; and if any one married out of the reformed church, he was declared incapable of inheriting any estate, and the children made illegitimate.

A violent dispute arose between the Calvinists and Arminians, respecting the doctrine of free-will and reprobation, attempts were made to reconcile the contending parties; but the predestinarians which formed the largest party, would listen to no concessions, the remonstrants were the objects of their furious zeal; they called them mamelukes, devils, and plagues; animating the magistrates to extirpate and destroy them, crying out from their pulpits, "We must go through thick and thin, without fearing to stick in the mire: we know what Elijah did to Baal's priests." And when the time drew near for the election of new magistrates, they prayed to God for such men, "as would be zealous even to blood, though it were to cost the whole trade of their cities."

To settle these controversies recourse was had to a national synod, which, by the direction of Prince Maurice of Orange, was appointed to be held at Dort. Maurice took care to effect the return of such members to the council as were devoted to the interest of himself and family. In

order to this, several magistrates who were known to favor the remonstrants were deposed, and the contra-remonstrants put into their places. Many of the remonstrants were imprisoned, among whom were Oldenbarnvelt and Grotius. The persons appointed were generally the most violent contra-remonstrants, and who had publicly declared, that they would not enter into communion with those who differed from them, nor agree to any terms of peace.

The first meeting of the council of Dort, was on the 13th Nov. 1618. The President was John Bogerman, the same person who had before translated Beza's Book, "on the lawfulness of punishing heretics." To this tribunal of faith and opinions the remonstrants were summoned. When they appeared and Episcopius in the name of the rest, talked of entering into a regular conference, upon the points in dispute, he was answered that no conference was intended; that their only business was to deliver their sentiments, and humbly to wait the judgment of the council.

Episcopius, in the name of his brethren declared, that they did not own the synod for their lawful judges; upon which they were reprimanded by the president for impeaching and arraigning their authority. The divines of Geneva added, that, if people obstinately refused to sub-

mit to the lawful determination of the church, the civil magistrate might use the arm of compulsion; and the church might excommunicate them. The remonstrants adhering to their resolution of not owning the authority of the synod, they were forcibly turned out by Bogerman the president.

Having thus rid themselves of the remonstrants, whose talents and learning would have been troublesome to these protestant fathers; they proceeded to fix the faith of the multitude, and to pronounce sentence against the remonstrants—concluding with "earnestly beseeching their gracious God, that their high mightinesses may suffer and ordain this wholesome doctrine, which the synod hath faithfully expressed—to be maintained alone, and in its purity within their provinces—and restrain turbulent and unruly spirits—and may likewise put in execution the sentence pronounced against the remonstrants, &c. &c."

The states readily obliged them in this christian and charitable request; for as soon as the synod was concluded, the old advocate Barnevelt was beheaded, who had been a zealous and hearty friend to the remonstrants and their principles, and Grotius condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and because the cited ministers would not promise wholly, and always to abstain from the exercise of their ministerial functions, the states passed a resolution for the ba-

nishing of them on pain, if they did not submit to it, of being treated as disturbers of the public peace. And though they only begged a respite of the sentence for a few days, to put their affairs in order, and to provide themselves with a little money to support themselves and families in their banishment, even this was unmercifully denied them, and they were hurried away next morning by four o'clock, as if they had been enemies to the religion and liberties of their country.*

Thus terminated the decisions of this presbyterian council;—a company of priests without the name; †—in spirit and in conduct worthy to be compared with popish inquisitors. Wherever bigotry and intolerance reign, there dwells the spirit of antichrist. The remonstrants were every where driven out of their churches, and prohibited from holding any private meetings, and many of them banished their country. For a full and particular relation of the transactions of this synod, the reader is referred to Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Low Countries.

* Chandler's History of Persecution.

† "The New Presbytery is but OLD PRIEST writ large."
MILTON.

CHAP. III.

Of the Persecutions of the Protestants in France.

For many ages the monarchs of France, with very few exceptions, instigated and abetted by a lordly priesthood, have ranged themselves on the side of persecutors. These eldest sons of the church, true to the cause of their *holy mother*, have supported her usurpations, her pretended infallibility, and her invasions of the rights of conscience, by deeds the most cruel and bloody.

John Le Clerc, a carder, was the first martyr in France. He was arrested at Meaux in 1523, whipped in a most cruel manner for several days, branded on the forehead with a red-hot iron, and banished from that town in 1524. He was afterwards burned alive at Metz. Two other ministers were burned alive at Paris the following year; and the great bell of Notre Dame was rung on the occasion. Many others suffered in the same manner.

About the year 1546, a violent persecution broke out at Meaux, and extended so far that fourteen persons were burned alive in the great market place of that town; many were hanged, others were whipped, and many more imprisoned.

Henry II. caused many of the reformed to be put to death. He ordered the victims of his unhallowed zeal for the catholic church, to be drawn up by pullies, and let down again into the fire, in order to prolong their torments; and would himself be present at these horrible executions!

Soon after this a civil war broke out, and kept the country in a disturbed state many years; during which time the king of Navarre was killed at the siege of Rouen, the duke of Guise was shot by a gentleman at the siege of Orleans, Condé was made prisoner by the royalists, and Montmorenci by the protestants. A peace was at length concluded, by the terms of which the privileges of the protestants were more limited than before, although it was purchased with the lives of fifty thousand men.

The war was sometime afterwards renewed, and after a number of sieges, and alternate victories and defeats, both parties became weary of the contest, and again a peace was concluded on terms favorable to the protestants.

The court of France not being able to subdue the protestants by force, contrived to lull their suspicions asleep by a dissembled reconciliation; and with this view nothing was spared to flatter and encourage them. Besides a general amnesty, and the free exercise of their religion, excepting

at court, their confiscated property was to be restored; they were to be admitted into all the universities, &c.—And to remove all doubt of the sincerity of the court, a marriage was proposed between the king's sister and the young king of Navarre. These measures were but pretences, to put the protestants off their guard, while a plan of massacre should be matured by a perfidious tyrant, and a persecuting priesthood.

The first step taken by the court was to procure the assassination of the constable Coligni; he had been shot at and dangerously wounded. The king affected so much concern for him on this occasion, and expressed himself with so much kindness, that Coligni entrusted his safety to him; the royal word was pledged for his security; but having got him and his principal friends to lodge in the same part of the city, a resolution was taken to massacre all the protestants in Paris in one night, the eve of St. Bartholomew, August, 24, 1572. The king of Navarre, and the duke of Condé, on account of their youth and rank were the only persons excepted.

On the awful night in which the slaughter commenced, the commissioned murderers, headed by the duke of Guise, entered the chamber of Coligni. The admiral who learned the intention of the intruders from the news of the death of his porter whom they had killed, was found in

the act of devotion, with his chaplain and friends. A young man rushed upon him with his sword. "Young man," said Coligni, "you ought to respect my grey hairs, but do what you will, you cannot shorten my life much." On which, without making any reply, the assassin thrust his sword through his body. It was then thrown out of the window, and treated with every kind of indignity by the populace; even the duke d'Angouleme, natural son of the queen, joined in trampling on it, till at the command of that wicked woman, the disfigured head was cut off, and sent as a present to his holiness, the Roman pontiff. After this the massacre became general.

The following account of this horrid massacre is given by the duke of Sully, who was himself a witness of the bloody scene.

"If I were inclined to increase the general horror, inspired by an action so barbarous as that perpetrated on the 24th of August, I should in this place enlarge on the number, the quality, the virtues and great talents of those murdered on this horrible day, as well in Paris, as in every other part of the kingdom. I have writings still in my hands, which would confirm the report of the court of France, having made the most pressing instances to the neighbouring courts, to follow its example with regard to the protestants, or at least to refuse an asylum to those unfortunate people.—But I would, were it in my power, for ever obliterate the memory of a day, that divine vengeance made France groan for, by a continual succession of misfortunes, blood and horror, during six and

twenty years.—It is with regret, that I cannot omit what happened on this occasion to the prince who is the subject of these memoirs, and to myself."

"I was in bed and awakened from sleep, three hours after midnight, by the sound of all the bells, and the confused cries of the populace. My governor St. Julian, with my valet-de-chambre, went hastily out to know the cause, and I never afterwards heard more of them; they were, without doubt, amongst the first that were sacrificed to the public fury.—I continued alone in my chamber dressing myself, when, in a few minutes, I saw my landlord enter, pale and confused. He was of the reformed religion, and had consented to go to mass, to save his house from being pillaged, and his life from destruction. He came to persuade me to do the same, and to take me with him. I did not follow him, but resolved to try if I could gain the college of Burgundy where I had studied; though the great distance I then was from the college made the attempt very dangerous! Having disguised myself in a scholar's gown, I put a large prayer book under my arm, and went into the street. I was seized with horror inexpressible, at the sight of the furious murderers, who running from all parts, forced open the houses and cried—kill—kill—massacre the Hugenots!! The blood I saw shed before my eyes redoubled my terror. I fell into the midst of a body of guards, they stopped me, interrogated me, and were beginning to use me ill, when happily for me, the book that I carried was perceived and served me for a passport. Twice after this, I fell into the same danger, from which I extricated myself with the same good fortune—At last, I arrived at the college of Burgundy, where a danger still greater than I had yet met with, awaited me. The porter having twice refused me entrance, I continued standing in the midst of the street, at the mercy of the furious murderers, whose numbers increased every moment, and who were evidently seeking for their prey. I prevailed

on the porter to let me in, for a few pieces of money, when two inhuman priests, wanted to force me from him, to cut me to pieces, saying the order was not to spare even infants at the breasts!—The king of Navarre was obliged to go to mass; if he had refused, he would have been murdered. I was advised to do the same. The king and the prince of Condé, were awaked two hours before day, by armed soldiers, who rushing into their room, carried them to king Charles, who immediately commanded them to go to mass, or suffer as criminals and rebels.

"It was not long before Charles felt the most violent remorse, for the barbarity to which he had given the sanction of his name.—From the evening of the 24th of August, he was observed to groan involuntarily, at the recital of a thousand cruelties, practised on that occasion. The number of protestants murdered, during eight days, over all the kingdom, amounted to seventy thousand! Soon after this Charles IX died in the most dreadful torments."*

The massacre was dreadful; children were taught to plunge the dagger into the bosoms of children in the cradle. The duke of Guise brother of the last of that name, the duke of Angouleme, and other titled barbarians walked the streets and commanded in the king's name, "that all the race of serpents should be exterminated." The king himself encouraged the massacre, by crying out of his palace window, "kill them, kill them."

When the news of this massacre arrived at Rome it occasioned the greatest joy. The letter

* Sully's Memoirs.

of the pope's nuncio at the court of France was read in the assembly of cardinals on the 6th of September, informing them that the scheme was projected by the king; and it was immediately resolved that the pope, accompanied by the cardinals, should go to the church of St. Mary, to give God thanks in the most solemn manner for the singular favor he had shown to the holy see and to all christendom. Solemn mass was performed, a jubilee was proclaimed. Firing of cannons, bon-fires and every other manifestation of joy took place. The name of this vicar of christ, this holy pontiff, this successor of the apostles, was Gregory XIII. The cardinal of Lorraine, who was then at Rome, gave 1000 crowns of gold to the person who brought him the news. These ecclesiastics had more the character of the priests of Moloch, than of the ministers of Jesus, whose precepts they violated, and whose name they blasphemed.

Henry IV. granted to the protestants the full enjoyment of their liberties, by the famous edict of Nantz, so named because it was published in that city. By this edict not only was liberty of conscience granted to the protestents, but free admission to places of honor and emolument, and also to the public universities; and to print their own books on religion without interruption.—They were also allowed to retain several fortified towns, among which was Rochelle.

Henry IV. was succeeded by his infant son, Louis XIII. The queen mother who was regent confirmed the edict of Nantz. Cardinal Richliew attained the rank of prime minister, as a reward for an infamous libel which he published against the protestants. This intriguing cardinal having taken Rochelle by force of arms from the protestants and annexed it to the crown of France, gained a complete ascendancy over the weak mind of his master. He used his influence to abridge the protestants of their liberty; he effected much and was meditating more, when the hand of death arrested his progress. He went down to the tomb, unpitied and unlamented; to which his master soon followed as little regretted by the public as the cardinal had been.

Louis XIV. succeeded his father at the age of five years. The queen mother was intrusted with the management of affairs during the minority of her son, and cardinal Mazarine was made prime minister. The edict of Nantz was again confirmed, and when the king came of age this confirmation was repeated. Mazarine inherited the hatred of his predecessor in office, (Richlieu) and seized every opportunity to persuade the young king to revoke the edict of Nantz.

Colbert who was minister of finance, was a friend to peace, and to the protestants. The chancellor Le Tellier, and Louvais his son hated

Colbert, and wished to destroy the protestants. The clergy and the jesuits assisted in this pious work. The protestants were subjected to various inconveniences. Persons were forbidden to embrace and to profess the protestant faith. Soldiers were quartered in their houses, their churches were shut up on the most frivolous pretences. Intermarriages with catholics were prohibited.—Their colleges were suppressed. They were no longer allowed to print their books. Their ministers were forbidden to preach. Their sick and dying were allowed none but catholic priests to attend them.

At length the fatal year arrived, in which the long laid plot of extirpating protestantism, begun and conducted by the clergy, was to be executed. The old chancellor, Father Le Tellier, perceiving he should die before the session of parliament, obtained of the king by frequent importunities, that the grand affair, the revocation of the edict of Nantz, should be deferred no longer, but that he might have the honor to put the seal to it before he expired. He was indulged—the edict was prepared, the seal was put to it Oct. 8th, 1685, and four days after it was registered in the chamber of vacations. "The superannuated old sinner," says Robinson,* was so infatuated as to adopt Simeon's words when he sealed the instrument. *Lord now lettest thou*

* Life of Claude.

thy servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation. It was the last act of his chancellorship, and he died soon after with these words in his mouth, *I will sing of the mercies of the Lord for ever.* His panegyrist says, he went on singing the rest of the psalm when he got to heaven! Our historian says very laconically "I am not sure of that."† Many were put to death, others banished the kingdom.

No less than eight hundred thousand persons were driven from France by this impolitic and unjust measure. These men carried with them their riches, their arts, and their manufactures. They were received most cordially in Holland, Denmark and England. The silk manufactory at Spitalfields owes its origin to this emigration. This persecution, says Voltaire, rather increased than diminished the sect it was intended to destroy, and France derived not from it even an ideal advantage. The priests were the foremost to celebrate the praises of Louis, which shows that the spirit of the priesthood is a spirit of persecution and of intolerance.

Among the sufferers under this cruel persecution may be selected three individuals, as a sort of epitome of the cruelties which were inflicted on the protestants. These were Morelles, Le Fevre, and P. Mauru.

† Life of Claude.

Louis de Morelles held the office of king's counsellor. On the revocation of the edict of Nantz, he was arrested on his way to Strasburgh as he was endeavoring to quit the kingdom; and was afterwards condemned to the gallies for life, and all his goods forfeited to the king. He was loaded with irons, and confined in a prison at Paris, until there should be a certain number of prisoners to make up a chain; (so called from a number of them being chained together on the road) here he says, he was shut up in company with seven miserable wretches, and the place was so dark that he could not see their faces; and from its extreme dampness he expected to have suffered considerably in his health—in this situation he was confined for six months.

On the 20th July, 1686, the chain departed from Paris; at this time Mr. Marolles was ill of a fever. They had but little way to go to the boat in which they were to be conveyed. In this passage he was met by his children, who threw themselves on his neck and kissed him! His wife could not encounter so great a trial. Without any attention being paid to his condition, although he was evidently sick, he was, immediately on his arrival at Marseilles, sent to a galley, conducted by two archers who were obliged to support him all the way; and he was chained as other galley slaves were. Some of the officers

seeing him in this condition had him sent to the hospital until he recovered his health, which he did in about three weeks. Alternately on board the gallies, and in dungeons he spent more than six years of suffering, worse than death; nakedness, hunger, and pain—from which he was freed by the hand of death. During the whole of this time, all the letters that he had an opportunity of writing to his friends, breathe a spirit truly christian; expressing the greatest resignation to the will of his heavenly father; without any ill will to his persecutors, and feeling more for others, especially for his wife and family, than he did for himself—In the last day he shall stand in his lot and receive the reward of his sufferings.

Isaac le Fevre was by profession an advocate or counsellor. After the revocation of the edict of Nantz, he intended to seek an asylum in Switzerland, but was apprehended near the town of Portali. From this place he was sent to Besancon, when he was insulted and robbed of every thing he had, and his horse was given to the archer who apprehended him. He was loaded with irons, brought to trial, and sentenced to the gallies for life. The day following he was put into a dungeon with fetters on his feet night and day; in this state he remained more than two months. A counsellor seeing him carry his chains awkwardly said, that a person who was

satisfied that he was in the true religion would suffer even unto death.—To this he replied, that what he said was true, and that he was in the way to it.

When he was arrived at Marseilles, he wrote, that he had suffered so much on his journey, that the guard thinking that he was dead, some took one thing from him, and some another; and that had they not made a little stop at Avignon, and he been permitted to take a litter, for which he paid with his own money, he could not have survived it. After his arrival he was forty-eight hours without being able to eat or drink any thing that was given to him, and without getting any sleep.

Before Mr. Le Fevre was perfectly recovered, and even while he was not able to stand, he was put on board the galley. An officer seeing him in this situation said that had he been sent to the gallies for any crime, he might have expected the kindest treatment. "These," he "said, are hard extremes; but in all events I shall trust in God, and praise him as long as I live."

After having been kept on board the galley for about a year he was removed to a dungeon where he was confined till his death in 1702, which was in all sixteen years, and ten years after the death of Mr. Marolles. His prison was a vault of an irregular form, that had been a stable, but found

to be too damp for the horses. There still was a rack and manger it. No light came into it but by the door, the upper part of which was broken, and grated within and without; so that the place was dark as well as damp, and had an offensive smell. Every thing rotted in it, and he never saw any fire but that of a candle.

When he first became an inhabitant of this horrid place, he was searched and every thing taken from him. No person was allowed to come near him, much less to speak to him; and his food was full of filth,—he was also often without linen or clothes. Here he was so closely guarded that no news of him could reach his friends, and he sometimes kept his letters by him for twelve months before he could find an opportunity of sending them. Such was the rigor of his persecutors, that a soldier who had rendered him some trifling service was condemned to be hanged.

The priests attempted his conversion, but they could not shake the constancy of his faith, nor loosen the attachment to what he conceived to be the truth of the gospel of Jesus. Of the last scenes of his life and the circumstances of his death, there are no particulars recorded.

Peter Mauru, the third of these sufferers, in his attempt to get out of France, was stopped at Burgundy, and afterwards sentenced to the gallies for life.

In the galley his sufferings almost exceed belief, and seven or eight times he seemed to be at the point of death, and yet showed a noble example of piety, humility, and constancy. In a letter to Mr. Le Fevre, who requested to be informed of the particulars of the bastinados to which he had been subjected, he said he could not recollect all of them, that he had sometimes forty blows at a time, and never less than twenty, and this sometimes for eight or ten days successively.

When the captain of the galley knew for what he had been sent there, he had him searched, and all his books and papers taken from him. He was fixed in a place where a spy was set over him, and he was continually tormented with needless labor. No person was permitted to speak to him besides a priest who endeavored to convert him. An inferior officer requesting to have the management of him, saying he could do more with him than the missionaries, he was put into his hands, and only not allowed to take his life; and he every day contrived some new mode of tormenting and mortifying him. Among other things the most wicked of the Turkish slaves and Moors were placed about him, and encouraged in insulting and abusing him. But he said that though in his body he suffered all day long, his heart rejoiced in his savior day and night.

At the end of a painful voyage he had an illness which continued a month, when he was taken to the hospital, and his life was a long time despaired of. After bearing this hard treatment ten years, his constitution was entirely broken, and he had a continual cough which hardly allowed him to speak. In this languishing condition he continued from A. D. 1695 to 1696, and soon after this he died. Some person having got a coffin made for him, the almoner caused it to be unnailed, and had the body taken out, and buried without one. Mr. Le Fevre, who outlived him, said he preserved his senses sound to the last, and his faith and constancy were stronger than ever.

Thus were these men, who had committed no crime, persecuted to death. Indeed there is reason to suppose that had they been robbers, or even murderers, some lenity would have been shown to them; but heresy, in the opinion of priests and priest-ridden tyrants, is the unpardonable sin, and for which they made it a capital crime for an advocate to intercede.*

There were many other victims of oppression at this time, who suffered cruel mockings,

* For a more particular account of the sufferings of Marolles and Le Fevre, the reader is referred to a long and affecting narrative, translated from the French; a new edition of which was published, by Dr. Priestley, in 1788, containing more than 200 closely printed pages.

scourgings, and bastinadoes. For a particular account of which the reader is referred to a narrative published by M. Bion, who was chaplain on board the French gallies in 1703. The cruelties he saw exercised on the unhappy victims, and their patience under them, so affected his mind that he became a protestant.

At length the tyrant, who had been as distinguished a persecutor as he was a warrior, fell beneath the scythe of death. "His career was marked by blood;—blood shed in perpetual foreign wars at the commencement of his reign, and drawn from the veins of thousands of his pro testant subjects towards its conclusion. In short, we may sum up his character by saying, in one word, he was a *Tyrant*, and indelible infamy must stain his memory as long as the faithful pen of history shall record the cruelties inflicted on the revocation of the edict of Nantz! *

Louis XV. succeeded to the crown of his great grandfather. Although persecutions were not general under the reign of this monarch, yet some blood was spilt, and the liberty of meeting in public, for the purposes of divine worship, was denied to the reformed. In 1724, an edict was published, which in severity equalled any of those of Louis XIV. The first article of this edict prohibits all religions but the Roman ca-

* Cobbin's History of the Reformed Church in France.

tholic; and condemns all who shall assemble for the purpose of any other, to the gallies for life, if men; and if women, to be shorn and imprisoned for life. And that all preachers who shall call such assemblies, and preach in them, shall be punished with death. It also prohibits all persons who are not of the catholic religion from filling places of honor, trust, and emolument,* from being physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, or midwives, booksellers or printers.†

The commencement of the reign of the unfortunate Louis XVI. was disgraced by acts of intolerance and persecution. The year that he ascended the throne, a protestant minister was imprisoned three months, for performing divine service, and in 1776 arrests were issued against several who had engaged in public worship. But the condition of the protestants greatly improved, Malesherbes, Rulhieres, and the Baron de Breteuil pleaded their cause, and the writings of Rabaut St. Etienne, pastor of the church of Nismes, operated considerably in their favor. In 1787, an edict was announced, which restored

* Something like the test and corporation laws in England.

† The document referred to above is too long for insertion in this work. It will be found at length in the appendix to Cobbin's History of the Reformed Church in France, lately published. I would recommend a serious perusal of this edict to the catholics of the present day, and to the advocates of the test act, and of the penal statutes on account of religious opinions.

the protestants to their civil rights; but it met with some opposition in the parliament; and one enthusiast started up in the assembly when it was discussed, and presenting a crucifix, peremptorily enquired, "If they were going to crucify the Son of God afresh?"

Notwithstanding the edict in their favor, the protestants were in many instances persecuted, until the national assembly declared, that "all the citizens are equal in the eye of the law, and are equally admissible to all dignities, places, and public employments, without any distinction but that of virtue and talents."*

* The following extract from the celebrated speech of Rabaut St. Etienne, in the national assembly of France, it is hoped will be interesting to the reader; who will easily perceive that the arguments apply with equal force to all classes of dissenters in England as to the protestants in France.

"Your principles are, that liberty of thought and of opinion is an unalienable and imprescriptible right. This liberty, gentlemen, is the most sacred of all; it goes beyond the empire of man; it takes refuge within the conscience, as within an inviolable sanctuary, where no mortal has a right to penetrate; it alone is excepted from submission to the common laws of society; to fetter it is injustice, to attack it is sacrilege.

"Thus then, gentlemen, in France, in the 18th century, the maxim of barbarous times has been adhered to, of dividing a nation into a favored and disgraced caste. Protestants are deprived of several of the advantages of society. In a word, gentlemen, to complete their degradation, and the injury done them, proscribed in their thoughts, culpable in their opinions,

The assembly decreed, "that no one should be molested for his opinion." The protestants were

they are deprived of the liberty of professing their worship. The penal laws (and what laws but these rest upon this principle that error is a crime!) The penal laws against their worship have not been abolished; in several provinces they are reduced to the necessity of celebrating it in deserts, exposed to all the inclemency of the seasons; of stealing themselves, like criminals, from the tyranny of the law, or rather of rendering the law ridiculous, from its injustice, by eluding and violating it every day.

Thus, gentlemen, the protestants do all for their country, and their country treats them with ingratitude. They serve it as citizens, and are treated like persons proscribed; they serve like men whom you have made free, they are treated as if they were slaves. I will not do the nation the injustice to suppose that it could pronounce the word intolerance—that is banished from our language, or it will remain there only as one of those barbarous and obsolete words which are no longer used, because the idea represented by them is annihilated. But, gentlemen, it is not toleration that I plead for, it is liberty. Toleration! support! pardon! clemency! ideas to the last degree unjust towards the dissenters, so long as it shall remain true, that the difference of religion, the difference of opinion, is not a crime. Toleration! I demand that it also be proscribed, and it will be so; that unjust word, which holds us out as citizens that deserve pity, which exhibits as culpable persons who require pardon, those whom chance often, or education, leads to think in a manner different from ourselves. Error, gentlemen, is not a crime; he who professes it takes it for truth; it is truth to him; he is obliged to profess it; and no man, no society, has a right to forbid him.—*See this admirable speech at length, in the appendix to Christie's Letters on the French Revolution,* p. 129—143.

admitted to various civil privileges.—Rabaut was chosen to succeed the abbé Montesquieu in the presidency of the national assembly. The confiscated property of the reformed, which remained in the hands of government, was restored by a decree of the 19th July, 1790.

The protestants enjoyed full liberty of conscience under the government of Bonaparte. When the deputation from the churches of Geneva waited upon him to express the sense they entertained of the protection he afforded them, Napoleon replied, "I wish it to be understood that my intention and my firm determination are to maintain liberty of worship, *the empire of the law ends, where the empire of conscience begins;* neither the law nor the prince must infringe upon this empire. Such are my principles and those of the nation; and if any one of my race, prior to his succeeding me, forgets the oath which I have taken, and, deceived by the inspiration of a false conscience, attempts to violate it, I devote him to public animadversion, and I authorise you to call him Nero."

Circumstances having led to the removal of Napoleon from the head of the government, Louis, the brother of the unfortunate king of the French, was placed on the throne. His first acts were of rather a favorable kind. He published a circular letter, announcing free toleration to the protest-

ants. But shortly after the priests gained an ascendency over him, and in the royal charter which announced the constitution, the catholic religion was declared to be the only religion of the state.

The procession of the Fête de Dieu was revived, and the protestants were insultingly ordered to hang out tapestry at their windows in honor of the host, which they refused to do. The catholics exclaimed, "we will no longer suffer amongst us those villains, those monsters of protestants! we must rid ourselves of them. The king will have but one religion." Inflammatory songs were chaunted about the streets by persons in a state of intoxication, repeating in chorus, "we will wash our hands in the blood of the protestants, &c."

Napoleon having escaped from Elba and landed in France, the royal family fled from Paris with the greatest precipitation. And though the protestants had been so very ill treated by the catholics, they did not, on a change of circumstances, retaliate.

The battle of Waterloo destroyed the last hope of Napoleon, and he was obliged by the senate to abdicate the throne; and the armies of the allies once more seated Louis XVIII upon it.

The catholics took advantage of the change, and soon set up the cry of "down with the

Huguenots." They proceeded to pillage the houses of the protestants, and to inflict upon them acts of cruelty. Not satisfied with this, the fanatical rabble ran about the streets calling for another Bartholomew day. Many women disgraced themselves by joining in these atrocities.

During these persecutions, visits had been paid to the spot by several members of the royal family, but from causes not accounted for, it was always remarked that the persecution was worse after their departure.

In July some of the principal inhabitants of Nismes laid before the king a representation of their sufferings in the form of a petition, in the conclusion of which they supplicate in the following terms :—

"Save us, Sire; protect your children; extinguish the brands of religious and civil war. A single act of your authority will suffice to restore political existence to a city rendered interesting by its manufactures and population. Demand an account of their conduct from the chiefs who have brought about miseries, which they should have foreseen, and yet have not prevented."

On this petition it does not appear that any proceedings were taken by the government; while a pamphlet, in defence of the calumniated

and persecuted protestants of Lower Languedoc, was immediately suppressed by the police of Paris. Secret, but all powerful influence, counteracted the efforts of those military or municipal officers, who were anxious to restore order and afford protection; and whose good offices, the protestants with a noble frankness, came forward to acknowledge and to certify on oath. Troops were raised under an arrangement distinct from that of the government, were decorated with cockades different from those of the king; and the assassins, called by the name of volunteers, were not only screened from public justice, but were promoted by the catholic royalists for their zeal in the butchery of those who profess the same faith with ourselves.

From the 17th of July to the 24th of August, (when some Austrian troops entered Nismes,) the greater number of persons were murdered; but assassination, murder, and pillage continued till the latter end of November.

The same scenes were acted at Uzés, and in some instances with more cruelty. The protestants were tried and executed by the populace, and the most sanguinary periods of the revolution were renewed. All the country round was a scene of desolation and horror. The pastors fled and wandered in the mountains. Divine worship was every where interrupted or suspended. Six

thousand of the inhabitants of Nismes deserted their dwellings. From the appearance of the country it might have been supposed that the edict of Nantz had just been revoked. The roads were covered with mothers bearing their infants in their arms, and leading their young children, without knowing where to procure food or shelter, and many died by the way, of want and fatigue.

On the 1st of September, a proclamation was issued by the king, on the disturbed state of the southern provinces, but instead of producing tranquillity, and procuring safety to the protestants, their churches remained closed, and massacres were still perpetrated, for no decided measures were taken to punish a single individual who had been engaged in this bloody business.

In the months of October and November, general La Garde, then commandant at Nismes, exerted his influence to save the protestants, and in one instance prevented an intended massacre of them; but he at length became the victim of fanatical rage.

The Duke of Angouleme was on a visit to the city of Nismes, and prior to his departure, ordered the protestants to re-open their temples. They were fearful of the consequences and opened one only, and that in as private a manner as possible that they might not irritate their enemies. But they were insulted as they passed in the

street, and the steps leading to their temples were occupied by the mob. These were dispersed and the worship began, but was soon interrupted The national guards of the city were ordered to protect the protestants, but they refused, saying, " we will not expose ourselves for such villains." The general procured a double guard elsewhere to protect the worshipers in quitting the temple, but, notwithstanding this, violence was offered to the persons of some old men and women. The officiating pastor fled to his house, with his wife by his side, and his child in his arms, assailed with stones by a band of ruffians. The president of the consistory, a venerable old man of seventy years of age, was also pursued by the populace, who cried out, " kill, kill this chief of brigands," he was rescued by some officers, who drew their swords in his defence.

Indignant at this outrage, the count de la Garde, mounted on his horse, was in the act of approaching a crowd of persons, to disperse the mob, when a ruffian seized his bridle, and one Boisset, a serjeant of one of the battalions of royal volunteers shot him with a pistol ; he had strength enough to reach his hotel, and fainted.— On reviving a little, before the surgeon had dressed his wound, he wrote a letter to the government to inform them who was the criminal, that, in case of his death, no one might accuse the protestants.

When the populace saw that the general was wounded, they assisted the assassin to escape, and gave vent to their feelings of malignant joy and cruel revenge. They returned to the temple, broke open the doors, and destroyed every thing it contained, and carried off the money intended for the relief of the poor.

The Duke of Angouleme was immediately informed of these events; he returned to the city, expressed his displeasure to the national guards, had an interview with several members of the consistory, and ordered the temples to be opened. The prince quitted the place, and the day after, Briche, general of division, published a proclamation at Nismes, the principal paragraph of which began by applauding the very men who had refused to protect the protestants:—" Brave national guards, the prince is reconciled to you; he never believed that you had changed. Your prefect and your general have easily convinced him that the disturbances which have agitated Nismes these three months past, are occasioned only by the malevolent enemies of government!"

During this dreadful persecution it is estimated that the property pillaged amounted to five millions of francs. Three hundred and fifty houses were destroyed, the largest manufactories were ruined and shut up, and the silk trade, formerly so prosperous in Nismes under the late govern-

ment, flourishes no more. The temples of Pignan, and St. Afrique burnt to the ground. Two hundred women, and about two thousand men were murdered. Six thousand escaped their fury and fled to the mountains. All that were found in their dwellings were massacred. The name of *protestant* was a sentence of death.*

To enumerate but a small part of the barbarous cruelties, exercised in a country, boasting superior refinement to the other nations of Europe, would carry me to a length inadmissible in the present pages. From the few particulars already given, the reader will be ready to inquire, how it is possible, that in the 19th century, such enormities could have been perpetrated. To this it may be replied:—The unnatural union of church and state, strengthened by a gross superstition, has been the general cause of the persecutions that have taken place under the christian name. And, as a nervous writer of the present day has said, " the steams will be for ever rising from that infernal pit, until the crevices are filled with the ruins of human establishments."†

That the persecutions in France have sprung, in a measure at least, from this source is proved from the language of educated catholics in France,

* Cobbin's History of the Reformed Church in France.

† Hall's Apology for the Freedom of the Press.

which is, " We can never be tranquil as long as there are two religions in France." One of the representatives of the Gard, Bernis, in a letter addressed to the duke of Angouleme, dated January, 31, 1816, says, " I believe it of absolute importance that one of the parties he finally crushed, and thus prevented from a contest with the other. The chiefs must be in our power. This is the only measure that can secure tranquillity for the time to come."

Those who wish for further and more copious accounts of the late persecutions in France are referred to Perrot's Report of the Persecution of the French Protestants.—Cobbin's Statements—and his Historical View of the Reformed Church of France.—And Miss Williams' Letter respecting the French Protestants.

CHAP. IV

Of Persecutions in Great Britain.

Our own country has afforded many sad instances of that spirit and practice of persecution by which other nations have disgraced themselves.—Even those who were styled our reformers, and who had witnessed the flames kindled by fanaticism and bigotry; in their turn resorted to the same means, to destroy what they called heresy.

Henry VIII. at the moment he was throwing off the popish yoke, manifested his attachment to orthodoxy, by burning for heresy Bilney, and Bayfield a monk, in the year 1531, and Baynam a lawyer, in 1532.

Henry burnt thirty of the reformed christians, and drew and quartered the monks. Cardinal Fisher and Sir Thomas More he also executed. He cut up alike those of all parties that opposed his doctrines or his will. Lambert disputed with him on the subject of the real presence and transubstantiation. His majesty not being able to overcome him in dispute, had recourse to the orthodox argument of fire and faggot, and caused him to be burnt. Neither Cromwell nor Cranmer opposed this act of the tyrant. Indeed

Cranmer afterwards stained his hands with blood; he conducted the prosecution against Joan Bocker, or Joan of Kent, and by every argument attempted to induce the youthful Edward to sign her death warrant, who long resisted the importunity of this protestant archbishop, but at length yielded, and signed it with tears, declaring, that Cranmer should answer to God for the cruel action. Though this at first struck Cranmer with horror, yet he put the sentence in execution against her. George Van Pare was also burnt in Smithfield, for declaring God the Father to be the only true God.

The controversy about the popish habits ran high amongst the English reformers. Hooper, nominated to the bishopric of Gloucester, refused to be consecrated in the old vestments, was by an order of council first silenced, and then confined to his own house; and afterwards, by Cranmer's means, committed to the Fleet prison, where he continued several months.

Edward was succeeded by Mary, who adhered to the catholic communion, She was weak and bigotted, and by the help and instructions of Bonner and Gardiner, two *pious* bishops, she was soon qualified for the work of persecution.—Hooper was burnt in a slow fire, and Rogers shared the same fate; their crime was heresy. Saunders and Taylor were the next victims of the

bishops' burning zeal for holy mother church.—Taylor was put into a barrel of pitch and fire set to it. The bishops wishing to throw all the blame on the court, declared they had no hand in these things. Philip, the husband of Mary, was determined the odium should not be thrown upon them, and although he was dyed deep with the blood of heretics, ordered his chaplain, who was a Spanish priest, to preach against persecution, and to retort the charge upon the brutal bishops.

In 1555, Sixty persons were burnt for heresy, amongst whom were Bradford, Ridley, Latimer, Philpot, and Ferrar bishop of St. David's.—Cranmer was degraded from his high dignity and used with unmanly insult. The fear of death, caused him to abjure the protestant faith. He afterwards expressed the deepest sorrow for what he had thus done, and in the flames which consumed him, died avowing his attachment to the reformed doctrines, "The friend of humanity," says Robinson, "will lament that this illustrious person, deserving in other respects a better fate, should have too much merited this condemnation, by his cruel murder of Joan of Kent."

Eighty-five persons were burnt for heresy the following year. Women suffered, and one in the flames, being near the time of her delivery, a child fell from her into the fire, from which it was

snatched by some of the spectators; but the magistrates ordered the babe to be thrown into the flames and burnt. Even the infant was burnt for heresy! Such is the effect of superstition, and such the conduct dictated by those who called themselves the ministers of Christ.

During the reign of Mary about three hundred persons were put to death on account of their religious opinions; besides others who were punished with scourging and imprisonment.—More than eight hundred left the kingdom and sought refuge in foreign countries.*

Mary was succeeded by Elizabeth, surnamed the *pious*. On her accession to the throne great hopes were entertained that liberty of conscience would be held sacred, and that persons of different religious opinions would be equally protected, and share alike the rights and privileges of civil society; but in this they were greatly disappointed. Elizabeth was headstrong, bigotted, and tyrannical.

In the beginning of her reign, A. D. 1559 an act passed for the uniformity of common prayer, and service in the church, and administration of the sacraments; by which the queen and bishops were empowered to ordain such ceremonies in worship, as they should think for the honor of God, and the edification of his church. This act

* See Neal's History of the Puritans.

was rigorously pressed, and great severities used to such as could not comply with it. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, made the clergy subscribe to use the prescribed rites and habits; and cited before him many of the most famous divines who scrupled them, and would allow none to be presented to livings, or preferred in the church, without an intire conformity. He summoned the whole body of the London pastors and curates to appear before him at Lambeth, and immediately suspended 37, who refused to subscribe to the unity of apparel; and signified to them, that within three months they should be totally deprived, if they would not conform. So that many churches were shut up; and though the people were ready to mutiny for want of ministers, yet the archbishop was deaf to all their complaints, and in his great goodness and piety was resolved they should have no sacraments or sermons without the surplice and the cap. And in order to prevent all opposition to church tyranny, the star chamber published a decree for sealing up the press, and prohibiting any person to print or publish any book against the queen's injunctions, or against the meaning of them. This decree was signed by the bishops of Canterbury and London.

The rigid and fanatical zeal for habits and ceremonies, caused the puritans to separate from

the established church, and to hold private assemblies for worship. But the queen and her prelates soon made them feel their vengeance.—Their meetings were disturbed, and those who attended them apprehended, and sent in large numbers, men and women to bridewell, for conviction. Others were cited into the spiritual courts, and not discharged till after long attendance and great charges. Subscriptions to articles of faith were violently pressed upon the clergy, and about one hundred of them were deprived, anno 1572, for refusing to submit to them. Some were closely imprisoned, and died in gaol through poverty and want. Many sought an asylum in the woods of America, where, during the first winter of their emigration they perished with hunger. Eleven Dutchmen, who were anabaptists, were condemned in the consistory of St. Paul to the fire, for heresy; nine of whom were banished, and two of them burnt alive in Smithfield. In the year 1583, Copping, Thacker, Greenwood, Penry, and Dennis, were executed on gibbets, for non-conformity, and two baptists were burned in the Isle of Ely.*

A high commission court was erected, by which the commissioners were impowered to inquire into all misdemeanors, by all such ways

* Strype's Annals.—Fuller's Eccles. Hist. and Cambden's Life of Elizabeth.

and means as they could devise, and thought necessary; to examine persons upon oath, and to punish those who refused the oath by fine or imprisonment, according to their discretion, was a high stretch of the prerogative, and had a very near resemblance to the court of inquisition; and the cruelties that were practised in it; and the exorbitant fines that were levied by it in the two following reigns, made it the universal abhorrence of the nation, so that it was dissolved by parliament, with a clause that no such court should be erected for the future.*

The whole reign of Elizabeth, though famed for political prosperity, was arbitrary and tyrannical. Determined to be the head, whoever opposed her will, never went unpunished. Elizabeth was far from being religious—she is said to have been addicted to the vulgar vice of cursing and swearing in her common conversation. More sanguinary laws were made in her reign, than in any of her predecessors, her hands were stained with the blood of papists and of puritans; the former were executed for denying her supremacy, and the latter under the charges of sedition, and for non-conformity.†

The work of persecution was continued after the decease of Elizabeth, by her successor James. James was bred a presbyterian, but on his be-

* Chandler's Hist. of Persecution. † See Neal's Hist. of the Puritans.

coming king of England, and the head of an episcopal church, he looked about him for men of less sturdy manners and of more flexible souls than Scotch presbyterians. These humble servants he found in the clergy. To bribe their exertions in favor of tyranny, he published edicts full of the spirit of persecution. He issued a proclamation commanding all protestants to conform strictly, and without any exception, to all the rites and ceremonies of the English church; and granted indulgences to the tender consciences of none but Roman catholics. In one of his speeches to parliament he says, "I acknowledge the Roman church to be our mother church, although defiled with some infirmities and corruptions.*

Indeed many of the king's bishops were fit for any work; and as they do not appear to have had any principles of real piety themselves, they were the fittest tools that could be made use of to persecute those who had. Neal, when he was bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, prosecuted one Edward Wightman, for broaching erroneous doctrines, and having canonically condemned him, got the king's warrant for his execution; and he was accordingly burnt in Litchfield. One Legat also, was prosecuted and condemned for heresy,

* Bishop Horsley was of the same opinion, see a dissertation prefixed to a volume of Sermons published since his death.

by King, bishop of London, and expired in the flames in Smithfield. But as these sacrifices were unacceptable to the people, the king preferred, that heretics hereafter, though condemned, should silently and privately waste themselves away in prison, rather than to amuse others with the solemnity of a public execution.

Above five hundred clergy were silenced or deprived for not complying with some slight ceremonies. Some were excommunicated, and others banished the country. Every means was used to harrass and perplex the dissenters. Worn out with unceasing persecutions, many retired to Holland, and from thence to the woods of America, seeking that repose amongst untutored savages, and beasts of prey, which was denied them by a monarch and his priests more ferocious, who notwithstanding, had the effrontery to call themselves the ministers of the God of peace.

Charles I. ascended the throne full of high notions, and illiberal and persecuting principles. He raised Laud to the head of affairs in church and state Ignorance, bigotry, superstition, and tyranny were the characteristics of the times.—And though much light had come in with the reformation, yet priestcraft operates alike in all who are possessed of the *esprit du corps.* "A proof of this may be found in the conduct of the better sort of priests in Ireland in this reign.—

A number of pious bishops, with the famous archbishop Usher at their head, published a protest against the toleration of the Roman catholics, not on account of their political principles being supposed dangerous, but because they did not dare to concur in the toleration of catholics, lest they (the protestant bishops!) should be involved in the sin of idolatry. Here were men prepared to exterminate the human race, because they do not adopt their creed, and piously acknowledge their infallibility!—Laud pushed the great business of persecution, to its utmost bounds, and gave the nation more exercise in this way, than it was inclined to suffer. Numbers, torn to pieces by this protestant bishop, in their families and property, fled to America, and founded the settlement of Massachuset's Bay."*

Dr. Leighton wrote a book against the hierarchy, for which he was sentenced in the court of high commission to perpetual imprisonment, whipping, and to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds. He was whipped, and then placed in the pillory—one of his ears cut off—one side of his nose slit—branded on the cheek with a red hot iron with the letters S. S. (*sower of sedition*) whipped a second time, and placed in the pillory; about a fortnight afterwards, his sores being yet uncured, he had the other ear cut off, the other side of his

* Robinson's History of Persecution.

nose slit, and the other cheek branded. He continued in prison, till the long parliament set him at liberty. Archbishop Laud, had the honour of conducting this prosecution.*

About four years afterwards, William Prynn, a barrister, for a book which he wrote against the sports on the Lord's Day, was deprived from practising at Lincoln's Inn, degraded from his degree at Oxford, set in the pillory, had his ears cut off, imprisoned for life, and fined five thousand pounds.—Such was the mild spirit of protestantism of that day.

The massacre of the protestants in Ireland, took place in October, 1641. Mr. Neal describes this disgraceful and cruel procedure in the following manner :—

" On the day appointed, between twenty and thirty thousand of the native Irish appeared in arms in the northern counties, and having secured the principal gentlemen, and seized their effects, they murdered the common people in cold blood, forcing many thousands to fly from their houses and settlements naked, into the bogs and woods, where they perished with hunger and cold.—No ties of friendship, neighbourhood, or consanguinity were capable of softening their obdurate hearts, in a cause which they called the cause of loyalty and religion. Some they whipped to

* Neale's History of the Puritans.

death, others they stript naked and exposed to shame, and then drove them, like herds of swine to perish in the mountains—Many hundreds were drowned in rivers, some had their throats cut, others were dismembered. With some the execrable villains made themselves sport, trying who could hack the deepest into an Englishman's flesh; husbands were cut to pieces in presence of their wives; wives and young virgins abused in presence of their nearest relations, nay they taught their children to strip and kill the children of the English, and dash out their brains against the stones. Forty or fifty thousand were massacred in a few days, without distinction of age, sex, or quality, before they suspected their danger, or had time to provide for their defence." *

In 1643, the long parliament interdicted the freedom of the press, and appointed licensers to superintend it. Two years after, an ordinance was published, by which, all who preached or wrote against the presbyterian directory for public worship were subjected to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds; and imprisonment for a year for the third offence of using the book of Common Prayer, even in a private family. †

After Charles had surrendered to the Scots, the presbyterians applied to parliament, to induce

* History of the Puritans. † Blackstone's Commentaries.

them to enforce uniformity in religion, and to extirpate popery, prelacy, heresy, and schism, agreeably to the solemn league and covenant, and to establish presbyterianism, by abolishing all separate congregations, and preventing any, but presbyterians, from all offices under government.

Such was the spirit of these presbyterians, that they thought it a damnable sin to tolerate any one who differed in opinion from them. On the 2nd of May, 1648, the English parliament, being entirely under their influence, published an ordinance against heresy in the following terms:

"That all persons who shall maintain, publish, or defend, by preaching or writing, the following heresies with obstinacy, shall, upon complaint or proof by the oath of two witnesses, before two justices of the peace, or confession of the party, be committed to prison, without bail or mainprize, till the next gaol delivery; and in case the indictment shall be found, and the party on his trial shall not abjure his said errors, and his defence and maintenance of the same, *he shall suffer the pains of death*, as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy; and if he recant or abjure, he shall remain in prison till he find securities, that he will not maintain the said heresies or errors any more; but if he relapse, and be converted a second time, he shall *suffer death*." The errors, or heresies were the following:—Denying the

being of a God.—denying his omnipresence, omniscience, purity, eternity, &c.—denying the tri. nity in any way.—denying that Christ had two natures, and was man.—denying the resurrection. —denying the atonement, the scriptures, &c.— Thomas Biddle, one of the most worthy men of his day, narrowly escaped being burnt by the Assembly of Divines, he died in prison under the tyranny of the episcopacy after the restoration, in 1662. This assembly did all they could to obtain the lordship over conscience, and to light up the flames to consume heretics, it may with justice be styled, an assembly of *English bigots.*

In 1661, an act was passed called the act of uniformity, by which all who did not consent to the liturgy by St. Bartholemew's day following were to be deprived of their benefices. In consequence of this, two thousand ministers were cast out of their situations, and with their families thrown upon the wide world; the public were prejudiced against them by all the means that policy and power could devise :—many were punished with fine and imprisonment, for refusing to violate their consciences.

About this time the people called quakers, petitioned parliament for free toleration; instead of which an act was passed, which enacted, that "if any such person refuse to take an oath when tendered to him, or persuade others to do it, or

maintain the unlawfulness of taking an oath, or if they shall assemble for public worship, to the number of five or more, of the age of fifteen, they shall forfeit for the first offence, five pounds; for the second, ten pounds; and for the third, shall abjure the realm, or be transported to the plantations." Three thousand and sixty-eight, says Fox, had been imprisoned since the restoration of Charles II. many died in gaol, and their places of worship were broken open and violence offered to them. "The behavior of these people," says Neal, "was very extraordinary. They met at the same place and hour as in times of liberty, and when the officers came to seize them, none of them would stir; they went all together to prison; they stayed there till they were dismissed, for they would not petition to be set at liberty, nor pay the fines set upon them, nor so much as the prison fees. When they were discharged, they went to their meeting house again, as before; and when the doors were shut up by order, they assembled in great numbers in the street before the doors, saying they would not be ashamed, nor afraid to meet together in a peaceable manner to worship God; but in imitation of Daniel, they would do it more publicly, because they were forbid. Some called this obstinacy, others firmness; but by it they carried their point, the government being weary of contending against so much resolution."

Penn and Mead, two names that will be remembered among the friends of liberty, were imprisoned, and afterwards tried, for preaching in Grace-church street, London, after the passing of the conventicle act. The jury brought them in guilty of preaching in Grace-church-street. The jury were treated with cruelty and insult, and their firmness, was so much disliked by the recorder, that he declared, *he never knew the benefit of an inquisition till now; and that the next session of parliament a law would be made, wherein those who would not conform should not have the benefit of the law.* The not having an inquisition in England, caused considerable regret to the priests and their abettors during the tyranny of the Stuarts. Penn's jury were proof against all the menaces of the bench, and after suffering much, they brought in a final verdict of *not guilty.* Had the general body of dissenters been as firm as the quakers, they would have obtained those privileges which the latter enjoy, and of which the others are to this day deprived.

In the reign of the impious and profligate Charles II. the following persecuting statutes were passed. An act for the uniformity of worship, by which all were to conform to and use the book of common prayer, &c. The Conventicle act which forbids five or more persons above the age of sixteen, besides the household, from

meeting for religious worship contrary to the usage of the church of England, under the penalties of fines and imprisonment, and for the third offence transportation for life, and in case of returning from exile, to suffer death as a felon without benefit of clergy. The like punishments were inflicted for persons peremptorily refusing to attend at the parish church—Corporation act, by which every person bearing any office in the same, shall take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and qualify himself for such office, by taking the sacrament of the Lord's supper, at the church of England within one year, before he be elected to such office.—The Five Mile act which enjoined that no minister should after the 25th March, 1665, unless in passing the road, come or be within five miles of any city, town corporate, or borough that sends members to parliament; or within five miles of any parish, town, or place, wherein they have preached in any conventicle, on any pretence whatsoever, before they have taken the prescribed oaths, &c. under the penalty of forty pounds. Any two justices of the peace were empowered to commit the offender against this act, to prison for six months. The Test act, intitled, "an act to prevent dangers from popish recusants." By this act all persons before they can fill any office of trust or emolument, are obliged to take the sacrament at

the church of England, and to sign a declaration against popery. The penalty of breaking through this act, is a disability of suing in any court of law or equity, being guardian of any child, executor, or administrator to any person, or of taking any legacy or deed of gift, or of bearing any public office; besides a fine of five hundred pounds. This act, though principally leveled at the catholics, is in force against the dissenters of the present day. It was to the disgrace of the dissenters of that time, that they suffered their prejudices against the catholics to overcome their sense of justice, and they were well repaid by those who courted their assistance on that occasion.

James II. in the beginning of his reign continued the rigorous proceedings which disgraced the reign of his brother. He published in 1687, a declaration for general liberty of conscience to all persons of whatever persuasion they were. This brought against him the whole host of the established clergy; they accused him of a design to introduce popery, and to subvert the reformation. It is not the intention of this work to enquire what the real views of James might be.—We find, in a moment of apparent danger, these dignified sons of the established church could court the assistance of the dissenters, and seek to make a common cause with those, whom before they treated with the greatest rigor.

James having left his throne, made way fo the introduction of William III. who on his first coming to the government of England, professed himself the warm friend of liberty and the rights of conscience. In his reign passed that imperfect guarantee of liberty of conscience, the toleration act. This act exempted all from the penalties of former persecuting statutes, but those who denied the doctrine of the trinity, &c. Besides this,

By the 9 and 10 of William III. it is enacted, that "if any person having been educated in the christian religion shall, by writing, printing, teaching, or advised speaking, deny any one of the persons of the holy trinity to be God, or shall assert or maintain that there are more Gods than one—and shall be thereof lawfully convicted by the oath of two or more credible witnesses, such person for the first offence shall be adjudged incapable, and disabled by law, to have and enjoy any office or employment, ecclesiastical, civil, or military. And if such person shall be a second time lawfully convicted as aforesaid—that then he shall from thenceforth be disabled to sue, prosecute, plead, or use any action or information, or to be guardian of any child, or executor or adminstrator of any person, or capable of any legacy or deed of gift, or to bear any office civil or military, or benefice ecclesiastical, for ever, within this realm; and shall also suffer imprisonment for the space of three years from the time of such conviction.* These statutes were repealed in 1813.

* In Scotland the impugner of the doctrine of the Trinity was punished with death. In the reign of William III. Aikenhead, a youth of twenty years of age, a student of the University, was condemned to death. Nor could the young man's recantations, penitence, tears, and prayers, soften the hearts of the divines, who would not suffer the magistrates to spare his life. "Mercy was asleep as well as Justice and Science (says Mr. Ar-

In the reign of queen Anne, the hatred of the clergy broke out afresh against the dissenters. The pulpits were employed to instigate the mob to insult them. A bill was brought in and passed the house of commons for preventing occasional conformity, imposing a penalty of £100 upon every person resorting to a conventicle, or meeting, after his admission into office, &c. But upon some disagreement between the lords and the commons, the bill dropped for that time. Pamphlets were published with a view to excite the government to extirpate the dissenters. Several prosecutions were carried on against them for teaching schools. In 1709 the mob pulled down their chapels, and publicly burnt the pews and pulpits. In 1714, a bill was passed in the house of commons, to prevent dissenters from teaching schools, and from being tutors in private families, without the licence of the bishop of the diocese, and the magistrates had full power to determine in all cases.

In 1726 Mr. Elwall was prosecuted for heresy and blasphemy at the Stafford assizes, and was acquitted although he pleaded *guilty* to the fact of writing and publishing—this was the last pro-

not, who published an account of the trial in 1785): so the dreadful sentence was executed." Yet, let not these pious presbyters of a protestant kirk be suspected of any predilection for popery, because they breathed the same persecuting spirit. Far from it. They only punished heresy by hanging and drowning; but they abhorred the thought of burning a heretic at the stake, for that was a popish practice.—*Belsham's reply to the Bp. of St. David's.*—Note.

secution for heresy in this kingdom, until that of Mr. Stone, rector of Cold Norton, a few years since, in the court of doctors' commons.

In the year 1811, a bill was introduced by Lord Sidmouth, into the house of Lords, the professed object of which was "to amend and explain the toleration act, as far as it applied to protestant dissenters;" but which, had it passed into a law, would have infringed upon the general liberty which the dissenters had enjoyed under that act.

As soon as the introduction of the bill was publicly known, the dissenters of the different denominations and the methodists united to oppose it. Petitions against the bill were obtained in every part of the kingdom. The table of their lordships was literally loaded with petitions, signed with numerous signatures. The sense of the country was in direct opposition to the measure. Lord Sidmouth was defeated, and driven from the contest, with that *honor* his conduct merited.

On the 29th July, 1812, an act was passed entitled, "an act to repeal certain acts, and amend other acts relating to religious worship and assemblies, and preaching therein." This act, though imperfect recognizes the rights and liberties of dissenters in many respects; but while it prescribes the number that shall meet for social wor-

ship in private houses, not registered or duly licensed, it so far abridges the liberty of man to worship his maker independent of human authority, and according to the dictates of his conscience. For a full account of the proceedings of the dissenters on lord Sidmouth's bill, the reader is referred to the appendix to an edition of Dr. Chandler's History of Persecution, published by Charles Atmore, in 1813.

After what had transpired, one would have thought that the demon of persecution would have retired to his proper abode; but the following cases will show that "he is not dead but sleepeth."

* At the general quarter sessions, holden at Wisbech, on the 17th of July, 1816, a singular appeal came before the magistrates for their determination; in which Robert Newstead, a preacher, in the methodist connexion, was appellant, and the Reverend Algernon Peyton, rector of Doddington, and Thomas Orton, esq. two of his Majesty's justices for the Isle of Ely, were respondents.—It appeared from the conviction, and the evidence adduced in support of it, that the offence with which Mr. Newstead stood charged was, the collecting together a congregation or assembly of persons, and preaching to them, otherwise than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, in a field which had not been licensed. This was Mr. Newstead's *crime;* it was for this, that the reverend rector of Doddington caused his fellow-laborer in the work of reformation, to be apprehended; and that he and his brother magistrate convicted him in the penalty which the toleration act imposes! Against the legality of this con-

viction Mr. Newstead appealed. After several objections had been taken to the form of the conviction, by Mr. Newstead's counsel, and which were over-ruled by the court, Richard Vince, servant to Mr. Peyton, proved that he heard Mr. Newstead preach in a field at Doddington, on Sunday, the 7th of April last; that he preached contrary to the liturgy of the church of England; and that there were more than twenty persons present. On his cross-examination, he admitted that he did not know what it was he preached, whether it were a prayer or a sermon; it was something, but he knew not what; and that he knew he preached contrary to the liturgy of the church of England *only because he had not the Prayer-book in his hand!* John Lane, another of Mr. Peyton's servants, corroborated the testimony of the last witness, but he would not swear that there were twenty persons present.—Mr. Bevill, counsel for Mr. Newstead, submitted to the court, that the prosecutors had not made out their case. The toleration act requires that the *place* where any congregation or assembly shall meet, at which there shall be present more than twenty persons, *besides the family and servants* of the person in whose house such meeting shall be held, shall be certified and registered. In order, therefore, he contended, to render a religious meeting unlawful, according to the provisions of this act, there must be present twenty persons of a *particular description*—of a *certain class*—twenty, *exclusive* of the family and servants of the owner or occupier of the place of meeting; but, for ought the court knew from the testimony of the witnesses, (one of whom could *not* swear that there were twenty persons present,) the congregation might be chiefly composed of the family of the owner of the field. He further contended that a *field* is not a place which required registration: the term "*place*" of meeting is used throughout the act; and, in the 11th section that term is explained, and defined to be, a place with *doors*, bolts, bars, and locks.

As therefore it did not appear in evidence, that there were twenty persons present of the particular class required by the act, and as a *building*, and not a field, was contemplated by the legislature, he contended that the conviction was unlawful, and must be quashed.—The magistrates, however, confirmed it; and hence, Mr. Newstead became liable to the penalty of thirty pounds, or to three months' imprisonment.—A case was demanded, on the part of Mr. Newstead, for the opinion of the Court of King's Bench; but the prosecutor having proposed to abandon the prosecution, and engaged not to enforce the penalties, the friends of Mr. Newstead withdrew their application.

The honorable Charles Noel, has lately been prosecuted, at the instigation of the Earl of Romney.* The crime of this gentleman was his having permitted an assembly of human beings, to the number of more than twenty, besides his own family, to worship God, in his mansion, not having it duly registered and licensed according to law. For this *heinous sin* he was convicted in the full penalty of *Fifty Pounds.* This prosecution is the more curious as it was instituted against, not a dissenter, but a member of the church of England, by a brother and a *noble* member of the same church. In the day when the list of persecutors shall be exposed to the view of an assembled world, all those who have taken any part in the *pious* work will have the *honor* to find their names recorded in legible characters; and will recollect the saying of the great master they have professed to honor—"Inasmuch as ye did it to one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me." To the pleasure that may arise in the anticipation of these things, we leave his lordship, and every one who would wish to intrude between the conscience of man and his maker.

* See a Pamphlet entitled, "A Narrative of the prosecution of the Hon. Charles Noel.—Intended as a friendly caution, by a friend to Religion, Order, and Law."

CHAP. V.

Of the Persecutions in New England.

It is a melancholy fact, that those who have fled from persecution, should have so far departed from the spirit of christianity, and have been so imbued with the spirit of bigotry and the fondness for their own peculiar dogmas, as to become in their turn persecuters of others.

The puritans, who fled from persecution, and settled themselves in New England, though they carried with them a just abhorrence of persecuting prelates, yet *they*, when possessed of power, could enforce their doctrine and discipline by penal statutes, and unjust edicts.

The people called quakers felt the iron rod of their "independent discipline," and were treated with very great rigor by their magistrates and ministers.

In the year 1656, a law was made at Boston, prohibiting all masters of ships to bring any quakers into that jurisdiction, and themselves from coming in, "on penalty of the house of correction. When this law was published, one Nicholas Upshal, who was himself an independent, argued against the unreasonableness of such a law;

and warned them to take heed "not to fight against God," and so draw down a judgment upon the land. For this they fined him twenty-three pounds, imprisoned him for not coming to church, and banished him out of their jurisdiction.

But though this law was executed upon many persons with unrelenting and extreme rigor; yet, as it did not entirely prevent the quakers from coming into New England, a more cruel law was made against them in the year 1658. "That whosoever of the inhabitants should, directly or indirectly, cause any of the quakers to come into that jurisdiction, he should forfeit one hundred pounds to the country, and be committed to prison, there to remain till the penalty should be satisfied: and whosoever should entertain them knowing them to be so, should forfeit forty shillings to the country for every hour's entertainment, or concealment, and be committed to prison till the forfeiture should be fully paid and satisfied. And farther, that all and every of those people, that should arise amongst them there, should be dealt withal, and suffer the like punishment as the laws provided for those that came in: viz. That for the first offence, if a male, one of his ears should be cut off, and be kept at work in the house of correction, till he should be sent away at his own charge. For the second, the other ear, and be kept in the house of correction,

as aforesaid. If a woman, then to be severely whipped, and kept as aforesaid, as the male for the first; and for the second offence, to be dealt withal as the first. And for the third, he or she should have their tongues bored through with a hot iron, and be kept in the house of correction close at work, till they be sent away at their own charge."

Could it be imagined that the authors of these bloody laws had been forced from their own native country by the terrors of persecution! or that after all their complaints, about the violences and oppressions of the prelates against themselves, they should yet think persecution for conscience-sake a lawful thing; and that they had a right, as soon as ever they could get power, to persecute others? The making such laws, and the execution of them, was certainly more detestable in them than others; who should have learnt forbearance and compassion towards others, by the things which they themselves had suffered.—And yet they seem to have been as devoid of these virtues, as Laud or any of his brethren, against whom they had so bitterly and justly exclaimed.

J. Copeland, Christ. Helder, and J. Rous were apprehended and imprisoned, and condemned to have each of them their right ear cut off by the hangman; which was accordingly executed; after which they were whipped.

But things did not stop here. Norton and others of his brethren the ministers, petitioned the magistrates to cause the court to make some law to banish the quakers, upon pain of death. The court consisted of twenty-five persons; and the law being proposed, it was carried in the affirmative, thirteen to twelve. As the law is very peculiar, and contains the reasons given by these "Independent Persecutors," and shews the severity of their discipline, I shall give the substance of it; which is as follows:

"Whereas there is a pernicious sect, commonly called quakers, lately risen, who by word and writing have published and maintained many dangerous and horrid tenets, and do take on them to change and alter the received laudable customs of our nation, in giving civil respect to equals, or reverence to superiors, whose actions tend to undermine the civil government, and also to destroy the order of the churches, by denying all established forms of worship, and by withdrawing from orderly church fellowship, allowed and approved by all orthodox professors of the truth—whereby divers of our inhabitants have been infected;—for prevention thereof, this court doth order and enact, that every person or persons of "the cursed sect" of "quakers," who is not an inhabitant of, but is found within this jurisdiction, shall be apprehended without warrant,

where no magistrate is at hand, by any constable, commissioner, or select man—who shall commit the said person to close prison, there to remain without bail until the next court of assistance, where they shall have a legal trial: and "being convicted to be of the sect of the quakers, shall be sentenced to be banished, upon pain of death." And that every inhabitant of this jurisdiction, being convicted to be of the aforesaid sect, either by taking up, publishing, or defending the horrid opinions of the quakers, or the stirring up mutiny, sedition, and rebellion against the government, or by taking up their absurd and destructive practices, viz. denying civil respect to equals and superiors, and withdrawing from our church assemblies, and instead thereof, frequent meetings of their own, in opposition to our church order, or by adhering to, or approving of any known quaker, and the tenets and practices of the quakers, that are opposite to the orthodox received opinions of the godly, and endeavoring to disaffect others to civil government, and church orders, or condemning the practice and proceedings of this court against the quakers, manifesting hereby their complying with those, whose design is to overthrow the order established in church and state; every such person, upon conviction before the said court of assistants, in manner as aforesaid, shall be committed to close prison for one

month; and then, unless they choose voluntarily to depart this jurisdiction, shall give bond for their good behavior, and appear at the next court; where continuing obstinate, and refusing to retract or reform the aforesaid opinions, they shall be sentenced to banishment, upon pain of death; and any one magistrate, upon information given him of any such person, shall cause him to be apprehended; and shall commit any such person to prison, according to his discretion, until he come to trial, as aforesaid."

"Here endeth this sanguinary act, being more like to the decrees of the Spanish inquisition, than the laws of a reformed christian magistracy; consisting of such who themselves, to shun persecution (which was but a small fine for not frequenting the public worship) had left Old England."*

* Sewel's History.

CHAP. VI.

Of Penal Laws in matters of Religion.

Penal laws, relating to matters of religion, are both impolitic and unjust. If the promoters and supporters of such laws have any good object in view they defeat that object. The operation of such laws can be only injurious;—they carry the marks of injustice in the very face of them, and leave them behind wherever they operate.

The impolicy of penal laws appears from the following considerations.

1. If penal laws be intended to root out error, or to prevent its progress, they are completely inefficient, for they contribute nothing towards conviction; and no real change of opinion can be produced without conviction. Penal laws contain nothing of wisdom, nothing that can enlighten or operate as moral argument.

2. Penal laws promote the cause they are intended to check and suppress. Grant that those against whom they are directed are in error, they will but cling the more to their errors for the sufferings they may be forced to undergo in maintaining them, and be more confirmed in the belief of the truth of their doctrine, on account of

the irrational means used against it, and their passions will be the more interested in its favor.—Besides, as men naturally sympathize with the oppressed, they will be the more likely to make proselytes to their cause.

3. Penal laws are calculated to interrupt the harmony of society, disunite the members of the same general community, increase animosity, and destroy the feelings of a common interest in the constitution, laws and government; but the strength of a nation consists in union, and a feeling of common interest, and a reciprocity of duties and privileges.

4. Penal laws tend to alieniate the minds of those against whom they are directed, from the government by whom they are deprived of what they regard as their rights. Hence they must be considered as highly impolitic, as they weaken the strength of the nation, and in a moment of national danger, may prove fatal to the existence of such a government, if not to the welfare of the nation itself.

5. Penal laws can operate to the exclusion from privileges, or the infliction of penalties and suffering, on those only who are honest and conscientious, from whom no evil need be dreaded: —dishonest men, not regarding conscience, held by no moral tie, will leap over such barriers, and by dissimulation, elude the penalties.

6. Penal laws have a tendency to injuire the cause in defence of which they are enacted, by leading to the idea, that it cannot support itself by the genuine weapons of truth;—by rendering it suspected as the source of evil to its opponents, and by causing it to be hated by those who are dissentients.—All these things are illustrated and confirmed by experience and indisputable matters of fact in various countries. Submission may continue for a time; but whenever the favorable moment arrive, the tables will be turned, and the re-action of all the impolitic measures which have been pursued may be dreadful.

The injustice of penal laws appears, because,

1. They assume a principle which is radically unjust;—that man has a right to interfere in matters of religion,—in those concerns which relate to God and the individual;—to legislate for conscience, and become an arbitrator in matters of faith and worship. The principle being unjust whatever is built upon it must also be unjust.

2. They violate the first principle of morality, "whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." No man would wish penal statutes to be made against him and his religious opinions and practices;—to be himself the object of persecution. Penal statutes are in fact against every man's conscience;—to perceive this he has only to suppose them directed against himself.

3, Penal statutes are unjust to those against whom they are directed, every way. They wound their feelings in the most tender points;—those which relate to conscience and to God. They interfere in matters of the greatest moment, in which conscience alone should be followed.—They invade liberty, civil rights, and property. They degrade men in society, and aim to stab their character, by holding them up to public odium, as persons unworthy of confidence, and of honor.

4. Penal statutes are unjust, as they convert opinions, in themselves innocent, and harmless to society, into crimes, and make that integrity criminal, which God will accept, and reward as virtuous.

5. Penal statutes are unjust to the public at large, as they rob it of the advantages which might be derived from the light that would be struck out, the information that would be diffused, and the edification that would be produced, by the intire freedom of religious opinions and worship: and as they diminish its strength and deprive it of the affections and services of many useful members, and those men of the greatest integrity, and very often of the greatest talents.

6. They are, also, unjust to the community as they have a tendency to loosen the bonds of moral obligation, and relax the strict principles of

virtue. They tempt men to act contrary to their consciences; to be dissemblers and hypocrites, in order to avoid inconvenience and loss, or to gain worldly advantage. If men are once induced to act contrary to their consciences, in matters of the most solemn nature, what strict moral principle can be expected in such persons; and every sacrifice of principle tends to render it of less value and importance to society. They tend to disorganize by their immoral influence—the animosity they foment—and the marked legal divisions they create.

7. Penal laws are unjust as they not only violate both the spirit and precepts of the gospel; but exist in direct opposition to the law of Christ, which is a perfect law of liberty, and so far as they have effect, render void and abrogate the laws of God and of Christ. They break the charter of liberty which Christ has given to his followers—and impiously attempt to invade the prerogatives of heaven. Christ is constituted by the father, Lord of all; to him only, as the master of christians, we owe obedience. Those who prescribe a form of faith for men, usurp a power to which they have no claim—"rebellion to such tyrants is obedience to God."

8. Penal laws are unjust to God; they attempt to alter the ordinances of the moral world which he has established, and to make conscience the

subject of force; to render reason useless, and to prostrate the human understanding. To make men bow to the golden image, which superstition may erect, and to endure the fiery furnace which bigotry may heat with seven-fold fierceness.

9. They interfere with God's prerogative, and intrude between him and his worshipers, in matters which concern him and the individual only. They who make penal statutes to bind the conscience, might with equal justice and propriety carry their attempt one step further, and dictate to the Almighty what kind of worship he shall receive from his creatures, as to prescribe its form and manner.

10. Penal statutes in religion are iniquity framed into a law to regulate faith, bind conscience, and direct the intercourse between man and his maker. They are injustice sitting in the temple of God, and usurping the authority of God.

11. If earthly legislators have a right to make penal laws respecting religion, any religion, and all religions might be proscribed; every person professing to be religious in any way, might be doomed to the dungeon, gibbet, or the stake. If the principle be granted it must be universal, and to any extent.

In the present precarious state of things, the friends to unrestricted religious liberty, will do well to be upon their guard against all encroach-

ments that may be made on their rights and liberties, They can never be secure, until all penal statutes relating to opinions, and to religious worship are abolished—until there be an unlimited extension of freedom to all parties and all denominations—until toleration be superseded by religious liberty founded on the principle of justice, and recognized as a natural and imprescriptible right.

To accomplish this end, it is of great importance that the bond of union between the dissenters should be strengthened—that they should perseveringly exert themselves in every proper way to obtain a repeal of penal statutes, which, though at present dormant, are a disgrace to the statute book, and the scandal of the age in which we live.

FINIS.

F. B. Wright, Printer.