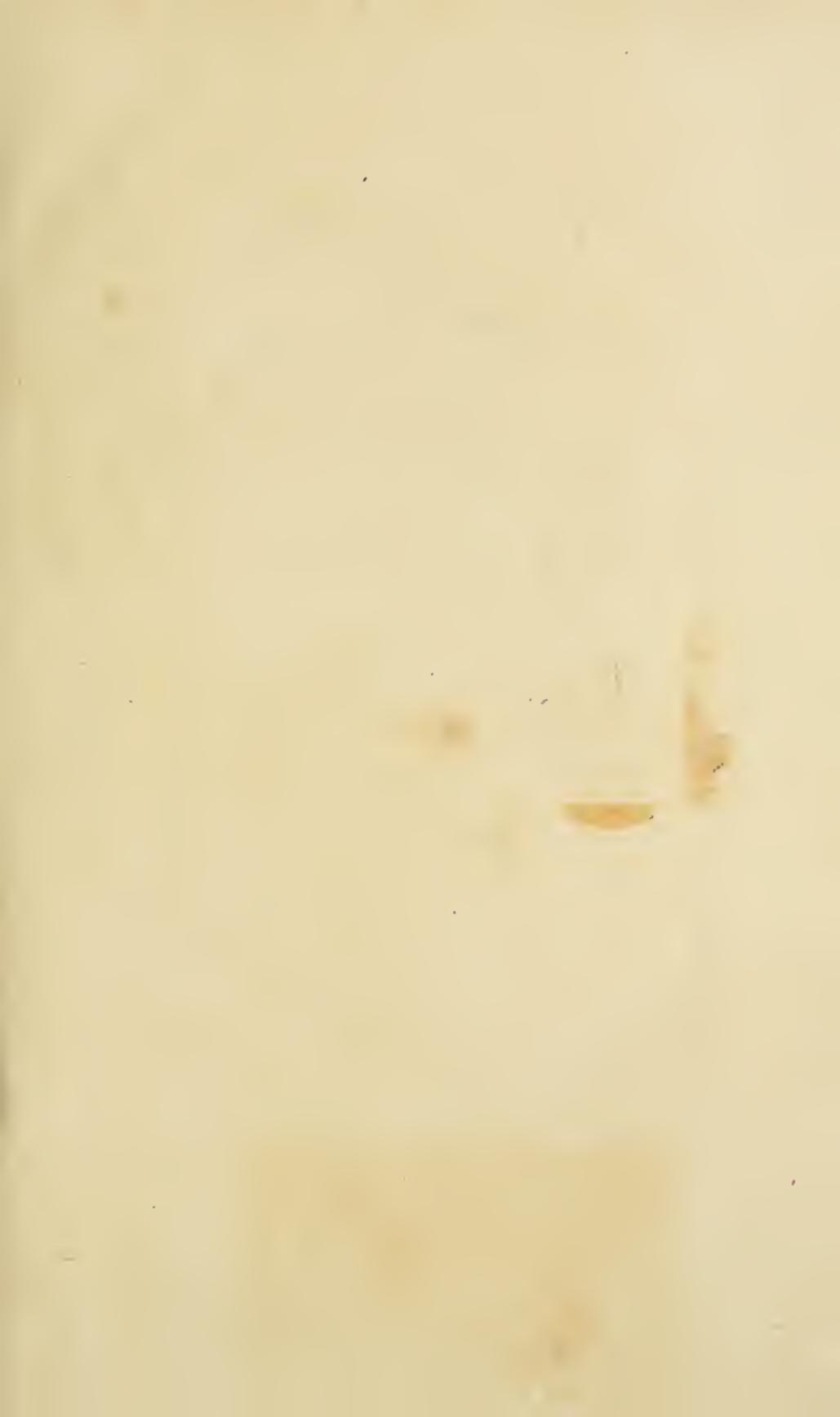


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A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH,
FROM THE
FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE
TO THE
PRESENT TIME.

By JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL. D. F. R. S. &c.
IN FOUR VOLUMES.

V O L. IV.

Nactus sum præteritos dies non solum graves, verum etiam tanto atrocius miseros, quanto longius a remedio veræ religionis alienos; ut merito hac scrutatione claruerit, regnasse mortem avidam sanguinis dum ignoratur religio quæ prohibuerit a sanguine; ista illucesscente, illam constupuisse; illam concludi, cum ista jam prævalet; illam penitus nullam futuram, cum hæc sola regnabit.

OROSIUS.

NORTHUMBERLAND:—Printed for the Author,
By ANDREW KENNEDY.

1803.

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THE PREFACE

TO THE FOURTH AND LAST VOLUME.

TO the observations contained in the preface to the first volume of this work, I wish to add, at the conclusion of the whole, the following additional ones.

Tho' I call this a *General History* of the christian church, being intended only to present a view of what is most important, as most worth remembering, and reflecting upon, in it, there will be found interspersed through the whole of it various particulars related more at large than the title would lead the reader to expect; but they are all of such a nature as appeared to me to be calculated to give a more distinct idea of the sentiments and spirit of the times to which they relate, than any more concise account; and a knowledge of these is what is of the most real value in all history, civil or ecclesiastical.

Also, besides the particulars of this kind that are dispersed through the body of the work, I have introduced four distinct sections, in which I have

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made

made the narrative still more extended ; but they have the same object with the particulars above mentioned. These are the history of Jetzer at Bern, of the miracles ascribed to St. Anthony, the sufferings of Lewis Marolles, Le Fevre and Mauru, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes in France, and those of some of the most distinguished English martyrs in the reign of queen Mary. The two former will give the reader a much clearer idea of the frauds and impositions that were formerly practised in the church of Rome, and the two latter of the great power of christian principles in enabling men to bear all that their enemies could inflict, than any more concise relation. Being, however, in separate sections, they may be passed over by those who wish to see nothing more than a general view of the transactions of those times.

My design having been to write nothing more than a *general history* of the christian church, I purposely omitted the mention of several sects when those belonging to them were not numerous, or when they seemed not likely to be of long continuance. This appearing to me to be the case with respect to the *Swedenborgians*, I have given no account of them in this work. That I may not, however, incur the censure of several very respectable members of this society, I shall observe in this place

place that Emanuel Swedenborg, the founder of this denomination of christians, was a native of Sweden, born A. D. 1689, an eminent metallurgist, who spent the latter years of his life chiefly in London and Amsterdam, and died A. D. 1772.

His inspiration, he says, commenced in A. D. 1743, when he became acquainted with the *spiritual world*, the habitation of angels and the souls of men, but clothed in a peculiar body, that which we now have here not being intended to rise again. It was according to him, in this spiritual world that the last judgment took place A. D. 1757, and that the spiritual kingdom of Christ commenced in A. D. 1770.

It was also, he says, supernaturally revealed to him how to interpret the scriptures in their proper spiritual sense. He rejected the doctrine of predestination, and others ascribed to Austin, and also the common doctrine of a trinity of three persons in the godhead. But he maintained that there is a real trinity in the person of Jesus Christ, who is at the same time Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, a trinity which commenced at his incarnation.

For a farther account of this extraordinary system, I refer the reader to my *Letters to the members of the new Jerusalem church*, as the followers of Swedenborg call theirs, which began to be formed

several years after his death, tho' it does not appear that he gave any directions about such a thing.

As it is impossible to unite the two methods of writing history, viz. in the form of *annals* and according to the separate *subjects* of which it consists, and I have chosen the latter; to remedy, in some measure, the inconvenience attending a want of the former, I have added a *chronological table of the principal events in the order of time*, and also a view of the *succession of sovereigns*, in such countries as will be found to be of the most importance in the history, viz. of the popes, the emperors of the East and West, and the kings of France and England; and I have done it in such a manner as that it may be seen at one view which of them were cotemporary, and how far they were so. I have also given a pretty copious *alphabetical index*.

The *errata*, it is hoped, will not be thought to exceed what is usual in books printed with tolerable care. Lists of the more important of them are printed, and those for the two first volumes on separate slips of paper, to be pasted in the most convenient places. If the purchasers should not find them, they are desired to enquire for them of the publisher.

Having now lived to complete this work, for which I am thankful to a kind providence, I shall immediately proceed to print my *Notes on all the*
books

books of scripture; and if my impaired health will admit of it, and nothing unforeseen happen, I hope that in about a year from this time this work will also be finished. With respect to them both, I have done my endeavour not to disappoint the expectation of those generous friends who have enabled me to publish them. It is not long that I can now expect to live, but while I do I am happy to be employed in what I trust will contribute to promote the cause of rational religion.

I shall subjoin the titles (with the editions that I have used) of a few more of the books that I have generally quoted by little more than the mere names of the writers.

Fox's acts and monuments of the church, three volumes, Folio, 1684.

Morelands history of the evangelical churches of the vallies of Piedmont, Folio, 1658.

Sleidan's General History of the Reformation of the Church, with a continuation by E. Bohun, Folio, 1689.

Geddes's Miscellaneous Tracts, three Vols. octavo 1730.

———— Church History of Ethiopia 1696

———— History of the Church of Malabar, 1694

Histoire du christianisme des Indes, par La Croze, two Vols. duodecimo, 1758.

Histoire du christianisme d'Ethiopie et d'Ar-
miuie, by the same, duodecimo, 1739.

Histoire des Religieux de la Compaignie de
Jesus, two Vols. duodecimo, 1741.

Crosby's history of the English Baptists, four
Vols. Octavo, 1738.

Neals History of New England, two Vols.
Octavo, 1720.

Memoires Chronologiques et dogmatiques, pour
servir a l'histoire ecclesiastique depuis 1600 jus-
ques en 1716, four Vols. duodecimo, 1739.

Memoirs of the wars in the Cevennes by Col.
Cavallier, Octavo, 1727.

Histoire du Fanatisme de notre tems par M.
de Brueys, three Vols. duodecimo 1737.

It is possible that I may not have recollected
all the books that I have quoted in the most con-
cise manner, but it is probable that they (and in-
deed most of those that I have mentioned) will be
so well known to the generality of my readers, as
to make a more particular account of them in a
great measure unnecessary.

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MEMORANDUM

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1. The purpose of this memorandum is to provide information regarding the proposed changes to the existing policy on [illegible].

2. The proposed changes are as follows: [illegible]

3. It is recommended that the proposed changes be approved. [illegible]

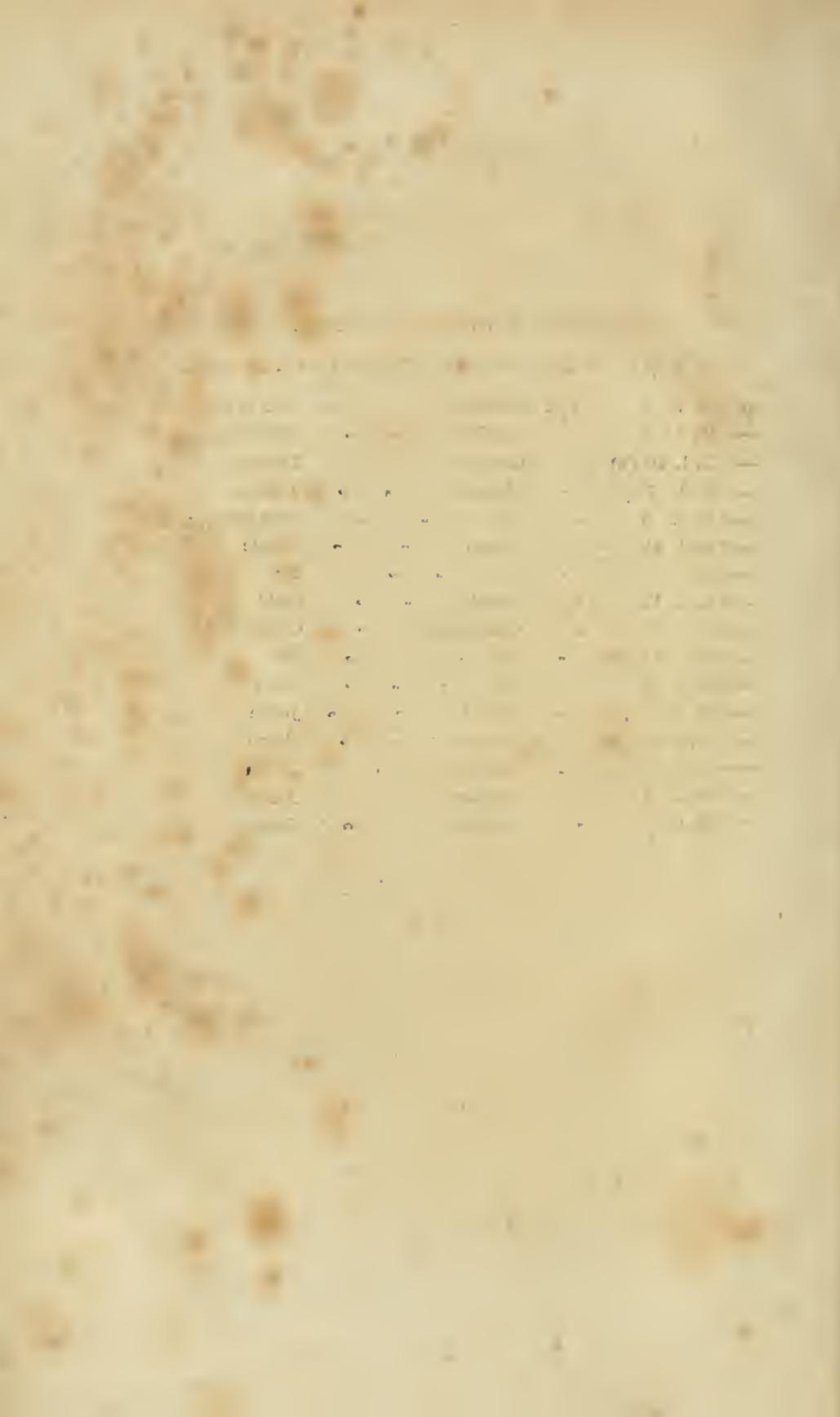
4. The proposed changes will be implemented on [illegible]. [illegible]

5. The proposed changes will be implemented on [illegible]. [illegible]

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH,

PERIOD XXIII.

FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE COUNCIL
OF TRENT IN A. D. 1563, TO THE REVO-
CATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES, IN A.
D. 1685.

SECTION I.

*Of the Popes, and the general Character and State
of the Catholic Church in this Period.*

FROM the time of which we are now
treating the personal characters and conduct of
the popes are of much less consequence with res-
pect to throwing light on any thing in the history

of Christianity than in the preceding periods; their influence on the affairs of Europe from the time of the reformation, which was so well established as it was at the conclusion of the council of Trent, was diminished at least one half, and their revenues in proportion, tho' their spirit, and their pretensions, continued as high as ever. It will be proper, however, to mention the more considerable of them, and the transactions that immediately respected them.

Pius IV, under whom the council of Trent was brought to a conclusion, was most sensibly mortified, and alarmed, by Maximilian II, when elected king of the Romans, refusing to ask of him the confirmation either of that title, or that of king of Hungary and Bohemia. This prince was, in reality, much inclined to protestantism, if not entirely protestant in his heart; and the defection of the emperor at that time would probably have been followed by that of the empire in general, and also that of other states of Europe. It was not, therefore, without reason that the pope was alarmed at these symptoms of the little respect that he bore to the authority of the papal see. The pope, not being able to gain any thing by negociation, was content to confirm his election without being requested to do it.

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The same emperor demanded of the pope the communion in both kinds, and the liberty of marrying for the priests of his subjects, and in this he was joined by the electors of the empire. But the pope, having now nothing to apprehend from the council, which was dissolved, chose to risk the consequences of refusing this request, the granting of which would have made the whole body of the clergy less dependant upon him, and more attached to their families and their country.

This pope proposed an interview at Bayon between Philip II of Spain, and Charles IX of France, where the duke of Alva attended, the object of which, it is not doubted, was the extirmination of all the heretics in their dominions; a measure which both these princes did every thing in their power to carry into execution, both by treachery and violence of every kind. This pontiff, so zealous for the church, died, it was thought, of the effects of intemperance. His successor, Pius V, distinguished himself as much by his zeal against heretics, causing some of them to be sent to Rome, where they were burned alive without mercy; and his orders with respect to Germany would probably have alienated the whole empire, if his legate had not shewn more discretion in the execution of them.

The characters of the popes in this period were no doubt, considerably superior, both with respect to morality and literature, to those in the preceding. This was, in a great measure, enforced by the reformation. But whatever might be the character of the popes in other respects, they were all zealous for the interest of their see, and spared nothing that artifice or force could accomplish to stop the progress of the defection from it; and if possible to recover the countries which had revolted from their obedience.

Innocent X, who succeeded to the pontificate in A. D. 1644, was an exception to the general character given above, with respect to the decency of outward conduct, being notoriously indolent; profligate, and living in an illicit commerce with Olympia his brother's widow, a commerce which commenced before the death of her husband. She was moreover, a woman of insatiable avarice, and boundless ambition, and to her disposal the pope left every thing. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 282.

The character of Innocent XI who was raised to the pontifical dignity in A. D. 1677, makes a great contrast with that of his predecessor of the same name, being a man of the most austere morals, uncommon resolution, and withall an enemy to the grosser superstitions of his church. But his example shewed in a striking light, that such is the

the corruption which prevails in the system, and so many are interested in the support of it, that every serious attempt of a reformation will be frustrated.

In this period a great attempt was made to suppress the Protestant religion in Germany, and the neighbouring countries; and the bigotted princes of the house of Austria entered warmly into it, pretending that the treaty of Passau had been infringed by the Protestants. But force was in the first place employed in Bohemia, by an open persecution of all who did not conform to the catholic religion, without any regard to the faith of treaties. On the death of the emperor Matthias the Bohemians opposed force to force, and made choice of Frederick V, the elector of Palatine, a Protestant prince, for their king. But the emperor Ferdinand II, aided by George the Lutheran elector of Saxony, intirely defeated them in A. D. 1620, and subjected them to a more rigorous persecution than ever. Having succeeded with respect to the Bohemians, the emperor in the next place attacked the liberties of Germany, and in A. D. 1629 issued an edict by which the Protestants were required to restore to the church of Rome all the possessions they had acquired by the peace concluded in the preceding century. But his bigotry and ambition received a check from Gusta-

us Adolphus king of Sweden, who, encouraged by the policy of the French, entered Germany in the same year; and tho' after several victories, he fell in the battle of Lutzen in A. D. 1632, the war was continued with so much success, that at the peace of Westphalia in A. D. 1648 the liberties of the Protestants were better secured than ever, tho' nothing could be obtained in favour of the Bohemians.

In Hungary from A. D. 1671 to A. D. 1681, both the Lutherans and the Calvinists were exposed to great hardships, owing principally to the Jesuits. The same treatment was experienced by the Protestants in Poland; and the Waldenses, as will be shewn, were often persecuted in the most inhuman manner by the duke of Savoy.

In Spain the clergy succeeded in prevailing upon the court to expel a prodigious number of Moors, who, tho' they had outwardly embraced christianity, were suspected of a leaning to Mahometanism; by which measure tho' the clergy gained, the country lost a great number of its most industrious inhabitants. This was effected in a manner the most shocking to humanity in A. D. 1610. The numbers expelled are computed to have been not less than six hundred thousand, besides those that were slain or detained in the country.

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In A. D. 1618 the effects of this cruel and impolitic measure, were so sensibly felt, that in a memorial presented to Philip III, it was said, “the
“depopulation of Spain is much greater than it
“was ever seen or heard of before; it being a
“truth so great at this time, that if God do not
“provide such a remedy for it as we may expect
“from your majesty’s piety and wisdom, the
“crown of Spain is hastening to its total ruin and
“destruction; its houses being every where in ru-
“ins, and without any person to rebuild them,
“and its towns and villages lie like so many de-
“serts.” *Geddes’s Tracts*, Vol. 1, p. 163.

In Sixtus V, who got himself elected pope by the most profound and long continued dissimulation in A. D. 1685, his zeal for catholicism was overpowered by ambition. He even rejoiced at the defeat of the Spanish Armada, expecting that the force of Spain would be thereby so weakened, that it might be in his power to conquer the kingdom of Naples, which was his great object. *Histoire des Papes*, Vol. 5, p. 75.

In order to put a stop to the further progress of the reformation, the catholics employed the terrors of the inquisition wherever it could be introduced, as in Italy, Spain and Portugal. They also prohibited the reading of the books of heretics, by publishing lists of them, and preventing their cir-

ulation. With the same view also they encouraged literature among themselves, holding out ample rewards for those who should distinguish themselves in the defence of their system; and from this was derived great advantage to the cause of christianity in general, many very valuable works having been produced by this means, and some which throw much light upon the scriptures, and ecclesiastical history.

Several advantages were derived from the reformation with respect to the catholic church itself. Notwithstanding the opposition that was made to it by those who were most devoted to the temporal interest of the popes, their avarice and ambition were much repressed by the abolition of reservations, provisions, exemptions, and expectatives, which we have seen to have been the source of much of the wealth and power of the court of Rome. This was chiefly effected by the council of Trent. The call for the reformation of such abuses as these was too general, and too loud, to be resisted. Also the behaviour of the clergy in general was much more decent after the reformation. Without some change in this respect, they could not have kept their ground against the reformers, whose morals were distinguished for regularity. The superior clergy, were, however, still devoted to the pursuits of pleasure and ambition, tho' with
more

more circumspection than before. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 334. Leo X revived the antient custom of preaching in the church of Rome, but it was afterwards discontinued for five hundred years, when it was again revived by Pius V. *Bingham*, p. 639.

The monastic orders were much improved by the reformation. Before this period it appears from the writings of Erasmus that ignorance, bigotry, and in many cases gross vices, were prevalent among them; whereas after this event we have heard of few complaints of the kind. From this time the monasteries became more than ever places of retreat for persons who really wished to retire from the business of the world, or had no means of advancing themselves in it; and the nunneries were places of education, and a provision for such females of opulent families as could not be disposed of to advantage by marriage. At the same time there were among them, no doubt, many examples of the most fervent, tho' mistaken devotion. Indeed at no time were the monasteries without many persons of this character. Many new communities, on principles of the strictest discipline, were instituted, and some of the old ones were much reformed.

In this period the minds of both the catholics and the reformers were well exercised in disputation, but without any remarkable advantage to ei-

ther party. The most distinguished champion on the part of the catholics was Bossuet bishop of Meaux. He thought to have overturned the whole system of his adversaries by exposing the variations in their doctrine and discipline. But it is remarkable that his own *Exposition of the catholic faith* was received by the members of his own communion in a very different manner. It was condemned by one pope and approved by another, applauded by the archbishop of Rheims, and censured by the university of Louvain. It was condemned by the Sorbonne in A. D. 1671, and in the following century was declared by the same society to be a true exposition of the catholic faith. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 310. Many friends of peace in both communions endeavoured to compromise the differences, and promote an union of the two churches, but they were all unsuccessful.

The most remarkable of those who deserted the communion of the Protestants in this period were Christiana queen of Sweden, Wolfgang William count Palatine of the Rhine, Christian William marquis of Brandenburg, Ernest prince of Hesse, John Frederic duke of Brunswick, and Frederic Augustus king of Poland. But these changes in the princes had no effect on their subjects. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 302.

The catholics observing the great advantage which the reformers derived from the interpretation of the scriptures, did every thing in their power to prevent it ; but some of the methods to which they had recourse were such as did them considerable injury in the opinion of all serious christians. The popes not only forbid the reading of the scriptures in any of the vulgar tongues, but also the interpretation of them by any public teacher in any other sense than that which prevailed in the church ; and it was common with the more zealous champions to maintain that the scriptures themselves derived their authority from the church, and that the decrees of the popes, and even the records of oral traditions, were of superior authority to them. *Ibid*, Vol. 4, p. 455.

There were among the catholics some learned and judicious commentators, but they were not long held in much esteem. Their writers were in general of three kinds, the schoolmen from the former periods, the dogmatists, who resolved all controversies by the opinions of the fathers and the authority of the church, and the mystics who made religion to consist in contemplation and tranquility of mind, in opposition to the forms of external worship. These, tho' they held the antient genuine maxims of the monks, were at this time regarded with a jealous eye by the zealous adherents of the

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the church, but they were connived at while they made no public opposition to them.

One of the most distinguished of the catholic writers in the controversy with the Protestants in this period, was Bellarmine a Jesuit. Against him all the defenders of the reformation for a long time directed their attacks. But his fairness and candour in exhibiting the arguments of his opponents, gave them a great advantage, and on that account was not pleasing to his friends.

In this period it began to be a prevailing opinion with the more moderate catholics, that the authority of the popes ought to be confined to spiritual matters, and their influence in the political world, which had been so great, was almost annihilated; the popish princes only availing themselves of it when it answered their purposes. This sufficiently appeared in the issue of several contests which the popes in this period had with some temporal powers in their obedience; the most remarkable of which was that which Paul V had with the Venetians on the subject of the immunities of the clergy.

This pope complained of their having reduced the number of religious houses, and prohibited the alienation of immoveable property to the church without the leave of the civil power, and of judging ecclesiastical persons in civil causes. The

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the encroachment of the clergy in all these cases had been so great as to weaken very essentially the resources of the state, the pope was exceedingly offended at their conduct; and in the first year of his pontificate he sent two briefs to his nuncio at Venice, one containing a revocation of their decrees relating to the acquisition of property by the church, and the other ordering some ecclesiastical state criminals to be sent to the spiritual courts.

The senate treating these decrees with contempt, the pope issued a bull of excommunication against them, and in case they did not comply with his demands, by revoking all that they had done in twenty four days, he pronounced an interdict on their city and territory; forbidding all public worship in them, and threatening them with farther marks of his displeasure if they should still persist in their obstinacy.

The publication of these bulls gave occasion to many writings on both sides. The person who distinguished himself the most in the defence of the Venetians was Paul Sarpi, of the order of Servites, the celebrated author of the *History of the Council of Trent*, and his great opponent was Baronius, the no less celebrated author of a voluminous ecclesiastical history. The Venetians, determined to maintain their rights, declared the pope's bull to be abusive and null, nor was there a single ecclesiastic

clerical in all their states that would publish it, or pay any regard to the interdict. The Capuchins and Jesuits asked leave to withdraw themselves. To the former leave was granted, with liberty to return when they should think proper, but the latter were ordered to depart without taking any of their property, and never to return again. *Histoire des Papes*, Vol. 5, p. 141.

At first the pope made preparation to enforce his bull by arms, and was promised assistance from France and Spain; but it appearing that the real object of the Spanish court was to take advantage of the quarrel, and there appearing a prospect of much difficulty in carrying on the war, the pope was prevailed upon to listen to terms of reconciliation under the mediation of Henry IV king of France, and these were sufficiently favourable to him. For the prisoners were delivered up to the church, the decrees against the apostolical censures were revoked, and all the possessions taken from the church were restored. They only refused to readmit the Jesuits. These terms being agreed to, the pope gave the Venetians his absolution, and they sent a solemn embassy to thank him, and assure him of their filial obedience. *Ib.*

We have seen that Clement VII, for fear of disobliging the emperor Charles V, risked the giving offence to Henry VIII of England. On the
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the revolt of the Portuguefe from the dominion of Spain in A. D. 1641, Urban VIII, and alfo his fucceffor, declined giving the title of *king* to the duke of Braganza, or confirming the bifhops of his appointment, for fear of giving offence to the court of Spain. But the king of Portugal did not venture, or was not difpofed, to act the part of Henry. Dreading the power of the inquisition, and the fuperftition of the people, he did not venture to break with the fee of Rome, and in this ftate things continued till the peace between the two countries in A. D. 1666. *Mofheim*, Vol, 4, p. 322.

Superftitious as was Lewis XIV of France, his impatience of contradiction led him to brave the refentment of the fovereign pontiff at the fame time that he was determined on fubduing his Proteftant fubjects. The Corfican guards of Alexander VII having affronted the French ambaffador in A. D. 1662, Lewis demanded fatisfaction, and not obtaining it, he ordered his troops to march and befiege the pope in Rome; and the pope found himfelf under the neceffity in A. D. 1664 of pacifying this haughty monarch by the moft mortifying concessions, efpecially the erection of a pillar in Rome to preferve the remembrance of it. *Ibid*, Vol. 4, p. 325.

In A. D. 1678 there arofe a violent altercation between the fame Lewis and Innocent XI, the moft

most respectable, and the most resolute, of all the popes in this period, about what is called in France the *right of regale*, by which the king claims the nomination of the bishops, which had been allowed with respect to some, but not to all, to which the king was determined it should extend; and notwithstanding all the threats of the pope, and the issuing of his bulls, the publication of which the king prevented, he carried his point, and in an assembly of the bishops at Paris in A. D. 1682, it was declared that the power of the popes was purely spiritual, and inferior to that of a general council; and this was agreed to by all the clergy and universities in the kingdom.

In A. D. 1687 this haughty prince had another contest with the same pope about the right of *asylum*, which had been enjoyed by the ambassadors of the kings of France at Rome, but to which this pope was determined to put a stop; and he persisted in his purpose notwithstanding all the threats of the king. After his death, the difference was in some measure compromised, the right of asylum being given up with the king's consent. Also the right of *regale* was settled with certain modifications, but not to the disadvantage of the clergy of France. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 329.

SECTION

SECTION II.

Of the Foreign Mission for the Propagation of the Catholic Religion, and what was done by the Protestants to extend theirs.

THE catholic religion having lost so much ground in Europe, the zeal of its friends was the more excited to extend its influence in foreign countries; and for some time their endeavours were not without a great appearance of success; both with christians of various denominations in the East, and in countries wholly heathen.

Various attempts were made to introduce the catholic religion among the Copts of Egypt, the Abyssinians, the Armenians, and the Nestorians in Asia; and the Jesuits were chiefly employed for this purpose. But they proceeded on different maxims according to circumstances, and there were too evident marks of human policy in their conduct.

At first, when there were appearances of success, they insisted upon the most rigid conformity in their new converts to all the doctrines and rites of the Romish church; but this being found to give too much offence, they afterwards generally went into the other extreme, tolerating every thing that was consistent with the general councils, and an acknowledged subjection to the pope. An example of their extreme of haughtiness and rigour we have in the behaviour of Menezes bishop of Goa to the Nestorians of Malabar, as is related in La Croze's excellent *History of the Christianity of the Indies*, and of the contrary conduct of the Jesuits in China, where, at least according to some of the more zealous catholics, their christianity was little more than heathenism disguised.

Gregory XIII founded and endowed twenty two colleges in different parts of christendom for the instruction of young persons, to qualify them for these foreign missions, and he sent missionaries to Ethiopia, Africa, and Constantinople, at the same time that he neglected nothing nearer home. He maintained some nuncios in Germany, with a view to bring back the Protestants there into the pale of the church. He sent sixty four English, Scotch, and Irish Jesuits into England, in addition to four hundred missionary monks who were there before, and they did every thing that men

of the greatest address could do to recover that kingdom to the holy see ; but the greater part of them were discovered and banished. *Hist. des papes* Vol. 5, p. 33. He likewise assisted the kings of France and Spain with money for the extirpation of heresy in France and the Low Countries, and to the emperor for supporting the catholic religion in Germany. Ib.

In A. D. 1622 Gregory XV founded a congregation of cardinals for the propagation of the faith, and its funds were greatly enlarged by Urban VIII ; and to this, in A. D. 1627, the last mentioned pope added a college for the same purpose. By this means a vast number of missionaries were sent into all parts of the world, and every thing was done to prepare them for their missions, and assist them in them. A similar institution was, in A. D. 1663, founded in France, called the *congregation of the priests of foreign missions*, and another called a *seminary* for those missions:

From these institutions a prodigious number of missionaries were sent into all foreign countries, chiefly from the Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Capuchins ; and many persons in almost all foreign countries were by this means brought to the profession of the catholic faith. But the preachers of the different orders not agreeing among themselves, and some of them accusing others, es-

pecially the Jesuits, of unfair practices in making profelytes, as having in view the interest of their particular order, more than that of christianity, allowing therein practices inconsistent with the christian religion, and also involving themselves in civil affairs and the cabals of courts, and even refusing obedience to the orders of the popes when they did not approve of them, the great object of these pompous missions was almost wholly defeated. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 201.

The most distinguished, and to appearance the most successful of all these missionaries was Francis Xavier, of whom some account was given in the history of the Jesuits in the former period. In A. D. 1541 he sailed for the Portuguese settlements in the East Indies, where he is said to have preached with great effect both on the continent and in the islands. In A. D. 1549 he went to Japan, where he quickly laid the foundation of a flourishing church, which continued many years; but failing for China, he died before he reached the shore in A. D. 1552. Other members, however, of the same society penetrated into that country, and the most distinguished of them was Matthew Ricci, who by his knowledge of mathematics recommended himself to the emperor and the Chinese nobility, so that he and his associates had liberty to preach and make converts; in consequence

quence of which, notwithstanding the expulsion of the Jesuits afterwards, the church they founded subsists to this day.

The greatest expectations were raised from the successes of these missions in China during the reign of Xunchi, the first emperor of the Mogul race ; but this king dying, and leaving a minor, his guardians persecuted the Jesuits in a cruel manner. However, when this emperor, whose name was Kanghi, assumed the government, they were restored to their former credit, and in A. D. 1692 an edict was issued, declaring the christian religion to be no way detrimental to the interests of the monarchy ; and in A. D. 1700 he directed a magnificent church to be built within the precincts of the palace. But the manner in which the Jesuits conducted themselves in this country was the occasion of much controversy, and frequent references to the court of Rome. They were more especially charged with indulging their Chinese converts in their former idolatrous rites, tho' they maintained that those rites were of a civil, and not of a religious nature. Yet when they were hard pushed, they had recourse to the necessity they were under of conniving at the use of such means, as nothing but the goodness of the end would justify. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 224.

Next to Xavier, the most celebrated of the Jesuit missionaries was Robert di Nobile, an Italian. He had great success in preaching the gospel in Madura ; but it was in consequence of pretending to be a Bramin from the northern countries, descended, as their Bramins were said to be, from the god Brama, and submitting to all the austerities of that order of men. But all these missions were suspended and abandoned by pope Benedict XIV in A. D. 1744, who justly condemned all the artifices they had employed in the propagation of christianity.

The conversion of Siam, Tonquin, and Cochinchina, was attempted by the Jesuits, under the direction of Alexander of Rhodes, a native of Avignon ; and in A. D. 1658 Alexander VII committed this new church to the conduct of some French priests of the congregation of foreign missions. But the Jesuits refused to act with them, which was the occasion of a long contest.

In A. D. 1667 a seminary for the instruction of youth was established in Siam, and in A. D. 1684 Lewis XIV was encouraged to send a mission for the express purpose of converting the king. This was favoured by his prime minister Constantine. But with great address this prince declined complying with their wishes, tho' he gave the missionaries leave to propagate their religion among
his

his subjects. But all the hopes that were conceived from this mission were blasted by the murder of the king and his minister in A. D. 1688, when the missionaries returned home. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 217.

Such success had the Jesuits in propagating their christianity in Japan, that in A. D. 1583 three ambassadors came with them to pay their obedience to the pope. *Histoire des papes*, Vol. 5, p. 42. Their preaching in this country was favoured by the great similarity between some of the rites of their antient religion and those of the church of Rome, and also by their fondness for a commercial intercourse with Europe, which the missionaries promoted. But here, as in China, the conduct of the Jesuits was greatly censured by the other missionaries, as favouring of avarice and ambition. This occasioned violent disputes, as in other places, and on a suspicion of a design formed against the government, of which information was given by the Dutch in A. D. 1615, the emperor suddenly issued an order for the utter extirpation of the christian religion from his dominions; when many thousands, and among them many of the missionaries, suffered death in the most heroic manner, rather than renounce their principles. This persecution effected the entire extirpation of christianity from Japan; and all the in-

tercourse that any christian nation is allowed to keep up with it from that time to this day, is confined to the Dutch, who send annually two ships with merchandize, but which are so strictly watched, that no transactions besides those of a mercantile nature can take place between them and the natives. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 230.

In Africa the kings of Benin and Averri, and in A. D. 1652, the queen of Metamba, were by the labours of the Capuchin friars brought to the profession of christianity ; but it does not appear that these conversions produced any permanent effect. *Ib.* p. 235.

The Portuguese and Spaniards enforced the profession of their religion in all their colonies in North America ; but the principal agents in these conquests and conversions, which went hand in hand, disgraced their religion by their cruelties and their avarice ; and beyond the limits of their power their religion has not extended. The most successful propagators of christianity in America were the Jesuits, especially in Paraguay, where they civilized and christianized a large district, from which with great jealousy they excluded all other Europeans. But in this it is said their principal object was the increase of their power and wealth, as they are said to have remitted annually large sums from that country to Europe. *Mosheim*,
Vol.

Vol. 4, p. 237. This, however, appears to me from the perusal of the *Lettres Edifiantes* very improbable.

The zeal of the Jesuits carried them into Abyssinia, and in the beginning of the seventeenth century the affairs of that mission wore a very favourable aspect, the emperor Segued, who expected much assistance from the Portuguese troops, declaring himself openly in favour of the missionaries; and in A. D. 1606 he even took an oath of allegiance to the pope, and endeavoured to oblige all his subjects to follow his example. But Alphonso Mendez, whom he appointed patriarch of the Abyssinians, behaved in so rigid and arbitrary a manner, according to the spirit of the inquisition, using even violence to compel the people to abandon their former religion, to which they were strongly attached, and at the same time discovered such a disposition to encroach on the prerogatives of the crown, that in A. D. 1631 the same emperor annulled the orders he had before given in favour of the catholics, and gave his subjects leave to follow which of the two religions they chose. In the following reign of Basilides, in A. D. 1634, all the catholics were banished from his dominions, some of them were put to death, and the strictest attention has ever since been given to prevent any catholics from entering them. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 315.

The christians of St. Thomas, after being reduced to submission to the Romish church, by the management of Menezes, who employed both art and force for the purpose, recovered their liberty, and drove all the Portugese from their country about sixty years after; and the only cause of this revolution was the tyranny exercised by the Jesuits over a simple people, and little disposed to revolt, but attached to liberty and their religion. *La Croze Ind.* Vol. 2, p. 84.

At one time these christians, not obtaining a bishop from Rome, applied to their former patriarch at Mosul, to that of the Copts in Egypt, and that of the Jacobites in Syria; having less respect for opinions than their antient rites, which tho' different from those of the church of Rome, are sufficiently uniform in the East. *Ib.* Vol. 2, p. 115.

Bermudez says, the conversion of the Abyssinians would have been easy; as there were not among them learned men who were haughty and obstinate, but pious and humble, who were desirous of serving God with much simplicity, and would easily embrace the truth, and give their attention to it. *La Croze Eth.* p. 261.

While the catholics had any prospect of succeeding by the use of force, they did not scruple to assert the necessity and propriety of having recourse to it. Fr. Xavier said that no durable christianity

christianity was to be expected among the pagans, unless their auditors were within the reach of the musket. *La Creze Ind.* Vol. 2, p. 375. Bermudez, the nominal patriarch of Ethiopia, writing to the General of the Jesuits from Goa in A. D. 1566, says, there was one thing that he and all the fathers were agreed in, which was that, "nothing
 " but a good body of Portuguese troops would be
 " able to reduce Ethiopia to the obedience of the
 Romish church. Writing to the pope in A. D. 1567, he says, " could he but have five or six hundred stout musketeers, he should not only hope
 " to see Ethiopia quickly reduced, but would be
 " infallibly certain of it. With these troops he
 " would not only be able to convert all that empire, but innumerable multitudes of heathens
 " also, into whose countries they might march
 " from thence without crossing any sea. These heathens being of several kinds of people, and not
 " much addicted to idolatry, might be converted
 " with great ease." *Geddes's Ethiopia*, p. 208.

The Jesuit Ferdinand Guerriero, in his annual relation of the missions of the company, says,
 " The missionaries of the company labour no less
 " for the temporality than the spirituality. As
 " many heathens as they convert, so many vassals
 " they acquire for his majesty. In the war which
 " they

“ they had, like true christians, they join the Portuguese, and become good soldiers.” *La Croze’s Christianisme d’Armenie*, p. 398.

Gonzales de Illascas says that, “ if heretics were not burned in the early ages, it was that, besides that the christians had no power, the popes had not the support of the secular princes. But that now the faith being received and established, the sovereign pontiff has the power, and ought to exercise it. *La Croze’s Eth.* p. 305.

But it appearing that the use of force had not in reality answered their great expectations from it, the catholic missionaries of a later period disclaim every thing of the kind, and express themselves as the primitive christians and the suffering Protestants would have done.

One of their writers, in the *Lettres Edifiantes* vol. 3, p. 419, after mentioning Prester John of Asia says, “ This conquering priest had not learned of Jesus Christ, but of Mahomet, this strange manner of converting infidels. The church is established, and extends itself, by other means: A slave converted the Ethiopians, one captive the Iberians, and another the Armenians. Those persons whom God chose, tho’ mean in their appearance, were respected for their virtue, and thus procured respect for the gospel which inspired
“ it.

“it. Do we not see apostolic men” (meaning the missionaries) “following the apostles thro’ crosses, “ as poor as they were, and triumphing as they “ did over the pride, the voluptuousness, and the “ prejudices, of their enemies? They are in want “ of every thing, and yet perform what all the “ power of the world could not do. They gain “ hearts, and bring them into subjection to the “ gospel of Christ. The fields which they have “ watered with their sweat are often not fertile till “ they have been watered with their blood. It is “ thus that the christian church has, in all ages, “ caused the cross of the saviour to be adored by “ so many nations.”

The same writer says concerning one of the missionaries, “ His courage was always superior to “ the contradictions that he met with. Nothing “ could discourage him when the glory of God “ was concerned, neither dangers, persecutions, “ threatenings, labours, fatigues, travels, or sickness. “ He was singularly qualified to have to do with “ persons of condition, but he said that he gained “ more by preaching to the little than to the “ great,” p. 432. Nothing can be more edifying than the spirit with which this work is written.

The Protestants made some attempts tho’ not equal to those of the catholics to extend the knowledge

knowledge of a purer christianity into the countries to which they had access. In A. D. 1647; a society was established for the *propagation of the gospel in foreign parts* by an act of the English parliament. Farther encouragement was given to it in a later period, and for some time it was of considerable use in promoting the conversion of the natives of North America; tho' what was done in this way was chiefly effected by the voluntary zeal and labours of those puritans, who fled from the persecution of the Stuarts to settle in that country. Among those missionaries Mayhew, Sheppard, and Elliot greatly distinguished themselves. The last mentioned of them translated the bible into the Indian language, and on account of his peculiar zeal in the cause, was commonly called the apostle of the Indians.

But the labours of the society supported by the members of the church of England, ended in little more than some unsuccessful attempts to bring back the puritans in North America to the church of England; and the Indians that were converted and civilized soon dwindled away, and are now nearly extinct. *Mcshem* Vol. 4, p. 23.

The Hollanders did not neglect the progagation of the gospel in the East Indies when they got an establishment there, and it is said with some success.

success. But with them, as with the English, avarice and ambition too generally prevailed over their zeal for religion. *Ib.* 234.

The Lutherans made some attempts to enlighten the Abyssinians in this period; and for this purpose Heyling of Lubeck undertook a voyage to that country in A. D. 1634, and even became prime minister to the emperor. But nothing is said of his success as a missionary, and he died on his return to Europe. John Michael Wansleb, a native of Erfurt, was also sent by Ernest duke of Saxe Gotha in A. D. 1663; but he embezzled the money he received for that purpose, and went no farther than Egypt. *Mosheim*, Vol, 4, p. 411.

SECTION

SECTION III.

Of the Controversies in the Church of Rome.

NOTWITHSTANDING the authorative decisions of the council of Trent, and occasionally that of the popes, the catholics were far from holding the same opinions. Various differences among themselves were openly avowed, and the controversies were conducted with as much acrimony as those between them and the Protestants. The popes, for fear of exasperating any of the contending parties seldom ventured to interpose their authority, chusing to leave the questions undecided, and in this state several of them remain to this day.

One great difference of opinion among the catholics respects the power of the pope; some maintaining it to be absolute, and saying that that of the bishops was delegated from him to them, a doctrine advanced in a former period, and supported by the Jesuits in this. With respect to the doctrines of original sin, grace, and predestination, the

the catholics differed as much among themselves as the Protestants; the Jesuits always leaning to the more liberal, and their adversaries to the more rigorous, interpretation of the language of scripture; and that of the Fathers on these articles.

The Jesuits maintained several opinions on the subject of morals, at which the minds of many of the best disposed catholics greatly revolted, as that “it was a matter of indifference from what
“motive men obeyed the laws of God; that the
“operation of the sacraments is independent of
“the disposition of mind with which they are re-
“ceived; that there is no sin but in the transgres-
“sion of a law, not only known to, and fully un-
“derstood by, the person, but present to his mind
“at the time; that a man may lawfully do what
“has been thought to be innocent by any one
“doctor of reputation, tho’ in the opinion of o-
“thers, and of his own, it should appear unlaw-
“ful.” Some of these maxims were condemned in A. D. 1659 by Alexander VII, and in A. D. 1690 the article concerning *philosophical sin* (or that of an action repugnant to the dictates of reason, and yet not offensive to the deity) met with the same fate in the pontificate of Alexander VIII. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 358. But all those doctrines were exposed in a vein of exquisite hu-

mour by Pascal in his *Provincial Letters*, a work which materially affected the credit of the order.

The great defender of the doctrines of Austin, or those which are generally considered as his, on the subjects of grace and predestination, was M. Baius, a doctor in the university of Louvain. This drew upon him the censures of some Franciscan monks, as well as of the Jesuits; and in A. D. 1567 an accusation was brought against him in the court of Rome, and seventy six propositions extracted from his writings were condemned by Pius V, but without naming the author; so that nothing was done that affected himself or his functions. The sentence of Pius was enforced by Gregory XIII; but no regard was paid to those decrees by the admirers of Baius; and in a later period the Jansenists, who went upon the same ground, maintained that they are of no authority, and have never been received as laws of the church. The more prudent Sixtus V asserted the authority of the pope to decide all such questions, but he never made use of it. He contented himself with forbidding all controversy on the subject; leaving all persons in possession of their own opinions, and those of Baius were very prevalent. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4. p. 474.

This cessation of hostilities was not of long continuance,

continuance, being interrupted in A. D. 1588 by the writings of D. Molina, a Spanish Jesuit, a professor of divinity in the university of Evora in Portugal, who introduced a new kind of hypothesis to reconcile the jarring opinions on these subjects. This gave great offence to the Dominicans, who said that he was endeavouring to revive the errors of Pelagius; and Clement VIII thought proper in A. D. 1594 to impose silence on the contending parties; saying that he would himself examine the grounds of the controversy. *Histoire des Papes*, Vol. 5, p. 476. Accordingly he referred the discussion to a select body of learned divines. But, which seems to have given him no small degree of uneasiness, these divines were of opinion that the doctrine of the Dominicans was more agreeable to the scriptures and the ancient fathers, and that those of Molina favoured of Pelagianism. On this the pope seemed resolved in A. D. 1601 to decide against the Jesuits. But this artful body of men alarmed him so much with their representation of the consequences of such a decision, that the next year he consented to re-examine the question, and decide it himself; and for this purpose he appointed a council, consisting of fifteen cardinals, nine professors of divinity, and five bishops, which during the space of

three years held eight congregations ; but the pope died before he gave the final sentence.

These congregations were resumed by Paul V in A. D. 1605, and after much debating, chiefly about the propriety of deciding the question at all, and the manner of doing it, it was agreed that the whole controversy should be suppressed, and each party be allowed to retain their opinions. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 364. The pope was afraid of offending the king of France, who protected the Jesuits, or the king of Spain, who favoured the Dominicans. So much was there of human policy, and so little regard to truth, in the conduct of the papal chair.

This controversy, which was thus hushed up, was revived in A. D. 1640 on the publication of a posthumous work of Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, called *Augustinus*, in which the doctrine of Austin concerning the natural corruption of man, and the nature and efficacy of divine grace, was largely insisted on, but expressed chiefly in the words of Austin himself. By the efforts of the Jesuits, whose doctrines were evidently struck at in this work, the Roman inquisitor in A. D. 1641 forbade the perusal of it, and the year following Urban VIII condemned it by a solemn bull, as infected with several errors. *Ib.* p. 368.

This did not silence the admirers of Jansenius who were numerous in Flanders, and also in France,

France, where they were patronized by the abbot of St. Cyran, John de Verger de Herrane, a man of eminent learning and piety, and also by Armande, Nicole, Pascal, Quenel, and others, generally denominated the authors of the *Port Royal*, and also by many others in the church of Rome, who thought that vital religion was of more consequence than the observance of the external rites of the church, on which the bigotted and ignorant catholics always laid the greatest stress.

These writers were so popular, that they would have triumphed over their adversaries, if they had not been supported by sovereign princes, as well as popes, who thought the authority and stability of the church to be endangered by them. Many of the Jansenists being much inclined to superstition, laid great stress on certain miracles, which they said were wrought in their favour; and as the credit of some of them declined, others were advanced, and the last of all these were those said to have been wrought at the tomb of the abbé Paris in A. D. 1731; for the controversy was continued far beyond the period of which I am now treating.

In consequence of the efforts of the Jesuits, Innocent X, in A. D. 1653, condemned by a public bull five propositions extracted from the work of Jansenius, notwithstanding the strenuous endeavours

vours of many of the French clergy to prevent it. On this the Jansenists, who professed the greatest devotion to the holy see, acknowledged that the propositions condemned in the bull were justly censured; but they said that it was not declared that they were contained in the work of Jansenius, in the same sense in which they were condemned. But Alexander VII in A. D. 1656, in another bull, declared that the five propositions were the tenets of Jansenius, and contained in his book, and in A. D. 1665 he proceeded so far as to send into France the form of a declaration to be subscribed by all the clergy, in which it was said that the five propositions were contained in the book of Jansenius, and in the sense in which they had been condemned.

Even this did not wholly silence the Jansenists; for they maintained that, with respect to matters of *fact*, the popes were fallible, especially when their decisions were not confirmed by a general council; whereas the Jesuits held that the popes were infallible with respect to matters of *fact*, as well as of *doctrine*; and they carried their violence so far as to procure the imprisonment, or exile, of some who declined signing the declaration required. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 376.

But Clement IX was so much staggered by the resolute opposition of a great number of most respectable

respectable bishops, who refused to subscribe the declaration without their own explications and distinctions, and they were so powerfully seconded by the dutchefs of Longueville, who had gained great credit by renouncing the pleasures of the world, and who espoused with great zeal the cause of Jansenism, that he thought proper to accept of their declarations on their own terms ; on which the Jansenists triumphed again, and enjoyed their former tranquility. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 376. This was called the *Peace of Clement*, and took place in A. D. 1669.

It was not, however, of long continuance ; for in A. D. 1676 Lewis XIV, at the instigation of the Jesuits, declared that the indulgence was only granted for a time ; and the dutchefs of Longueville dying in A. D. 1679, the Jansenists, deprived of all external support, were persecuted anew ; when some, to avoid the storm, abandoned their country ; and among them Anthony Arnaud fled to Holland, where he exerted himself so much by his writings, that the greater part of the churches in the Netherlands embraced his opinions, and the catholic congregations in Holland were intirely gained over by him ; and being secure in the protection of the government, they made no account of the threats of the Roman pontiff.

What offended the bigotted catholics the most in the Jansenists, was their never ceasing call for the reformation of abuses in the church, in discipline, worship, and even doctrine, which they said retained no traces of its pristine purity. They said that the people ought to be more carefully instructed, that the scriptures, and the public liturgy, ought to be in the vulgar tongues. They maintained that true piety does not consist in the observance of rites and ceremonies, but in inward holiness.

The piety of the Jansenists had, however, in it much superstition, and led to self mortification. They even celebrated those who put an end to their lives by voluntary austerities; saying they were the *sacred victims of repentance*, and that they were consumed with the fire of divine love. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 382. They also pretended to a kind of inspiration; saying that the minds of the truly pious had a proper residence in the deity, and that they were his instruments; so that they might follow, without consulting their judgment, the first impulses of their minds when they were duly composed, and absorbed in devout contemplation.

Some of the most eminent of the Jansenists were slaves to the most ridiculous superstition. When the abbot of St. Cyran thought it necessary to read the books of some of the heretics, in order

to confute them, he first, with great solemnity, marked them with the sign of the cross, in order to expel the evil spirit which he was persuaded lurked in them. The celebrated Pascal, whose elegant *Provincial Letters* gave so great a blow to the credit of the Jesuits, made a merit of denying himself every pleasurable sensation that he possibly could, even so far as to build a wall in order to shut out an agreeable prospect which he had from the window of his study; and his sister, who wrote his life, abstained from drinking so long, that when, by the command of her superior in the convent, (which she held herself obliged to regard) she consented to take something liquid, it was too late, and she died of thirst.

Such was the animosity with which the controversy between the Franciscans and the Dominicans about the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary was carried on, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, especially in Spain, that it endangered the peace of the country; and tho' the popes were continually urged to decide it, neither Paul V, Gregory XIV, nor Alexander VII, would venture to do it, awed on the one hand by the remonstrances of the court of Spain, which favoured the Franciscans, and restrained on the other by the great credit and influence of the Dominicans, who conducted the inquisition in Spain.

At length, however, the pope did decide, but in this curious manner, viz. that the opinion of the Franciscans in favour of the immaculate conception had a high degree of probability attending it; and forbidding the Dominicans to oppose it in public; and by another bull the Franciscans were forbidden to treat the opinion of the Dominicans as erroneous. Notwithstanding this Clement XI, in A. D 1708, ordered a festival to be celebrated in honour of the immaculate conception. But the Dominicans say that the obligation to celebrate it does not extend to them. They persist in maintaining their opinion, and do so without censure. *Ib.* p. 387. Such is the boasted unity of the catholic church, and the great utility of an infallible judge of controversies.

An idea of the great merit of *contemplation*, by which it was supposed that the mind obtained a kind of union with God (an idea entertained by the Pythagoreans and later Platonists) was in very early times introduced into the christian church. It was embraced by most of the monks, and had never disturbed the peace of the church, tho' these *Mystics*, as they were generally called, were known to lay more stress on inward acts of the mind than on any of the externals of devotion. But in this period a great disturbance was occasioned by a publication of Michael de Molinos, a Spanish priest,

priest, residing at Rome, intitled *The Spiritual Guide*, and which had many admirers, who obtained the name of *Quietists*. They were violently opposed by the Jesuits; and at the instigation of the French ambassador in A. D. 1685, Molinos was put in prison. Two years after this he was sentenced to abjure his errors, and suffer perpetual imprisonment; and to this, with great resignation, he submitted, and died in A. D. 1696. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4; p. 389.

Notwithstanding this the doctrine of Molinos had many admirers in all parts of Europe. Among them was the cardinal Petrucci, a Barnabite friar, the spiritual director of madam Guyon, a woman of fashion in France, and equally remarkable for her understanding and her piety; who gave into the same system, and especially Fenelon archbishop of Cambray, the celebrated author of *Telemachus*. The writings of madam Guyon made much noise about the year A. D. 1687, and Bossuet wrote in confutation of them. They were defended by Fenelon; but by means of the intrigues of his adversaries, Innocent XII, in A. D. 1699, published a bull in condemnation of his book; and this he had the magnanimity, or as some thought, the weakness, to read from his own pulpit, and exhort his audience to acquiesce in,
tho'

tho' it was never supposed to have produced any change in his own sentiments. *Ib.* p. 392.

In A. D. 1671 Pasquier Quenel a priest of the oratory published an edition of the New Testament with pious meditations and remarks, which gave great offence to many bigotted catholics, and was the occasion of much controversy. Clement XI, on his first reading it, said it was an admirable book, that no person at Rome was capable of writing in that manner, and that he should be glad if he could engage the author to reside there; and yet this same pope afterwards publickly condemned this work, and employed all his authority to suppress it. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 361.

SECTION

SECTION IV.

Of the Religious Orders.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great number of religious orders which existed at the time of the reformation, and the prohibition to form any new ones, more new ones were erected, at least old ones reformed, in the present period, than in any of the preceding. Many of them failed for want of a sufficient support; but several stood their ground, and some of them were exceedingly favourable to the interests of literature in general, sacred and profane.

Of this class was that of the *Priests of the Oratory*, founded by Philip Neri, a native of Florence, and honoured with the protection of Gregory XIII in A. D. 1577. It had its denomination from the *oratory*, or closet for devotion, built by Neri for his own use. This order produced Baronius the author of the *Ecclesiastical History*, and other men of much eminence. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 457.

Many

Many of the ancient monasteries were in this period recovered from the shocking corruption of former times. The most considerable of these reformations was made by some learned and pious Benedictines, and the example was followed by several of the other orders.

The Christian world is more particularly indebted to *the congregation of St. Maur*, founded by the express direction of Gregory XV in A. D. 1620, and enriched by Urban VIII in A. D. 1627; as the members were encouraged to apply themselves to literary pursuits of every kind, and furnished with the most ample means of prosecuting them. They even eclipsed the Jesuits, and were their rivals and adversaries. They fell, however, under the censure of the more rigid of the monks, for exchanging bodily for mental labour; but their writers were abundantly able to defend their conduct.

The austerity of all the former orders was exceeded by that of Barthillier de Rancé, abbot of *La Trappe*, the most gloomy, barren, and desolate place in the kingdom of France. His order was called that of the *reformed Bernardines*, and has several monasteries in Spain and Italy. This gentleman had been distinguished by an early application to literature, and also to pleasure, but it is said that he took this austere turn on a sudden,
from

from finding a lady to whom he had been much attached dead of the small pox, when he went into her room, without having any previous knowledge of her illness. *Mosheim*, Vol, 4, p. 340.

Another order of great eminence, which arose in this period, was that of the *Fathers of the oratory of the holy Jesus*, instituted by cardinal Berulle in A. D. 1613. The priests who entered into it did not renounce their property, but they refused all ecclesiastical offices to which any fixed revenues or honours were annexed, and they were at liberty to retire whenever they thought proper. While they continued in it they were bound to perform with the greatest punctuality all the priestly functions, and apply themselves with zeal to prepare themselves and others for the most perfect discharge of them. Originally, therefore, their convents were schools for divinity. But afterwards these fathers applied to the study of polite literature, as well as theology, and taught them with reputation, to the great offence of the Jesuits. Ib. 340.

Similar to this commendable institution was that of the *Priests of the missions*, founded by Vincent de Paul, and formed into a regular congregation by Urban VIII in A. D. 1632. By their rules they were to employ eight months in the year in the villages, instructing the common people in the principles
of

of religion; and they were also to inspect the seminaries in which persons designed for holy orders were educated. *Ib.* p. 342.

The christian and learned world is much indebted to those Jansenists who are generally known by the title of *Messrs. de Port Royal*, from their passing their time in literary pursuits in the retreat of Port Royal, a mansion at a little distance from Paris. *Ib.* p. 350.

The most striking example of severity in this period was exhibited in a convent called *Port Royal in the fields*, the government of which was given by Henry IV to Jaqueline, a daughter of Anthony Arnaud, who after her conversion, as it was called, in A. D. 1609, assumed the name of Marie Angélique de la St. Madelaine, and consecrated her days to spiritual exercises, in which she was encouraged by François de Sales, and the abbot of St. Cyran, after whose example she modelled her convent.

The virgins of this society observed with the utmost rigour the ancient discipline of the Cistercians, which had been almost every where deserted; and such was the fame of this institution, that multitudes of pious persons were desirous of living in its neighbourhood, and many Jansenist penitents, or self tormentors, of both sexes, built huts within its precincts, where they adopted the man-

ners of the most gloomy fanatics. Their object was the same with that of the original monks, viz. by silence, hunger, thirst, bodily labour, watching and every kind of self denial, joined with prayer, and intense meditation, to remove the pollution of the soul, derived either from natural corruption, or evil habits.

Some of them, however, benefited the world by composing laborious writings, on various subjects of erudition; and among them was the justly famous Tillemont. But the far greater part of them exhausted both their bodies and minds by the severity of their exercises, and pined away by a slow kind of death; tho' many of them were persons of illustrious birth, and some who had distinguished themselves in civil and military employments. *Ib.* p. 385.

But the nuns of this convent obstinately refusing to subscribe the declaration of Alexander VII, and the society being considered as dishonourable to some of the principal families in France, Lewis XIV, at the instigation of the Jesuits, in A. D. 1709, ordered it to be demolished, and the nuns to be removed to Paris; and even those who had been buried there to be dug up, and buried elsewhere. *Mosheim* Vol. 4, p. 386.

The Jesuits were in great credit in France in the reign of Lewis XIV, but they did not stand

high in the opinion of all the popes. Sixtus V was their great enemy. He was even resolved to compel them to change their appellation, as too arrogant, and call themselves *Ignatians*, from their founder, but he did not live to execute his threat. *Histoire des Papes*, Vol. 4, p. 85. In A. D. 1694 the Jesuits had increased so much, in fifty three years in France, that they possessed two hundred and twenty eight houses, and two millions of livres yearly rent. *Laval*, Vol. 5, p. 161.

SECTION V.

Of the Miracles ascribed to St. Anthony.

AS my object in this work is to give a just view of the transactions and spirit of the times to which it relates, I have occasionally recited instances of the gross imposition of some, and the excessive credulity of others, with respect to *miracles* ascribed to persons canonized by the popes, during the prevalence of the papal power. That such impositions should be attempted, and

at all succeed, after the reformation, when so many of those artifices had been exposed, and sensible catholics themselves had become ashamed of them, is not a little extraordinary, and yet the history of the catholic church long after this æra, is not destitute of facts of this kind; and I think it may not be uninstruative if I give one example of it in *the Life of St. Anthony of Padua*, which appears to have been written after the year A. D. 1617; this being the date of the last of the miracles ascribed to him in this book.

This Life is said to have been translated into English from Italian, and it was printed at Paris in A. D. 1660. It was, no doubt, read with pious credulity by the catholics of that day, tho' it will be treated with just ridicule by most persons at present. But it will excite more serious reflections in others on the wickedness of such inventions; for less than this it cannot be. I am far from thinking that any catholic at this day is capable of such an imposition. They will join me in lamenting the vices and follies of the times that are passed, and will not disapprove of such accounts not being wholly consigned to oblivion, but preserved for the instruction of posterity. For tho' most of my readers will have heard of *popish legends*, it is probable that few of them have the clear idea that this narrative will give of them.

The name of Anthony was originally Ferrand, and he was born of honourable, as well as pious, parents at Lisbon in A. D. 1195. After going through his studies with reputation, he, much against the wishes of his parents, entered into a monastery of canons regular of the order of St. Austin, and there he continued two years; when, for the sake of greater solitude, he retired with the leave of his superior to Coimbra, where he distinguished himself by his exposition of the scriptures.

At this time St. Francis was living, and some of his order having suffered martyrdom in consequence of undertaking to preach to the Mahometans in Africa, they were so much celebrated on that account, that it excited in Ferrand, as well as many others, an ardent desire to follow their example, tho' they should share the same fate. With the leave of his superiors, he therefore joined this new society; and entering one of their monasteries, called that of *St. Anthony*, he took their habit, and assumed their name.

Presently after this, his zeal actually carried him to Africa; but he was obliged to return, in consequence of a disease with which he was seized upon the coast; but was driven by a tempest to Sicily, where hearing of a general chapter of his order being to be held at Assisi in Italy, he repaired

paired to it. Tho' he was then little known, the provincial of his order was so much pleased with his appearance, that he took him with him, and placed him in a convent called *the mount of St. Paul*, in a situation little less than a desert; and there he submitted to the lowest drudgery. After some months, however, his superiors, pleased with his conduct, procured him holy orders, and sent him, together with some other priests, to Forli, where he distinguished himself by his preaching.

Being greatly concerned at the progress of heresy at this time in the northern parts of Italy, in order the better to prepare himself for encountering the heretics, he went through a course of theology at Vercelli under a famous doctor there; but he soon surpassed him in knowledge, and was thought equal to any undertaking.

Being sent by his superiors to undertake the office of guardian to Limiges in France, in order to the conversion of the heretics in that place, it happened at one time that his business as a preacher required him to be in one place, and his office of guardian in another; and this was the occasion of the first of the many miracles that his historian ascribes to him, and it was of a very singular kind. For it is asserted that he was actually in both the places at the same time. After an earnest prayer for this purpose, he, without leaving the pulpit in

which he was preaching on a good friday, appeared in the choir, and fung the lesson which was his part of the service there. At Montpellier also he once preached in the dome at the same time that he was singing the hallelujah in the choir of the church. After this his whole life seems to have consisted of little more than a series of miracles, and many of them of quite an original and extraordinary kind; so that it must have required much ingenuity to devise them. I shall give a brief account of all the principal of them, but without the amplification of the writer.

A novice in a monastery at Montpellier, being weary of the confinement, had determined to make his escape; but Anthony, knowing by inspiration the state of his mind, breathed into his throat; when falling into a swoon, and coming to himself, he said he had been in paradise; and proceeding to relate what he had seen there he was checked by the saint. But he was from this time freed from the temptation to leave the monastery. Another monk being much disturbed by lascivious thoughts, was immediately relieved by putting on Anthony's tunic.

A husband having become jealous of his wife in consequence of her frequent attendance on Anthony's preaching, abused her very much, and among other outrages he tore off a great part of her
her

her hair. But the faint, having engaged other friars to join with him in prayer for her, took the hair, and applying it to her head, it grew to it again, as if it had never been severed from it. The husband, it is said, was so much struck with this miracle, that he was no longer jealous, but behaved to his wife ever after in the kindest manner.

When Anthony was at one time preaching in a temporary building, constructed of wood, he apprized his audience that the devil was about to terrify and hurt them, but that no harm would eventually happen to any of them. Accordingly while he was preaching the devil untied the ropes, by which the boards were held together, so that the whole erection came down. But when it might have been expected that many of the persons assembled would have been crushed to death, or at least maimed, not one of them was found to have received the smallest hurt.

A pious woman much attached to Anthony had a son of a reprobate character ; and when she was attending one of his sermons the devil came in the form of a courier, and delivering a letter, informed her that her son was dead. This news threw her, and the audience in general, into such disorder, that the congregation was breaking up ; when Anthony cried out that the news was not true, that it was the devil that had brought it, and

that the young man was alive, as they would soon be convinced; and accordingly while he was speaking he entered the place, and the devil absconded.

A woman passionately fond of her young child, going to hear Anthony preach, put her child, by some strange illusion, of which no account is given, into a caldron of water that was on the fire, instead of laying it in the cradle, and she heaped a great quantity of wood on the fire before she went out. Recollecting what she had done, she returned with the greatest anxiety and dread, expecting to find her child dead, especially as she found the fire burning in the fiercest manner. But instead of that the child was playing in the water, as if it had been warm milk. Another child was found actually dead in the cradle after the return of the mother from hearing Anthony preach, but at her intreaty he restored him to life.

A young man who had led a very disorderly life, being touched with compunction at one of Anthony's sermons, and coming to make his confession to him, was desired to write an account of all his sins, and bring the paper to him. This the young man did; but when the paper was opened, in order to its being read, it was found quite blank, every word in it having being miraculously effaced.

Something

Something more extraordinary than any of the preceding miracles was exhibited at Rome. For being required by the pope to preach to a congregation consisting of people of very different countries, assembled for a crusade, they all heard him speak in their different languages, tho' he spoke in Italian only.

A notorious usurer of Florence, dying when Anthony was in that city, was brought into the church in which he was preaching, in order to his being interred in it. But Anthony exclaimed, "Shall the body whose soul is in hell lie in this sacred place? Open the breast, and you will find it has no heart; but go with me to his house, and I will shew you where it is." On this the body was opened, and found to be actually without any heart; and going to the house they found it all bloody, as if recently plucked out of the body, in one of his money chests. On this the people burned him in unconsecrated ground.

A jealous husband in that city having determined to kill his wife, and also a new born child of hers which he did not believe to be his, Anthony being applied to, took the child in his arms; and in the presence of the husband, and several other gentlemen, commanded him to say which of them was his father; when he said distinctly, as if he had been ten years old, pointing to the husband, "This

“is my proper, natural, and legitimate father.
“This is he whose true, natural, and legitimate son
“I am.” On this the husband was cured of his
jealousy, and ever after behaved with the greatest
affection to his wife.

The astonishing miracle exhibited at Rimini contributed more to the fame of Anthony than all his other miracles. Preaching in that city, which abounded with heretics, and the people refusing to hear him, he went to the sea side, followed by a great crowd; when, the sea being remarkably calm, he addressed himself to the fishes; saying, “Since
“men will not hear me, come you and hearken
“to what God will tell you by me.” Immediately on this the sea was covered with the heads of fishes, which with open mouths fixed their eyes on him; and notwithstanding their hostility to each other, they mildly and humbly, the historian says, without moving their fins, or making the least motion in the water, attended to him. After a discourse of some length, he exhorted them to praise God; and since they could not do it in words, to shew some visible sign of reverence. On this they all bowed their heads, moving them very gently, and with gestures expressive of humility and devotion, acknowledged their obligation to God, and signified their approbation of what had been addressed to them. The spectators, greatly amazed,
looked

looked sometimes on the fishes, and sometimes on the preacher; and being reproved by him for their infidelity, thus upbraided by the mute fishes, they fell on their knees, asking his pardon, and promising to live and die in the catholic faith. He then pronounced a blessing both on the men, and the fishes, and they departed with great joy.

All the inhabitants of Rimini were not, it appears, convinced by this miracle; and one of the infidels having a mule, said, that unless Anthony could make his mule, after fasting three days, kneel to the sacrament, rather than eat of the provender he would bring to him, he would not be convinced. This did not discourage our preacher, and a day was fixed for the experiment. On that day a great multitude being assembled to see the issue, tho' a sieve of oats was brought to the mule, yet, on being addressed by Anthony, and commanded by him to adore the true body and blood of Christ, without regarding the oats he kneeled on the ground before the host, and continued in that posture till he was commanded to rise and eat his oats. The owner of the ass seeing this, asked pardon for his heresy, and was reconciled to the church.

Some other heretics of Rimini having laid a scheme to poison Anthony, he discovered it before he had tasted any of the victuals they brought him; when, freely acknowledging their design, they challenged

lenged him to eat of the poisoned food, as a proof of the truth of his doctrine; and after making them promise that if it did him no harm they would conform to the church, he ate as much as they pleased; and receiving no hurt, they besought his intercession, and engaged to live and die in the faith which he preached.

A young man repenting of having kicked his mother with his foot, cut it off with his own hands, in consequence of Anthony's saying to him, in confession, that the foot which kicked his mother deserved to be cut off. But the saint hearing of the case, went to him, and making the sign of the cross, fastened the foot to the leg so completely, that not so much as a scar was to be seen at the juncture.

Anthony was no less favoured when he was alone, than when he was in public. A gentleman, who entertained him at his house near Padua, having the curiosity to look through the key hole of his chamber after he was retired to go to bed, saw the room shine in the most extraordinary manner. Christ was descended to him in the form of a beautiful child, and while he stood upright on the bed, Anthony was kissing his feet, and folding him in his arms.

Hardly any of the miracles of Anthony were attended with so many extraordinary circumstances

the following. A young gentleman at Lisbon being in love with a young lady, whose family was at variance with his, was way laid and murdered by her brothers, who then threw the body into the garden of Anthony's father. In consequence of this he was apprehended, and being convicted of the murder, was sentenced to die. At that time Anthony was preaching at Padua, but stopping in the midst of his discourse, as perceiving the danger his father was in, he prayed, and God sent an angel, who carried him to Lisbon; where appearing in the street through which the executioner was then conducting his father, he ordered all the company to stop; and calling for the judges, he desired that the body might be brought before them. This being done, tho' it had been buried, and was found in a putrid state, he was required by Anthony to declare whether his father was the cause of his death; when he opened his eyes, and stood up as in perfect health, and said he was not killed by him, or by his order. He then addressed the faint, and requested his absolution; and this being granted, he returned to a state of death. After this Anthony, disappearing at Lisbon, returned to his pulpit in Padua, and informed his audience where he had been, and what he had done.

Being

Being near his end, he was apprized of it by the appearance of an angel, whose splendour surpassed that of the stars, and was informed by him both of the honour that was reserved for him in heaven, and the great fame that he would have on earth ; and when the angel vanished, the room was perfumed with the breath of paradise. Looking stedfastly upwards, he was asked by a friar who attended him what he saw, when he said, " I see my " dear Christ, who mercifully expects me;" and after he expired his flesh, which by abstinence, and various austerities, was become swarthy and dry, was resplendent, and clear ; a manifest sign, says the historian, that it was part of a glorified body. He died in A. D. 1231, in the thirty sixth year of his age.

His miracles by no means ceased at his death. At the very instant of it he appeared in the chamber of the abbot of Vercelli, and, touching his throat, cured him of a disease that he had there, and then vanished like lightning. At his funeral God discovered to his attendants a new sepulchre in the church at Padua, and in that the body was deposited. Many lame persons crowding to the funeral were permitted to touch the body, and they were all instantly cured ; and many who were not able to get to the sepulchre were cured by only invoking his name.

At

At the request of the principal citizens of Padua, he was soon canonized; but one of the cardinals opposing it, he had a revelation, which induced him to join his brethren in the act, which expressed that it was done in consequence of an attestation of miracles wrought by him both while he lived, and after he was dead; particularly nineteen lame persons restored to the use of their limbs, five paralytic persons cured, and five crooked backed persons made straight; six blind men made to see, three deaf men and three mutes restored to their hearing and use of speech; two persons freed from the gout, and two raised from the dead, and many others cured of various disorders.

Some heretics, however, it seemed, ridiculed these miracles; and in order to expose them, one of them pretended to be blind, and applied at the shrine of the saint to be cured. But when he removed the cloth with which his eyes had been covered, they stuck to it, and were completely drawn all bloody out of their sockets. On this he confessed the scheme, but praying to the saint his eyes were loosened from the cloth, and returned to their places. All the company were of course converted.

A simple fellow, having applied to a conjuror near Padua, was led by him into a desert place, and a circle was drawn about him. But being frightened

frightened at what he saw and heard, so as not to be able to keep within it, the devil seized him, and deprived him of his eyes and tongue. In this deplorable situation he invoked St. Anthony ; and being conducted to his sepulchre, he recovered his eyes ; but whether, the historian says, they were the same that he had lost, or others that came in their place, cannot be known.

A luxurious infidel laughing at the account of these miracles, said he would believe them if a glass which he threw into the street, from a lofty room in which he and his companions were dining, should not be broken ; when not only was the glass unbroken, but the stone on which it fell was broken to pieces.

Two other unbelievers ridiculing this miracle took some dry stalks of a vine ; and one of them said, “ If it was Anthony that preserved the glass from being broken, let him cause these dry branches to bring forth leaves, and ripe grapes, enough to fill this cup (which he held in his hand) with wine.” This, however, immediately took place, and converted them all.

An insolent soldier meeting a poor leprous man going for a cure to the sepulchre of St. Anthony laughed at him, and bid him rather apply to a physician ; but he persisted in his resolution to go to the saint. There falling into a trance, he

was

was ordered to go to the soldier, being assured that his loathsome disease would leave him, and be transferred to him that had laughed at him. This he did, and the promised effect followed. The soldier, however, applying to the saint, was also cured, and ever after proclaimed the miracle.

The daughter of a pious woman, much devoted to St. Anthony, was drowned in the river Brenta; but the body being brought to his sepulchre came to life again. Also a fine boy, which had been conceived in consequence of the prayers of Anthony, was drowned in a ditch that was suddenly filled with water when he was playing in it together with other boys; but the corpse, being carried to the sepulchre of the saint, was restored to life; and at the same time all the children that had been drowned along with him, were found alive and well; nor could it be known how they came to the place where they were found.

The son of Anthony's sister was drowned in the sea; but tho' the body was found in a state of putrefaction, yet by prayers to the saint he was restored to life, and in consequence of the mother's vow he took the habit of St. Francis, and continued all his life in that order.

The infant of Portugal being at the point of death, her mother praying to St. Anthony, he appeared to her, and gave her the choice of going

with him to heaven at that time, or to continue alive for the consolation of the kingdom. She chusing to live for the comfort of her mother, [he gave her a cord, as a token of her recovering her health.

To a woman who had been guilty of adultery, but had repented, the devil appeared in the form of a crucifix personating Christ, and required her to drown herself in the Tagus ; but going to the church of St. Anthony on the day of his festival, and praying very devoutly, she fell into a trance, and heard the saint speak to her, and bid her look into her lap for a writing which would free her from all diabolical vexation. This writing she accordingly found, and it contained these words, “ Behold the wood of the cross. Fly ye adverse parties. The lion of the tribe of Judah has overcome ; hallelujah, hallelujah.” The possession of this writing freed her from the satanical illusion. The king hearing of it, and getting the writing from her husband, she relapsed ; but recovered on obtaining a copy of it, the king being unwilling to part with the original.

Lastly, two boys being killed by an explosion of gunpowder at Padua, and carried to the sepulchre of the saint, were restored to life. Of this the historian says an authentic process was made. This happened on the 24th of May A. D. 1617.

Mr.

Mr. Fleury speaks of this Anthony as a celebrated preacher, and expounder of the scriptures, tho' he says that his sermons, some of which are now extant, do not make him appear to much advantage. He says that he was canonized on account of the miracles that he wrought after his death, but he says nothing of any that were performed by him while he was alive, and mentions no particulars of the others. From this it is sufficiently evident that the historian, who in some respects was credulous enough, had no faith in the miracles that I have recited.

I should conclude with observing, that this account implies no reflection on Anthony himself. It does not appear from any proper evidence that he ever pretended to work miracles. His attempt to go to preach to the Mahometans, when he could expect nothing but martyrdom, is a proof that he had the spirit of a martyr. Like many other persons in times of ignorance, he abounded in zeal, devoting himself wholly to what he thought to be the service of God and Christ; and tho' he had no objection to being persecuted himself, it does not appear that he ever promoted the persecution of others, as many of his order at that day did. Tho' his great object was the conversion of heretics, he had no recourse to any measures besides those of argument and persuasion.

SECTION VI.

Of the Eastern Churches.

THE antient Greek church continued in this period in nearly the same state as in the preceding ones, christianity being almost extinguished through the poverty of the people, the oppression of the Turks, and a want of any considerable schools or seminaries of learning. The Greeks are, however, as much attached to their peculiar rites, in which their religion seems chiefly to consist, as ever. They adhere to the seven general councils; but the interpretation of their decrees, and the decision of all controversies, is lodged with the patriarch of Constantinople; so that, in this respect, this church is nearly in the same state with respect to its head, as the catholics are with respect to theirs.

The external authority of the patriarch of Constantinople, who depends for his confirmation on the grand seignior (which is generally purchased) tho' consisting, as formerly, of four provinces, viz.

those

those of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, besides that of Constantinople, is greatly abridged by the prevalence of Monophysite doctrines in the two former provinces, and the almost total depopulation of the last, together with societies of other denominations of christians established at Jerusalem. The patriarch of Russia also became independent of that of Constantinople in A. D. 1589; when Jeremy the patriarch of Constantinople, who was soliciting aid against a rival, created him a separate and independent patriarch, on condition, however, of his obtaining the consent of the patriarch of Constantinople, and paying a sum of money; an obligation from which the Russian patriarch was afterwards released.

The Georgians and Mingrelians are also independent of the patriarch of Constantinople. But since the Mahometan conquests, they, and especially the last mentioned, have lost almost every thing of christianity, except the name. They have at their head a person called *a Catholic*; but the ignorance and avarice of their priests are a disgrace to the christian name. According to Chardin, and other travellers, they would not be known to be christians but by certain rites performed in the most indecent manner; as they have no regular public worship.

Many attempts have been made by the Roman Catholics to gain the Greeks to their communion, and several churches on the plan of the Roman have been founded in the Greek islands, but they make no figure ; and the antipathy of the Greeks to the Latin church is not less than it was in any former period.

Urban VIII had much at heart the union of the Greeks under the jurisdiction of the pope ; and in order to promote it a conduct very different from that which had been formerly used was adopted. Many treatises were written to shew that not only the Greeks, but the other Eastern churches, were not heretics ; as they differed from the church of Rome only in matters of form. But they were strenuously opposed by Cyrillus Lucar, the patriarch of Constantinople, a man of great learning and piety, and who indeed was much inclined to embrace the doctrine of the Protestants. All the endeavours to gain that prelate failing, the Jesuits and the French ambassador got him to be accused of treason, and by that means procured his death in A. D. 1638. His successor, Cyrillus of Becea, was just such a man as the court of Rome wanted ; but he also suffered a violent death, and was succeeded by Parthenius, an enemy of Rome ; and from this time no more attempts have been made by the Catholics upon this church. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4,

p. 402. Melanchthon, and some other Protestants, endeavoured to recommend their religion to the Greeks, but they gained little attention.

The Russian church, which was derived from the Greek, is not without sectaries. They are commonly called *Roskolniki*, and neither persuasion nor force has been able to bring them into communion with the established church. They complain of many corruptions having been introduced into the church, but of what kind they are, we have no certain information, and it is acknowledged that their lives are exemplary. Since the accession of Peter the Great they have been treated with more lenity than in former times. The origin of this sect is not known; but some suppose them to be the remains of the *Bogomilians*. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 406.

The wish expressed by John Basilides, grand duke of Russia, in A. D. 1580, to join the Romish church, and the solemn embassy which he sent to Gregory XIII, exhorting him to renew the negotiations for the union of their churches, proceeded from a temporal motive, and had no effect.

The Monophysites, commonly called Jacobites, from Jacob Abardai, who revived the sect when it was almost expiring in the sixth century, have a patriarch of Antioch who generally resides

in the monastery of St. Ananias, or some city in Syria. His jurisdiction being very extensive, he is assisted by a colleague, who lives in the neighbourhood of Mosul. All these patriarchs have the name of Ignatius.

The African Monophysites are under the patriarch of Alexandria, and they are either Copts, living in Egypt, or Abyssinians, who have all their patriarchs from Egypt. But they are so exceedingly ignorant, that they are not able to give any tolerable account of the principles they received from their ancestors. They pretend, however, that tho' they do not receive the council of Chalcedon, they are not Eutychians; since tho' in opposition to the doctrine of Nestorius, they say "there is but one nature in Christ, they say this one nature is two fold, or compound."

The Armenians, tho' Monophysites, differ from the others, in several articles of discipline and worship. They have three patriarchs, the chief of whom has forty two archbishops under him. He resides in a monastery at Eichmazin. The second, called the Catholic, who acknowledges the supremacy of the former, resides at Cis in Cilicia, and has twelve archbishops under him. The third resides in the island of Aghtaman, in the lake of Varaspuracan, and has eight or nine bishops under him.

The

The Nestorians reside chiefly in Mesopotamia. They carefully avoid a multitude of superstitious opinions and practices, which abound in the Greek and Latin churches. Formerly they had only one head, a Catholic, who resided first at Bagdad, and then at Mosul. But in A. D. 1552 they were divided by chusing two patriarchs, one of whom, in order to strengthen his interest, went to Rome, and acknowledged the supremacy of the pope. This party, however, is inconsiderable, and at present they seem to have withdrawn themselves from any connection with the Latin church. Their chief resides at Ormia in Persia. The other chief resides at Mosul, and his jurisdiction is very extensive, comprehending the Arabian Nestorians, and those who are called the christians of St. Thomas in Malabar.

There are others who are called christians of St. John, living in Persia and Arabia, chiefly at Bassora. Their religion consists very much in bathing, attended with peculiar ceremonies, and they are supposed by many to be the remains of the antient *Hemerobaptists*, mentioned by Epiphanius, and other early writers. They are sometimes called *Sabians*, but they call themselves disciples of John.

There are in the East some other sects that have something of christianity in their doctrines and institutions, but they are very imperfectly

known, and are thought to be the remains of Manicheans and other heretics. *Mosheim.*

The catholics have made many attempts to introduce their religion into every part of the East, but they have nothing to boast of in their success. The Maronites, indeed, who inhabit mount Libanus, acknowledge the supremacy of the pope, but this is all the catholicism they have; and being very poor, they are a considerable expence to the court of Rome. Nor does it appear that any of these Eastern christians have expressed a wish to subject themselves to the pope, but from some interested motive.

SECTION

SECTION VII.

*Of the Protestants in the Valteline, the Waldenses,
and the Bohemian Brethren.*

IN A. D. 1620 there was a general rising of the catholics against the Protestants in the Valteline, who were taken by surprize, and murdered in the most cruel manner, and especially persons of the greatest wealth and consequence in that country, whose goods were every where plundered. In general they were killed by fire arms, or other weapons, but many were burned in houses and churches, and some cruelly tortured. For this conspiracy and sudden rising no particular reason appears to have been assigned; but it was thought that it would not have been done without encouragement from the Spaniards, especially as a similar attempt had before been made by them.

Those murdering catholics having surrounded the town of Tyrone on the 9th of July, the Protestants came out of their houses to enquire into the cause of it; when they were set upon, and
murdered

murdered in the streets, and in various ways and places, to the number of sixty, and only three persons escaped by flying to the Alps.

Those murderers then proceeded to Teglio, where they surpris'd a congregation at public worship, when they fired upon them; and afterwards, as some of them fled into the belfrey, they set fire to the place, and by this and other means they massacred more than sixty persons.

Going thence to Sondrio they killed more than one hundred and forty persons, and some of those they tortured in a cruel manner, when they refused to go to mass. Many of this place hid themselves in holes and caves in the woods, where they perished miserably, their bodies being found afterwards. Some to whom the persecutors had promised their lives, they nevertheless put to death, openly alleging that no faith was to be kept with heretics.

At Caspano and Trabon about eleven were murdered, and twenty seven at Bruce, some of them by their particular friends and relations; and this in the most wanton and cruel manner, not only shooting them, but throwing them down from precipices, stoning them, hacking them with swords, and burning them. Many of the cases, especially those of the women, are exceedingly affecting;

affecting; but for particulars I shall content myself with referring to Mr. Fox, Vol. 3, p. 952,

Notwithstanding the edict of the duke of Savoy in A. D. 1561, in favour of the Waldenses, the popish party did not cease their importunity till A. D. 1565, they procured another, by which all his subjects who did not conform to the catholic religion were ordered to leave the country, a year being allowed them to dispose of their effects. The Protestant princes in Germany, and especially the elector Palatine, interceded for them, but in vain; and in A. D. 1571, they were more particularly oppressed on the pretence that in the former wars of France they had assisted the Protestant party. Charles the IX, willing at that time to gain the good opinion of his own Protestant subjects, interceded for them. But after the massacre of Paris the severities were renewed by the governors of provinces, tho' repressed by the duke, so long as the dukes, who was their friend, lived. Still, however, they were subjected to much ill usage in particular places, and on particular occasions.

The marquifate of Saluces being restored to the duke of Savoy in A. D. 1588, he allowed those people for some time the profession of their religion. But the popish party, and especially the missionaries established by Clement VIII, were indefatigable

gable in their endeavours to injure them; and they spared no artifice in order to gain their purpose, while little regard was paid to the remonstrances which they did not fail to make, in answer to the accusations that were brought against them. It was made death for those oppressed people to use any endeavours to prevent the conversion of any of their body; and any person informing of such an offence (and one evidence was sufficient) was promised secrecy, and a reward of one hundred crowns. *Moreland*, p. 271.

They were frequently distressed by soldiers quartered upon them, and in various other ways; while encouragements of various kinds were perpetually held out to those who would conform to the religion of the prince. In fine, nothing that could act upon their hopes or their fears was neglected, short of an absolute and unconditional proscription. In A. D. 1601 they were all ordered either to go to mass, or leave the country. This order was repeated in A. D. 1602, with leave to stay only fifteen days; and in some places not more than five days were allowed. In the same year they were excluded from all public offices, and forbidden to have any schools, public or private, or to receive among them any strangers who were ministers or schoolmasters; and in A. D. 1622, they

they were forbidden to send their youth to any foreign school suspected of heresy.

The prince was generally surprized into these orders, and they were frequently revoked on better information, especially those which required them to leave the country. But when the missionaries could not gain their point with the princes, they had recourse to the inquisitors; and by means of false accusations often deprived them of their liberty, their goods, and sometimes of their lives. In A. D. 1622 they apprehended one Sebastian Bafan, and after cruelly tormenting him, procured him to be burned alive in the palace yard at Turin November 23d, A. D. 1623; when he died singing praises to God, as the historian says, in the midst of the flames. *Ib.* p. 277. The stealing of the children of these poor people for the sake of educating them in the catholic religion, was a common practice.

The reason that was principally alleged for distressing these people was the wish of the dukes of Savoy to get possession of Pignerol, which was situated in their vallies; and as many of them were of French extraction, it was suspected that they would not heartily concur in such an undertaking, tho' they so far cleared themselves of the charge of disloyalty, that their liberties were frequently confirmed

firmed to them by royal edicts, as they were in A. D. 1603, and A. D. 1620.

The plague breaking out in A. D. 1630, destroyed a great part of them, and especially of the ministers, owing, no doubt, to their assiduity in attending the sick. In consequence of this they applied to the French churches for succours, and those who were sent introduced several changes in their discipline and doctrine, making them conformable to those of the Protestant churches in France. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4. p. 104.

Notwithstanding the privileges granted the Vandois by their sovereigns, and which were repeated in A. D. 1649, A. D. 1653, and again in A. D. 1654; yet in the year following, Andrew Gastaldo, having procured authority to act according to his discretion with respect to them, ordered all of them who lived in the valley of Lucern, and nine other vallies, to remove without delay to others, as Bobbio, &c. under pain of death and confiscation of goods. This order being given the 25th of January, the distress occasioned by it (as no women, children or sick persons, were allowed to remain, and the places to which they were to remove were unable to receive them) may easily be conceived; but nothing they could do, by the most earnest petitions and remonstrances, could retard, or even mitigate, the execution of this cruel order.

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The goods they were obliged to leave behind them were plundered, and they had no redress ; because they could not bring evidence against the persons who took them.

After these distressed people had made repeated endeavours to get access to the duke, that they might lay their complaints before him, or even before a council consisting wholly of their enemies, and had received some small encouragement, which led them to presume that they might have liberty to stay beyond the short time fixed for their removal, they were on the 17th of April, while they were wholly off their guard, attacked by a number of troops, who fell upon them, and butchered them without mercy. The next day, being more on their guard, they made some resistance, and beat off a party of the enemy ; but on the 21st of the same month, while they were deceived by a parley with the marquis of Pianessa, in which they were promised protection on terms which they thought to be tolerable, they were set upon again, and slaughtered as before, even in those places in which they had been assured they should not be molested ; and there was no species of cruelty that was not exercised on such as fell into their power, even on women and infirm persons. The particulars, as related by Moreland, from the most undoubted evidence, are most shocking.

One village, Rorai, escaped this dreadful massacre, and to surprize it, three hundred soldiers were afterwards sent. But being now apprized of their danger, a few men placed in ambuscade repulsed them with loss, p. 500. The next day five hundred more were beat off in the same manner; but afterwards seven hundred who were sent against them succeeded so far as to burn and destroy every thing in that village. However the same party headed, as at first, by one Gianavel, and joined by a few more, fell upon them, and recovered the booty they had got. These small detachments not succeeding, eight thousand men, besides the militia, were sent to subdue them; and these, abandoning themselves to every species of cruelty, destroyed about one hundred and twenty of these people. But, headed still by the same courageous Gianavel, they surprized a great part of this army on the 28th of May, and with the loss of a very few of their own number, killed not less than four hundred and fifty of the enemy. Presently after this we find these people mustered near five hundred men, and on the 11th of July they killed three hundred of the enemy, nor did it appear to be in the power of the great force that was sent against them to extirminate them.

Soon after the commencement of these troubles the Protestant cantons of Switzerland wrote

to

to the duke of Savoy in favour of his reformed subjects. They also applied to the States general of the united provinces to join them in their intercession. But no person took their part in a more active manner than Oliver Cromwell, then protector of England. He wrote to the kings of France, of Sweden, and of Denmark, to the States general, and to the Swiss cantons, and sent Mr. Moreland as his ambassador to the duke of Savoy. Oliver himself contributed two thousand pounds towards the relief of these distressed people; and on his recommendation the sum of thirty eight thousand pounds was raised in the kingdom.

In July the people of Zurich sent a second embassy to Turin, requesting a cessation of arms, in order to an amicable termination of the war. With some difficulty they obtained leave to confer with the Vandois on the subject, and at length by their mediation, a kind of treaty was entered into at Pignerol, August the 18th, D. A. 1655, by which they had liberty to return to their ancient habitations, with all the privileges that had been granted to them before. Such, at least, was concluded from the terms of the treaty. But it was drawn with much art, and notwithstanding the most earnest remonstrances it was settled before the arrival of ambassadors from Cromwell and the united Provinces, and gave the Protestants in general

very little satisfaction ; especially as it was in the form of a grant, or indulgence, which the court of Savoy might think itself at liberty to retract. In fact, the Vandois after this treaty were subject to many hardships ; being still, in many places, expelled from their habitations, and plundered, without obtaining any redress. And all their attempts to get better terms by their application to the court of France were without effect.

Victor Amadeus duke of Savoy, following the example of the king of France, on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, formed the resolution of banishing all the reformed out of his states ; and in November A. D. 1685 he, in the first place, ordered all strangers to leave the vallies in fifteen days. This was with a view to drive out all those who had fled to his country from France. But this not answering his purpose, he forbade on pain of death the exercise of the reformed religion, or the teaching of schools by any of the professors of it ; allowing them, as he had done the strangers, fifteen days to withdraw themselves. Intreaty having no effect to procure the recall of these cruel edicts, those who were exposed to suffer by them defended themselves by force of arms ; but the French and the Piedmontese troops acting in concert destroyed more than three thousand of them, and made more than ten thousand prisoners.

At the intercession of the reformed cantons of Swisserland, the duke permitted these prisoners to go out of the country, and some of them went to Geneva, but not very many, a great number of them having perished by the distress to which they were exposed; and from Geneva those who remained of them went into different parts of Swisserland.

At length this prince forming an alliance with king William, and thinking there would be no more determined enemies of the French than his reformed subjects, allowed them to return to their country, and granted them their former privileges; so natural is it, says a popish historian, for men to sacrifice their religion to every profane view, and to interests purely human. *Memoirs Chronologiques*, Vol. 3, p. 287.

The fate of the *Hussites*, or *Moravian Brethren*, in this period, was similar to that of the Vandois. The different societies that had separated from the Romish communion in Poland, viz. the Lutherans, the Reformed, and the Bohemian Brethren, wanting the aid of each other, formed a kind of union at Sendomir in A. D. 1570; when they agreed on a common confession of faith, each party, however, retaining their own separate confessions, and forms of discipline. They acknowledged each other to be orthodox, and consented to hold com-

munion as such, and to send deputies to their separate general synods. But in the general confession the points in debate were expressed in ambiguous terms, so that it did not put an end to controversy, and this union was afterwards dissolved. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 120. *Crantz*, p. 57.

Before the reformation the Bohemian Brethren had educated their youth for the ministry by giving to each minister a few to attend upon him as Acolyths. After this they sent many to the German universities; but this proving to be a source of dissention among them, they, in A. D. 1584, founded seminaries of their own at Przerow, and three other places in Moravia. *Crantz*, p. 63.

The Brethren had been favoured by Maximilian II, the great friend of universal toleration, and the privileges which they obtained under him were ratified by Rodolf II in A. D. 1609, who granted them at the same time liberty to erect new churches, and to chase out of their nobility advocates to maintain the rights of their church. They were also admitted into the Consistory, together with the Lutherans and Calixtins, each sending three members. Moreover, the Bethlehem church at Prague, in which Hus began to preach, was given to them; and this not being large enough, they were allowed to erect another for the Germans and Bohemians. *Ib.* p. 65.

In this state of rest from persecution many of the Brethren relaxed from the rigour of their discipline, so as to be ill prepared for the state of suffering which followed. For on the death of Rodolf in A. D. 1612, Ferdinand II being determined to enforce the decrees of the council of Trent, began with the Bohemians; and they being unfortunately driven into open rebellion, and defeated in the battle of Prague in A. D. 1620, many of their leaders suffered death, and most of the rest were banished. In A. D. 1624 all the ministers were sent out of the country, and tho' the baron Charles Schrotin, vice margrave of Moravia, who had twenty four ministers of the Brethren on his estates, represented that they had preserved their loyalty, it availed nothing.

Among the ministers who were driven out of Moravia at this time was John Amos, or Comenius, born in A. D. 1592, head master of the seminary at Przerow, and afterwards minister of Fulnek in Moravia. When in A. D. 1627 all the Protestant nobility were ordered to leave the country, he at first concea'ed himself, but afterwards with part of his congregation he emigrated to Poland, and at Lipsa in A. D. 1631 he published his *Janua linguarum reserata*, a book which has been translated into almost all known languages.

In A. D. 1656 losing all his books in a fire, he went to Frankfort on the Oder, thence to Hamburg, and thence to Amsterdam. But when he was at Liffa in A. D. 1632 he was made bishop of the dispersed Brethren from Bohemia and Moravia, and was president of their synod from A. D. 1648 to A. D. 1671, when, being, in the eightieth year of his age, he died. *Crantz*, p. 70.

Comenius was indefatigable in his labours for the good of his church, and he published many things for their use. But he gave too much credit to a number of prophecies which were in circulation during the thirty years war, about the fall of the Austrian family, and the restoration of Frederic, which exposed him and his brethren to much inconvenience. Before his death, almost despairing of the church over which he had presided, he concurred in A. D. 1657 in the appointment of two bishops, one of whom was Peter Jablonki, his son in law; but he dying before him, was succeeded by his son in A. D. 1699, Daniel Ernest Jablonki, who at the same time obtained the superintendency of the Bohemian Brethren out of Poland. He was chaplain in ordinary at the court of Berlin, and wrote several very learned works.

On the dispersion of all the Protestants after the peace of Westphalia, the Brethren fled in various directions, in some places forming congregations; but in most they were lost among the other inhabitants.

SECTION VIII.

Of the Lutherans, and the Reformed.

THE genuine doctrines of the Lutherans of this period are to be found in the confession of Augsburgh, the articles of Smalcald, which were drawn up by Luther, to shew how far he was willing to go to prevent a final rupture with the catholics, and in his larger and shorter catechisms. In these he maintained the omnipresence of the body of Christ, together with its peculiar presence in the eucharist, a doctrine as remote from common sense as that of transubstantiation; tho' Melancthon is said to have leaned to, if he did not profess, the doctrine of the Swiss divines on this subject. The

Lutherans, however, very wisely did not lay much stress on mere rites and forms ; and some of their churches retain more of those which they received from their catholic ancestors, and others fewer, without any breach of their union. Their liturgies also, and the modes of conducting public worship, differ much in different places. In general, however, they retain several things which the Reformed condemn as superstitious, as the use of images in churches, the distinguishing vestments of the clergy, the private confession of sins, the use of waters in the administration of the Lord's supper, the form of exorcism in baptism, and some others. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 109.

Tho' the Lutherans have no *bishops*, properly so called, they have *superintendants*, who have a higher rank, and greater privileges, than the common clergy ; and these vary in different places. In Sweden and Denmark they retain more of the power of the antient bishops.

The Lutheran church like every other in this period, was agitated with controversies, especially in the early part of it. While Luther lived, his authority preserved union among his followers ; but on his death Melancthon was not able, by his meekness and moderation, to maintain the same tranquility. In the debates concerning the *Interim*, he maintained the lawfulness of obeying the sovereign

reign in all matters of indifference, in which he was violently opposed by many, and especially by Flacius, who differed from him both with respect to the articles that were said to be indifferent, and the lawfulness of yielding to their imposition.

Luther's doctrine of salvation by grace alone led many of his followers to deny the necessity of good works, and this occasioned another warm controversy; Melancthon asserting their necessity. In the course of this controversy some went so far as to assert that good works were even an impediment to salvation. Melancthon, however, followed by the great lords of the Lutherans, denied the absolute servitude of the human will in the business of salvation, and the total inability of man to do any good action; asserting that the will of man concurs with the operation of divine grace, which was called *Semipelagianism*. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 40.

Nothing excited the indignation of the moderate party so much as Flacius obstinately maintaining that original sin was of the very substance of human nature, which he was led to do by his antagonist asking him, whether original sin was to be ranked among substances or accidents. The violence with which this controversy was conducted, greatly impeded the progress of the reformation.

On the death of Melancthon, who was most active in this controversy, as in others which arose
among

among the Lutherans, the elector of Saxony, and other princes, procured a conference between the heads of the contending parties at Altenburg in A. D. 1568; but the warmth of the disputants prevented any good effects from it. They there endeavoured to procure a *form of concord*, drawn up by the most moderate on both sides, to be approved in the different consistories of the Lutherans, and James Andreæ, professor at Tubingen, was employed on this work from A. D. 1569, by order of the dukes of Wirtemberg and Brunswick, and he was indefatigable in his endeavours to recommend the form that he had prepared.

Those who adopted the opinions of Zuinglius in Germany must have been numerous. In A. D. 1570 Peucer, a man of learning, and of an excellent character, professor of natural philosophy at Wirtemberg, and son in law of Melancthon, made a public profession, along with others of his disciples, of the doctrine of Calvin; and in the year following he published a work in the German language intitled *Stereoma*, in which they declared their dissent from the doctrine of Luther concerning the eucharist. This alarming Augustus, the elector of Saxony, he called a solemn convocation of the Saxon divines at Dresden in A. D. 1571; when they drew up a form of agreement, in which the omnipresence of the body of Christ was denied.

Afterwards

Afterwards, however, the elector being made to believe that a great pillar of the doctrine of Luther was endangered by it, he called another convention at Torgaw, in A. D. 1574, and tho' fifteen persons only attended, and complied with the wishes of the elector, he committed some who opposed the doctrine of Luther to prison, others he banished, and Peucer was subjected to the most rigorous confinement till A. D. 1585, when he obtained his liberty by means of the prince of Anhalt.

By the order of the elector the form of concord drawn up by Andreae, but revised by many other persons in A. D. 1576, when the assembly of divines met at Torgaw, was adopted. This was a new confession of faith for the Lutheran church, in which the omnipresence of the body of Christ, and the real manducation of it in the eucharist, were asserted; and it censured all who did not adopt these opinions as heretics, and encouraged the civil magistrate to suppress them. Indeed, the Lutherans in general retained the prosecuting maxims of the age till towards the close of the seventeenth century; when it was generally allowed among them, that the civil magistrate has nothing to do with the religious opinions of those who do not disturb the peace of society. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 440.

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Tho' this measure was designed to heal the divisions of the Lutheran church, and to preserve it from the doctrines of the Reformed, yet like other violent measures, it failed of answering its end. It gave the greatest possible offence to all the friends of peace, it entirely alienated the Reformed, and occasioned a violent and long continued controversy among themselves. It was rejected with the greatest indignation by the Lutheran churches of Hesse, of Pomerania, and many other places. Julius duke of Brunswick, the original patron of this form of concord, himself changed his opinion concerning it, and excluded it from the number of those creeds that were to be subscribed by his subjects.

Under Christian I, who succeeded Augustus, the enemies of this form of concord were encouraged to attempt the rejection of it; but on his death in A. D. 1591, they suffered for it, some of them being banished, and others imprisoned; and Crellius the first minister of Christian even suffered death in A. D. 1601, in consequence of some tumult that had been occasioned by this controversy.

Many Lutheran churches, offended at these proceedings, and disapproving the form of concord, joined the Reformed. Among them were the churches of Nassau, Hanaw, Ifenburg, and others; *Ib.* p. 105. In A. D. 1595 the princes of Anhalt renounced

renounced the profession of Lutheranism, and embraced the system of Geneva; but his subjects were left at liberty to follow which they pleased.

The Lutheran church sustained a great loss in the defection of Maurice landgrave of Hesse, who adopted the system of the Reformed. In A. D. 1604 he removed the professors from the university of Wittemberg, and in A. D. 1619 he sent divines to the synod at Dort, with orders to conform to the decrees of that assembly. This example was followed in part by John Sigismund elector of Brandenburg, in A. D. 1614; but tho' he adopted the discipline of the church of Geneva, he did not adopt all their doctrines, and he allowed his subjects liberty of conscience. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 417.

There was some danger of the system of the Reformed supplanting that of Luther in Denmark, the disciples of Melancthon having much influence in that country; but these appearances vanished when in A. D. 1614, Canut bishop of Guttemberg, who had embraced the doctrine of Calvin, was deprived of his episcopal jurisdiction. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 484.

Many attempts were made by the friends of peace in this period to unite the Lutherans and the Reformed, at least to bring them to tolerate one another, and lessen the acrimony which prevailed

on both sides. But tho' the Reformed were at all times well disposed to this, and were ready to allow that the Lutherans held no fundamental errors, the Lutherans would never acknowledge the same with respect to them. A synod of the French Protestants held at Charenton in A. D. 1631 passed an act in which it was declared that the Lutheran system was conformable to the spirit of true piety, and free from pernicious and fundamental errors. But this candour thus publicly expressed, had no effect on the other party. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 421.

Uladislaus IV king of Poland had much at heart the union of all the churches which were opposed to that of Rome; and for this purpose he ordered a conference to be held at Thorn in A. D. 1645. But the persons who met separated with increased animosity against each other. Several other attempts were made both by princes and private persons to bring the Lutherans and the Reformed to a nearer union, but they all failed of success.]

George Calixtus of Sleswick, a person of distinguished genius and learning, exerted himself greatly to promote an union, at least of affection, among all christians, even including the catholics; by maintaining that all the fundamental doctrines of christianity were contained in the apostles creed, which

which is received by them all. But this noble attempt only engaged him and all Germany in a controversy which continued after his death in A. D. 1656; and according to Mosheim gave occasion to such an exhibition of an unchristian spirit in his antagonists, as we have but few examples of in the history of the church. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 446.

About A. D. 1616 a controversy arose among the Lutherans concerning the nature and degree of the humiliation of Christ, whether his divine attributes were suspended, or only concealed, during his mediatorial office. The latter was maintained by the doctors of Tubingen, and the former by those of Groffen. This controversy, like the rest, was conducted with much warmth; and tho' the Saxon divines were commanded by their sovereign in A. D. 1624 to interpose their good offices, their decision gave no satisfaction to the contending parties. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 469.

Among the Lutheran theologians of this period we must mention Jacob Bohman, a taylor in Gorlitz, called by his admirers the *German theosophist*. Having got some knowledge of the doctrine of Robert Fludd, and the Rosicrucians, he struck out a scheme of theology more obscure than any that had been broached before. It is not possible in intelligible language to give any idea of it.

The church usually called *Reformed* received great lustre from the labours of Calvin, who reduced the discipline of it to a system, and endeavoured to get it introduced into other churches; making Geneva, as it were, the centre, and fountain head, of that division of the separatists from the Roman communion. To this the establishment of an university, in which he was professor, and in which he was seconded by Beza, greatly contributed. Their reputation drew pupils from all quarters, and these dispersed themselves into every part of Europe.

The system of Calvin differed from that of Zuinglius in the following particulars. He took from the civil magistrate that unbounded power which Zuinglius had allowed to him in ecclesiastical matters. He acknowledged no superiority of one christian minister over another, but provided for the government of the church by synods of presbyters, and ruling elders; and he restored to its vigour the practice of excommunication, and recommended it to be enforced by the civil magistrate; whereas Zuinglius denied this power to the clergy. In this respect, the system of Calvin did not differ from that of the catholics, and he was sometimes called the pope of Geneva. He made himself many enemies at Geneva by his rigorous measures to exclude unworthy members from

from church communion; but his perseverance carried him through every opposition. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 116.

Calvin differed in sentiment from Zuinglius in maintaining that the eucharist is something more than a pious remembrance of Christ. He held that Christ is spiritually present in it, and that a divine virtue is thereby communicated to the worthy receiver. He also held the doctrine of predestination in the most rigid sense, which Zuinglius never did.

Among the victims of Calvin's resentment for a difference of opinion on this subject was Sebastian Castalio, master of the public school at Geneva, an excellent scholar, and a man of great probity. In consequence of his differing from Calvin on the subject of the divine decrees, he was deposed from his office in A. D. 1544, and banished the city. But he was received by the magistrates of Basil, who gave him the Greek professorship in that city. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 125.

Calvin's system of church government was adopted by the *Reformed* in France, Holland, and Scotland, and also in the Palatinate, Bremen, and other places in Germany, but not in Switzerland, where an attachment to the system of Zuinglius prevented it. But his doctrines respecting the eucharist, and especially predestination, prevailed

by his means, and those of his followers, not only through Swisserland, but in most of the reformed churches.

SECTION IX.

Of the Anabaptists and Unitarians.

THE enormities of the Anabaptists who appeared in the time of Luther, were so shocking to every body, that long after the whole sect were effectually recovered from them, they were regarded with a jealous eye, and considered as unworthy of toleration in most places; especially as they still retained their objection to oaths, those to any government, as well as others. They held all penal laws, and even magistracy, to be unsuitable to the kingdom of Christ. They held war to be universally unlawful, and in any case to repel force with force. At length, however, their conduct being found by experience to be peaceable, and even
entirely

entirely passive, they began to be received without distrust ; but during the whole of this period they were exposed to great hardships.

Menno, who was considered as their chief, after a life of great labour, constantly removing from place to place, and exposed to great danger, was at length received into the protection of a nobleman in the dutchy of Holstein, where he died in A. D. 1561.

Tho' the antient Anabaptists, many of whom had endeavoured to overturn the government in several places in Holland, as well as at Munster, were on that account held in great abhorrence ; yet under William the prince of Orange, the founder of the Belgic liberties, and who had been assisted by them with a considerable sum of money, when his funds were almost exhausted, they obtained a legal establishment in the United Provinces, notwithstanding the opposition of many of the clergy ; but their liberty and tranquility were not fully established till the year A. D. 1626, when by a public confession of their faith they cleared themselves of the things that were laid to their charge.

After many internal divisions, which exposed the Anabaptists to great inconvenience, and made them appear less respectable than they otherwise would have done, the greater part of them held an

amicable conference at Amsterdam in A. D. 1630; when they entered into a bond of fraternal communion, with allowance for some differences of opinion; and this was renewed and confirmed by those of Flanders and Germany in A. D. 1649, when they mitigated and corrected, in various respects, the rigorous rules of Menno, and his successors. Some of them, however, still retained their original doctrines and practices, as that concerning the human nature of Christ, which they said was not derived from the virgin Mary, the obligation to wash the feet of strangers, the necessity of excommunicating and avoiding all those who departed from the simplicity of their ancestors; their contempt of human learning, and other peculiarities of less moment. But in later times many of these relaxed with respect to them.

The Anabaptists have three orders in their clergy, 1st, bishops or presbyters, who preside in their consistories, and who alone administer baptism and the Lord's Supper, 2^{dly} teachers for public instruction, and 3^{dly} deacons. Among the various sects into which they are divided abroad, there are some who are called *Galenists*, from Galen Abraham Horan, a physician and pastor of a Menno-nite congregation at Amsterdam, a person of great ability and eloquence. These deny the divinity of
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of Christ, and agree in many things with the Soci-nians. They admit to their communion all who call themselves christians. *Mosheim*, Vol. 5, p. 50.

The Unitarians who took refuge in Poland and Transilvania at first joined other societies who like themselves had separated from the church of Rome; but differing so widely from the Lutherans, and all the others, disputes necessarily arose among them; and in a diet held at Petiskow in A. D. 1565, the Unitarians were desired to separate themselves, and form societies of their own. They were at that time commonly called *Pinczovians*, from the town in which the most eminent of them resided; and they were generally Arians, maintaining that Christ was created before the formation of the world. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 179. But there were some among them who even denied the miraculous conception of Jesus, and that any kind of worship ought to be paid to him. These were called *Budneians*, from Simon Budneius, a minister of great acuteness and sagacity.

Notwithstanding these divisions among themselves, and their being exposed to the ill offices of all the other reformers, the Unitarians soon formed several respectable societies, as at Cracow, Lublin, Pinczow, Luck, Smilin, and other places in Poland and Lithuania; and John Sienienius Palatin of Podolia,

gave them in A. D. 1659 a settlement in the city of Racow, in the district of Sendomir, which they made the centre of all their societies. Here they published in A. D. 1672 a translation of the bible into the Polish language, and at Cracow in A. D. 1674 a catechism of their principles. This was composed by G. Schoman, and was remarkable for its simplicity. From the preface to this catechism it appears that they were then generally called Anabaptists, and with respect to baptism they were agreed with them. This catechism was however, not Arian; for in it Christ is considered as no more than a prophet, tho' he is said to be entitled to adoration next to God; the Holy Spirit is said to be a divine energy, and justification is said to proceed from the free mercy of God to the penitent. It forbids the taking of oaths, or repelling of injuries; and the account of the eucharist agrees with the doctrine of Zuinglius.

It was when things were in this state, viz. in A. D. 1579 that Faustus Socinus arrived in Poland. He was born of honourable parents at Sienna in Italy in A. D. 1539, and losing both his father and mother while he was very young, he had not in early life the advantage of a learned education, so that he was never taught the logic or philosophy of the times, nor any thing of scholastic divinity. Till he was twenty he applied himself chiefly to the study

study of jurisprudence. But by the assistance of his uncle Lælius (which, however, appears to have been given him very sparingly) he acquired some principles of religious knowledge, tho' it is said that the uncle always expressed great confidence in the spirit and abilities of the nephew. Three years of his life Faustus spent in Switzerland, and the remainder of his life, which was thirty years, in voluntary exile.

He spent some time with his uncle in France, and having formed an acquaintance with the grand duke of Tuscany, he lived twelve years in his court, distinguished by the favour of that prince. But then, entering into serious consideration on the value of the different objects of men's pursuit, he devoted himself to the propagation of religious truth; and despising the honours of this world, he retired into a country where he had a prospect of meeting with less obstruction to his views than in his native place. *Toulmin's Life of Socinus*, p. 3, &c.

In A. D. 1574 he went to Basil, where he spent three years in the study of theology, assisted by the writings and notes of his uncle. Here he engaged in several disputations, both in conversation, and in writing, and here he wrote his book *De Servatore*. At this time there being much controversy in the Unitarian churches of Transilvania about

the office and power of Christ, G. Blandrata sent for Socinus, with a view to withdraw Francis David from his peculiar sentiments ; and for this purpose he procured him a lodging in the house of David, where he continued three quarters of a year, but without the wished for success. Socinus found the Unitarians in general much divided among themselves, but by his address and perseverance, and recommending himself to the nobility, he gradually engaged them all to form one community, which was so much under his own direction, that from him they were genererally denominated *Socinians*.

From this time the number of Unitarians was much increased by profelytes from all ranks. They then published a new catechism, called that of Racow, chiefly composed by Socinus. And what contributed to give the sect greater celebrity, Jacob or Sienna, to whom Racow belonged, separated from the Romish church, and openly embracing their communion, he made that city a public school for the education of their ministers. At Raccow they published many excellent writings, which were dispersed in all parts of Europe, and not without making an impression, tho' they nowhere procured them any firm establishment. Many of these treatises were republished in one body after the year A. D. 1656, and called *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*,

Polanornm. They contained the works of Socinus, Crellius, Slightingius, and Wolzogenius.

Notwithstanding a degree of union among the Unitarians, produced by the endeavours of Socinus, there remained considerable differences of opinion among them; some of them embracing the tenets of Budneius above mentioned; and others those of Stanislaus Farnovius, who with Gonesius preferred the Arian system. Budneius had many disciples in Lithuania and Russian Poland, but his opinions giving great offence to the great body of Unitarians, he was deposed from his ministry in A. D. 1584, and publicly excommunicated together with his disciples. His doctrine was adopted by Francis David, a Hungarian, and superintendant of the Unitarian churches in Transilvania, who very strenuously opposed the paying of worship to Jesus Christ. Blandrata used his utmost endeavours to engage him to change his opinion. But not yielding to any of his arguments, he was thrown into prison by Christopher Bathori prince of Transilvania, where he died in an advanced age in A. D. 1579.

His disciples, were not, however, intimidated by this event, but continued firm in their opposition, which gave great uneasiness to Socinus and his adherents. But notwithstanding the warm opposition that Socinus gave to the opinions of David,

it appears from his writings that he did not think them any way dangerous, and on one occasion he speaks in the highest terms of the faith of those who always address themselves immediately to God, without making use of any intercessor whatever. It is too evident, however, that, like many other reformers, Socinus was unwilling to give any unnecessary offence to the general body of christians. On this principle, the Farnovians were never publicly censured by the Unitarians, but only advised not to publish their sentiments from the pulpit. They separated, however, from the body of Unitarians, in A. D. 1568, but many of them returned to their communion; and on the death of their leader in A. D. 1615, they ceased to be a separate body. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 202.

The Unitarians had no great success in their endeavours to propagate their doctrine beyond the bounds of Poland and Transilvania. But in the academy at Altorf, Ernest Sohner, professor of medicine and natural philosophy, a man of great ability and address and a zealous Unitarian, made, tho' in a private manner, many disciples in that place. He dying in A. D. 1612 no farther progress was made; and in A. D. 1616 the Unitarians were discovered, and persecuted by the magistrates of Nuremberg, on which many saved themselves

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by flight, and the rest conformed to the prevailing worship. *Ib.* Vol. 5, p. 53.

The tranquility of the Unitarians in Poland was not of long continuance. For some students at Racow having in A. D. 1638, imprudently thrown stones at a crucifix, and demolished it, the catholics were so much provoked, that they procured an edict by which it was decreed that their academy should be suppressed, their printing house destroyed, and their churches shut up; and nothing was able to prevent the execution of it in the utmost rigour. And because they submitted to the king of Sweden when he invaded Poland, and accepted of his protection, they were exposed to great ravages from the Polish peasants; and king Casimir recovering his losses, published an edict in A. D. 1658, by which all the Unitarians were banished for ever from the territory of Poland, and it was made a capital offence openly to profess their opinion, or to harbour their persons; and tho' at first they were allowed three years to dispose of their effects, this term was afterwards, reduced to two.

In A. D. 1661, this severe edict was renewed, and all the Unitarians who had remained in Poland were driven out of the country, and neither sickness, nor any other plea, was allowed to retard the execution of it. Had a single deputy, it is said,

said, of the other Protestants at the diet protested against this cruel order, it could not have taken place; and about twenty years after, they were themselves so reduced as to stand in need of the charitable assistance of foreigners. *Toulmin*, p.

274.

On this calamitous event the Unitarians were dispersed into all the countries of Europe, but except in Transylvania they were no where publicly received, their toleration being opposed by every other denomination of christians. Some, however remained in England, Prussia, and Brandenburg; but they could not openly profess their opinions, or form congregations.

There were Unitarians in England in this period as well as in other places, tho' but few of them were so conspicuous as to be noticed by historians.

In A. D. 1575 twenty seven foreign Anabaptists were apprehended in a private house on Easter day, where they were assembled for worship. Of these four recanted, but the others, who were all Dutchmen, were sentenced to be burned. Of those nine were banished, but two were actually burned in Smithfield, notwithstanding an excellent Latin letter which Mr. Fox addressed to the queen in their favour. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 298.

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In A. D. 1612 Bartholemew Legat, called an Arian, said to have been well versed in the scriptures, and a man of unblamable conversation, being apprehended, king James himself conferred with him, in order to convince him of his error. This not succeeding, he was committed to Newgate, and after being examined before bishop king at his consistory at St. Paul's, was declared to be a contumacious and obstinate heretic, and as such he was burned at Smithfield on the 18th of March, amidst a vast concourse of people. A pardon was offered him when he was at the stake if he would recant, but he refused it. *Neal*, Vol. 2, p. 92.

The next month Edward Wightman of Burton upon Trent, was convicted of heresy as an Arian and Anabaptist, before Dr. Neile, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, and he was burned at Litchfield April 11. Another was condemned to the fire for the same heresy, but the constancy of these sufferers moved the compassion of the spectators so much, that it was thought more advisable to keep him lingering out a miserable life in Newgate. *Ib* Vol. 2, p. 93. But these cruelties did not suppress their opinions. In A. D. 1644 one Thomas Webb was imprisoned by order of the house of lords; and tho' he was released on signing a recantation, he propagated his opinions afterwards, asserting that we ought not to say, "God
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“the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; for that was making three Gods. *Ibid*, Vol. 3, p. 514. *Supplement by Dr. Toulmin*.

In A. D. 1645 Paul Best was charged with saying that the doctrine of the trinity was the *mystery of iniquity*, a three headed monster, a tradition of Rome &c. and John Fry was charged before the house of commons in A. D. 1648, that he did not believe Christ to be God, and Mr. Nye declared that to his knowledge, the denial of the divinity of Christ was a growing opinion. *Neal*, Vol. 3, p. 515. *Supplement*. In A. D. 1683 John Lewis was burned at Norwich for denying the divinity of Christ. *Ib*. Vol. 1, p. 355.

To oppose the errors of Socinianism as well as those of popery, and infidelity, a weekly lecture was set up at Pinner's hall every Tuesday morning. *Ib*. Vol. 4, 520.

For a short time, in the interval between the death of Charles I, and the restoration, Mr. Biddle, a man of great learning and piety, who without having read any of the writings of the Unitarians, but from the study of the scriptures, embraced their sentiments, formed a small society in London, and published some excellent tracts in support of his opinions, being greatly favoured by Thomas Firman, an opulent merchant in London, one of the most intelligent, benevolent, and active of men.

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But in A. D. 1648 the assembly of Presbyterian divines then sitting at Westminster, procured an ordinance inflicting death on all who should hold opinions contrary to the doctrine of the trinity. Biddle for some time escaped in the dissensions of the times, but was afterwards thrown into prison, and thereby reduced to great poverty. Being released by the act of oblivion in A. D. 1650, he published other tracts in support of his opinions, which giving great offence, he was, on complaint made against him in the house of commons, committed a close prisoner, but after six months confinement he obtained his liberty in due course of law. His life was after this in danger from an accusation on the statute of blasphemy; but Cromwell, not liking such proceedings, banished him to the isle of Scilly, in A. D. 1655; but he was released by habeas corpus in A. D. 1658. After the restoration, Biddle in A. D. 1662, was again apprehended, and suffered so much by close confinement, that he contracted a disease of which he died in A. D. 1662, in the forty seventh year of his age. *Life of Biddle.*

SECTION X.

Of the Protestants in France:

THE preceding period of our history left the kingdom of France in a state of great distraction, thro' the alternate prevalence of the Catholic and Protestant parties in it, but it led to a scene of such treachery and cruelty as is unparelled in all history, ecclesiastical or civil.

The court of France, not having been 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. But what seemed to put the sincerity of the court out of all doubt, was the proposal of the marriage of the king's daughter to the young king of Navarre, which took place on the 17th of August A. D. 1572, and was attended with every mark of festivity. Tho' many persons could not help suspecting some treachery, the
heads

heads of the Protestant party were so desirous of peace, and so void of bad intentions themselves, that they gave no credit to those who forewarned them of their danger.

The first measure that was taken by the court was to procure the assassination of Coligni. But tho' he was dangerously wounded by a man employed to shoot him, he escaped with life. The king affected so much concern on the occasion, and expressed himself with so much kindness and confidence when he visited him, that even this circumstance was far from opening his eyes to his real situation, tho' it did those of many of his friends. Then, having, on the pretence of greater security to them, got him and his principal friends to lodge in the same part of the city and assigned them a guard, a resolution was taken to massacre all the Protestants in Paris in one night, the eve of St. Bartholemew, August 24th, which was a Sunday. They only excepted the king of Navarre, and the duke of Condè, on account of their youth and rank.

Every kind of preparation being made, the signal for the massacre was given by the ringing of the bells of St. Germain, when the duke of Guise, and other heads of the Catholic party, conducted the troops to the house of Coligni. The first notice he had of any murderous intention, was the death

of his porter ; and while the rest of his servants were making what defence they could, he went to prayers with his chaplain, and then addressed those of his friends who were with him like a christian not unwilling to die, but advised them as they could not save him, to save themselves. When the door of his chamber was broken open, and one of them that rushed in asked if he was Coligni, he said that he was, adding ; “ young man, you ought to spare 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.

This first object being accomplished, it was followed by the murder of as many of the leaders of the Protestants as the Catholics could lay hold of ; and as many of the common people as could be known to be of the same persuasion were also slain, the king himself firing from his window on such of them as endeavoured to escape by crossing the river. It was computed that not less than two thousand men were massacred the first day. The same scene was acted on several days following, and the king by a public edict avowed himself the author of it. *

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It is not a little extraordinary that Ambrose Paré,

This example set by Paris was soon followed in other cities, as Orleans, Lyons, Thoulouse, Rheims, and others ; but the Governors of Provence and Dauphiné prevented these violences in that part of the country. Even small villages did not escape this general massacre, so that it was supposed that, in all, not less than thirty thousand perished in one way or other, tho' Thuanus thinks that account something exaggerated. During this massacre at Paris, the king sent for the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, and threatened them with death if they would not renounce their religion. But tho' they were very young, they had the firmness at that time not to comply, and the threat was not executed. At length, however, they yielded to the times, and pretended to be converted.

This massacre, it is not doubted, was in consequence of a plan laid at the meeting of Bayonne,

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the most celebrated surgeon in the sixteenth century, and who in that capacity had served king Henry II, gained the confidence of Charles IX to such a degree, that he was the only person for whose safety he was interested in this massacre, and in consequence of this he was spared. To express his gratitude, he gave the most solicitous attention to the king's health.—*An Historical View of Surgery in the Medical and Physical Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 365.

and the principal promoters of it were the Guises, and the queen mother Catharine of Medicis. The king, tho' young, too readily entered into it. The impression that a measure so unprecedented in history made on all the states of Europe, was, as may be imagined, very great. The Protestants were every where struck with detestation and horror, but not with despair. On the contrary, they were inflamed with a greater degree of aversion to the religion and policy of the court of Rome than ever, and were inspired with a more determined resolution to live and die in their principles. The more moderate Catholics condemned this violence, but the majority probably rejoiced in it. They had been long used to the shedding of blood, and the use of torture, to promote their religion, and had been accustomed to the most dreadful spectacles of this kind. And tho' the most undisguised treachery, as well as cruelty, was employed on this occasion, they would too naturally think that so good an end would sanctify any means. The pope, they believed, had the power to absolve from oaths, and every other moral obligation, and faith was not to be kept with heretics.

When the news of this massacre arrived at Rome, it occasioned the most excessive joy. The letter of the pope's nuncio at the court of France on the subject, was read in an 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 favour he had shewn to the holy see, and all christendom ; and that on the Monday following a solemn mass should be performed on the occasion, when the pope and the cardinals should attend, and that an universal jubilee should be published. In the evening the guns of St. Angelo were fired, and bonfires were made in all the streets. In short, nothing was omitted that was usual on occasions of the greatest victories, and the most signal advantages to the holy see. *

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* That the court of Rome countenanced this persecution of the Protestants, and even scrupled no means whatever to promote it, was sufficiently evident before this catastrophe. In February A. D. 1564 Charles IX of France received an embassy from the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy, requesting, among other things, that he would repeal the act of grace granted to the Reformed by the edict of peace, and punish those who should be found guilty of high treason against God ; because such crimes being committed not against princes, but against God, to him alone it belonged to forgive them. *Laval* Vol. 3, p. 44.

The cardinal of Lorraine, who was then at Rome, was so transported with joy, that he gave a thousand crowns of gold to the person who brought him the news; and on his proposal two days after, a procession was made to the church of St. Lewis, when there was a great concourse of nobility and common people. The bishops and cardinals walked at the head, after them the ambassadors of crowned heads, then the pope under a canopy, attended by the cardinal deacons, among whom Innocent Del Monto held the first place, instead of the cardinal Louis d'Est, who was then in France. The emperor's ambassador carried the pope's train; this being the most honourable function, and always belonging to the emperor, as the first of christian princes. The light horse closed the cavalcade. When they were arrived at the church, the cardinal of Lorraine performed mass with the greatest pomp, and the church was ornamented with more magnificence than usual. On the door there was an inscription, signifying that the cardinal of Lorraine, in the name of the most christian king, gave God thanks, and congratulated the holy father pope Gregory XIII, the sacred college of cardinals, the senate, and people of Rome " for the
" astonishing and incredible success of the councils
" of the holy see, the succours that he had sent,
" and the prayers which his holiness had ordered
" for

“for twelve years.” After these rejoicings the pope sent a legate to France, and gave him the cross in a solemn manner, as a mark of distinguished honour.

Grateful as this event was to the zealous Catholics, it was necessary for the king of France to make an apology for it to several of the sovereign powers of Europe ; but with this I shall not trouble my readers.

The Catholics were far from gaining any thing by this horrible act even in France. The massacre at Paris was a torment to the king even to his last breath. His countenance was quite altered, and he became much more morose than before. His mother and his bloody counsellors were the objects of his utmost hatred. And what added to his sorrow was to find himself deceived in his expectations, the Reformed being much increased, instead of being reduced, by the measure. *Laval*, Vol. 3, p. 45^o.

After a short time, numbers of the Protestants appeared in arms, and the civil wars revived with as much obstinacy as ever, and terminated in the accession of Henry IV, then a Protestant, to the throne of France.

Henry III being joined by the king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV, was an object of detestation to all the more zealous Catholics, and

when he was murdered by an enthusiastic friar, nothing was seen in the streets of Paris, but feasting, dancing, and other demonstrations of joy. Clement, the assassin, was fainted, prayers were put up for him, his images and statues at full length were adored; his mother and other relations who came to Paris at that time, were enriched by the free gifts they received from the people of all ranks. *Ib.* Vol. 5, p. 15.

Sex:us V approved of the murder of Henry III, and in a speech on the occasion in the conclave of cardinals, applied to it these words of Habakkuk, 1, 5. "I have wrought a work in your days, which you will not believe, tho' it be told you. *Ibid*, Vol. 4, p. 574.

After the accession of Henry IV, he pretended at least to be converted, and reigning in peace, he granted to his Protestant subjects the full enjoyment of their liberties in the famous *ediēt of Nantes*. By this ediēt not only was liberty of conscience granted to the Protestants, but free admission to places of honour and emolument, and also to the public universities. They were likewise allowed to retain several fortified places, especially La Rochelle.

These terms were granted when the Protestants were very numerous and formidable; but it could not be expected that two independent powers should
continue

continue long in the same country. As the court and catholic party became stronger, they laid hold of every pretence for oppressing their opponents; and for this some handle was given by the Protestants courting the alliance and friendship of foreign states, as England and Holland. This gave great umbrage to the crown, and infligated Richelieu, prime minister to Lewis XIII, to make it a principal object of his policy to reduce them; and in A. D. 1628 Rochelle, after a long and memorable siege, was taken, and annexed to the crown of France.

From this time the power of the Protestants rapidly declined, and they were by degrees deprived of both their civil and religious privileges, especially in the succeeding reign of Lewis XIV. The last of their national synods was held in A. D. 1659. Another was fixed to meet three years after this, but it was not permitted, those in different provinces being forbidden to have any correspondence with one another. *Laval*, Vol. 6, p. 1076. And after a series of measures, all of which were violations of the most solemn engagements, the edict of Nantes, which the king had sworn to preserve inviolate, was repealed in A. D. 1685. This was done at the instigation of the Jesuits, who had been uncommonly irritated at the execution of five of their order in England. The principal

principal actor in this business was La Chaise, the king's confessor, who made him believe it was an act of the greatest merit, and by which he would acquire the greatest glory.

From the year A. D. 1656, the king undertook to weaken the Protestant interest by reducing them to the precise terms of the edict of Nantes; and for this purpose a declaration in A. D. 1661 directed commissioners to go into all the provinces, to take an account of all innovations, and reduce every thing to its former situation. Eighteen or twenty different arrets were issued with this view, the parliament always seconding the views of the king; and whatever the clergy thought to be necessary to prepare the way for the revocation of the edict of Nantes was always done. *Memoires Chronologiques*, Vol. 3, p. 56.

In A. D. 1665 there was issued a declaration, containing forty nine articles, the principal of which were the following. "The Protestant ministers were forbidden to preach in any place which had not been appropriated to that use, to say any thing contrary to the catholic religion, to take the title of *pastors*, instead of *ministers of the pretended reformed religion*, to appear in the habit of clergymen, except in a place of worship, to marry any catholic, to have any correspondence with their brethren in other provinces, to

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“ hold any assembly except the national synod ;
 “ and that only with the king’s permission, and in
 “ the presence of his commissary, or to bury in ca-
 “ tholic burying ground. When there was any
 “ procession before their churches they were order-
 “ ed to cease from singing hymns ; and if they
 “ met the host, they were either to withdraw, or
 “ put themselves into a posture of respect. Chil-
 “ dren whose parents either were, or had been,
 “ catholic, were to be brought up in that religion,
 “ tho’ the mothers were of the reformed ; and they
 “ were also ordered to observe all the festivals of
 “ the catholics, by not selling, or working in open
 “ shops on those days. *Ib.* p. 94.”

In A. D. 1680 the Calvinists were forbidden to
 take any farms or subfarms, and by another arret
 the same year all Catholics were forbidden to em-
 brace calvinism under the penalty of perpetual
 banishment ; and protestant ministers were ordered
 not to receive any converts under the penalty of
 discontinuing their functions. This declaration
 was followed by several others, in consequence of
 which a great number of churches said to have
 been built contrary to the edict of Nantes were
 pulled down. This sufficiently alarming the Pro-
 testants, and shewing them what they had to ex-
 pect ; so that great numbers of them prepared to

leave

leave the kingdom, a declaration was issued May 18, A. D. 1682, by which all seamen and artificers were forbidden to go to any other country, under the penalty of being sent to the galleys for life, and a fine of not less than three thousand livres to those who should favour their escape. The retreat of some persons of better condition occasioned the issuing of another arret the 14th of July, which made the prohibition to leave the kingdom general. At the same time it annulled all contracts of the sales they might make of their property, and confiscated their effects. *Ib.* vol. 3, p. 169.

In aid of those measures of the court to extinguish the Protestant party, the prelates of the kingdom, in A. D. 1682, addressed a pastoral letter to them, expostulating with them on the subject of the schism they made in the church. This was required to be signed by all the consistories in the kingdom, and the clergy had pointed out to them sixteen arguments by which they might effectually promote the conversion of the Protestants, extracted from the works of their most celebrated controversial writers. This was accompanied by two letters from the king, in which they were exhorted to do every thing in their power to promote the design, but only in the use of argument and persuasion.

Some Calvinists in Dauphinè, and other places in the south of France, holding their assemblies where they had been forbidden, and defending themselves, this historian says, with arms, they were soon reduced, and some of their ministers were executed. Others were punished by having soldiers quartered in their houses, by which they were greatly distressed. This measure being found best to answer the views of the court, it was afterwards carried to a greater extent.

The Calvinist ministers, roused by these measures, the object of which was the extermination of their religion, exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent the desertion of their flocks, by publishing answers to the arguments of their opponents, and going from house to house to dissuade persons from apostatizing; but notwithstanding this many were gained by the court.

The writings of the Calvinists giving great offence to the Catholics, complaint was made of it, and an edict was issued August 23d, forbidding them not only to preach, but also to publish, any thing against the catholic religion; and before they had time to express what they felt on this occasion; it was followed two months after by the revocation of the edict of Nantes; by which this writer says, Lewis the great acquired with true Catholics as much honour as the great Constantine did by the extirpation

extirpation of paganism. *Ib.* Vol. 3, p. 247, 362. Tho' it is now considered in France, as well as elsewhere, an act of the most egregious folly, for its impolicy, as well as its bigotry and cruelty.

Before this act the writer says, by a number of other edicts closely following one another, nothing but the shadow of the edict of Nantes remained. The Protestants had been excluded from all offices of judicature, and the exercise of many professions, the greater part of their churches were demolished, their ministers did not appear in public, every child that shewed the least wish to become a Catholic, was taken from its parents, and the hope of reward, and the dread of impending evils, had brought over a great number of adults. There were few, he says, who did not yield to the obligation of lodging soldiers. This military expedient was begun in Bearn, but was soon extended through all the kingdom, the truce that was made with Spain favouring the measure. When things were in this prosperous train, he says the chancellor urged the king to strike the final blow, and cut off the head of the hydra. His age and infirmities made him ardently wish for an act which would restore the catholic religion to all its rights; and when he had set his seal to it, he cried out in the language of Simeon, " Now lettest thou thy servant depart in

" peace,

“peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation;” justly says this historian, regarding this last act as the happiest and most brilliant in his life.

By this act all that remained of the Protestant churches were demolished. They were forbidden to assemble for the exercise of their religion even in private houses, and the ministers who would not conform to the established religion were required to leave the kingdom in fifteen days after the publication of the edict. At the same time considerable advantages were promised to those who would conform, as an exemption from the taille, from the lodging of soldiers; and during their life they were allowed one third more than their former salaries. All who were not ministers were forbidden to leave the country, or to remove any of their effects out of it, under the penalty of the gallies for the men, and the confiscation of body and goods for the women.

Tho’ all the ministers who would not conform to the established religion, were now ordered to leave the country, the time allowed for this was so short, that great numbers were apprehended in their attempts to escape; and for this were sentenced to the most cruel punishments. Many were sent to the gallies along with the most abandoned criminals, and some to solitary dungeons for life; so that, directly and indirectly, this proved to

be as severe a persecution as the Protestants ever experienced from the Catholics, or the christians from the heathens.

The king was led to believe that, besides gaining immortal honour by an action highly pleasing to God, and to all good christians, he would essentially promote the interest of his country. But by the emigration of such a number of his most useful subjects, and the loss of the wealth which they contrived to carry with them, it proved to be the heaviest calamity that ever befell that country; especially as many of the emigrants were manufacturers, and carried their arts into other countries, as England, Holland, and Prussia, where they were most hospitably received. The approbation with which this measure was received at Rome, and by the Catholics in general, is a most striking proof of the persecuting spirit of that church in this period.

On this revocation of the edict of Nantes, a panegyric was pronounced on the king by father Quartier; a Jesuit, in the college of Lewis the great. The room was ornamented with devices and inscriptions prepared for the occasion, and an account of them, with explanations of them in Latin and French verse, was given by another Jesuit, Le Jay, in a work published at Paris in A. D. 1687, dedicated to the king. From this we learn

that

that the entrance into the room in which the harangue was pronounced, represented a triumphal arch of the Tuscan order. Religion holding in her right hand a cup on which was a luminous host, and having the Holy Spirit over her head, appeared in the most elevated situation, on a car drawn by two white horses. On the pedestal was the king with a sceptre in his hand, to shew, they say, that the justice and authority of his edicts were the only arms he made use of to destroy heresy, which was represented at his feet in the form of a hydra. On the table of the pedestal was the inscription, *Religione sub Ludovico Magno triumphante*. The whole of this picture, of which these are but a few particulars, is curious. The emblems that adorned the room, of which this work contains an engraved sketch, were twenty two, with a motto adapted to each, and the complimentary inscriptions were thirteen. One of them is *Ludovico Magno quod obstinatum hæresim solo militum strepitu religioni docilem fecit*. It does not seem possible to carry adulation higher than in this exhibition, had he rendered the most signal service to religion and to his country; tho' it is now sufficiently evident that by this edict he had done an essential injury to both.

On the 25th of October there appeared two other edicts, the one to forbid the exercise of the re-

formed religion on board of ships, and to prevent seamen from favouring the emigration of Protestants, and the other to grant to those who gave information of their escape one half of their property. But even these precautions, our historian says, did not prevent the emigration of many thousands, men and women, especially into England, Holland, Denmark and Prussia. More than six hundred ministers had fled before.

These refugees promised themselves that something would be stipulated in their favour at the peace of Ryſwick in A. D. 1697. But whatever might pass in the negotiation, they were not so much as mentioned in the treaty. A number of them took it for granted that they might have liberty to settle in the principality of Orange, which was ceded to king William; but Lewis forbid any Protestant under pain of death to settle there, and ordered all that had gone thither to remove in six months. And in the year following, in order to undeceive any who had formed expectations of favour, he issued another decree, by which he again forbid all exercise of the Protestant religion, all correspondence with Protestant ministers, and all their assemblies under any pretext whatever. He ordered the strictest conformity to the rules of the church with respect to public worship, marriages, and baptisms; and directed that every child should
be

be baptized in the parish church within twenty four hours of the birth, without an express order of the bishop to defer it.

The cruelties exercised on the Reformed in France, even prior to the revocation of the edict of Nantes will hardly be believed of a nation so far advanced as the French nation then was in civilization. For humanity is always expected to accompany politeness. But when a peace was concluded with Spain, soldiers, chiefly dragoons, were dispersed through the country, authorized to live at free quarter on all who would not conform to the established religion; and to succeed in this they, at the instigation of a bigotted clergy, were guilty of the most shocking cruelties.

Besides plundering their houses, they exercised the most inhuman torments. To some they sent drummers who beat night and day to prevent their getting any rest. Others, and even persons of quality, they compelled to turn spits till they were almost roasted. Sometimes they heated bars of iron, and made them put their naked feet upon them, till they promised to go to mass. Others they put into deep wells till they were almost killed with cold, and tormented them in other ways too tedious to relate. Great numbers were put to death secretly, others perished in cold and noisome dungeons, and some they transported to

Canada, but it is thought that they were generally drowned when they were out at sea. *Memoirs of Cavallier*, p. 3.

In the borough of Hypolite only, the dragoons compelled the inhabitants to pay two hundred and forty four thousand livres. No less than seven thousand, persons men, women, and children, perished in the southern provinces in the space of a year and an half, most of them murdered by the soldiers in cold blood. A great number were executed by the hangman, some broken alive upon the wheel, some beheaded, and others hanged; besides several thousand sent either to the galleys, or into dungeons, nunneries and other places. Except one hundred and twenty, who chose to sell their lives as dearly as they could at Bourdeaux in Dauphiné in August A. D. 1683, all the rest made no resistance. *Laval*, Vol. 6, p. 1080.

Tho' it is impossible not to be sensible of the shocking injustice of the court of France to its Protestant subjects, it must be acknowledged that various disorders had crept in among them, and that they themselves were not free from the spirit of persecution. At the synod of Ales in A. D. 1621, eight ministers were deposed, six of them for adultery, and other crimes no less heinous. *Ib.* Vol. 6, p. 786.

The king of Navarre declared to the archbishop of Vienne, that he would endeavour to the utmost of his power to banish not only out of his kingdom, but out of the world, if it was possible, all false religion. These words being blotted out of his memorial by some ministers, he caused them to be restored between the lines. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 164.

The ministers of the Reformed in France in A. D. 1563, requested that, in order to prevent the propagation of heresy, and monstrous opinions, the king would be pleased to receive into his royal protection the confession of faith tendered to him in A. D. 1561, and the professors of it; and to provide that atheists, libertines, Anabaptists, and Servetists should be severely punished. *Ib.* Vol. 2, p. 253.

The count of Ventadour requested of the king of France in A. D. 1576, that, in order to avoid atheism and irreligion, every Frenchman should be obliged to chuse one of the two religions, the Catholic, or the Reformed, and make a public profession of it. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 107.

At Beaugency near Orleans, one John Bonneau, and three others, maintained that it was not lawful for the civil magistrate to punish heretics. To remedy this, the historian, supposed to

be Beza, says, a consistory was called, and these men being heard, the contrary, he says, was proved to them by such strong reasons, grounded on the word of God, that Bonneau renounced his opinion immediately, and subscribed with his own hand the reverse of what he had maintained; and soon after was sent to Bretagne to exercise his ministry there. The others, after being discoursed with privately by the ministers, yielded at last. With what little reason could these men complain of the persecution which fell upon themselves?

At a synod of the Reformed in France in A. D. 1571, the tenets of Socinus were condemned, and detested; and the bishops of England were desired to suppress the books of the said heretics, which began to be in vogue in that country. *Ib.* Vol. 3, p. 355. John du Bard, a Socinian minister, who had published and defended his tenets at Poitiers, retracted, and abjured his errors in a full synod of the Reformed in A. D. 1565.

According to the great scheme of Henry IV, only three religions were to be tolerated in Europe, the Catholic, the Protestant, and that of the Reformed.

The Reformed in France were friends to the
arbitrary

arbitrary powers of the crown, while the Jesuits maintained the rights of the people. Du Pleffis, in a letter to the king, dated January the 16th, A. D. 1616, said, it was always his opinion that between God and the king there was no other power that could order to the prejudice of the king's authority; that they had lost two kings in the space of twenty years through maxims contrary to that article, and therefore wanted better precautions to preserve the third. *Ibid*, Vol. 6, p. 644.

SECTION XI.

Of the state of the Reformed in the Netherlands and the United States.

THE Catholics in this period had the better pretence for persecuting the Protestants, as the great body of them held the same persecuting principles; thinking it to be the duty of the magistrate to take cognizance of heresy; not considering that if he take cognizance of it, and punish it, he must act according to his own judgment, and punish whatever HE, and not any other, shall think to be heresy. There were not wanting, however, some, in this as well as every other period, who pleaded the just rights of conscience against the usurpation of the civil magistrate, but they were of the minority who were exposed to persecution.

In A. D. 1563 the Protestants, or as they were then called the *Reformed*, or the *Calvinists*, in the Low Countries published a confession of their

their faith in thirty seven articles, accompanied with a remonstrance to the magistrates, in which, after stating that “ the most antient doctors had
 “ taught that conscience ought not to be molested,
 “ and much less forced by any power on earth ;
 “ for that the sword was given to the magistrate
 “ only to punish robbers, murderers, and other
 “ disturbers of civil government ; that in matters
 “ of religion, or things that concern only the soul,
 “ no other means ought to be used but the spiritual
 “ sword, or the word of God,” they say “ We do
 “ not go so far as those good Fathers. We ac-
 “ knowledge that the magistrates may take cogni-
 “ zance of heretics. They occasion disorders a-
 “ mong the people.” They add, however, that,
 “ the judges ought to be sure, and perfectly con-
 “ vinced by the word of God, that a doctrine is
 “ impious and heretical, before they stretch out
 “ their hands to punish the accused person.”
Brandt, Vol. 1, p. 97.

To this our author subjoins a case that occurred among the Reformed in France, which shews that the same sentiments prevailed there. The first prince of Orange, who appears to have had just ideas on this subject, had much trouble with the Calvinist ministers, who were ever ready to persecute their opponents, Lutherans, Anabap-

tists or Catholics. It was with great difficulty, and not without incurring much odium, that he was able to prevent it.

In Holland the Reformed, having the power of government in their own hands, had, in this period, an opportunity of shewing their persecuting principles, which they did not neglect. Though they bordered on Germany, they adopted the system of Calvin, in preference to that of Luther. This was decided, after much debating on the subject, in A. D 1571. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 100.

The occasion which called forth the spirit of persecution in Holland, was the Arminian controversy, with which that country was much agitated in this period. It was so called from James Arminius, a professor of divinity at Leyden, a man universally allowed to have been possessed of great piety and candour. Tho' educated at Geneva, Arminius conceived a dislike of the doctrine of predestination, and others connected with it, consisting of *five articles*, generally called the *five points*; and there not being at that time any law enforcing the belief of them, he openly taught the contrary, tho' to the great offence of his colleague, Francis Gomar.

All that the Armenians pleaded for was a free toleration; and for some time Maurice prince of Orange, and his mother, favoured their plea, and endeavoured

endeavoured to promote peace by conferences and other methods ; and some of the most distinguished characters in the country, as Barneveldt, Grotius; and Hoogerbeets, took their part. But these and other Arminians, called also *Remonstrants* (from a remonstrance which they presented to the States of Holland in A. D. 1610) opposing Maurice in his political views, he became their open enemy. Barneveldt was executed as a state criminal, and Grotius and Hoogerbeets were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.

At length, in order to settle the controversy on the subject of the five points, a synod was, by the direction of Maurice, convened at Dort in A. D. 1618, and it was attended by deputies from the United Provinces, and also by divines from England, Switzerland, and several states of Germany. Before this assembly the cause of the Arminians was ably supported by Simon Episcopius, a professor of divinity at Leyden, a man of great learning and eloquence. But not being allowed, as persons accused of heresy, to oppugn the system of their adversaries, with which they proposed to begin the business, and as they had been promised in their summons to attend the synod the liberty of "explaining and defending their opinions, as far as they thought proper and necessary to their justification," they refused to take any other course

course, and were thereon excluded from the assembly, in which Bogernan, their professed enemy, presided, as moderator. And in their absence their doctrines were voted to be pestilential errors. After this the Arminians were deprived of all employments civil and ecclesiastical, their ministers were silenced, and their congregations suppressed. Refusing to comply with the orders that were given for this purpose, they were treated with great rigour, and punished by fines, imprisonment, and other ways. To avoid this, many of them fled to Antwerp, and some to France, where also Grotius escaping from prison took refuge. Many, on the invitation of Frederic duke of Holstein, formed a colony in his states, where they built a handsome town, and called it Fredericstadt. In this colony was Vorstius, whose religious sentiments were supposed not to differ from those of the Unitarians.

Arminius died before these troubles in A. D. 1611, and they ceased in a great measure on the death of Maurice in A. D. 1625, when his brother and successor Frederic Henry procured the recall of the Armenians, and their toleration in Holland. On this they not only opened their congregations, but established a college at Amsterdam, where Episcopius was the first professor of divinity. His

chair

chair was afterwards filled by other persons eminent for their learning and ability, as Curcellæus, Limborch, Le Clerc, and Wetstein.

Notwithstanding this solemn condemnation of the Arminian doctrines at the synod of Dort, and the decline of their congregations, it is acknowledged that from that time they gained ground both in Holland and other countries. In A. D. 1675 Henry Heydegger, professor of divinity at Zurich, was employed by an assembly of Helvetic divines, to draw up a form of doctrine agreeable to the decrees of the synod, but much dissention being occasioned by the measure, and many declaring they could not subscribe to it, the Cantons of Basil and the Genevans, on the interposition of Frederic William elector of Brandenburg, in A. D. 1686, generally desisted from requiring the subscription, tho', in other cantons it was retained much longer.

In England the clergy in general, encouraged by the archbop Laud, openly professed themselves Arminians; and so they continue to this day, tho' the articles of their church, which they all subscribe, remain Calvinistical. And what is of most consequence, from this time the universal toleration of all opinions consistent with the peace of society, to which the Armenians pleaded, became generally approved of.

During

During the height of the Arminian controversy in A. D. 1619, a religious society was formed at Rheinsberg in the neighbourhood of Leyden, called *Collegiants*, from their calling their places of worship colleges, by three brothers of the name of Vander Kodde, men of eminent piety, and well acquainted with sacred literature, but averse to all controversy. They admitted into their society without scruple all christians, whatever were their opinions. Their meetings for public worship were held twice a-week, on Sundays and Thursdays, when every person had a right to give his sentiments in explanation of a certain portion of scripture which had been given out before hand. They held a general assembly twice a year at Rheinsberg, where they have convenient houses for the education of orphans, and the reception of strangers. Here they continue four days, which are employed in discourses, chiefly such as tend to inculcate the principles of brotherly love. On these occasions the Lord's supper is administered, and also baptism, by immersion. Their number are very considerable in Holland, Utrecht, and Friezland. Those who reside in Friezland have an annual meeting at Leewarden, being at too great a distance from Rheinsberg. *Mosheim*, Vol. 5, p. 59.

Among the enthusiasts who appeared in this period, and in this part of Europe, we must mention

tion a small society formed by John Labbadie, and called after his name. He was a native of France, and had been a Jesuit; but leaving that society, he became a member of the reformed church, and preached with reputation in France, Swisserland, add Holland; and at length he formed a new society at Middleburg, then at Amsterdam, then at Westphalia, and lastly in A. D. 1672, at Altena, where he died two years after.

Among other peculiarities he held that “the contemplative life is a state of grace and union with God, and the height of perfection; that the christian whose mind is contented and calm sees all things in God, enjoys the deity, and is perfectly indifferent about every thing that passes in the world, and that he arrives at this state by self denial and mental prayer.” The Quakers made several attempts to get Labbadie to join their society, but without effect. The principal ornament of this small sect was Anne Maria Schurman, of Utrecht, a woman of considerable note in the republic of letters. *Mosheim*, Vol. 5, p. 64.

Another woman who distinguished herself in the same way was Antoinette de Bourignon, a native of Flanders, who pretended to divine inspiration, and whose writings were much admired by many learned and ingenious persons. She held that “christianity consists neither in knowledge nor

“ practice, but in a certain internal feeling, and
“ divine impulse, which arises immediately from
“ communion with the deity.” Her principal ad-
mirer was Peter Poiret, a man of genius, and an
eminent Cartesian. *Ib.* p. 66.

Holland was much agitated during this period by the advocates for the Cartesian philosophy, which they applied to matters of theology, and their opponents, headed by Girbert Voet, a professor of divinity in the university of Utrecht. The Cartesian system was maintained by the disciples of Cocceius, who distinguished himself by many singular opinions, especially concerning the typical signification of many things in the Old Testament, which spread not only through Holland but even into Germany.

That there were some, and probably a considerable number of Unitarians, in the early part of this period, in this part of Europe, is evident from the account that Brandt gives of the behaviour of Herman Van Fleckwick of Dort, who before his execution in A. D. 1569, appeared by his answers to the inquisitor to be of that persuasion. The whole of this examination deserves attention, tho' I shall recite only a few particulars of it.

Inquisitor. Do you not believe that Christ is the second person in the holy trinity ?

Fleckwick.

Fleckwick. We never call things but as they are called in the holy scriptures.

Inq. Do not the scriptures mention God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost ?

Fl. The scriptures speak only of one God, the Son of God, and the Holy Spirit.

Inq. Christ says, *I and my Father are one.*

Fl. Christ says also *that they all may be one, as thou father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us.*

Inq. I repeat it again Christ the second person of the deity, or of the holy trinity, was made man. You refuse to call him God.

Fl. I call him the *son of the living God* as Peter does, and *the Lord*, as the other apostles call him. He is called in the Acts of the apostles, *Jesus of Nazareth whom God raised from the dead*, and Paul calls him the *man by whom God shall judge the world.*

It appears, however, that Fleckwick, as well as many other Anabaptists of this period, held that the body of Christ was not derived from his mother. For he says, " we believe that the body of Christ was not earthly, like that of Adam, but that he is a heavenly man, as Paul says. Fleckwick having argued that if the three persons be but one God, and the virgin Mary be the mother of God, she must be the mother of the Father, and of the

Holy Ghost, as well as of the Son, the inquisitor concluded with saying ; “ May you be roasted in hell, you wicked and abominable Unitarian. “ You would make a hundred thousand doctors of divinity mad.”

SECTION XII.

Of the Puritans and other Sects in England.

OF those who fled from the persecution in the reign of queen Mary some adhered to the liturgy which had been used in the time of king Edward, and preferred the system of discipline by bishops, which had been then established. But others of them preferred that of Geneva ; and during their exile, and especially at Frankfort, where a great number of them resided, they had frequent and warm disputes on the subject.

After their return, on the accession of queen Elizabeth, each party endeavoured to get their peculiar

cular system established; but the queen who had a leaning to the ceremonies, tho' not to the doctrines, of popery, not only took the part of the former, but by the most rigorous measures endeavoured to suppress the latter; who holding what they called a purer system, farther removed from popery, obtained the appellation of *Puritans*. As the suffering of these people is a striking instance of the persecution of Protestants by Protestants, who were acknowledged not to differ from one another in any thing essential, as it was of long continuance, and had remarkable consequences, I shall recite the particulars at some length.

In consequence of the *act of supremacy*, which gave the queen the same power with respect to religion that had been possessed by Henry VIII and king Edward, and which annulled all that had been done by queen Mary, she erected a court of *High Commission*, by which she and her successors could exercise all jurisdiction of a spiritual nature, as "correcting heresies and schisms, abuses, contempts, offences, and enormities of every kind." Accordingly, the commissioners appointed by the queen exercised the same power that had been given to Henry VIII; but not confining themselves to their commission, they, with the connivance of the queen, entangled those who were brought before them with oaths *ex officio*, requiring them to

answer all questions put to them, by which, as in the popish inquisition, they might accuse themselves and their friends, and in the inextricable mazes of the popish canon law. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 119. And tho' the act of parliament which authorized this court makes no mention of imprisonment, or the infliction of any corporal punishment, and therefore could not legally exceed suspension and deprivation, they were guilty of every act of wanton tyranny and oppression, till the very name became odious to the nation.

Unhappily, the idea of *toleration* had not entered the minds of any of the contending parties of christians at this time; and an *act of uniformity of common prayer and service in the church* (such as would exclude all conscientious dissenters) was passed in June A. D. 1559, and the rigorous profusion of this was the occasion of unspeakable mischiefs for eighty years following.

Visitors being sent through the country to see this act carried into execution, not more than about one hundred beneficed clergymen out of nine thousand four hundred relinquished their livings on account of their attachment to the catholic religion; and yet it was impossible to find Protestants of tolerable capacity to fill their places, so many of the learned exiles not being able to comply with the terms of conformity. Rather than do any thing

to accommodate them, the bishops admitted the meanest and most illiterate persons who would conform, and they published a book of *homilies*, or discourses, to be read from the pulpit for their assistance.

Among others the celebrated Mr. Fox, the martyrologist, who was held in such high esteem by the queen herself, that she commonly called him father, was excluded. Writing to a friend he said, "I still wear the same clothes, and remain in the same sordid condition in which England received me when I returned from Germany; nor do I change my order, which is that of the Mendicants." When he was summoned before the commissioners, and required to subscribe, he took a Greek Testament out of his pocket, and said, "To this I will subscribe;" and when they offered him the canons he refused, saying "I have nothing in the church but a prebend in Salisbury and much good may it do you if you take it from me." But the commissioners, the historian says, had not courage enough to deprive a man of so much merit.

Another eminent non-conformist was Miles Coverdale, formerly bishop of Exeter, who together with Tyndal and Rogers, had translated the bible into English. He was also a celebrated

preacher; but the act of uniformity brought his reverend hairs with sorrow to the grave.

David Whitehead, an excellent scholar and professor of divinity, who had been chaplain to Ann Boleyn, and one of the four divines nominated by Cranmer to bishopricks in Ireland, was among the nonconformists. In the beginning of queen Mary's reign he went to Frankfort, and on his return was chosen one of the four disputants against the popish bishops. But tho' the queen had so high an esteem for him that she offered him the archbishoprick of Canterbury, he declined it; saying to her, that he would live plentifully on the gospel, without any preferment. After this he went up and down like an apostle, preaching wherever he could, and died in a good old age in A. D. 1571.

At the same time so very unpopular were these approaches to popery in the habits that were now enjoined, that great numbers of the people refused to frequent those places of worship in which the service was performed in that dress. Many would not even salute the ministers that wore it, besides insulting them in various ways.

The man who urged these measures with such unrelenting rigour was archbishop Parker, than whom no popish inquisitor could be more unfeeling. When the cries of the people reached the

court

court, the secretary of state wrote to him to supply the churches, and release the prisoners for non-conformity ; but he was inexorable, chusing that the people should have no sermons or sacraments rather than have them without the surplice and square cap. In his answer to the secretary he said, that when the queen put him upon what he had done, he told her that these precise folks would offer their goods and their bodies to prison, rather than relent, and that she wished him to imprison them. He acknowledged that there were many parishes unserved, and that he suffered many hard speeches, and much resistance from the people ; but that it was nothing more than he had expected.

The tracts that the Puritans published on this occasion being eagerly read by the people, the commissioners laid a restraint on the liberty of the press, making it imprisonment for three months, besides the forfeiture of the copies, if any thing was printed contrary to the queen's injunctions.

In A. D. 1562 Beza wrote to the bishops to dissuade them from being instruments of such severities. He also wrote to the lord treasurer, to endeavour to procure some farther reformation of religion ; saying that he understood that many pious and learned men, the best affected to the Church of God, and lovers of the nation, complained of their severity. But this had no effect,

and in this very year a hundred of the clergy were deprived for refusing to subscribe.

The Puritans finding no redress of their grievances by applying to the bishops or the queen, resolved that for the future they would make their application to the parliament. But when Mr. Field and Wilcox presented a petition to the house they were taken into custody and by the influence of the bishops committed to Newgate.

A second petition was presented by Mr. Contwright, who was lately returned from abroad. The prisoners themselves also wrote an elegant apology in Latin, addressed to the lord treasurer; but he did not chuse to meddle in an affair that might embroil him with the queen, and they were detained in prison beyond the time fixed in the statute; by which means they said, in an humble supplication to the earl of Leicester, their wives and children were impoverished, their health much impaired by the unwholesome favour of the place, and the cold weather. They therefore intreated that, if they might not be released, they might be removed to a more wholesome prison. They sent another petition to the lords of the council, and another in the names of their wives and children. But notwithstanding these, and other applications of a similar kind, and tho' the inhabitants of Aldermanbury presented two petitions for the enlargement

largement of their pastor, “ a learned and faithful “ preacher,” as they called Mr. Field; and tho’ some great friends interceded for them, they could not obtain their release till they had suffered the extremity of the law, and had paid their fees, tho’ the keeper gave it under his hand that they were so poor as not to be able to pay for their victuals and lodging. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 257.

In the midst of all this opposition from the queen and her commissioners, the Puritans gained ground; and tho’ the press was restrained, they galled their adversaries with pamphlets, which were privately dispersed both in the city and the country. The scholars at Cambridge were also in general in favour of the Puritans, tho’ the masters and the heads of houses were against them; so that many were deprived of their fellowships, and expelled the university.

Great numbers of the people being now excluded from the churches, which they could not attend without receiving more offence than benefit, came to a resolution, tho’ with much reluctance, to separate from the church, lay aside the English liturgy, and use the Geneva service book. This was in A. D. 1566, and was the æra of the schism. For this purpose a presbytery was created at Wandsworth, a village five miles from London;

and

and this was the first Presbyterian church in England. *Ibid*, p. 266.

While the pious and learned Puritans were excluded from all the livings, many of the clergy were disguised Papists, who even exhorted their hearers in private against the *new religion*, as they called the Protestant. In Yorkshire they went openly to mass, and were so numerous, that the Protestants stood in awe of them. In London there was a great resort to the Portuguese ambassador's chapel; and when the sheriff, by order of the bishop of London, sent their officers to take some of them into custody, the queen was displeased, and ordered them to be released.

All this time the governors of the church expressed no concern for the suppression of vice, or the encouragement of virtue. There were no citations for immorality, but they were every day shutting the mouths of the most pious, useful, and industrious preachers in the nation.

The queen being incensed against the Puritans for their applications to parliament, reprimanded the bishops for not suppressing them, and was resolved to turn all the power of the crown that way. Accordingly, the treasurer made a long speech before the commissioners of the star chamber, in which, by the queen's order, he charged the bishops with neglect, in not enforcing her proclamations.

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ons. He said the queen could not satisfy her conscience without crushing the Puritans, and that she insisted on absolute obedience to her orders because the safety of her government depended upon it. She openly said that she hated the Puritans more than she did the Papists, whom partly from inclination, and partly from fear, she was desirous of conciliating.

Into the livings of the deprived ministers several foreigners were introduced, tho' they could hardly read so as to be understood; and instead of having two sermons every Lord's day, there was sometimes only one in a quarter of a year, and often not that. The parishioners signed petitions to the bishops for their former preachers, but it was to no purpose. They must swear and subscribe, or be buried in silence.

The people farther shewed their affection to the Puritans by visiting them in prison, and several of the aldermen and wealthy citizens assisted them and engaged others to join them in it.

In A. D. 1571 many of the more serious of the conforming clergy had meetings for their mutual edification, and called their exercises *prophecying*; and in A. D. 1574, there were some in the dioceses of York, Chester, Durham, and Ely, the bishop of London and other bishops encouraging them; but the queen said they were no better than seminaries

feminaries of puritanism, that the more averse the people were to popery, the more danger they were in of non conformity; that these exercises tended to popularity, and made the people so inquisitive that they would not submit to the orders of their superiors as they ought. She therefore gave the archbishop orders to put down these meetings for prophecying, and this was in time effected.

Also some well disposed persons of the laity in Cambridgeshire and Essex used to meet together on holydays to read the scriptures, and confirm one another in christian faith and practice; but as soon as the commissioners were informed of these meetings, the ministers of the parishes were sent for, and ordered to suppress them.

In A. D. 1575, archbishop Parker, the great enemy of the Puritans died. He was not distinguished for any thing but his zeal in the service of the queen, not by his diligent preaching, or pious example. He was succeeded by Grindal the archbishop of York, a divine of moderate principles, a friend to preaching and the prophecyings, and no farther a persecutor of the Puritans than he was compelled to be.

This archbishop writing to the queen, tho' with all possible respect and deference, in favour of preaching and the prophecyings, she was so much provoked, that by an order of the star chamber he

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was confined to his house, and suspended from his functions six months. She said it was good for the church to have but few preachers, three or four in a county being sufficient.

In consequence of these measures, the scarcity of preachers was very great. In the large town of Northampton there was not one, tho' the people of the town applied to the bishop of the diocese for one. In the county of Cornwall, tho there were an hundred clergy, not one of them was capable of preaching a sermon, and most of them were pluralists and non residents. Even the city of London was poorly provided for. In a petition from the people of Cornwall they say that, having about one hundred and sixty churches, the greater part of them were supplied by men addicted to the grossest sins, some fornicators, some adulterers, some felons, bearing on their hands the marks of their offences, some drunkards, gamesters on the Lord's day, &c.

In this state of things many of the nonconforming ministers supplied the defects of the regular clergy, under the character of curates, and lecturers; and by their diligence and serious preaching gained the hearts of the people. They visited the parishioners, and instructed their children, discharging in all respects the duties of pastors.

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This they did at the same time that they attended their own private meetings.

While the bishops were driving the Puritans out of the pulpits, the nobility and gentry received many of them into their houses as chaplains, and tutors to their children. They also preached in these families, as well as catechized the children, and this had a considerable effect in the next generation.

When about this time the parliament petitioned for the relief of the Puritans, they were intimidated by the queen's violent opposition and reproofs; and instead of easing them, she was more urgent in enforcing the execution of the laws against them than ever.

Some of the Puritans, being exceedingly exasperated, published satirical pamphlets against their adversaries, especially one entitled *Martin Marprelate*; but the queen procured an act of parliament enacting that the authors of them should suffer death, as well as the loss of their goods, as in the case of felony, which was to be in force during the life of the queen; and several actually suffered death in consequence of it. The same parliament passed an act obliging all persons not attending the service of the church to forfeit twenty pounds per month, and be imprisoned till it was paid.

Archbishop

Archbishop Grindal dying in A. D. 1583, was succeeded by Whitgift bishop of Winchester, who had distinguished himself in the controversy with the Puritans; and the very first week in which he was in power, he forbade all preaching, catechizing, and praying in any private family in which any strangers were present; that none should preach or catechize in public, unless he would read the whole service, and in the prescribed habits. Insisting in his primary visitation on this strict conformity in all preachers, one hundred and thirty three ministers were suspended in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Suffex, Essex, Kent, and Lincolnshire, besides great numbers in London and other places. This archbishop had kept his preferments through all the reign of queen Mary, and had no mercy for any whose consciences were not as pliable as his own.

Not satisfied with the power he already had, this violent archbishop applied for a new commission, in order to proceed with still more rigour against the Puritans, and the queen was sufficiently disposed to gratify him. Accordingly, she granted it in A. D. 1583, which was the twenty sixth year of her reign. This court of high commission had more power than the ordinary courts of the bishops, but the legality of it was much doubted. By this the commissioners were invested with all

the power in ecclesiastical matters of which Henry VIII had been possessed, and they soon went beyond the power that had ever been exercised before. For they were directed to inquire into all misdemeanors, not only by means of witnesses, but "by all other ways and means that they could devise;" which was giving them the full power of a popish inquisition, and authorized them to employ even torture.

In pursuance of this any person suspected of nonconformity was imprisoned seven weeks before he was brought to trial. He was then required to answer upon oath to any questions that were put to him, so that he was required to accuse himself or his friends, and he had no previous information of the questions that would be put to him. If they could not convict him on his confession, they had recourse to witnesses; but they never acquitted him on his own oath. Sometimes persons were obliged to attend a long time at this court, and sometimes they were condemned without any trial at all.

Mr. John Gardiner, the deprived minister of Malden in Essex, was in prison seven years on a false accusation. He was sick, and had a wife and five children, besides one that was drowned while his wife was attending on him. He only begged to be bailed, and said in his petition that if he was
found

found guilty of any breach of the law, he desired no favour.

The lord treasurer Burleigh, writing to the archbishop on this occasion, said that, in his judgment, this mode of proceeding favoured too much of the romish inquisition, that it was a device rather to seek for offenders than to reform any. But this letter, tho' written in favour of a friend of the treasurer, was far from softening the archbishop. When the lords of the council wrote to him in favour of the deprived ministers, representing the deplorable state of the country in consequence of the want of preachers, it had no more effect than the letter of the treasurer. And when the house of commons again applied to the queen on the subject, she reprimanded them with great haughtiness, as encroaching on her prerogative.

As the cause of the nonconformists was particularly promoted by their writings, the archbishop procured an order from the high commissioners to prohibit all printing presses in private places, or any where except in London with his licence, and the two universities. Some of the Puritans, however, procured one, and removed it from place to place, till it was at last discovered at Manchester, when all that were concerned in it were fined, and some put to death. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 443.

All nonsubscribing divines were prohibited from teaching not only grammar, but even read-

ing and writing ; for which all schoolmasters were required to take out licences from year to year.

In the parliament that met in A. D. 1586, the Puritans made another attempt to obtain some relief. In their petition at this time they said that the beneficed ministers were far from being duly qualified to discharge the duties of their office, that the bishops ordained priests of the meanest of the people, as shoemakers, barbers, taylors, water carriers, shepherds, and horse keepers. To justify this account they produced a survey of several counties that were the best served, which abundantly verified their assertions. But when some bold speeches were made on this occasion, the speakers were sent to the tower, and the other members of the house were so intimidated, that they would not suffer the bill that was prepared for a redress of the evil to be read. The queen was so much offended, that in an act for a general pardon which was passed at this time, she ordered an exception to be made of all such as had committed any offence against the act of uniformity, or that had published seditious books or pamphlets. At the same time the archbishop gave leave for the introduction and sale of popish books from abroad ; saying that by this means the arguments of the papists being better known, they might be more ca-

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fully confuted ; as if this reason would not have applied to the publications of the Puritans.

Among those who were sentenced to die for the publication of seditious books was the Revd. Mr. Udal, whose case deserves a particular mention. He was first sent to the Gatehouse, and confined without pen, ink, or paper, and without any person being allowed to speak to him. Here he remained half a year in company with traitors and other criminals. He was then carried to the assizes at Croydon with fetters on his legs. There he was grossly insulted by the judges, and the witnesses against him were not produced in the court, but only their examinations ; so that he had no opportunity of asking them any questions in order to refute their evidence. He denied writing the book with which he was charged, and tho' he said he approved the sentiments of it, he did not like the manner in which it was written. He was, however convicted at the summer assizes in A. D. 1590, and received sentence of death at the lent assizes following. At the request of king James, then of Scotland, he had leave to go as chaplain to the Turkey merchants ; but their ships sailing without him, he remained in prison heart broken with grief, and died there in A. D. 1592. Mr. Fuller says he was a learned man, of blameless life, and an excellent preacher. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 454.

King James, then a zealous presbyterian, interceded also for Mr. Cartwright, the most distinguished of the learned Puritans, on account, as he said, of his great learning, and faithful labours in the gospel. He himself alleged as a plea for his relief his sufferings from the gout and the sciatica, which were aggravated by lying in a cold prison. At length, after lying in prison two years, and after many other respectable applications in his favour, he was released on his promise of peaceable behaviour.

John Penry, a Welsh divine, suffered death for papers that were found upon him, tho' written in a foreign country, and not published, which was a thing that had never been known before.

In an act passed in A. D. 1592, the attendance on the established worship was enforced by the penalty of perpetual banishment; and if the persons so banished either did not leave the country within the time limited, or returned without licence, they were to suffer death without benefit of clergy; which made their case worse than that of common felons. This statute was levelled against the laity as well as the clergy, and the rigorous execution of it in this reign and the following, the historian says, brought infinite mischiefs upon the kingdom; many families being driven into banishment, while some were put to death as in cases of treason,

treason, and others as the authors of seditious pamphlets. On this statute Mr. Smith and others were committed to prison without being allowed the usual liberties of it, and there, the historian says, they died like rotten sheep, some of the diseases of the prison, and others of want. They complained that they were not allowed meat, drink, fire or bedding, and that no friend was allowed access to them. In a petition to the queen they begged to be released from their sufferings, tho' it were by death.

The Puritan clergy being now put on a level with common felons, there was hardly an assizes in any county in which one or more ministers did not appear in that disgraceful character, besides being exposed to the insults of a rude multitude. But their behaviour at the gallows, and their solemn declarations of loyalty before their execution, raised a great odium against the bishops, and at length affected even the queen herself; so that from the year A. D. 1592, she rather chose to banish them by the statute of the thirty first of her reign. By this means all the jails were emptied, but within another year the commissioners took care to fill them again. *Ncal*, Vol. 1, p. 486.

Notwithstanding all these efforts of Whitgift, and his successor Bancroft, it appeared that in the beginning of the next reign, the number of non-

conforming clergy amounted to one thousand five hundred, and towards the close of the reign they were not much molested, owing to the uncertainty there was with respect to her successor James of Scotland, who was a Presbyterian.

In this reign viz, A. D. 1588, Bancroft, then the archbishops chaplain, advanced a doctrine that was quite new, and the occasion of much controversy ; and which, being adopted by the clergy in general, removed the Puritans still farther from the established church. He maintained that bishops were an order distinct from that of priests, and had their superiority by divine right ; whereas all that had been advanced before was that their higher rank was by human appointment.

A state of persecution naturally gave a more serious turn to the minds of the Puritans. This was particularly visible in their manner of spending the Sundays, refraining from all diversion on that day, and employing the whole of it in religious exercises. They also kept at the greatest distance from profaneness, and were remarkable for their sobriety and the moral virtues in general. On the other hand the friends of the court ridiculed their preciseness, and affected to distinguish themselves from them more than they otherwise would have done by profaneness, and licentiousness of every kind. If in any respect persons adopted the strictness

ness of the Puritans, they were reproached by the conformists and friends of the court with that appellation, and fell under suspicion as favourers of them.

After attending to the history of the Puritans in this reign of Elizabeth, we cannot wonder at their becoming advocates for civil liberty. Oppression made them feel the want of it; whereas the members of the establishment, in consequence of being favoured by the court, became attached to it, and were advocates for the doctrines of passive obedience and non resistance, as they continued to be in the succeeding reigns. In the early part of the reign of Elizabeth there was no difference between the Puritans and others on this subject. Nay they took every opportunity of professing obedience of the queen in all cases in which conscience was not concerned, and perhaps they attended less to things of a civil nature, and were more indifferent about them, in consequence of being more occupied about religion than other persons. But a change in their situation led them to reflect, and change their opinion, when probably nothing else would have done it.

In Scotland king James appeared to be a zealous Presbyterian. In a speech that he made in the General Assembly at Edinburgh, in A. D. 1590, he said, "As to our neighbour the kirk of En-

“gland, their service is an ill said mass in English. “They want nothing of the mass but the listings,” meaning the elevation of the host. *Neal*, Vol 2, p. 2. But presently after his arrival in England his usual saying was, *No bishop, no king*, and he proved through the whole of his reign as bitter an enemy to the Puritans as Elizabeth had been.

In his progress to London the Puritans presented a petition, in which they represented that more than a thousand ministers were groaning under the burden of human rites and ceremonies; but all they could ever obtain of him was a conference at Hampton court, in which every thing appeared to have been settled before hand with the bishops. The king, who was present, behaved in the most partial and indecent manner, insulting the Puritan speakers, while the bishops stood by spectators of their triumph. At the conclusion of this conference he said, after hearing them, “If this be all that your party has to say, I will make them conform, or I will hurry them out of the land, if not worse;” and the historian adds he was as good as his word. Had the bishops of that time been men of moderation, and the king been possessed of the *wisdom* with which he was complimented, the Puritans might have been easily satisfied, but the opportunity was lost, and never returned. It is evident, however, that Divine Providence

vidence had something greater and better in view, by the continuance of the persecution, grievous as it was, than the successful termination of that conference. James and the Stuarts were but the Pharaoh in the business, and the Puritans were not then sufficiently disciplined. They had much to learn, especially with respect to toleration, which nothing but their sufferings could effectually teach.

Before the meeting of parliament the king issued two proclamations, one commanding all Jesuits and popish priests in orders, to depart the kingdom, but expressing that this was not from any hatred he had to their religion, but solely for their maintaining the pope's temporal power over princes. The other was directed against the Puritans, ordering them to conform, or suffer the extremity of the law. They were, he said, a sect insufferable in any well governed commonwealth.

In A. D. 1603, the book of canons prepared by archbishop Bancroft, who had succeeded Whitgift, was confirmed by the convocation, and in consequence of it the Puritans were exposed to new hardships. Besides suspensions, and deprivations of their livings, they were subject, in many cases, to excommunication, by which they were rendered incapable of suing for their lawful debts, they might be imprisoned for life if they did not give satisfaction to the church, and when they died
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they were denied christian burial. By this engine more than three hundred ministers were thus silenced and deprived, some were excommunicated and cast into prison, and others went into banishment.

To support the bishops in these measures, the king summoned the twelve judges, and proposed to them several questions; and in answer to one of them, they said that, the presenting of petitions signed by many hands (which the Puritans had done) with an intimation that if their suit was denied many thousands of his subjects would be discontented, was an offence punishable at discretion, as it tended to excite sedition and rebellion.

After this the archbishop proceeded with more violence than ever; and all the clergy being summoned to Lambeth, in order to subscribe over again, many of them absconded, and such numbers refused, that the churches were in danger of being deprived of ministers; which alarmed the court as they had been told that the nonconformists were an inconsiderable body of men. In consequence of this they were under a necessity of relaxing their rigour for the present; contenting themselves with the promises of some to conform in part, and to bear with others, who, tho' they refused to comply altogether, allowed that the things were lawful in themselves. It was hoped that in time the universities

verities would supply the churches with stricter conformists, as none were admitted into orders without an absolute and full subscription to all the articles and canons.

But those who absolutely separated from the church were treated with peculiar rigour. Mr. Maunfel, a nonconformist minister living at Yarmouth, and Mr. Lad, a merchant of that place, were imprisoned, by the high commission, because on a Lord's day they had met to repeat the sermon which they had heard at the church; and a lawyer who only pleaded for them was so far from serving them that he was himself closely confined, and never obtained his release till the day of his death. *Neal*, Vol. 2. p. 42.

In this state of things great numbers left the kingdom, and went to the Low countries; and several of the ministers became chaplains to the regiments in the cautionary towns. A great number of these emigrants were Brownists, * and among them

* Robert Brown was a clergyman who first distinguished himself by inveighing against the ceremonies and discipline of the Church at Norwich, for which he was committed to the custody of the sheriff in A. D. 1580. He boasted that he had been in thirty two prisons in some of which he could not see his hand at noon day. *Neal*, Vol 1, p. 59. At length he and his friends went to Middleburgh in Holland, but disagreeing among

them was John Robinson, who formed a congregation of them at Leyden, and was considered as the father of the Independents. They maintained that the church of England was no true church of Christ, but a limb of Antichrist, or at the best a mere creature of the state. †

In A. D. 1605 was the *Gunpowder Plot*, which tho' planned by the Papists, was intended to be charged upon the Puritans, and in a speech which the king delivered on that occasion, after clearing the catholic religion from encouraging such murderous practices, he said, "the cruelty of the Puri-

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themselves, Mr. Brown returned to England, and conformed to the established church. Fuller says that, to his personal knowledge, he lived a dissolute life, far from the strictness to which his followers pretended. At length, quarrelling with the constable of his parish, he struck this officer, and for this he was committed to Northampton jail, where he fell sick and died in the eighty first year of his age. *Ib.* Vol. 1, p. 61.

† Among those who fled from this persecution of Bancroft was Henry Jacob. Having conferred with Mr. Robinson, he embraced his sentiments, and after his return he became the first Independent minister in England. *Neal*, Vol. 2, p. 101. In July A. D. 1620, part of Mr. Robinson's congregation went to New England, and at length formed a settlement at New Plymouth.

“ tans was worthy of fire, as they would not allow “salvation to any Papists.” Also in an apology which he addressed to all christian princes, he said that he had granted free liberty of religion to all the Catholics, that he had delivered all the Jesuits and papists in a general goal delivery, and had given strict orders to his judges not to put the laws against them in execution for the future. On occasion of the same plot the parliament made a law obliging all persons to go to church, under the penalty of twelve pence for every Sunday on which they were absent.

The court being alarmed at the great numbers that left the country to go to Virginia at this time, the archbishop procured a proclamation to prohibit the emigration without the kings special licence. And as many persons had retired to the island of Jersey, where they had been allowed to adopt the discipline of the French Protestants, measures were now taken to reduce them to a conformity with the church of England.

The king having shewn so much favour to the clergy, they in return became zealous champions for his prerogative. One Cowel, vicar general to the archbishop, published a book in which he maintained that the king was not bound by the laws, or by his coronation oath; that he was not obliged to call parliaments in order to make laws,
but

but might do it of himself ; and that it was a favour to admit the consent of the subject in giving subsidies. Another clergyman maintained that the English nation were slaves from the Norman conquest. The parliament, however, did not adopt these slavish maxims; but one of the members having made a bold speech in the house, the king summoned both the houses to meet him at Whitehall, when he told them that it was sedition in the subject to dispute what a king might do in the height of his power. But their spirit rising upon this, and representing many grievances, the king dissolved them without passing any act that session. This was in A. D. 1610.

Towards the latter part of this king's reign, from having been a zealous Calvinist, he became a favourer of the Arminians, and they having his support, became advocates for his prerogative, while those who adhered to the old doctrines were called *church puritans*, and others who were no friends to the prerogative were called *state puritans*. Neal, Vol. 2, p. 122.

The king having dismissed his last parliament, gratified the Spaniards, with whom he was in treaty for the marriage of his son, by releasing the Jesuits and popish recusants, to the number it is said of four thousand. All prosecutions against them were stayed, and the penal laws suspended, on which

which great numbers of Jesuits and other missionaries flocked to England, and mass was openly celebrated. At the same time the court bore hard upon the Puritans, and to distress them the more, the king sent directions to the archbishop, to be communicated to all the clergy of his province, forbidding any minister to preach on any subject not comprehended in the thirty nine articles, but to forbear entering on the doctrine of predestination, and those connected with it; that no preacher should presume to set bounds to the prerogative, or meddle with matters of state, &c. It was ordered that all offenders should be suspended a year and a day, till his majesty should direct some farther punishment.

Upon this great numbers went to America, and many papists came over, and met with every encouragement. But tho' in consequence of this, there was an increase of popery in the kingdom, there was more than a proportionable increase of Puritanism, while the friends of the hierarchy sunk into contempt. It is said that, upon the whole, the Puritan party was more in number than both the other parties put together. *Neal*, Vol. 2, p. 140.

The death of king James in A. D. 1625, brought no relief to the Puritans, his successor Charles I, governed by Laud, then bishop of St. Davids, and

the queen, who was a zealous catholic; being, if possible, more their enemy than he; considering them, as Lord Clarendon says, as a very seditious and dangerous set of people. Accordingly, all the laws against them were rigorously enforced, while every indulgence was given to the Catholics; and these being advocates for arbitrary power, the Puritans were the only bulwark of the Constitution. The parliament, expressing their zeal against Arminianism and popery, were dissolved, and through his whole reign this prince governed as much as he possibly could without them.

The object of Laud was to govern the church in the same arbitrary manner as the king did the state, and to unite the churches of England and Rome; and in this he made considerable progress, by introducing a variety of popish ceremonies, especially in the consecration of churches, and by changing the communion table into an altar.

To promote the views of Laud, the king by his proclamation silenced all preaching by ministers who were not strict conformists; and till this time the lecturers were chiefly Puritans, who preached in the afternoon, and having no cure of souls, had not been under any obligation to conform. But Laud said that "by their prayers and sermons they awakened the people to disaffection."

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This measure brought more business than ever into the spiritual courts, every week some Puritan ministers being suspended or deprived, and their families reduced to distress. In consequence of this a farther emigration to New England was projected; and in March A. D. 1629 it took place, and a settlement was made at Salem. The summer following these emigrants were joined by others, and this was done every year of Laud's administration; which drained England of so much money, that it was thought that, if those measures had continued twelve years longer, a fourth part of the wealth of the nation would have been carried out of it. *

The particulars of Laud's cruelties are far too numerous to be recited in this general history;

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* Among the more eminent of the divines who went to New England, was Dr. Elliot, who was called the apostle of the Indians, whom he spent a long life in converting. With indefatigable labour he translated the bible into their language. In A. D. 1634, John Cotton went to New England, and in A. D. 1635, R. Mather, the grand father of Cotton Mather, who wrote the history of New England. At the end of A. D. 1636, so many had gone to New England, that they extended their settlements into various parts of the country, especially the south westerly parts of Connecticut, and built New Haven. *Neal*, Vol: 2, p. 314.

but the case of Alexander Leighton, a Scotch divine, and the father of bishop Leighton, must not be passed over in silence. Having written a book entitled *Zion's plea against prelacy*, in which he called that mode of church government antichristian, and declaimed against the canons and ceremonies, he was sentenced to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, to be put into the pillory, then whipped, then set in the pillory again, when one of his ears was to be cut off, one side of his nose slit, and branded in the face with S. S. as a sower of sedition. After a few days he was to stand in the pillory again, to be whipped a second time, have the other side of his nose slit, and his other ear cut off, and after all this to be imprisoned for life. This barbarous sentence was rigorously executed, and he was kept in close confinement ten years, when he was released by the long parliament.

In A. D. 1633 on the death of Abbot, who succeeded Whitgift, and who was a man of moderate principles, Laud from being bishop of London, was made archbishop of Canterbury; and now, among other methods of opposing the Puritans, he recommended sports on the Lord's day, and procured a proclamation from the king for that purpose; and it was ordered to be read from the pulpit in every parish in the kingdom. But this struck the nation in general with a kind of horror, as, in
their

their opinion, it contradicted the express command of God. But the object of Laud was to distress all who were puritanically inclined, and this it did exceedingly during seven years. Some of the ministers after reading this proclamation, read the fourth commandment, others got it done by curates, and others refused to comply on any terms. The descendants of foreign Protestants that had been allowed to settle in the kingdom, being required to conform, left the country. From the diocese of Norwich three thousand manufacturers, some of whom gave employment to an hundred poor people, removed.

So many left the kingdom at this time, that a proclamation was issued forbidding all persons except soldiers, mariners, merchants, and their factors, to go without the king's licence. Another proclamation was issued April 30th, A. D. 1637, forbidding any to go to New England, whither it was said they went to be out of the reach of ecclesiastical authority, and no clergyman could go without a testimonial from the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London. Among others who were prevented from going to New England at this time, it is said, were Oliver Cromwell, John Hampden, and Arthur Hazzlerig, who afterwards made a distinguished figure in the civil wars. They were embarked with others in eigh-

teen ships in the river Thames, ready for sailing, when they were stopped by an order of the privy council.

A parliament meeting after this, the convocation which met at the same time, continued to sit after the parliament was dissolved, which was contrary to the established custom. Notwithstanding this, being urged by the archbishop, they made seventeen canons, which were generally disliked, and imposed such an oath on the clergy, that Dr. Saunderson, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, told the archbishop that the peace of the church would be more endangered by it than by all that had passed before. The archbishop, however, would have persisted in his measure, if the nobility and gentry, who were at that time with the king at York, had not persuaded him to relax. Presently after this the king found himself under the necessity of calling a parliament, and to consent that they should not be dissolved without their own consent; and it continued to sit with some interruptions eighteen years. But the events that followed upon it belong more to the civil than the ecclesiastical history of the country, tho' at this time they were much connected with each other.

This *long parliament*, as it was called, consisted of members of the established church, and they were far from having any thoughts of overturning
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either the ecclesiastical or civil constitution. Their sole object was to redress the infringements that had been made upon both. The chief officers in the army too were zealous for the liturgy, and would not hear any minister who had not episcopal ordination. Also tho' the parliament enumerated many grievances in the church, they declared for uniformity in religion. *Neal*, Vol. 2, p. 484.

One of the first resolutions of this parliament censured the proceedings of the late convocation. They declared that no convocation, or synod, could make constitutions or canons to bind the clergy or laity, without the consent of parliament; and that the last that were made were not binding. They then inquired how far the archbishop was concerned in making those canons, and drew up articles of impeachment against him.

The number of petitions sent up to this parliament is incredible; some complaining of superstitious impositions, and others of the immoral lives of the clergy, and their neglect of duty. The clamour against the high clergy was so great, and so general, that they could hardly walk the streets in their habits without being insulted.

The parliament soon abolished the court of high commission, and that of the star-chamber, by which the spiritual sword was taken out of the hands

of the bishops. And the votes of the bishops in parliament being considered as a principal obstruction to the business of reformation, the parliament refused to admit them, and the king, tho' much against his will, consented to it. Not being able to carry on the war against the king without the aid of the Scots, and perceiving that they would never act heartily with them, without a conformity to their religious system, they passed a bill for abolishing episcopacy, tho' they did not at that time agree to any thing farther; intending to resume it, with the correction of abuses, when the troubles should be over. In consequence of this, every minister was at liberty to act as he thought proper in his own cure, with respect to the vestments or the liturgy. But tho' there was no regular church discipline, there was a great spirit of devotion in the people, and especially in the parliamentary army; many of the soldiers having entered as volunteers from a principle of conscience, in the defence of their civil and religious liberty; while, in opposition to them, the friends and the army of the king, were distinguished by their profaneness and immorality.

To assist in the business of reformation, the parliament appointed an assembly of divines, two for every county, with thirty lay assessors, who had

equal

equal votes with them. This was opened in July A. D. 1643. There were, however, in this assembly some Independents, and some Erastians, * but no Baptists, tho' their sentiments spread much at that time.

These divines tho' in general originally favourers of moderate episcopacy, yet being urged by the Scots to adopt the solemn league and covenant, the more rigid episcopalians left them. All church business went through their hands, and tho' the parishioners elected their ministers, the assembly examined and approved them, and then the parliament confirmed them in their benefices.

This assembly drew up a *Directory for public worship*, which instead of one prescribed form of prayer, only directed the minister what topics to enlarge upon. They also afterwards drew up *articles of faith*, and composed *two Catechisms*, a larger

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* The Erastians had their name from *Erastus*, a German divine, who maintained that no form of church government was of divine appointment, but left to the discretion of christian magistrates; that all christian ordinances, as the Lord's Supper, should be open to all persons without distinction; that all excommunication was therefore unlawful, and that all punishment should be left to the civil magistrate.

and a less; the former to be lectured from in the pulpit, and the latter for the instruction of children. They sat five years and six months, when they were changed into a committee for the examination of ministers, and broke up when the long parliament was dissolved by Oliver Cromwell, March 25th, A. D. 1652.

The civil war was in a great measure a war of religion. The king would never sincerely consent to abolish episcopacy, on which the Scots and the parliament insisted, and both were equally against any toleration; which the Independents and the army, which in the later periods of the war consisted in a great measure of them and other sectaries, demanded. By an ordinance of parliament May 21st, A. D. 1648, heresy was made punishable as felony, without benefit of clergy. *Neal*, Vol 2, p. 458. The army not prevailing with the parliament to grant them a toleration, and having the power in their own hands, thought themselves justified in exercising it by new modelling, and finally dissolving, the parliament. After this they procured the king to be condemned and executed, and governed the nation under different forms till the restoration.

Presently after the death of the king the parliament repealed all penal acts relating to religion, and nothing was required of any minister but to
promise

promise that he would be "faithful to the government established, without a king or house of peers." This was called the *Engagement*, and in consequence of this many of the episcopal divines complied with the government, and used the liturgy.

Under the Protector free liberty was given to the professors of any form of the christian religion, if they did not disturb the public peace; but the Presbyterian worship was kept up. Popery, however, and prelacy, were prohibited. Thirty divines were appointed to examine all candidates for the ministry, and of them the majority were Presbyterians, some were Independents, and three were Baptists. Eight laymen were associated with them. On the restoration of the long parliament the Presbyterians recovered all the power they had lost, and they were in possession of all the livings in England. *Ib.* Vol. 2, p. 225.

When Charles II was in exile at Breda, he promised a deputation of Presbyterians, who waited upon him there, that no person in his reign should be molested on account of his religion, while he did not disturb the peace, and upon his return he published a *declaration* conformable to it. But the parliament, which consisted chiefly of royalists, did not confirm it, one of the secretaries of state opposing it, which sufficiently shewed which way

way the king was inclined ; and the bishops and the court, finding that they could do it safely, restored every thing to its former standard ; and then the doctrines of passive obedience and non resistance were preached as much as ever.

An act was presently passed to restore all the secluded ministers, tho' they had been deprived for incapacity or immorality ; by which means some hundreds were turned out of their livings, while the popish clergy appeared every where with impunity, in defiance of the laws against them.

On the pretence of an alarm of an insurrection, an act was passed requiring all mayors, and other officers of corporations, to declare that they believed it to be unlawful to take up arms against the king upon any pretence whatsoever, and to renounce the solemn league and covenant. It likewise ordered that no person should be hereafter elected to such an office, who had not taken the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the church of England, a year before. Thus all the nonconformists were turned out of every office of magistracy.

In some measure to fulfil his promise, the king appointed a conference at the Savoy of some bishops, and some of the Presbyterian divines, to review the book of common prayer ; but the bishops would not allow of any of the alterations that were proposed,

proposed, nor did they pay any regard to any intreaties to make some concessions for the sake of peace. After this the bishops did of their own accord make some alterations, but none in favour of the nonconformists. On the contrary, it was made in some respects more exceptionable than it was before, and many ministers were reduced to great distress for not using it, even before it was required by law.

At length an *act of uniformity* was passed, requiring every minister, professor in a college, and even school-masters, to declare "their unfeigned consent to every thing contained in the book of common prayer," before the feast of Bartholemew in A. D. 1662, tho' it was impossible for many of them to see the new prayer book before that time. Every minister was also required to renounce his Presbyterian ordination, and to be reordained by a bishop, besides renouncing the solemn league and covenant, and the lawfulness of taking up arms against the king on any pretence whatever. No provision was made for those who could not comply with these terms, tho' both queen Elizabeth and Oliver Cromwell allowed one fifth of the benefice for the maintenance of the ejected incumbent.

When the fatal day came about, two thousand ministers relinquished their preferments. Of these
some

some applied to secular employments, as those of the law and medicine, others were received into private families as chaplains, but the greater number must have starved if they had not been relieved by the charity of their friends. Many, however, thinking it to be their duty to exercise their ministry at all risques, preached in the fields and in private houses, till they were apprehended and cast into jail, where many of them perished. The people were no less divided, and many were fined and imprisoned for attending upon the persecuted preachers, and many left the country and settled in the plantations.

By an act of parliament called the *Conventicle act*, passed in A. D. 1663, it was enacted that not more than five persons besides the members of any family, should meet in any house for the purpose of public worship, not conducted according to the rites of the church of England, the offenders to be fined and imprisoned, and for the second offence, banished.

In A. D. 1665, it was farther enacted that any person who refused to take a particular oath, which it was known that no dissenter could take, was prohibited from settling in any place within five miles of any city or corporated town, or wherever they had officiated as ministers.

On the fall of the earl of Clarendon, who had been the chief promoter of the persecution, the nonconformists about London were connived at, and people went openly to their meetings, tho' the house of commons petitioned against them. By this time, however, their sufferings had excited much compassion, and the number of dissenters had greatly increased, especially after the plague and fire in London, when most of the regular clergy deserted their cures, and left the field open to the Dissenters, who preached and discharged every other ministerial duty in the city at all risques.

After this the king would have agreed to a scheme of the comprehension of some of the dissenters, and a toleration of the rest, and some persons of influence about the court endeavoured to bring it about; but it was blasted by the court bishops and the friends of Lord Clarendon. On this the persecution was renewed, and the private meetings, which had been connived at, were broken up. And now the conventicle act was renewed in April A. D. 1670, with an additional penalty. The offender was to pay five shillings for the first offence, and ten for the second; and the persons who knowingly suffered such conventicles were to forfeit twenty pounds. The oaths of any two witnesses before a justice of peace was sufficient for conviction. Of these fines one third
went

went to the king, another to the poor, and a third to the informer. Also any house might be broken into in which such meetings were suspected to be held.

Great numbers were prosecuted on this act, many industrious families reduced to poverty, many ministers confined in close prisons, and great sums of money levied. In the diocese of Salisbury many hundreds, were driven from their families and trades, and many of the traders left London to go to Holland, till the king put a stop to it. Soldiers broke into the houses of the farmers on the pretence of searching for conventicles, and where money was wanting, they plundered their goods, and drove away their cattle. All this time the catholics were at their ease, sheltered by the prerogative, and their number increased very much.

With a view to favour the catholics still more, the king by his own authority, in A. D. 1671, suspended all the penal laws against them, and the nonconformists too, tho' the Catholics were not allowed the public exercise of their religion. The Dissenters were far from approving this dispensing power of the crown, but they were glad to avail themselves of it; and accordingly most of the ministers took out the licences which the declaration required. Great numbers attended their meetings,

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and moderate and cautious addressees of thanks were presented to the king for this liberty.

On the alarm excited by the increase of popery towards the end of this reign, the parliament began to be disposed to make a distinction between the Dissenters and the papists; and the former entertained some hopes of a legal toleration. But all that was done was the passing an act called the *Test Act*, which required every person bearing an office of trust or power, to receive the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the church of England, as well as to declare their disbelief of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Tho' it was evident that this test would exclude the Dissenters, as well as the papists; yet, confiding in the favourable disposition of the country, they heartily concurred in the measure. But they were disappointed in their expectation of any favour being shewn them for this. On the contrary, the act was put in force against them from that time to the present, and all the attempts to get it repealed, except in Ireland, have been frustrated by the opposition of the clergy.

The court was exceedingly offended with the Dissenters for not preventing the passing of the test act, as it was taken for granted they would have done; and the indulgence being revoked, a whole tribe of informers was let loose against them, and

Mr. Baxter, and many others suffered grievously in consequence of it. He said he was so weary of keeping his doors shut against persons who came to distrain his goods for preaching, that he was forced to sell them and leave his house. He had been twelve years deprived even of his books. For after paying dear for their carriage during two or three years, he was obliged to sell them. This was the case of many other learned Dissenters. They were separated from their families and friends, and forced to sell their books and household goods for a subsistence.

These sufferings, however, excited the compassion of many ; and the house of commons, alarmed at the insolence of the papists, who challenged the Protestant divines to disputations, and even threatened to assassinate those who preached against their tenets, that a bill was brought in for the indulgence of Protestant Dissenters, but the king prorogued the parliament.

In A. D. 1678, the papists formed a conspiracy to massacre many of the Protestants, and some intended to kill the king, in order to advance the duke of York, and establish the popish religion ; and in case of non-success the whole was to have been thrown upon the Dissenters. But the authors of it were discovered, and confessed the whole scheme. This popish plot having failed, the courtiers

tiers attempted to bring odium upon the Dissenters by accusing them of another plot, but this too was happily discovered, as well as others which were contrived to implicate the Dissenters.

The Commons in parliament made another attempt to relieve the Dissenters, and passed a bill to comprehend them in the establishment. This not succeeding, they passed another to repeal many of the penal laws against them; but the more the commons were disposed to favour them, the more violent were the court and the bishops against them; so that the laws against them were executed with more rigour than ever. In the village of Hackney only warrants were signed to the amount of fourteen thousand pounds. Two hundred warrants of distress were issued upon private persons and families in the town and neighbourhood of Uxbridge, for frequenting conventicles, and not going to church. The justices of peace in Exeter promised a reward of forty shillings to any person who should apprehend a nonconformist minister; and this the bishop of the diocese ordered to be published in all the churches.

So grievous was this persecution, that the earl of Castlemain, a Roman Catholic, said it was never known that the Romans had persecuted as the English bishops did, viz. persons who held the same

faith with themselves; and that this persecution even exceeded that of queen Mary.

When James II came to the crown he promised, tho' a professed catholic, to preserve the government as by law established in church and state. This gratified the clergy, and the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance echoed from their pulpits with respect to this popish prince, as much as to the preceding Protestant ones. The parliament also presented an address, requesting him to put the penal laws into execution. On this the storm which had slackened a little before the death of Charles II revived; and the king hoping to destroy the Dissenters in the first place, and the clergy afterwards, heartily concurred in the measure. The meeting houses were then shut up, the business of informers was resumed, and great cruelties ensued. The venerable Mr. Baxter was grossly insulted by judge Jefferies, and imprisoned two years, when the court changed its measures.

The rebellion of Monmouth furnished an additional handle for the persecution of the Dissenters. But this was so far from intimidating them, that some clergy of considerable eminence, as well as others, joined them at this time. Many fled to New England.

At length the eyes of the clergy began to open. They perceived that the king's intention was to
overthrow

overthrow them, as well as the Dissenters by their means, and some of them wrote warmly against popery. This offending the king, he, to mortify them, published a toleration for all sects of religion, and with the consent of all the twelve judges except one, this *dispensing power* in the crown was decreed to be lawful. On this the meeting houses were opened again.

The churchmen seeing themselves to be in danger, now courted the Dissenters, giving them the strongest assurances of a comprehension and toleration in better times. But tho' the king now courted them, they would not fall into his measures to distress the church; and he seeing their temper said, "they were an ill natured sort of people, and were not to be gained." We shall hereafter see that no sooner was the danger of the church over, than the clergy forgot all their assurances of good will to the Dissenters.

Mr. Delaune in his *Plea for the Nonconformists*, says that near eight thousand Protestant Dissenters perished in prison in the reign of Charles II, and that within the compass of three years they suffered in their trades, &c. at least two millions. He even questions whether in all the times since the reformation, including the reign of Mary, such a number of christians suffered death and loss of their substance for religion. Mr. Jeremy White,

who collected a list of dissenting sufferers; had the names of sixty thousand who had suffered on a religious account between the restoration and the revolution, of whom five thousand died in prison. Mr. Neal supposes that their losses could not, on a moderate computation, amount to less than twelve or fourteen millions. And yet this account does not include the sufferers in the reign of Elizabeth, or those of James I, and Charles I. Notwithstanding this, the number of Dissenters was not lessened; so true is the observation, that “The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church.”

The Dissenters, however, had the less reason to complain of the hardships to which they were exposed, as they still retained principles that would have led them to persecute others. When it was proposed by the king at a conference held at the Savoy, immediately after the restoration, that all persons who did not disturb the public peace should have liberty to meet for public worship, Mr. Baxter, who was aware that this was intended to favour the Catholics, observed, that there ought to be a distinction between the *tolerable* and the *intolerable*, including in the latter description the Catholics and the Socinians, for whom he said they did not desire any toleration.

In all these reigns the *Baptists*, of whom little is said in the history of England before the time
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of Edward VI, when Joan Bocher was put to death, but who were pretty numerous in the reign of queen Elizabeth, suffered more than those of any other denomination of Dissenters. Several of them were put to death in her reign, and many suffered grievously other ways; and before her death they were all, both natives and foreigners, banished the kingdom under the penalty of imprisonment and confiscation of their property; when many of them fled to Holland. Tho' no persons could behave more peaceably, and their ministers were in general men of eminent piety, and some of them learned, they were peculiarly obnoxious to the Presbyterians, as well as the Episcopalians, and were never spared by either of them when they were in power.

SECTION XIII.

Of the Quakers.

IN times of public calamity the thoughts of many persons are turned to religion, and of these some may be expected to be of an enthusiastic turn of mind, imagining themselves to be inspired, and acting as under a divine impulse. Such was the origin of the *Quakers* in the time of the civil wars. The first of them whose name is known was George Fox, a shoemaker in the north of England. He and his companions thought themselves to be inspired in the same manner as the apostles were, and consequently sufficiently authorized to reform all abuses in the church. Hence they went about declaiming against all the modes of worship then in use, especially episcopacy, frequently disturbing congregations during divine service, particularly inveighing against the ministers, as *hirelings*; whereas they, like the apostles, took nothing for their labours. Giving
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this disturbance to the public peace, they exposed themselves to great sufferings, which they bore with the greatest fortitude.

A female Quaker, in imitation of some of the antient prophets, went into the house of parliament in the time of Cromwell, with a trencher in her hand, and breaking it said of him " Thus shall he be broken in pieces." Another of them, Thomas Adams, complaining to the protector of the imprisonment of some of his friends, and finding no redress, took off his cap, and tore it in pieces before him, saying, " So shall the government be torn from thee and thy house."

Others were guilty of great indecencies approaching to insanity, and from the violent agitation with which they conducted themselves at their public worship, they got the appellation of *Quakers*; but the only name by which they designated one another was that of *Friends*.

Esteeming their inspiration to be equal to that of the antient prophets, and apostles, they at first made but little account of the scriptures, or any positive institutions, never administering baptism, or the Lord's Supper. Not to arrogate too much to themselves, they taught that all men had within them a divine supernatural light, which, if they gave due attention to it, would be their sufficient guide. This they called *the light within*, and sometimes

sometimes *Christ within*, who in the gospel is called *the true light*. It was, therefore, usual with them to say that Christ was in every man. They consequently did not confine christianity to the nominal christians, but thought that even heathens, attending to their divine light, would obtain the same happiness with any others of the human race. With the mystics they held that by contemplation and a steady attention to this inward light, the soul, freed from the pollution of the gross body, became united to God; and having a debasing idea of the body, and of matter in general, they did not believe that there would be any literal resurrection of the dead, but that this scripture doctrine was to be understood in some figurative sense.

No people ever shewed greater firmness in time of persecution than the Quakers, or asserted the rights of Englishmen against the arbitrary proceedings of the courts of law with more courage and effect. The trial of Mr. Penn and Mr. Mead is one of the most memorable and instructive in the English history.

The Quakers being kept out of their meeting house in Grace-church street, by an armed force, met in the open street, but in the most peaceable manner, and these two, having been the principal speakers, were on the 1st of September A. D. 1670 tried for a riot, and insulted by the court in the
grossest

grossest manner. The jury, however, only brought them in *Guilty of speaking in Grace-church street*. This being deemed no verdict, they were threatened and sent back, when Mr. Penn said to them, "Ye are Englishmen, mind your privilege, give not away your right;" to which some of them answered, *We never will*. They were then shut up all night without victuals, fire, or a chamber pot, tho' they petitioned for one. The next morning they still gave the same verdict. Being sent back, and threatened again, they brought their verdict *Not guilty*, and on this they were fined forty marks apiece.

The Quakers continuing to meet in the same place, and at the same hour, always following the constables to prison, refusing to pay any fines, or prison fees, the government was at length tired of contending with them.

When the Quakers meet for public worship, they are confined by no forms, and at first any person present, who thought himself moved by the spirit, was allowed to address the audience; but finding the inconvenience of this, they afterwards set apart some for the work of the ministry, and this is not confined to the men, for women may be of this class. But they think all the valuable purposes of their meetings sufficiently answered by each person attending to the light within himself;

self ; and they often continue in silent meditation, without any exhortation or prayer ; and they never sing.

The morals of the Quakers are very exemplary, and they reject all superfluity of dress, and use the greatest plainness of speech, using always the second person singular, in addressing a single person, and giving no title of honour to any man, or shewing respect by putting off the hat ; and they lay aside the usual salutations and complimentary forms in letters, &c. But continuing these practices in all their rigour, they depart from the spirit of their original principles in keeping up to their forms. For the professed design of their plainness of speech and of dress, was not to have their minds unnecessarily occupied with the customs and things of the world. But when this sect was formed the same plainness of speech and of dress was universal in the middle classes of society, so that they were not distinguished from other persons of the same rank ; whereas, as the fashions afterwards changed, they by keeping to the old ones appeared singular, and thereby drew particular attention upon themselves, and of course gave more attention to themselves, in those respects, than other persons. They would have gained their object more effectually by being equally careful neither to lead, nor to neglect the prevailing fashions.

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The Quakers, like the Anabaptists on the continent, take no oaths, and renounce the right of self defence.

After some time a few men of ability and learning joined the Quakers, as Robert Barclay, George Keith, and some others, who were capable of writing in their defence, of checking their extravagancies, and reducing their doctrines and discipline into some form; tho' depending on immediate inspiration, they never made much account of, or greatly encouraged, human learning.

Notwithstanding this advantage, in consequence of refusing to take any oath, and especially to pay tythes to a hireling ministry, they were necessarily exposed to great hardships, which continued till the reign of James II, who, willing to favour the Catholics, and being also under some obligations to one of their body, viz. William Penn, or his father, who had served under him in the fleet, granted his indulgence to them as well as to other Dissenters. Many of the Quakers, however fled to foreign countries, and several of them procured a settlement in Holland. But great numbers accompanied Mr. Penn to America, where he had obtained a grant of land under the crown, with liberty to settle it in whatever manner he pleased. There he founded a colony called after him *Pennsylvania*, and gave to the capital the name of *Philadelphia*.

ladelphia. Giving entire liberty of conscience to all settlers, and behaving with the greatest justice and kindness to the natives, this colony soon became one of the most flourishing on that extensive continent, and continues to be so to this day.

So ignorant of history and theology were the great body of the Quakers at their outset, that numbers of them maintained that there never was any other Christ than that which is in every man, and that the whole of the evangelical history is an allegory. This Keith, who was a man of learning, opposed, and it occasioned a controversy among them, which terminated in his expulsion from their body, and his conforming to the church of England.

Penn, besides being a statesman, wrote a number of theological tracts, by which it appears that he was an Unitarian, and a strenuous opposer of the doctrine of atonement. But the writer of whom the Quakers make their greatest boast is Robert Barclay, who wrote a work entitled *An Apology* for their sect, in which, with great art, and in the forms of Scholastic theology, he defended their principles, and to it he prefixed a manly dedication to Charles II.

As the principles of the Quakers cut them off from all public employments and honours, they necessarily

necessarily apply themselves to agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and many of them becoming by this means wealthy, have relaxed of the austerity of their ancestors; and conversing more with the world, and having their minds improved by reading, many of them, without deserting their friends, reconcile the system to their minds by explanations which the more rigid Quakers do not approve. With many of them the *light within* is nothing more than what is more commonly called the light of conscience, and not any thing supernatural, and they acknowledge that their speakers address them not from any proper inspiration, but as their own ability and prudence enable and direct them to do it. Many of them also lay aside all their peculiarities in speech and dress, so that outwardly they are not distinguishable from other persons.

Tho' the Quakers began without any regular discipline, they soon found the inconvenience of it, and they are now the most orderly of all societies, dividing the country into districts, and having regular officers in each. Refusing to have any connection with the established church, they marry among themselves, and they also provide for their own poor; and they hold an annual meeting in London from all parts of the kingdom,

dom, and make a common purse to defray the expences occasioned by their sufferings, and other demands upon them.

SECTION XIV.

Of the State of Religion in Scotland in the Reign of the Stuarts.

KING James was educated a Presbyterian, and till towards the end of his reign in Scotland appeared zealous for that system, which was firmly established in the country. The last hand being put to the Presbyterian discipline in Scotland in A. D. 1594. In A. D. 1544 the parliament had voted for the bishops to be no more than pastors of one parish. In A. D. 1577 they ordered that all-bishops should be called by their own names, and the next year they voted the
name

name itself of bishop to be a grievance. In A. D. 1580 the General Assembly with one voice declared diocesan episcopacy to be unscriptural and unlawful. The same year king James with his family, and the whole nation, subscribed a confession of faith, with a solemn league and covenant annexed, obliging themselves to maintain and defend the Protestant doctrine and Presbyterian government. In A. D. 1587 the king being then of the full age of twenty one, consented to an act to take away the bishops lands and annex them to the crown. In A. D. 1584 all presentations to benefices had been directed to the particular presbyteries with full power to give collations, and ratifying all former acts in favour of the Presbyterian discipline. This was confirmed in A. D. 1593 and 1594, so that from that time to A. D. 1612, Presbyterianism was undoubtedly the legal establishment of the church of Scotland, and evidently with the full consent of the king. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 489.

Notwithstanding this it is probable that through the insinuations of the English bishops, and other friends of the hierarchy in England, some time before he left Scotland, he had projected the restoration of episcopacy there; and immediately on his arrival in England he nominated bishops to the thirteen sees that had been abolished, and resto-

red to them their votes in parliament, with the titles of *lords of parliament*, and in A. D. 1610, he invested them with the high commission. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 81. This being a new creation he had some of the clergy consecrated by the bishops in England, and these conveyed the spiritual character to their brethren in Scotland. This was in the time of archbishop Bancroft, the most violent persecutor of the Puritans, and not long before his death.

These bishops, however, had little more than the title. To give them more power, in A. D. 1617 he made a progress into Scotland attended by bishop Laud, and a parliament being called, he proposed two acts relating to religion, one concerning his prerogative and the apparel of the clergy, and the other for the ratification of the former acts touching religion. But tho' the lords consented to the article concerning his prerogative, they dissented to all the rest. The king, however, would not hear of any distinction, requiring them to say yes or no to both. This being done, the clerk declared that the majority said yes; and tho' this was not believed to be the case, and a scrutiny was demanded, the king would not allow of it.

The year following he summoned a convention to meet at Perth, when he carried five articles conformable to the practice of the church of England,

gland, as that of kneeling at the Lord's Supper, &c. but tho' the ministers were required to read them from their pulpits, the greater number refused to do it; having at that time nothing to fear besides the king's displeasure. But in A. D. 1621 these articles were confirmed, tho' with difficulty, by the parliament; and this was the beginning of the persecution in that kingdom, many of the ministers being fined, imprisoned, and banished by the high commission. Dreading, however, an insurrection, the king forbore to introduce the book of common prayer.

When the king left Scotland, Laud framed articles for the king's chapels in that kingdom, conformable to those which he had introduced into those in England; but the Scotch ministers preached against them, and warned the people to defend their liberties. *Neal*, Vol. 2, p. 232.

In the reign of Charles I the bishops declaring openly for Arminianism, sports on the Lord's day, and the liturgy of the church of England, were regarded with the greatest abhorrence by the common people. To support them the king gave them the best secular employments in the country, which excited the envy of the nobility and gentry. Of this they were so sensible, that they advised the king not to trust the intended alterati-

ons in religion to the parliament, or the general assembly, but to introduce them by his own authority.

At length the book of canons and of common prayer intended for Scotland being finished, they were confirmed by the great seal in A. D. 1635, and nothing could have been drawn up more offensive to the Scottish nation. The first of the canons excommunicated all those who affirmed that the power of the king was not equal to that of the Jewish king, meaning that it was absolute and unlimited; and the object of the rest was to reduce every thing to the English model. But the book was no sooner published than the Scotch presbyteries openly declared against it.

The new liturgy was appointed to be used in Easter A. D. 1637; but tho' for fear of a commotion, it was put off from time to time, when it was read in the great church at Edinburgh, where the bishops and several lords of session attended, the service was so much interrupted, that it could not be finished till the common people were turned out of the place, and then they threw stones at the windows; and when the clergy went out they were in danger of being torn in pieces. The court being informed of this, orders were sent down to proceed with the work notwithstanding this opposition.

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The council being apprehensive of danger from large assemblies of the people, agreed that they should appoint a number of all the orders to represent the rest, till the king's pleasure should be known concerning a *protest* that had been signed by many persons of all orders against the late measures. Accordingly four *tables*, as they were called, were formed, of the nobility, the gentry, the burgeses, and the ministers, when they agreed to renew their confession of faith, and the solemn league and covenant, which had been subscribed by king James in A. D. 1581, and by all the Scotch nation in A. D. 1590; and to this was now added a *band of defence* for adhering to each other in the present cause. In this they engaged to oppose to the utmost of their power various particulars of popish doctrine, discipline and ceremonies, which they enumerate, and to defend the ancient doctrine and discipline of their kirk. This was received by the common people as a sacred oracle.

The king, alarmed at these proceedings, and beginning to be embroiled with his parliament in England, which made it desirable for him to conciliate the Scots, sent the marquis of Hamilton with power to revoke, if necessary, all that had been done with respect to the canons, the liturgy, and the high commission. With this view he publish-

ed a proclamation for the meeting of a general assembly at Glasgow in November 1st, A. D. 1638, but despairing of gaining any thing by them, he dissolved them after they had sat seven days. The members, however, continued to sit, and published a protestation to justify their proceedings, and did not break up till they had passed several acts condemning the service book &c. abolishing episcopacy, and restoring presbytery, &c.

This brought on a war, in which the king marched towards Scotland in person. But finding his army not hearty in the cause, he entered into a pacification with the Scots, and a general assembly being called at Edinburgh confirmed the proceedings at Glasgow, and moreover made a declaration against the lawfulness of diocesan episcopacy. The parliament, which met soon after this, confirmed all their acts, and with the king's consent the members signed the solemn league and covenant.

The king seeing no other method of getting the better of his English parliament than by gratifying the Scots, went to Edinburgh; and the parliament meeting him, he consented to an act by which it was declared that the government of the church by bishops and archbishops is contrary to the word of God, and was therefore abolished. And while the king was in the country he conformed to the Presbyterian mode of worship, so that
when

when he went away, it was said he departed "a contented king from a contented people." Of this consent to the act against episcopacy, the king afterwards sorely repented. And notwithstanding this compliance with the wishes of the people, the Scots saw no reason to trust him while he was governed by a popish queen and English bishops. They therefore cultivated a good understanding with the English parliament, which was kept up to the death of the king.

Charles II being invited to Scotland confirmed every thing relating to the establishment of Presbytery, and promised never to endeavour to make any change in it. He took the solemn league and covenant three times, "swearing" by the eternal "and almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, that he would maintain every thing contained in it."

When Monk was left by Cromwell after the defeat of Charles to command in the country, he made no alteration respecting religion, but when he ordered that no person should suffer in his civil rights on that account, the rigid Presbyterians were offended.

After the restoration the Presbyterians in Scotland were as much disappointed as those in England. For the king having got a parliament to his mind, he declared his resolution to restore the

church of Scotland to its rightful government by bishops as before the troubles ; and accordingly bishops were consecrated for all the vacant sees. Mr. James Guthrie, who preached against this change, was condemned and executed. All the Presbyterian ministers were silenced, tho' the court had no supply of clergymen to fill their places, and those who did succeed them, Bishop Burnet says, were mostly mean divines, vicious and idle. In Ireland also the hierarchy was restored as well as in Scotland.

In consequence of these measures, the sufferings of the Scots were not exceeded by those of the non-conformists in England, but the people were not so submissive. The people in general forsook the churches, tho' great numbers were imprisoned and suffered otherways on account of it, and many removed to Ireland.

Exorbitant fines were imposed for not going to church, and soldiers were quartered on all who were refractory till they were ruined. At length sir James Turner being sent to levy fines at discretion, the people had recourse to arms ; but being finally overpowered, forty were killed, and one hundred and thirty taken prisoners ; and of these many were hanged at their own doors. Mr. Maccaill their minister was put to the torture, but he bore it and his death in such a manner as struck all

all who were present, and impressed them in favour of the cause for which he suffered.

When the *indulgence* was published in London, the Scots availed themselves of it ; but when it was revoked the persecution revived with inexpressible severity under the duke of Lauderdale. In these circumstances the people met for public worship with arms to defend themselves. Many were outlawed ; and these forming themselves into a body openly opposed the government. But they were defeated, and four hundred of them killed, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. On this two of their ministers were hanged, and two hundred banished, while great numbers went to the plantations in America.

On the accession of James II the parliament seconded his views in passing an act which made it death to resort to any conventicle in houses or fields, and high treason to take the covenant or to write in defence of it. The people were also required to take an oath to acknowledge the king's absolute power on pain of banishment.

When the English court changed their measures in favour of toleration, the Scottish parliament agreed to a suspension of all the penal laws during the life of the king, but they would not repeal them altogether, on which they were dissolved.

On the the accession of king William episcopacy was finally abolished in Scotland ; and tho' a rebellion was excited by the friends of James, it was soon suppressed, and Presbyterianism has been the established religion in Scotland from that time to the present.

SECTION XV.

Miscellaneous Articles.

1. **T**HIS period was distinguished by an application to literature far exceeding any other, and the pursuits of men of letters were far more various. Great light was by this means thrown upon every thing relating to antiquity, and the early history of the christian church, whereby many abuses were traced to their source, and impositions of various kinds exposed. The languages in which
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the scriptures were written were generally studied, and thereby much new light thrown upon them, and the authority of Aristotle in the schools of philosophy and logic, almost every where overthrown, first by the labours of Peter Ramus, a professor at Paris, and who perished in the massacre of St. Bartholemew, Gassendi, and Descartes, whose systems it is not the object of this work to explain; while the only true key to natural philosophy was given by Lord Bacon, and before the close of this period was made great use of by Mr. Boyle, soon followed by Sir Isaac Newton, who appeared with great lustre very early in the next period.

The advantage derived from these literary pursuits was that the shackles of *authority* of every kind being broken, and all men left without restraint to speculate at pleasure, the foundation was laid for real knowledge of every kind, and in the next period much was built upon it.

2. In this period pope Gregory XIII corrected the Italian calendar, which had been used by all christians, and introduced that system of computing time, and settling the festivals of the church, which has ever since been called *the New Style*, and distinguished from the former, which was still retained by all the Protestant states, and then differed ten days from the other.

In A. D. 1643 pope Clement VIII published a bull for lessening the number of holydays observed in the church of Rome. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 396.

3. Much good was produced by the reformation in countries that continued catholic, many abuses especially in discipline having been corrected. This however, was not effected immediately. The following are traces of great abuses in France subsequent to the time of Luther.

The bishop of Valence, in his speech at the assembly of the states in A. D. 1560, complained that sometimes forty bishops were seen at Paris, wallowing in pleasure and idleness. *Laval*, Vol. 1, p. 263. The chancellor in his speech in A. D. 1562 said, "how many priests have sent away their harlots, in order to put a stop to the complaints that were made against them," *Ib.* p. 613. In an assembly of the clergy at Molun in A. D. 1579, the bishop of Bazar said, that very great abuses were committed in the choice of bishops, of which the king himself was guilty; that there were twenty eight sees destitute of bishops, the revenues of which were enjoyed by laymen, and that the performance of divine service was entirely neglected in them; that a great number of abbeys were in the hands of laymen, and miserably plundered by them; that even in the king's council a bishoprick had

been

been bestowed on one of the court ladies, and several other things of this nature. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 286.

4. In this period, in which so much zeal was shewn for religion, it was not safe for any man to profess infidelity. We find, however, some unbelievers. In France Cæsar Vanini, a Neapolitan, the author of some works of an atheistical tendency, was publickly burned at Thoulouse after having his tongue cut out, in A. D. 1629. There have been some who maintained that he was no Atheist. But after the account of him in *Bayle's Dictionary*, it is hardly possible to doubt it. Indeed, his avowed admiration of Aristotle and Averroes almost amounts to a proof of it. A witness of his death says, that he boasted that he would die like a philosopher, but that he did not suffer with the meekness or fortitude of a christian. Nothing, however, can justify the dreadful punishment to which he was exposed.

At Florence we find Cosmo Ruggeri, an avowed atheist, who died at Paris in A. D. 1615; and in A. D. 1689, a little after this period, Casimir Lefzynski, a Polish knight, suffered death at Warsaw for denying the being and providence of God. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 251.

Calvin had to contend not only with many who pleaded for the liberty, or rather, the licentiousness

ousness of former times, as the toleration of brothels, &c. but with some unbelievers, among whom was Gruet, who denied the divine mission of Christ, the immortality of the soul, and the difference between moral good and evil. For these tenets he was brought before the civil tribunal, and in A. D. 1550 was condemned to death. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 124.

In this period flourished Spinoza, a Jew of Holland, who was born in A. D. 1633, and died in A. D. 1677, generally considered as an Atheist. His opinion, as appears chiefly from his posthumous works, was that there was but *one substance in nature*, that it is possessed of intelligence, as well as extension, and that the souls of men and all other beings are parts, or modifications, of this one substance. It is probable that he was an unbeliever in revelation, tho' he wrote nothing on the subject.

I would observe, however, that while he admitted a principle of intelligence, and did not deny that of benevolence, to exist in the universe, he could not be properly termed an atheist; because he acknowledged all the attributes of divinity, in whatever substance he might suppose them to reside, and he could not deny that these attributes are perpetually active. There was,

therefore,

therefore, nothing in his doctrine that was necessarily inconsistent with the belief of a providence, and moral government of the world, or consequently with that of a state of retribution after death. He might therefore have been, tho' it is probable he was not, a believer in the Jewish and Christian revelations. All that can in strictness be said of him, is that he fell into a metaphysical absurdity, in supposing the same thing to be the *cause* and the *effect*.

In this period several learned christians are said to have embraced Judaism, and among them was Rittangel, a Roman Catholic, tho' some say that after this he became a Lutheran. He was professor of the oriental languages at Konigsberg. Antony, a minister at Geneva, was burned for having abjured christianity in favour of Judaism, in A. D. 1632, and the Jews consider him as a martyr that does them great honour. *Catalogue Raisonne des esprits forts*, a Berlin, A. D. 1768, p. 91, &c. *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique* 1789. It is only in the former of these works that I find any account of Antony of Geneva.

PERIOD XXIV.

FROM THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF
NANTES IN A. D. 1685, TO THE PRESENT
TIME, A. D. 1802.

SECTION I.

*Of the consequences of the Revocation of the Edict of
Nantes, and particularly of the War in the Ce-
vennes.*

THE revocation of the edict of Nantes which was thought to be a master stroke of policy, and what would be of the greatest advantage to the country, uniting all the subjects in one faith, and one interest, was immediately a source of the greatest evils with which any part of Europe was afflicted. The sufferings of the Protestants, against whom the measure was directed, were extreme,

and upon the whole not inferior to those occasioned by the apparently more violent proceedings of Philip II of Spain; and eventually France itself sustained an injury in a civil respect in the loss of numbers of its most worthy, industrious, ingenious, and wealthy inhabitants, that more than a century did not repair.

The time fixed for the ministers to abjure their religion, or leave the kingdom, was only a fortnight, under the penalty of being sent to the galleys; but even this liberty was often rendered useless by various artifices. For by the contrivance of the clergy secret orders were frequently given to prevent their embarking within the time, or disposing of their property. Their debtors were absolved by their confessors when they denied the debts due to them. Children were taken from their parents, with a view to shake their constancy; and some of the ministers who ventured to exercise any act of their office contrary to the law, were broken alive on the wheel. For such was the penalty annexed to this offence.

The laity were forbidden to leave the kingdom on any pretence whatever. But yet great numbers of both sexes and of all ages fled through by ways to avoid being compelled to conform to the established religion, or suffer for their refusal. Of these, notwithstanding the vigilance of the officers of government,

vernment, not less, it is thought, than three hundred thousand effected their escape, and were hospitably received by the Protestant states. Great numbers, however, were apprehended in these attempts, and the prisons and galleys were filled with them. Sometimes of two hundred that were chained together, one hundred would be Protestants; and of these, it is supposed, that three fourths were destroyed by the bastinado, for not bowing at the elevation of the host, and other hardships; and most of those that were alive when this account was written, the writer says, were confined in dungeons, where they passed all their time in absolute solitude, and in circumstances barely supportable with respect to accommodations of every kind, till they were released by death. Of this some examples will be given in the next section.

After the peace with Spain, the soldiers were encouraged in every act of violence towards the Protestants. They went from house to house, and when they found any person who refused to go to mass, they plundered them at pleasure. To some houses drummers were sent, who beat their drums night and day, to prevent the family from taking any rest. Some persons, and some of them of rank and fortune, they treated in the most cruel manner; as putting hot irons into their shoes, or putting them into deep pits or wells, till they were chill-

ed with cold; and various other acts of wanton cruelty were exercised upon them.

Things of this kind were done openly; but many were secretly put to death. Some were said to be transported to Canada, where, however, they were no better treated than they were at home; but of these, it was supposed, many were drowned when they were out at sea.

The Protestants were always the most numerous in the southern provinces of France, and among them were some zealous ministers, who ventured to stay and comfort their flocks, concealing themselves as well as they could. Of these was one Mr. Brouffon, but in A. D. 1699, he was taken and broken alive on the wheel at Montpellier; but his piety and constancy in suffering this cruel punishment, made a great impression on many, and inflamed the zeal of the Protestants in those parts. After him came a Mr. Roman, with two others of the name of Plan. Both of these were taken and hanged, but Roman after being put in prison was rescued, and escaped to Germany.

Among the most zealous for their religion were many boys of the age of fifteen and sixteen; and of these about twenty assembled to sing psalms before the door of the church in a village called Montel, near Ales in the Cevennes, which induced the priest to send some of them, together with their parents,

rents, to prison. Of these some made their escape, and at a place called Brignon they went into the church, and pulling down the images and crosses, openly burned them. Being pursued by the militia, some of them were killed, and others taken; but some fled to the woods, where they were soon joined by others. Among those one of the name of Daniel shewed the greatest zeal, exhorting the rest, and praying with them in a manner that excited the greatest fervour.

On this an order was sent from the court, that wherever six persons were assembled together, the soldiers might fire upon them, without waiting for any particular orders. After this Daniel being caught, and two of his companions, he was hanged, and they sent to the gallies. But this did not damp the courage of the rest, and they continued to assemble in the woods and on the mountains. Daniel was succeeded by one La Serre, who formed assemblies of Protestants in the upper Cevennes. These, however, were discovered by the soldiers, who killed many of them, and took others prisoners.

The most violent and the most active of the enemies of the Protestants in this part of the country was the abbé Chelas, subdeligate of the intendant Basville, whose benefice was in the Cevennes. He kept an exact account of all the Protestants in

his district, and whenever he missed any of them at mals, he sent for them on one pretence or other, and treated them in a cruel manner. Sometimes he had them tied to trees, whether they were men or women, and scourged with great severity.

At length five or six persons of both sexes, being apprehended as they endeavoured to escape out of the kingdom, were confined in a cellar in his house, and tortured by him in the following manner. A beam of wood being cleft, he had their legs put into the opening, and squeezed till the bones were broken. He also applied other modes of torture. These being heard of, one of the Protestant preachers whose name was *Esprit*, said to his congregation, that if thirty of the young men would go with him, he would engage to set those prisoners at liberty. Twice that number immediately joined him, and they went with arms in open day to the village, in which the abbé lived, singing the sixty eighth psalm; and going to the house demanded the prisoners. On this he ordered the guards to fire, when two of the young men were killed, and several more were wounded. Not discouraged by this, they forced their way into the house, and carried off the prisoners; for they found them so bruised with the torture that they were not able to walk. The abbé, in endeavouring to make his escape was shot in the thigh, and being seized they

they had no regard to his begging for mercy, who had never shewn any, but shot him, and set fire to the house. From this they proceeded to other similar acts of violence; but their conduct was much disapproved by the generality of the Protestants in the neighbourhood.

The intendant Basville, and count Broglio, who commanded in Languedoc, hearing of this, came with an armed force; and taking by surprize Esprit, and some others of the party, they hanged them, and burned them alive. When they had done this, they issued a proclamation; saying that if those who had been concerned in those disorders would disperse, and go to their homes, they would not be called to account for what had been done, but that otherwise they would be considered as rebels. Notwithstanding this, those who complied with these terms were taken, and hanged at their own doors. On this the rest took refuge in the woods, and procured arms to defend themselves; and the count ordered the houses of all he could not take to be burned.

Being now so closely beset that they could not get out of the kingdom, which they were desirous of doing, they were encouraged by some of their body who had been in the army to keep together where they were, and defend themselves as well as they could; and in order to get arms and

ammunition to go in sufficient numbers, and disarm the Catholics in the neighbourhood. This they soon did with great success, attacking houses in the night, but without doing any thing more than supplying their own wants.

Broglio, hearing of this, came with more troops; but tho' he followed them from place to place, they easily eluded his pursuit; so that he was not able to take any of them. When their number amounted to fifty or sixty, they formed themselves into regular companies, and appointed officers; and instead of being caught, they sometimes surprized parties of ten or twelve of the enemy. But imprudently waiting the attack of two hundred of the kings troops, commanded by one Paul, they were put to flight; and were so disheartened that for many days they did nothing but fly from one wood to another. In this situation frequently disguising themselves, and sometimes with long beards, they got the appellation of *Barbets*, tho' they were afterwards more generally called *Camisards*, from some of them having put shirts over their clothes, to distinguish one another in their nocturnal expeditions, *camise* instead of *chemise*, being the name of shirt in that part of the country.

Notwithstanding this defeat they had so many friends in their neighbourhood, that their numbers were soon recruited, and twenty of them attacked as
many

many of the enemy with such success that not one of them escaped. Encouraged by this little victory they ventured to go out every night, to attack some of the small garrisons which had been placed in the villages, in order the more effectually to surround and take them; and in this they were so successful, that the soldiers were obliged to retire to fortified towns, for their greater security; and as these soldiers usually passed the night in the churches, as places of greater security, the Camifards made it a principal object to surprize and burn them.

This provoked Basville and Broglie so much, that whenever they caught any of them or their friends, whether men, women, or children, they never spared them; so that the gallies were filled, and the scaffolds and gibbets, the writer says, were stained with their blood. This cruelty, however, served to increase the army of the Camifards. For the Protestants seeing no security at home, were in a manner compelled to join those who kept the field. Soon after this they were joined by one La Porte, a person of a good family, who was generally called Jourdan, to distinguish him from another of their leaders of the name of La Porte. These two, and Cavalier, the writer of this account, headed each a separate company; and tho' in consequence of this, the number under each was

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inconsiderable,

inconsiderable, yet making their expeditions always in the night, and often disguised, so as to make a frightful appearance, the country was kept in a state of constant alarm, especially after thirty five of them, being surprized in the day time, defeated a party of fifty of the enemy, with the loss of no more than one man. This victory made a great noise. But the first thing that these pious warriors did was to prostrate themselves on the field of battle, to give God thanks for their success.

They were farther encouraged by the arrival of two officers, of considerable experience in military affairs, who gave them good advice; and when Broglio, hearing of what had taken place, came with a reinforcement of troops, they not only eluded his pursuit, by their superior knowledge of the country, but disarmed the Catholics in several villages; and when they were attacked by a captain Bimard, he was killed in the engagement, and his troop pursued with great slaughter, while they had only four men wounded. On this occasion also they gave God solemn thanks on the field of battle. On this Bimard they found one hundred piftoles, which was of great service to them in purchasing clothes and stores.

The Sunday following this action, being christmas, they kept with great devotion; and having given notice of it to all the Protestants in the neighbourhood,

bourhood, they joined them to the number of five hundred. The governor of Ales being informed of this, sent a body of six hundred men to surprize them; and the person who commanded them was so confident of success, that he took with him an ass loaded with ropes to bind and hang them. But the Camifards being apprized of his approach, dismissed those who only came to join in their devotions; and lying in wait for the enemy, killed an hundred of them, besides wounding many more; and this with the loss of only six of their own number. On the field of this battle they remained an hour, in part for the purpose of devotion, and in part to collect the arms and ammunition which the enemy left behind them.

In this state of their affairs they appointed a commander in chief, and the choice fell upon Cavalier the writer of this account, and being joined by a person of the name of Roland, they found their numbers amount to two hundred and thirty men. Their first exploit after this was to surprize by stratagem the town of Savues which was walled and garrisoned. In this bold attempt they succeeded completely by some of their numbers getting admittance into it, on the pretence of their being part of the militia, who had been in pursuit of the Camifards, and wanted refreshments. Here, tho' masters of the place, they did no injury to any person.

person. They only carried away the arms, and what else they wanted for their immediate use.

After this they defeated a party of soldiers that were on their march to Italy; and finding in the pocket of the commander an order to all mayors of towns, &c. to receive and lodge them, and their recruits, Cavalier made use of it to get admittance into a strongly fortified castle, by which they had been greatly annoyed. They therefore put the garrison to the sword; and carrying off a great quantity of ammunition and provision, they set fire to the place.

This exploit gave so much alarm, that Marshal Montrevel was sent to supersede Broglio, with ten thousand men, to suppress them, but he had no more success than his predecessor. At this time Cavalier had the command of four hundred men, and he had provided caverns in the mountains, where their provisions and ammunition were deposited, where also they had an arsenal for the manufacture of gun-power, and convenience for their sick, and wounded. At one time when Cavalier was absent, his lieutenant Ravanel was attacked by Broglio and Paul, when the former was wounded, and the latter killed, with the total dispersion of their soldiers. They had various other successes, but the approach of winter alarmed them much, and not being able to accommodate
them

them all, the greater part dispersed themselves into the neighbouring villages, and only eighty remained in the woods. However by the help of their friends in the neighbourhood, they not only subsisted all the winter, but at the end of it, which was the beginning of the year A. D. 1702, they found themselves in good health and spirits.

In this year they had various successes, tho' in one action they lost one of their generals, viz. La Porte. To balance this, Cavalier defeated a party of the enemy consisting of six hundred, so that sixty of them only escaped. Their general too, the baron de la Roffe was killed, while the Camifards lost only one man and had six wounded.

The Camifards, could have raised many more forces, Cavalier says, if they had received the assistance which had been promised them from England and the allies, who were then at war with France. With twenty thousand pounds sterling he could have raised and armed fifty thousand men, which, acting in the south of France, would have been of great use to the common cause. However, notwithstanding the paucity of their numbers, and the immense force that was now sent against them, and tho' this was chiefly directed to the destruction of the villages abounding with Protestants, by whom they had been supplied, they

were

were generally successful in their attack of small parties and convoys ; and while their enemies destroyed the villages occupied by their friends, they took their revenge on those that were occupied by the Catholics. This success continued through the year A. D. 1703, and at the beginning of A. D. 1704, Cavalier says that the troop which he commanded consisted of between one thousand and twelve hundred foot, and an hundred horse.

In this year Montrevel was succeeded by the famous marshal Villars, who brought fresh troops, but what was more effectual, he brought proposals of a conciliatory nature ; sending word to Cavalier that if he would lay down his arms, all his just demands would be granted ; and in order to bring about an accommodation, he proposed a conference with him. This proposal was brought by a deputy, who, on taking his leave, threw down some money for each of the men who accompanied Cavalier to the place of interview, who were fifty horse, bidding them drink the king's health ; but not one of them would take it, saying they wanted not money but liberty of conscience.

Cavalier having sent his terms in writing, the following were granted, viz. that the Protestants in all the province should have liberty of conscience ; that they might hold religious assemblies, but not in

cities,

cities, or walled towns, provided they did not build churches; that all who were detained in the prisons or galleys on account of religion since the revocation of the edict of Nantes, should be liberated within six weeks; that all who had left the kingdom on the same account should have liberty to return, and enjoy their privileges and estates, on taking the oath of allegiance; that the inhabitants of the Cevennes whose houses had been burned in the wars should pay no imposts for seven years; and that out of his followers he should raise a regiment of two thousand, to serve in Portugal. He had demanded much more in favour of the French Protestants in general, but more could not be granted. A writing containing the terms here mentioned was signed by Marshal Villars and Basville on the part of the king, and by Cavalier and his lieutenant Billiard on that of the Camisards, the 17th of May A. D. 1704.

Tho' Cavalier and his followers saw sufficient ground for distrusting the sincerity of the court, yet their affairs were at that time so low, their resources of every kind being cut off, all their secret caverns having been discovered, and taken possession of by the enemy, and the villages from which they drew their support being destroyed, that they thought they could not do better than accede to the terms of this treaty.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding the exprefs stipulations of this treaty, the Camifards soon found that little regard was paid to it by their enemies. Some, indeed, were released from the prisons, but they had not the liberty of public worship, all persons being apprehended who went to attend it, and Cavalier himself, on the pretence of employing him and his regiment, which he had found no difficulty in raising, in Germany, instead of Portugal, was conducted under a guard on the way to Brisac. He obtained leave to speak to the king in person, which he did with great freedom on the subject of their revolt, and the only effectual remedy of the evil ; but when he mentioned the *treaty*, he was forbidden to say any thing on the subject, directly or indirectly. The same injunction was laid upon him in his interview with Chamillard, the prime minister; afterwards, so that it was evident no regard would be paid to it.

In this state of things Cavalier, being warned of his danger if he should go to Brisac, laid hold of an opportunity of making his escape from his conductors, and going through Switzerland he entered into the service of the duke of Savoy, then at war with France; and afterwards he went to Holland, where he engaged in a regiment in the pay of the Dutch and English. When the war was concluded he went to England, and there he wrote his book. In

In the mean time Roland, and the rest of the Camifards, seeing that no regard was paid to the treaty made with Cavalier, continued in arms; chusing rather to die, as they said, with their swords in their hands, than suffer what they must do if, on any promise from the court, they should lay down their arms. But at length Roland being surprized and killed, and Ravel completely absconding, so as never to be heard of any more, the rest of the Camifards accepted a proposal either to leave the kingdom, or give up their arms and resettle on their lands; and this latter the greater part of them chose to do, so that before the end of the year A. D. 1704, a final end was put to this revolt, during which, according to Mr. Brueys, who wrote the history of it under the title of *Histoire de Fanatisme* thirty two parishes were sentenced to be entirely destroyed. They contained more than four hundred villages or hamlets. All the houses were to be demolished, and the inhabitants with their families and effects to be removed to distant places. Vol. 2, p. 220. This destruction of the houses they were at first ordered to effect by labour; but to make it easier to them they afterwards had leave from the court to employ fire. The consequence was that a part of the country nearly forty leagues in extent, became a frightful desert, that could not be seen without horror. *Ib.* p. 253.

This recourse to arms cannot be defended on christian principles, great as was the provocation that the persecuted Protestants received. But much as they are to be censured on this account, and for the wild pretences to inspiration and prophecy with which they are charged, and some artifices imputed to some of their leaders, the greater part, it cannot be doubted, acted from a principle of conscience, and their devotion in the midst of arms is truly exemplary and edifying.

“ In our woods and defarts,” says Mr. Cavalier, p. 115 “ our chief business was to apply ourselves to religious exercises, in which we were assisted by ministers, who risked their lives along with us.” They also chose elders, and they were generally such as had served in that capacity in their churches. They constantly read the liturgy that had been used by them before. They had sermons twice every Sunday, and prayers in the evening. When on a march they could not attend to these services, they did not fail to have prayers in the evening, tho’ they arrived at the rendezvous ever so late. They always sung with loud voices. They had the Lords supper administered to them four times in the year.

Whenever they fought one of their ministers said prayers at their head, and exhorted them to fight with courage. They then sung a psalm, and
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went singing down the hills ; and the sound being increased by the echo from other hills, the enemy imagined that they were more numerous than they really were, and were by that means often struck with terror. Whenever they could do it, they gave notice to the neighbourhood of the places where they had sermons, and they were commonly very numerously attended, sometimes he says by two thousand persons, and on those occasions they had centinels placed at proper distances. *Memoirs of Cavalier*, p. 120.

That some persons, whose minds are much agitated, as those of many must have been in such troubles as those occasioned by the war in the Cevennes, persons of a pious disposition, willing to see the hand of God in every thing (as in a proper sense it certainly is) but of weak understandings, should not be able to distinguish such natural emotions as they did not usually experience from the impulse, or suggestion of a foreign agent, and that they should ascribe these impulses to the Supreme Being, acting in and by them, is by no means incredible. Such pious and honest enthusiasts as these, I doubt not, were among the Camisards in the Cevennes, as they were among the Quakers in England. Also that persons of no religion should adopt their language, and imitate their gestures, &c. and endeavour to acquire repu-

tatation and emolument by the imposture, is equally credible. Such abandoned and artful people there are in all countries. And persons of both these classes, I doubt not, there were at the time to which this history relates.

When the war was over several persons left the country, and came to England, where they were soon noted for their pretensions to inspiration and prophecy, being thrown into convulsions, and then saying what they pretended they knew nothing of, but which was taken down by persons present as oracles; and they were joined by many English persons of both sexes, who were affected and acted in the same manner. Three of the foreigners, called by way of distinction *the three Camisards*, were more particularly famous; and a Mr. Lacy, a member of the congregation of Mr. Edmund Calamy, an eminent Dissenting minister, was among the most noted of their admirers and followers.

The three Camisards were clearly proved to be impostors. One of them went by the name of *Cavalier*, pretending to be a relation of the writer of the history quoted above, who was then colonel of a regiment in Holland, and to have been acknowledged as a prophet in the Cevennes. But the colonel being applied to declared that he was no relation of his, and that he had never heard of his being considered as a prophet. This man appeared

peared afterwards to be of an infamous character. He turned papist, and enlisted in the French king's guards. The second, of the name of *Marion*, was equally unknown to the colonel in the character of a prophet; and the third called *Durand Fage*, he said was a vagabond and a poltroon.

Having perused several of the tracts written by Mr. Lacy, I am willing to consider him as more of an enthusiast than an impostor, tho' it is barely possible to believe what he asserts concerning himself, allowing as much as we can to the force of imagination. With respect to the convulsive motions with which he, like the rest, was agitated, he says in his *Relation of the dealings of God with him*, p. 10, "When my arm, head, or leg is shaken, I
 " must be allowed to know whether it be voluntary
 " from myself, or not; and I do affirm it is not
 " from myself, nor at my own will and pleasure;
 " but, on the contrary, when that agent does so, and
 " I think to suppress the same, he does continue
 " so to start and twitch my limbs, and by more in-
 " terior uneasiness over my whole body to solicit
 " my obedience, that I can have no rest till I suffer
 " the same to take place. Under his influence I
 " have sometimes experienced a voice so strong
 " and clear, sometimes so harmonious, as my natu-
 " ral one never did or could furnish. Under the
 " same I have been carried on my knees several

“ times round a room swifter than I could have
 “ gone on my feet. Some other particularities
 “ many have also been witnesses of; but these may
 “ suffice to shew that I am at times under the agen-
 “ cy of another distinct being; at which time the
 “ tongue also is at the direction of that foreign a-
 “ gent, and no more under mine than the motion
 “ of the other parts of my body.”

Mr. Calamy, however, in his treatise intituled a
Caveat, shewed that several of the predictions of
 these prophets when they were in the Cevennes
 notoriously failed in their fulfillment, and he al-
 leged many other reasons for their being either
 enthusiasts or impostors, and that the latter was
 the more probable of the two.

At length it was given out by these prophets
 that God would attest their inspiration by an evi-
 dent miracle, viz. the resurrection of a Dr. Ems
 from the dead on the 25th of May, which was five
 months after his death. “ If this be performed,”
 says Mr. Lacy, in the tract above quoted p. 29,
 and written before that day, “ by the power of him
 “ who is the resurrection and the life, none that
 “ believe Moses and the prophets will doubt that
 “ the fulfilling of the glorious things written of
 “ him by them is at the door, according to the te-
 “ nor of this prophetic voice of late sounding.”

For

For the principal of these predictions was the overthrow of the persecuting papal powers, and the deliverance and flourishing state of the Protestants.

When the 25th of May arrived, great numbers went to the place where Dr. Ems had been buried, with the confident expectation of being witnesses of his resurrection. But notwithstanding their devotions at the time, to their great disappointment he did not rise. On this the general credit of these prophets vanished; and tho' some endeavoured to account for the failure of this particular prediction, without the impeachment of their pretensions in other respects, of whom Mr. Lacy was one, as appears by his *Letter to Dr. Woodward*, the delusion did not continue much longer, and no pretensions of the kind were any more heard of.

That there were impositions contrived by some of the leaders of the Camifards while they were in the Cevennes appeared by the testimony of credible witnesses. A person of the name of Clary among them was said to stand and dance in the flames unhurt. This was published by Mr. Lacy as a miracle from the deposition of the pretended prophet Cavalier above mentioned, and Mr. Chubb laid great stress upon it, as a relation, as well attested as the miracles record-

ed in the scriptures. But Mr. Le Moine, who answered him, found by diligent enquiry, and especially the testimony of Mr. Serres, who had been one of the privy council of the Camifards, that this was a trick contrived by themselves to encourage their troops ; this Clary being placed behind the fire, but appearing to those who stood at a distance to be in it. This was declared by Mr. Serres when he was near his death. See my *Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion*, Vol 2, p. 14.

SECTION

SECTION II.

Of the Sufferings of Mr. Marolles, Le Fevre, and P. Mauru.

A MORE distinct idea may be formed of the severity and extent of the persecution that followed the revocation of the edict of Nantes, from the sufferings of a few individuals, of which we have particular and authentic accounts ; and for this purpose I have selected those of Mr. Marolles, Le Fevre, and P. Mauru, of which I formerly published a larger account translated from the French. From this it will clearly appear, that this papal persecution exceeded that of any of the heathens in cruelty and duration, tho' not in extent, because it was confined to the kingdom of France. But all the persecutions of the Protestants by the Catholics far exceeded all those of the heathens even in this respect.

Lewis de Marolles was born about the year A. D. 1629, of an antient family in Champagne,

and lived at Minehault, where he held the office of king's counsellor, and the receiver of consignments; his religion incapacitating him for any other office. He particularly excelled in the knowledge of Mathematics and the philosophy of the times, which was that of Gassendi and Descartes.

On the revocation of the edict of Nantes he was arrested on his way to Strasburgh, by which road he was endeavouring to leave the kingdom; and tho' it is probable that he might have been suffered to proceed, if he had concealed his design; yet he frankly avowed it, thinking it base to use any dissimulation.

On the 17th of January A. D. 1686, he was removed from Strasburgh to Chalons, accompanied by his family, and there he was detained six weeks, in the first four of which he had some liberty, the clergy endeavouring to convince him of his errors; but this measure not succeeding, he was put into a dungeon, where he was not permitted to see any person for a fortnight. After this he was brought out to receive his sentence, which was to be sent to the galleys for his life, and all his goods to be forfeited to the king.

This was on a Saturday, and on the Monday following he was conveyed in a waggon to Paris, attended by three archers. There he was put into

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the prison called the Conciergeré on the 14th of March; and there his youngest son, who had accompanied him to Paris, was told that he must see his father no more. Accordingly he was then put into a dark dungeon, and no person whatever was allowed to have any access to him. On the 11th of May he was brought before his judges, and on the 14th, the sentence passed at Chalons was confirmed, when irons were put upon his hands, and he was conveyed to another prison called la Tournelle, where those who were to be sent to the galleys were confined till the departure of what was called a *chain*, from a number of them being chained together on the road. Here he says, he was shut up in company with seven miserable wretches, either condemned to the galleys, to be hanged, or broken on the wheel, and the place was so dark that he could not well discern their faces. They were all troubled with rheums or fluxes from the unwholesomeness of the place; and there, he says, he expected to rot; but contrary to his expectation he did not suffer in his health.

Having some spare moments in this situation, he wrote to his family to comfort them, expressing the perfect tranquility of his mind, in consequence of putting his trust in God, and esteeming himself happy in suffering in so good a cause. In a letter from this place of the date of May 6th, he
says,

says, " I was put into a dark dungeon, where I
" have been as it were buried alive these six months,
" after being twice brought before the procurator
" general, who, after examining me, said, it was
" wonderful to see men do more for error, than
" perhaps any of themselves would do for the
" truth."

From another letter of the 2d of July, it appears that the tears of his wife and family, which had not moved him at Strasburgh, induced him now to accept of a proposal to have his liberty, on condition that, with a view to his conversion as it was called, he would receive instruction from the bishop of Meaux, with whom he might continue six, eight, or ten months ; but he soon repented of this concession, and of course was remanded to prison, where the chain was taken from his feet, and another, which he believed did not weigh less than thirty pounds, was put about his neck. In this situation it was that he had the two visits from the procurator general, and other persons of consequence, who expressed much kindness for him, but found him inflexible on the subject of religion.

While he was in this prison, his wife visited him as often as she could, tho' she could only see him through a grate, and wash the wounds which the chain had made on his neck ; and this she did with water in which musket balls had been steeped.

ed. Here it was said that he had lost his reason, but to convince his enemies that this report was without foundation, he proposed a mathematical problem to be solved by those who were skilled in that branch of science. The celebrated mathematician De Moivre was acquainted with Mr. Marolles in this confinement, and gave a particular account of this problem.

On Saturday July 20th, the chain departed from Paris, when Mr. Marolles was ill of a fever. They had but a little way to go from the prison to the boat in which they were to be conveyed from Paris, and in this space they went in pairs, carrying a long chain, which went through each particular chain. In this passage he was met by his children, who threw themselves on his neck, and kissed him. His wife had not been able to bear so great a trial. As the case of Mr. Marolles had been the subject of much conversation in Paris, he was attended by a great concourse of people, who appeared to be much affected on seeing so respectable a person in that situation; and an old merchant, tho' then a Catholic, breaking through the croud, encouraged him, and offered him his purse. This merchant some time after became a Protestant, and took refuge in London.

From Dijon, through which the chain passed, Mr. Marolles wrote to a friend in Paris, dated July

ly 30th, when he acknowledged that the treatment he had met with had been very prejudicial to his health, tho' he had concealed it from his family and other friends, that he might not give them too much pain, that he had not got quit of his fever, tho' he was not in danger from it, and expressed his hope that before his arrival at Marseilles, which was to be the termination of this march, he should be perfectly recovered.

Being arrived at Marseilles he wrote on the 25th of August a letter from which it appears that his fever had not then left him. He had, he said, undergone incredible fatigue, and had been twice at the point of death; and that in that condition he had lain upon planks, without any straw under him, and his hat for a pillow. When the chain left the water, he said their condition was much worse than it had been, being jumbled fourteen hours a day in a waggon, and lodged in dungeons. Without any attention being paid to his condition, tho' 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, however, seeing him in this condition got him sent to the hospital, where he recovered his health and strength. In

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the mean time his family appears to have made their escape out of the kingdom.

In this hospital he was about three weeks, and fortunately in company with Mr. Le Fevre, of whom an account will next be given, their beds being contiguous, which was a great consolation to them both. Writing from this place to his wife, he says she had nothing to do but to thank God, and to be cheerful. Tho' about this time many pardons arrived from the court for galley slaves, none could be obtained for him, notwithstanding much intercession had been made for him, and his condemnation, the writer says, troubled his judges and all honest men.

After this he was removed to the galley, but a different one from that to which his companion was sent. Writing to his wife on the 23d of September, he, with much pleasantry, gives a description of his galley slave dress, and the circumstances of his treatment, of which he made no complaint. "Let this," he says, "comfort and rejoice thee. I am already used to the place where I am, as if I had been here all my life. I am better here than in the hospital." This was on account of the better air that he had on board the galley. Speaking of his chains, he says that the iron which he then wore on his foot, tho' it did not weigh three pounds,

pounds, had given him more pain at first, than that which he had worn on his neck ; but that he had learned every day to place it so as to be less inconvenient to him.

By a letter to his wife, dated the 14th of October, it appears that his treatment was then much harsher than it had been. Before this he had been permitted to sleep in a bed, but now he said he was not loosed from his chain all the night, that he never had the liberty to go on shore, and that he was not allowed to receive any letters, or to write any but such as were inspected.

Being told, after changing his galley several times, that he was to be put into one that was going to America, he says to his wife, “ Let not this
“ afflict thee. Let us resign ourselves to the pro-
“ vidence of God, who does every thing with infi-
“ nite wisdom, and for the best ends to his chil-
“ dren. We are not able to make a proper choice,
“ because we do not know what is best for us. Let
“ us not oppose his will by impatience or fruitless
“ tears. To comfort her he says, that he had then the use of a little cabin, which had been procured for him by a young officer to whom he taught Algebra.

In the month of December he had several conferences with the clergy at the bishop of Marseilles, but they only served to make his condition worse,

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as the same had done to Mr. Le Fevre, who had been brought thither before him. After an interval, in which he appears to have been treated with a considerable degree of civility, he was remanded to the galley, where he was kept six weeks. But after this he was removed to a kind of dungeon prepared for him in the citadel, which was probably done in consequence of an express order from the court, with a view to triumph over his patience. In this place the writer says he was kept six years in nakedness, hunger, cold, and darkness.

Till several months after his confinement, he had no opportunity of writing to any person. Then, in a letter to his wife dated the 25th of October, he tells her that on the 12th of February he was taken out of the galley, and shut into a small room, which had served for a soldier's lodge, twelve of his feet one way, and ten the other, but so altered, that the greatest part of the light came into it from the chimney; that he was allowed five sols a day, that one centinel was placed day and night at his door, and another at the top of the chimney; but that he bore all with patience and resignation.

For some time he was much pleased with this change in his situation, as his ears, he says, were no longer offended with the horrid and blasphemous sounds which he had continually heard on

board the galley, that he was then at liberty to sing praises to God, and prostrate himself before him, whenever he pleased. He was also relieved from his troublesome chains. The solitude, however, and the darkness distressed him greatly, and for some time disturbed his imagination so much, that he feared it would end in distraction; but he was relieved, he says, by prayer.

The writer of this account could not find the trace of letters written by Mr. Marolles for the three years following; but from those which were written to his wife in the years A. D. 1691 and 1692, it appears that notwithstanding his continuance in these most uncomfortable circumstances, his faith and hope did not fail. He says that what afflicted him the most was the excess of her anxiety about him. But even, this, he says, he would bear like a christian. He acknowledges that after he had been in this confinement three weeks, he thought he could not live many months; but says he, the next February God had preserved him there five years; that on the 15th of October in the first year he had had a painful defluxion, which settled on the elbow and shoulder of his right arm, so that he could not undress himself to go to bed; and this disorder continued almost a year.

Four winters he spent in this place almost without any fire. The first none was allowed him. In

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the second they gave him some on the 28th of January, but took it away before the end of February. The third they gave him some for about a fortnight. This winter, he says, they had not given him any, and he should not ask for it. Tho' the mayor had money of his, he would not allow him the use of any of it. Tho', however he says he experienced cold, nakedness, and hunger, his situation was at that time better.

He had been fed by different persons at different times, and one of them cut off three sols of the five that had been allowed him for his maintenance, and for this he said he had no remedy. At one time he had no bread for three days. He was at one time almost a year without a shirt, and his clothes more ragged, he said, than those of any beggar. He had no stockings to his feet, and his shoes were unsewed on both sides. An intendant, seeing him in this condition, expressed some pity for him, but left him in it ten months. At length, however, a galley slaves dress was procured for him, tho' out of his own money.

For the last year and an half he said he had been allowed a lamp full of oil, which gave him light six, seven, or eight hours, by which he could read the scriptures more than before. Before this he had only had a small candle for a hard a day. At one time he said he was troubled with a disorder

der which took away his breath, and that he had a giddiness in which he fell down, and broke his head. This he ascribed to a want of food. But now, he says, I am in perfect health, and for two or three months have been allowed regularly three loaves and often soup.

It appears by a letter of Mr. Marolles to a brother sufferer in A. D. 1692, that at this time his situation was worse than it had been before. For after acquainting him with the state of his mind, which was resigned and unbroken, he desires him to procure for him, if he could, some thread to mend his linen and clothes. For six weeks he said he had applied for some, but had not been able to procure it, and that for the three last months he could not get his linen washed.

From this he must have been guarded with more than usual strictness, as no letters appear to have come from him ; and by his extreme weakness he was incapacitated for reading or writing, a month or two before his death, which happened the 17th of June A. D. 1692 ; when he was buried by the Turkish prisoners in a place appropriated to the burial of infidels.

During all this long confinement which must be allowed to have been a more grievous punishment than death in any form, all the letters that he had an opportunity of writing (which, indeed,

so closely was he watched, do not appear to have been many) breath a truly christian spirit; expressing the greatest patience, resignation, and even joy and gratitude with respect to God, and without any ill will to his persecutors; and feeling more for others, especially his wife and family, than he did for himself. *Surely, there is a reward for the righteous, since there is a righteous God that judges in the earth.* At length this illustrious confessor and martyr found rest from all his sufferings; and at last, being welcomed with "*Well done good and faithful servant, will enter into the joy of his Lord.*"

Isaac Le Fevre, whose sufferings procured him as much renown through France, and all Protestant countries, as Mr. Marolles, was born at Chatel Chincon in Nivernois, of one of the most respectable families in that district. By profession he was an advocate, or counsellor at law. In A. D. 1663, he was sent to Geneva, where he went through a course of philosophy, and then he studied the law, Orleans, where he maintained a thesis, and took his degrees. He then went to Paris, and shewing his testimonials to Mr. Talon, at that time advocate general, he was admitted one of the advocates of the court of Parliament.

After continuing some time at Paris he returned to Provence, where he was employed by the marchioness of St. Andrew Mombrun, and took a

journey to Poitou and Xantoigne to settle some affairs of hers, which he did to her satisfaction. There he was questioned about his religion by the intendant of Rochfort. Being, however, dismissed, he went to Paris at the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantes; and on this he went to Burgundy to give the marchioness an account of the business he had transacted for her, and then intended to seek an assylum in Switzerland; but on the 14th of February A. D. 1686, he was apprehended near the town of Portali, together with a Swiss whose name was La Tour.

From this place he was sent to Befancon, where he was insulted, and robbed of every thing that he had, especially of a watch worth twenty five louis d'ors; and his horse was given to the archer who took him. On the 12th of April he was put into irons, and after three weeks brought to trial, when sentence was pronounced against him. The day following he was put into a dungeon with fetters on his feet night and day; and thus he was kept two months and some days. A counsellor seeing him carry his chains awkwardly, said to him by way of insult, that a person who was satisfied that he was in the true religion would suffer even unto death. This, he said, made an impression on him. He replied that what he said was true,

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and that he was in the way to it. At this time he was thirty seven years of age.

In a letter written by him the 12th of May, he said, that nothing could be worse then the treatment he met with at this place, that the more they saw him affected by it, the worse they used him; and if there was any part of the prison more offensive than an other, they put him into it. But tho' in these circumstances, he was repeatedly offered his liberty if he would recant, he resolutely refused. He said, he would end his days in torment rather than renounce a religion which would make him happy in the greatest misfortunes, which could make him despise shame, and put it into his heart to pray for his enemies and persecutors. He said, he felt compassion for them, and believed that they thought they did God service, tho' they were fighting against God and his truth.

At this time the superior of the Jesuits at Befancon was sent by the intendant to inform him, that he would be sent away the Monday following fastened to the chain. Then also he heard that his sister, who persevered as he did, notwithstanding all the persecution to which she had been exposed, was sent to a convent at Moulins, which increased his affliction, but also, the writer says, his zeal and fervour; and tho' he was still solicited by his judg-

es and other catholics to recant, he was nothing moved by any thing that they could urge.

From Befancon he was removed to Dijon, where he arrived the 30th of May ; but the hardships of the conveyance, and his irons, bruised him much ; and had they not been taken off at Aufonne, where he had a horse allowed him, he said he should not have been brought alive to Dijon, his situation in the waggon was so painful. At this place he met with better treatment, and recovered his strength ; and after continuing two months in the prison of this city, he was conducted with his companions to Chalons on the Soane, where the chain arrived that came from Paris ; and to this chain Mr. Marolles was then fastened. They were bound and slept together ; and for him, as he was sick, he expressed more concern than for himself.

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.

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He was then sent to the hospital as mentioned before, together with Mr. Marolles, which the writer says was like being in paradise.

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 galleys 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.

Like Mr. Marolles, he was removed from one galley to another, and met with very different treatment in them; but at length the liberty of seeing his friends was taken from him, no letter addressed to him could be received by him, nor could he write to any person. He could not even converse with those who were chained with him, and was always kept to the chain, which was an uncommonly short one. After this harsh treatment, intended, no doubt, to subdue his fortitude, he was taken to the bishop of Marseilles, who said every thing that he could to induce him to recant, but it was without effect.

He was kept on board of the galley till April A. D. 1687, when he was removed to a dungeon similar to that of Mr. Marolles in the fort of St. John in Marseilles, where he was confined till his

death in A. D. 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 a manger in 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 entered this place he was searched and the only book that he had left was taken from him. At first he lay two or three nights in a damp manger, and more than a month on a short and narrow chest, with no other covering than the king's allowance of a garment. Sometimes he could not sleep for cold.

This hard treatment brought on several disorders, at first a rheumatism, and then a continual fever. No person was permitted to come near him, much less to speak to him ; and the food they gave him he said was full of impurities ; and besides the badness of his food, he was often without linen or clothes. He should, he said, have been entirely without any shirt, if, by some means which he could not account for, two had not been sent to him. At the same time he received a bolster and
some

some other things, on which he fell on his knees, and thanked God for such unexpected favours. Even in these circumstances he said that God comforted and supported him in a sensible manner, and gave him strength to bear his afflictions with patience and joy; and that if he should say that he was sometimes so contented and happy, that he forgot that he had any cause of sorrow, he should not exceed the truth.

In this dungeon he was so closely guarded, that no news could be had of him but very rarely, and that with much trouble and expence; so that he sometimes kept his letters a whole year before he could find an opportunity of sending them. At this time, however, he composed a large treatise on *the necessity of suffering*. He also made a translation of the Psalms, and turned Kempis's book on *the imitation of Christ* into verse. From this it appears that he was allowed to have pen, ink, and paper. But two years and some months before the end of the year A. D. 1698, the person that had served him for a messenger was imprisoned, all his writings and books were taken from him, and he kept nothing besides the translation of the psalms printed at Neufchatel, and sometime after a soldier who had done him some little service, was condemned to be hanged.

Some days after he had been in this solitude a missionary and another clergyman would enter into controversy with him, but they made no impression on him.

The firmness with which this extraordinary man bore his unexampled sufferings is barely credible. In a letter to a lady in A. D. 1695, he says, "I enter the tenth year of my sufferings, but by the grace of God I have lost neither courage, nor patience, nor faith, nor wholly my health."

No letter of his can be traced beyond the year A. D. 1699, when he was so closely confined that he saw no person besides the man that brought his victuals, and he was forbidden to tell him any thing that passed in the world. He was particularly anxious to know whether at the peace (viz. at Ryfwick) any thing had been stipulated in favour of the Protestants. But nothing was done for them. On the contrary, the applications and remonstrances of the Protestant powers in their favour, made Lewis and his court more inveterate against them; as it was said to be a proof of their having correspondence with foreign states, and that it was impertinent in those states to intermeddle in the affairs of France. This was in the height of Lewis's prosperity. Not long after this he experienced a reverse of fortune, but still there was

no relenting with respect to his Protestant subjects. Neither Le Fevre, nor any of his brethren in similar circumstances were relieved. Their sufferings were rather aggravated till his death, which as mentioned before, happened in June A. D. 1702, when he was fifty two years of age. Of the last scenes of his life, and the circumstances of his death, there is no knowledge.

I am tempted to extend this article, in order to give an account of the sufferings of *Peter Mauru*, which in some respects exceeded those of Mr. Marolles or Le Fevre.

He was a native of Loisi in Brie, and of a pretty good family. In his attempt to get out of France he was stopped in Burgundy, and was imprisoned at Befancon together with Mr. Le Fevre, and about the same time sentenced to the galleys for life. Before he arrived at the sea port he was coupled with Philip Le Boucher, another confessor ; and because this poor man was not able to carry his chain, Mr. Mauru who, was next to him, bore it up at first with his hands, and afterwards with a forked stick, in such a manner that he was entirely relieved, and this was in the heat of the dog days.

In the galley his sufferings almost exceed belief, and seven or eight times he seemed to be at the point of death, and yet shewed a noble example of
piety

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 why he was sent thither, he had him searched, and all books and papers taken from him ; and at length he was fixed in a place where a spy was set over him, and he was continually tormented with needless labour. No person was permitted to speak to him besides a priest who endeavoured 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 tho' in his body he suffered all day long, his heart rejoiced in his saviour 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 de-
 paired 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 conti-
 nued 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 preserv-
 ed his senses found to the last, and his faith and con-
 stancy were stronger than ever.

For an account of other distinguished confes-
 sors and martyrs on this trying occasion, and their
 extraordinary sufferings in various ways, I refer to
 that publication of mine from which the above is
 extracted. That human beings should be able to
 endure all that they did, and with perfect patience
 and resignation, and without any thing of the spirit
 of revenge, is truly wonderful. It shews what chris-
 tian principles can do; and certainly no other could
 produce this effect. A man with other principles
 may be fullen and obstinate, and by the help of a
 good constitution bear what they did, but not with
 their humility, patience, and universal benevolence,
 bearing no ill will even to the authors of their un-
 merited sufferings, but praying for them.

Before

Before I entirely close this article, I must take notice of two circumstances of peculiar hardship and injustice in the case of the French confessors and martyrs. They were generally sentenced to the galleys for life, but tho' some of them were sentenced to that punishment for a limited time, as ten years, yet no attention was paid to their application for release when the time was expired; so that they continued in that situation without any hope of deliverance except by death:

Tho' the laws of France, like those of other countries, allow of no more than one punishment for one offence, those Protestants in the galleys were subjected to the bastinado, and often in a peculiarly cruel manner, if they did not bow at the elevation of the host; and they were compelled to attend the recitation of the mass together with the other slaves. The following account of one of those bastinados is given by a catholic clergyman who afterwards became a Protestant.

“ In the year A. D. 1703, several Protestants
 “ out of Languedoc and the Cevennes were put on
 “ board our galley. They were narrowly watch-
 “ ed, and I was surprized one Sunday morning af-
 “ ter saying mass on the *becasse* (a table so placed
 “ that all on board the galley may see the priest
 “ when he elevates the host) to hear the comite

say

“ say he was going to give the huguenots the basti-
 “ nado, because they did not kneel, nor shew any
 “ respect to the mysteries of the mass, and that he
 “ was going to acquaint the captain with it. The
 “ very name of bastinado terrified me ; and tho’ I
 “ had never seen this dreadful execution, I begged
 “ the comite to forbear till the next Sunday, and
 “ that in the mean time I would endeavour to con-
 “ vince them of what I then thought their duty
 “ and my own.

“ Accordingly I used all the means I could
 “ think of to that end, sometimes making use of
 “ fair means, giving them victuals, and doing them
 “ other good offices, sometimes using threats, and
 “ representing the torments that were designed for
 “ them, often urging the king’s command, and
 “ quoting St. Paul, who says, he who resists the
 “ higher power, resists God. I could not but ad-
 “ mire both the modesty of their answers, and the
 “ greatness of their courage. The king, they said,
 “ is the master of our bodies, but not of our con-
 “ sciences. At last the dreadful day being come,
 “ the comite narrowly observed them to see the
 “ fruit of my labours, when only two out of twen-
 “ ty bowed their knee to Baal. The rest gene-
 “ rously refused it, and were, in consequence, by
 “ the captain’s orders, treated in the following man-
 “ ner.

“ Previous to the execution every man’s chains
“ were taken off, and they were delivered to four
“ Turks, who stripped them stark naked, and
“ stretching them upon a great gun, they are so
“ held that they cannot so much as stir, during
“ which time there is a profound silence through
“ the whole galley ; and it is so cruel a scene that
“ the most obdurate wretches cannot bear the sight,
“ but are forced to turn away their eyes. The
“ victim being thus prepared, the Turk pitched up-
“ on to be the executioner, with a tough cudgel, or
“ knotted ropes end, beats the poor wretch most
“ unmercifully ; and the more so as he thinks it
“ acceptable to Mahomet.”

“ But the most barbarous of all is that, after
“ the skin is flead off the bones, all that they ap-
“ ply to the wounds is a mixture of salt and vine-
“ gar, after which they are thrown into the hospi-
“ tal. I went thither after the execution, and could
“ not refrain from tears at the sight of so much bar-
“ barity. They quickly perceived it, and tho’
“ scarce able to speak through pain and weakness,
“ they thanked me for the compassion that I ex-
“ pressed, and the kindness I had always shewn
“ them. I went with a design to administer some
“ comfort, but I was glad to find them less moved
“ than I was myself. It was wonderful to see with
“ what true christian patience and constancy they bore
“ their

“ their torments, in the extremity of their pain,
 “ never expressing any thing like rage, but calling
 “ upon almighty God, and imploring his assistance.
 “ I visited them day by day, and, as often as I did
 “ my conscience upbraided me for persisting so
 “ long in a religion the capital errors of which I long
 “ before perceived, and above all that inspired so
 “ much cruelty, a temper directly opposite to the
 “ spirit of christianity. At last their wounds, like
 “ so many mouths, preaching to me, made me sen-
 “ sible of my error, and experimentally taught me
 “ the excellence of the Protestant religion.”

The author of the work from which I quote
 this says, p. 200, that the bastinado ceased in A. D.
 1701; but the preceding account, if the date may be
 depended upon, contradicts this assertion. The
 reason that is given for its discontinuance is, that all
 the princes and states of Europe expressed their
 abhorrence of it, and could not forbear to reproach
 the French ambassadors and others, with the infam-
 y of it.

SECTION III.

Articles relating to the Catholics in general.

IN this period we find the learning and virtue of several of the popes considerably superior to that of many of their predecessors, owing in some measure, no doubt, to the influence of the reformation, after which such odious characters as those of some former popes could not have been endured. The most distinguished of the sovereign pontiffs that are now before us are Clement XI, Innocent XIII, Benedict XIII, Clement XII, and Benedict XIV, and especially the first and the last of these. In A. D. 1725, this Benedict formed a council in the palace of the Lateran, for the purpose of reforming the church; but the event did not answer his expectations. *Mosheim*, Vol. 5, p. 75. But the influence of the popes in the politics of Europe, which used to be predominant, was reduced to nothing, a distinction being always
made

made by those princes whose interest it was to make it between their temporal and their spiritual power.

The endeavours of the Catholics to propagate their religion both in the East and West Indies, were continued with unabated zeal in the beginning of this period, especially when they were directed by Anthony Veri. There was no want either of missionaries or of funds for their support; but the effects of their labour and expence were not very conspicuous, and have now nearly disappeared. The candid Catholics themselves acknowledge that the christianity which their missionaries did propagate had little in it of the genuine spirit of the gospel.

The disputes between the Jesuits and their adversaries relating to the religious ceremonies of the Chinese was particularly warm when, in A. D. 1704, Clement XI decided against the opinion of the Jesuits, forbidding the Chinese christians the practice of the idolatrous rites of their ancestors. This decree was carried to China by the cardinal Tournon, who by his imprudent conduct gave so much offence that he was thrown into prison and died there. It being thought necessary to give some satisfaction to the Jesuits, rather than lose all the fruits of the mission, in A. D. 1715, the former decree was mitigated, and leave was given with

some modifications to do what they had permitted. This decree was carried to China by Mezzabarba, but he could not prevail on the emperor to make the least change in the institutions of his ancestors. *Mosheim*, Vol. 5, p. 70.

I shall observe in this place that Frederic IV, king of Denmark in A. D. 1706, sent missionaries for the conversion of the Indians on the coast of Malabar; and this establishment was much encouraged by Christian VI, and has been attended with much success. Tho' fewer converts were made by the Lutheran missionaries, they were, no doubt, better christians, than those that were made by the Catholics. The Russians too, tho' with what success is not known, have not been wanting in their endeavours to plant their religion in Siberia. *Ib.* Vol. 5, p. 72.

The controversies within the pale of the Catholic church rose higher in this period than at the close of the last, tho' the low state to which the whole system has gradually sunk, has abated the virulence of all the parties. The disputes relating to Jansenism are those to which I particularly allude. In them the Jansenists had the advantage in the piety and general popularity of their leaders, while their opponents, who were principally the Jesuits, were aided by worldly power and policy.

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This controversy was much inflamed by a measure which was intended to allay it, viz. the publication of the bull *Unigenitus* by Clement XI in A. D. 1713. This bull contained a condemnation of Quenell's translation of the New Testament, published in the preceding period, in which the doctrines of the Jansenists were insinuated in a manner peculiarly pleasing to persons of a pious disposition. It alarmed the Jesuits so much, that, at their instigation, Lewis XIV procured the bull above mentioned, in which this New Testament and one hundred and one propositions contained in it were censured as heretical. This bull likewise confirmed the Protestants in their aversion to the Catholic religion in general, as it convinced them that all attempts to abate the superstitions and corruptions of that church would be ineffectual.

The greatest disturbance that was occasioned by this bull was in France, where it was opposed by the cardinal de Noailles archbishop of Paris, notwithstanding the resentment of the king, and a persecution which drove many to take refuge in the Netherlands and Holland, where the Catholics were almost universally Jansenists. And tho' by the influence of the Jesuits, and the orders of the court, the bull was registered in the parliament, and thereby obtained the force of a law, a great number of those who were zealous for the liberties

of the Gallican church appealed from it to a general council, and thence obtained the name of *Appellants*.

But much of the credit which the Jansenists gained by their ingenious writings, and their real piety, they lost by their superstition, relying upon miracles and prophecies which were easily exposed. The cures of diseases at the tomb of the abbé Paris, who, like many other Jansenists, died a martyr to his voluntary mortifications, were the most remarkable of those that fell within this period; and that there was nothing miraculous in them has been abundantly proved. In this period, however, the Jansenists have had an abundant cause of triumph in the total extinction of the order of Jesuits, tho' it does not appear that by this, or any other circumstance, they have gained any advantage with respect to the spread of their tenets.

In this period we have to contemplate the enormous power of the popes, even in spirituals, but much more in temporals, in a state of great depression, not even holding the language they did in the last period; and what is most remarkable in it is the total defection of that state from which they originally derived their temporalities, and the rank they held among the potentates of Europe, and which in the very last period had been most devoted to them; and the total suppression of that order
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of men, the Jesuits, which had been, as it were, their right hand, having done more to support their pretensions than any other. But France was not the only power of which the pope had cause to complain, and other orders besides that of the Jesuits were affected by the new maxims that now began to prevail.

In A. D. 1767, the government of Milan published a law by which all the rights which the popes and the bishops had before exercised were transferred to a council established for that purpose, and no subject of that state was permitted to go to Rome to solicit any favour except letters of indulgence, without the consent of the same council. *An. Reg.* p. 6. The same law was published in Venice in the pontificate of Benedict XIV, but it occasioned so much debate, that the republic thought proper to repeal it in the beginning of the pontificate of Clement XIII. *Ib.*

In the same year almost all the powers of Italy were employed in restraining ecclesiastical authority, or making strict enquiries into the state of the clergy with that view. Many restrictions were laid on the different orders of monks with respect to the manner of admitting noviciates, and the number they were allowed to receive, with a view to diminish them. The republic of Venice at the same time made several new regulations about the

exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in their territory; and because the bishop of Brescia would not submit to them, his revenues were confiscated. *Ib.* P. 55.

At this time too an edict was issued in Naples by which the powers that had been exercised by the pope's nuncio were transferred to the secular judges and magistrates. This court was also determined to lessen the number of monasteries. With this view a strict enquiry was made into the state of their revenues. The lesser ones were suppressed, and it was forbidden to take the vows, or the habit, of any religious order whatever. And the king was requested by a printed petition to reunite to the crown the rights of patronage over all the churches of the kingdom which were possessed of royal fiefs or estates.

By an edict of the king of France in May A. D. 1768, none of the monastic orders could have more than two monasteries in Paris, or more than one in any other city. Also the houses of the Cordeliers in the whole kingdom were reduced one third. *De Loys Harmonie des Propheties*, p. 213.

A violent storm was raised which threatened great and imminent danger to the papal power this year by the proceedings respecting Parma. The ecclesiastics of this state had enjoyed very ex-

traordinary

traordinary privileges. Not only were their estates and effects free from all taxes, but they continued to be so after they were alienated, in consequence of which the public revenues were greatly reduced. An application that was made to the pope for the redress of this grievance having no effect, the duke published what he called *a pragmatic sanction*, or ordonance, by which his subjects were forbidden to appeal to Rome, and no benefices or dignities could be enjoyed by any foreigner, or any native without his permission.

The pope alarmed at this, threatened the duke with excommunication, &c. in the usual manner; declaring that the dutchy of Parma was his sovereignty, and the duke his feudatory, tho' the papal claims on that dutchy had been given up in former treaties. In return the duke ordered all the Jesuits in his territory amounting to one hundred and sixty to be seized in the night of the 17th of February, and sent into the ecclesiastical states, with a prohibition ever to return, even tho' they should be absolved from their vows; allowing the priests among them seventy crowns each for their lives, and the lay brothers forty. At the same time the brief of the pope was declared to be spurious, and treated with great contempt.

The conduct of the pope in this business gave great offence to the Catholic powers. On its be-
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ing communicated to the king of Naples, he took possession of Benevento and Ponte Corvo. He also laid claim to the duchies of Castro and Ronciglione. He declared the pope's bull to be spurious, and that which bore the title of *In cœna Domini*, which asserted that no ecclesiastics are subject to the temporal powers or lay jurisdiction, to be illegal; that the pope is only the premier among the bishops, and inferior to a general council, and that he has no direct jurisdiction over the subjects of other princes.

The king of France took this opportunity of seizing on Avignon and the county of Venaissin, as fiefs belonging to his crown, while the vice legate could only denounce spiritual penalties against those who seized on effects belonging to the church, to which no regard was paid. At the same time the religious houses in that territory were sealed up, those belonging to the Jesuits being first stripped of every thing of value in them. *An. Reg.* 1768, p. 46. The parliament of Paris also declared the pope's brief to be illegal, and derogatory to the honour of all sovereigns.

An application for the revocation of this brief was made by the ministers of France, Spain, and Vienna; but with great firmness the pope refused to comply with it; saying that, "their masters

" might

“ might seize his territories, and even his person,
 “ if they pleased, that he would make no resistance,
 “ if it was in his power ; but he would not betray
 “ the interest of the church. It was not,” he said,
 “ the custom of the holy see to revoke its judg-
 “ ments, which were never passed but after the
 “ most mature deliberation, and always with the
 “ concurrence of the holy spirit.”

The king of Portugal entered into these measures of the princes of the house of Bourbon, and sent a minister to Rome with orders to make a common cause with them. The republic of Venice also sent a memorial to the pope, soliciting the revocation of the brief against the duke of Parma. The duke of Modena laid hold of this opportunity of publishing an edict similar to that of the duke of Parma, by which the estates of the clergy in his dominions were made liable to the same imposts with those of his other subjects, and he gave notice to the monks of three of his monasteries to quit his dominions in three days, and sixteen others were threatened with the same fate. The court of Rome expressing its resentment at these measures, the duke revived his claim to the duchy of Ferrara.

The pope, steady to his purpose, opposed these innovations with remonstrances in a high tone of authority, but soon after, loaded with years and infirmities, he died. His successor was the cardinal
 Ganganelli,

Ganganelli, a man of great virtue and moderation, who assumed the name of Clement XIV. Yet when he was solicited by all the princes of the house of Bourbon to suppress the order of Jesuits, to make a cession of Avignon, &c. to France, and of Benevento, &c. to Naples, he shewed more firmness than was expected. In a letter which he wrote to the king of France, he said that he had suspended the effects of the brief against the duke of Parma, but that he could not consent to the suppression of the Jesuits, or give up any territory belonging to the holy see, tho' he should never oppose force to force. This, however, did not prevent the king of France from seizing Avignon, and annexing it to the kingdom of France, tho' he agreed to pay six millions of livres to the pope, and the king of Naples kept possession of Benevento.

Tho' the house of Austria did not adopt the violent measures of that of Bourbon, the states of Milan seized on the celebrated monastery of the Chartreuse de Bussia, one of the richest in Italy; and sequestered its effects, allowing to the monks an annual pension of an hundred pistoles each; and all the ecclesiastics were forbidden to alienate their estates without the consent of the sovereign.

The elector of Bavaria forbid the taking of any monastic vows before the age of twenty one. He ordered the prisons in the monasteries to be demolished,

lished, that no superior should have any jurisdiction, civil or criminal, over any member of the house ; that the begging of the Mendicants should be discontinued from the 1st of May A. D. 1770 ; that there should be no more hermits in his estates; and that the Recollects should receive no novices till their number should be reduced to four hundred. *De Loys*, p. 213.

In this year also the duke of Tuscany abolished the right of asylum in the churches of his estates ; and the same was done in others. *Ib.* p. 215.

The archbishop of Vienna, in a circular letter addressed to all the monasteries and chapters in his diocese, forbade the carrying of any relics of saints in procession, or to dress or adorn their statues or images in churches. *Ib.*

The duke of Saxe Gotha suppressed all the festivals of the saints. The elector of Mayence did the same, ordering some of them to be transferred to the Sunday following. *Ib.* p. 216.

At length, however, the moderation of this pope almost recovered what the rigour of his predecessor had lost. France gave up Avignon, and the king of Naples gave up his claim to Benevento, and as this pope in A. D. 1773 consented to the abolition of the order of the Jesuits, peace was made with the princes of the house of Bourbon,
and

and things were continued on their former footing. The states of Italy, however, still continued to curtail the power of the ecclesiastics. The Venetians refused to receive a bull from the pope, by which he had conferred two abbies in their states upon the cardinal Rezzonico; the senate having resolved that no person should possess any benefice in their territories who did not reside in them. Also two religious houses were suppressed in the dutchy of Milan.

In A. D. 1774, the inquisition in Spain was deprived of all its formidable power, being reduced to little more than a college of enquiry in religious matters. Its jurisdiction, and its prisons, were taken from it, and those powers restored to the civil tribunals.

In the year following a law was passed in the grand dutchy of Tuscany regulating the age, terms, and mode of admission of both sexes into the monastic orders, so as not only effectually to check all abuses in them, but gradually to promote their suppression, which seemed now to be an object with all the Catholic princes.

In this year also the regency of Milan abolished the court of inquisition. Venice continued inflexible to the claims of the popes, and the king of Naples ordered his bishops, under heavy penalties, to fill up the vacancies in those numerous benefices

es in his dominions, which had formerly been considered as the sole gift of the holy see.

It was in this year that the pope died, and was succeeded by the cardinal John Angelo Braschi, who assumed the name of Pius VI, and filled the papal chair till the year A. D. 1800. It is an argument in his favour that he was greatly esteemed by Benedict XIV, and employed by him in many affairs of importance, in which he always distinguished himself by his disinterestedness, zeal, and ability. He was also a great favourite with the late pope, and by him made cardinal, and treasurer of the apostolic chamber.

Till this period the emperors of the house of Austria had been bigotted Catholics, and the principal supporters of the papal power; but in this the emperor Joseph who was suspected to be an unbeliever, discovered very little attachment to the holy see. He began his reign with a great variety of reforms, both of a civil and ecclesiastical nature. In A. D. 1782, he suppressed all those religious orders of both sexes which were entirely devoted to a contemplative life, as the Carthusians, Benedictines, Bernardines, Dominicans, and Franciscans, &c. but he spared those nuns who were employed in the education of youth, and he allowed pensions to those who did not leave the Austrian dominions. More than fifty three monasteries were

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suppressed in Austria alone. About the same time he issued edicts of general toleration of religion, which greatly offended his bigotted subjects, especially in Brabant.

The pope, alarmed at these proceedings of the emperor, undertook a journey to Vienna, and was received with every mark of outward respect. What passed between him and the emperor is not certainly known. He, no doubt, remonstrated against his innovations in religion ; but there was no change in the emperors measures in consequence of it.

The far greatest blow that was received by the papal power in this period, was given to it in France, in consequence of the revolution that has taken place in that country. But some steps towards a general toleration were taken before this, in A. D. 1786, when, during the administration of the archbishop of Thoulouse, an edict was issued to enable the Protestants to register their births, marriages, and deaths, in a court of justice, and also to inherit property ; whereas before it was not known to the law that any such persons existed, tho' they were openly connived at. In the opposition that was made to the passing of this edict, it is remarkable that all professed themselves the friends of toleration, tho' some objected to this par-

ticular

ticular mode of granting it; such progress had good sense, and the maxims of sound policy, made in this period.

When the national assembly was formed in A. D. 1789, the finances appearing to be greatly deranged, and other resources failing, Taleyrand Perigord bishop of Autun, proposed the annual appropriation of fifty out of one hundred and fifty millions, to which the emoluments of the clergy amounted, and this bold and generous proposal, after much debating, was acceded to. This measure was not much objected to at Paris, but in the provinces, and especially in the south of France, this and other measures, which were apprehended to be aimed at the Catholic religion, excited violent tumults, and in some places the Protestants, at the instigation of the monks and the clergy, were set upon, and some of them massacred. This measure was followed by a new organization of the clergy, according to which all the officiating clergy were to be chosen by the people, and some part of the emoluments were taken from the richer benefices, and given to the poorer. *

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* A decree of the national assembly at the close of the year A. D. 1789, declaring the estates of the church to be national property, had filled the court of Rome with the greatest consternation. *New An. Register.*

At this time the people of Avignon seized the palace, took down the papal arms, and set up those of France, petitioning the national assembly that this territory might be annexed to the dominion of France. This occasioned a bloody contest at the place, which was in some measure quieted by troops sent for the purpose ; and at length it was determined in the assembly to annex that territory to France, and to give the pope a compensation for it.

The principal opposition to the new constitution coming from the clergy, a law was made by which they were required to take an oath to be faithful to it, and with this many of them complied ; but others not complying the obligation was enforced by a new decree, declaring that those who refused to take the *civic oath*, as it was termed, should loose their benefices, and become subject to other pains and penalties. On this a great number resigned their livings, and the pope declared his strong disapprobation of the conduct of the assembly. At first these non-juring clergymen were allowed a pension of five hundred livres a year, but in A. D. 1792 it was ordered to be withdrawn, and farther penalties were inflicted in case of any disturbance being occasioned by them. Here the king interposed his *veto*, when another decree was passed authorizing the banishment of any non-juring
ring

ring priest, on the petition of twenty citizens, in twenty four hours; but the king again interposed his *veto*. But when the king had no longer any power, that decree was passed, tho' the distress occasioned by it was very great. Some of these priests were committed to prison till they could be sent out of the country, and some were massacred by the populace. Many of these emigrant priests were hospitably received in England, and a public provision was made for them.

In the constitution of A. D. 1793, it was declared that all persons had a right to assemble peaceably for public worship, and that no favour should be shewn to any particular sects; by which the establishment of the Catholic, or any particular mode of religion, was entirely set aside. On this Gobet archbishop of Paris, with other members of the ecclesiastical body, entered the hall of the assembly, and solemnly renounced both their functions, and the christian religion. Several of the clergy who were members of the assembly did the same, and Gregoire was the only one of them who had the courage to profess himself a christian, tho' he said the emoluments of his bishopric were ready to be devoted to the service of the republic.

With a view, no doubt, to the abolishing of christianity, and if possible to consign it to oblivion, the christian æra was ordered to be disused,

and that of the French republic to be adopted, the year *one* corresponding to A. D. 1793. The names of the months were also changed, and instead of the division of time into weeks of seven days, a new one into tens was introduced.

Soon after this the churches in Paris were shut up by an order of the commune, but this causing a great clamour, they were opened again, and the freedom of religious worship again declared. On this occasion Roberstierre was thought to have acquired much popularity, by taking part with the people in defence of religion.

In A. D. 1794, at the proposal of Roberstierre, it was decreed that the French nation acknowledged the existence of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul, and that the worship of the Supreme Being consists in the practice of the duties of man. At the same time the perfect freedom of religious worship was again asserted, and a festival day was appointed to be celebrated on the 8th of June in honour of the Supreme Being. As it was still generally supposed that the assembly meant to suppress the christian religion, it was thought proper to pass a decree on the 21st of February A. D. 1795, and it was done unanimously, for securing the freedom of religious worship and opinions. This encouraged some of the Catholics not only to frequent their places of worship, but to appoint a synod

nod for the purpose of seeking a reconciliation with the pope. This, however was not permitted, but the Catholics were left in the enjoyment of religious liberty, together with all other persons.

That in this revolution no respect was paid to the interest of the pope is not to be wondered at, since in the general coalition of the other powers against the French, he did not fail to act his part. He published a manifesto, (in which he recommended a general armament in order to the extermination of the friends of the revolution, as men without faith, and without law; offering at the same time absolution to criminals who should take up arms for the church and the state; excepting none from this rising in mass but children, old men, and priests, who in the language of the manifesto were to raise up their hands on the mountain, while the faithful fought in the plain. *New Annual Register for A. D. 1798*, p. 303.

Considering how deeply the pope and the court of Rome were interested in the French revolution, it was impossible but that they must have been hostile to it; but the papal power, both in spirituals and temporals, was now inconsiderable. Such as it was, however, it was exerted when the French invaded Italy in A. D. 1797, the pope sending troops, it is said, to join the Austrians. In consequence of this, as soon as Buonaparte was at

liberty, he began his march towards Rome ; and the opposition he met with was so feeble, that it was evident he might have proceeded without any obstruction, and have overturned the papal government, if that had been his object.

Then, however, the pope, sensible of his danger and of his weakness, addressed a submissive letter to that general, and a treaty was concluded between them, by which the pope renounced all connexion with the powers that were coalesced against France. He allowed the annexation of Avignon to it, and also gave up Bologna, and some other places, besides advancing a sum of money, and delivering up a great number of statues, pictures, manuscripts, &c.

Conceiving fresh hopes from the extraordinary exertions that were made by the Austrians in A. D. 1798, the pope was encouraged to join his forces to theirs, and to put them under the command of an Austrian general. This being an evident infraction of the treaty, a French army was again sent into the papal territory ; and meeting with no great resistance, they advanced very near to Rome, having in their way taken Loretto, and carried off what they could find of the treasure that had been lodged in that celebrated place of pilgrimage, together with the famous image of the virgin, her wardrobe, &c.

In

In these circumstances of alarm, the pope again addressed a letter to Buonaparte, and sent ambassadors to conclude a peace. In this letter he called him his *dear son*, and gave him his paternal and apostolic benediction. On the 19th of February the peace was signed on terms nearly the same with those of the preceding year, Buonaparte being unwilling to take advantage of the pope's situation. He, however, agreed to set at liberty all persons who had been confined in Rome for their political opinions, and to send to Paris to make an apology for the murder of Mr. Basseville, the French envoy, in a popular tumult.

But the spirit of revolution had pervaded the ecclesiastical state before the arrival of the French armies in Italy. This spirit, which no papal edicts could charm, and no punishment suppress, was now aided by pecuniary embarrassments, in consequence of the heavy exactions of the French. In this state of things the pope and the cardinals could hardly make their appearance without being insulted, and the friends of revolution applied to the French ambassador Joseph Buonaparte for their assistance in effecting it. But neither he nor any of the French officers, gave them the least encouragement.

The popular tumult increasing, the French did every thing in their power to suppress it, and in

doing this general Duplot was killed. But tho' the papal government had no concern in this, the French ambassador left Rome upon it; and the French directory, eager to lay hold on any occasion to extend their influence, directed their army under general Berthier to enter Rome, on the pretence of revenging the murder of Bassville and Duplot. Being joined by the populace, they proclaimed the *Roman Republic*; and no offers made by the pope could now prevent the total abolition of the papal government; a kind of provisional government being formed under the denomination of *consuls* composed of six members, but for ten years the French were to have a *veto* on their proceedings.

The cardinals, and the more wealthy supporters of the former system, being taken into custody, procured their liberty by great sacrifices, and some escaped in disguise. The pope in a kind of stupefaction remained in Rome, but this not being approved of he went to Sienna, and thence to a place near Florence. But the grand duke being required to dismiss him, he intended to go to Sardinia, but on account of his age and infirmities he was permitted to continue there some time longer.

But the French directory, having had proof of his insincerity, did not chuse to trust him in Italy; and by their orders he was removed to Valence in
France,

France, where, however, he was treated with due respect, and permitted to exercise his spiritual functions. Still jealous of his neighbourhood to Italy, the directory gave orders for his removal to Dijon; and the notice of this, finding him in a weak exhausted state, operated like the sentence of death, on this venerable old man, and he survived it but a short time, dying on the 29th of August, A. D. 1799, in the eighty second year of his age. Not long after Buonaparte being in power, the body, which had not been buried, was ordered to be interred with all the honours due to his rank, and a monument to be erected on the place of his burial. *New An. Reg.* 1799, p. 411, 483.

This pope, tho' distinguished for his piety, lost the respect of his subjects on account of his personal vanity, and especially his attachment to his nephews, whom he advanced and enriched beyond their merits. He deserved praise for the addition he made to the museum in the Vatican, and his undertaking to drain the Pontinò marsh; but this contributed to exhaust the people, and enrich his nephews, and was never completed.

After a moderate interval, another pope was elected, and took the name of Pius VII; and at the peace in A. D. 1802, he was allowed to retain the sovereignty of all the ecclesiastical states, except Bologna, some other places in its neighbourhood,

hood, and Avignon in France; when it seemed to be universally taken for granted, that no future pope would be any thing more than the spiritual head of the Catholic church, and that the ecclesiastical states would be converted into a Republic. But it was an object with Buonaparte to appear the friend of religion, and especially of that which was professed by the majority of the people of France, and his inclination was decisive.

In the shameful abandonment of religion by many of the French clergy, Gregoire the bishop of Blois, who had before distinguished himself by his eloquent defence of the Jews, stood alone in the national convention against the torrent of atheism, and yet was always as zealous a republican as any man. In the state of persecution, as it may be called, to which the Catholics were afterwards reduced, and in which great numbers had apostatized, he retained all his laudable zeal, and published pastoral letters to revive the spirit of his church.

In A. D. 1798 he procured a national council to be held, in which the state of the church was represented as indeed deplorable in every respect. In order to restore it, the most conciliatory measures were adopted to compose their differences, and all the remaining clergy were exhorted to the assiduous discharge of their functions. They acknowledged the supremacy of the pope as of divine right,

right, and professed their adherence to all the articles of the catholic creed. The zealous bishop concluded with an eloquent address to the assembly, in which he said, "The political world is shaken "to its center, the inquisition and despotism, tyrannical civil and religious, are crumbled to the "dust;" and he ventured to prognosticate the approach of the glorious times which are the subject of many prophecies, when the Jews will be restored and converted. It does not appear, however, that this assembly of the clergy had any considerable consequences.

In the mean time an attempt was made by the enemies of christianity to substitute in the place of christian worship one of simple deism, and the government favoured it by allowing the *theophilantropisti*, as they called themselves, the use of the churches. An attempt of the same kind had been made in London some years before, and a scheme of the same nature had been proposed by Voltaire. But it appeared from all these schemes, and from this in France as well as the others, that where there is no belief of revealed religion, there will be no zeal for any, sufficient to keep up any form of worship. These societies, favoured as they were, sunk gradually into neglect and contempt.

At length, after the French nation had continued several years without any establishment of religion,
and

and all the denominations of christians seemed to be well contented with the liberty of professing their own, and maintaining their ministers, the policy of Buonaparte led him to make an agreement with the pope; in consequence an advantage was given to the Catholics as the most numerous, but two other, denominations, viz. the Lutherans and the Reformed, the next in importance, have salaries for their ministers from the state; but all other classes of christians may be tolerated or not, at the pleasure of the government.

According to this *Concordat*, as the instrument signed by the pope and Buonaparte was called, the Catholic religion is to be professed by the consuls; the bishoprics, and also the parishes, are to be arranged in some new manner; the bishops, who are to swear fidelity to the government, and to be native Frenchmen, are to be nominated by the first consul, by which he undoubtedly gains a considerable accession of influence, and canonical institution is to be given by the pope, for which, no doubt, he will receive some acknowledgment, and all the churches are to be at the disposal of the bishops.

No act of the court of Rome can be published in France before it has been examined and approved by the government, nor can any ecclesiastical assembly be held, or any holyday except Sunday

be established, without its authority. No religious ceremony can be performed out of the church in any town in which there is a temple destined for any other mode of worship. Bells are not to ring without the permission of the local police. No preachers are directly or indirectly to inveigh against any other mode of worship, or the ministers of it; nor are they to give the nuptial benediction to any but those who have contracted marriage before the civil officer. For all religious acts the ancient calendar is to be used, and the day of rest for the public functionaries is to be Sunday.

None besides Frenchmen can be ministers of any mode of worship. No articles of faith can be published or taught before the government has authorized it, nor can any mode of discipline be introduced without the same authority. There are to be two academies for the education of ministers of the Augustan confession, and Geneva for those of the Reformed. The professors in all the academies are to be appointed by the first consul. In all these seminaries those who are designed for the ministry are to study a certain time, and to have a testimonial of their good morals. All the regulations for the interior police of these seminaries, the number and quality of the professors, and their mode of teaching, &c. are to be approved by the government.

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This scheme is not likely to give satisfaction to any except those of the Lutheran and the Reformed religions, who gain considerably by it, tho' they are laid under some disagreeable restrictions. The Catholics loose much of their former consequence, and the friends of perfect liberty in matters of religion, unitarians and others, are wholly at the mercy of those who are at the head of government, who may tolerate or persecute them at their pleasure.

Defective as this constitution must appear to the friends of equal religious liberty, which is the natural right of all men, it is a great improvement on the former established religion of France, and in many respects it is superior to that of England, which provides for no ministers besides those who can subscribe the thirty nine articles of their church, excludes all others from the benefit of the national universities, and holds out the punishment of confiscation of goods, and eventually of imprisonment for life, to Unitarians ; besides laying all the tolerated sects under many civil disabilities, none of them being eligible to any office of power or trust under the government, or even in any corporate town.

How infinitely inferior are both these constitutions to that of the United States of America, in which I have the happiness to reside, where the

government

government takes no more cognizance of religion than it does of philosophy, but every person is at liberty to provide for himself in that respect as well as in any other. And the happy effects of this universal liberty are very conspicuous. In consequence of no particular sect being favoured by the government, they all live on good terms with each other, religious truth has all the advantage that its advocates can wish for, a native or a stranger may preach or publish whatever he pleases; and tho' no form of religion is particularly favoured, there is as much of a general belief, and open profession, of religion as in England or France: Its influence on practice is certainly not less. It were to be wished that this was more conspicuous than it is in all countries.

SECTION IV.

Of the suppression of the Jesuits.

THIS period was distinguished by the entire suppression of the order of Jesuits, an event as unexpected as it was extraordinary; shewing in the most striking light the great difference between this and the preceding period, when any attempt of the kind would have been hazardous for the peace of any Catholic country in Europe; and this measure was begun in Portugal, and followed by Spain, countries the most subservient to the papal power, whose chief supporters the Jesuits had been.

The real causes of the extreme animosity with which the Jesuits were pursued, and their extermination urged, are matters of conjecture; but the probability is, that it was their frequent interference in the politics of states. Their supposed wealth, as well as their power and influence, might have been some object, tho' they were not in general so wealthy

wealthy as had been imagined. In Paraguay it is said they paid little regard to any orders from the court of Spain, and sometimes opposed the governors with force of arms, and that they almost monopolized the trade of the Spanish West Indies. This, however, is exceedingly improbable. As to their doctrines, such as that of the lawfulness of killing sovereign princes when the interest of the church required it, &c, they were become obsolete, and not having of many years been acted upon, they were little regarded, tho' they were urged among other pretences for the severity with which they were treated.

On the 1st of October A. D. 1758, as the king of Portugal was returning to Lisbon from the country, he was attacked by three persons in disguise, and tho' not killed, was dangerously wounded. For this many persons were apprehended, and some executed; and it being suspected that some of the Jesuits were concerned in the business, a congregation was appointed by the pope to make inquiry concerning it; when one hundred and seventeen of them were sentenced to spend their lives in the fortress of Mazagan, or in the island of Terceira; others were sent to Rome, and none suffered to remain in the country. But that the pope did not give satisfaction to the court of Portugal, is e-

vident, for about the same time the pope's nuncio was dismissed from the court of Portugal, and the Portuguese minister left Rome.

That the court of Spain received any particular provocation from the Jesuits, does not at all appear; so that its conduct with respect to them, must be ascribed to some general policy. In what manner soever it was brought about, this great measure was determined upon in a council held January 29th, A. D. 1767, the commission for the execution of it was issued February 27th; and on the night of March 31st, while the Jesuits, vigilant as that body of men always were, and having the most extensive correspondence, were not in the least apprized of any danger, six of their houses in Madrid were surrounded with troops, and the occupiers of them conducted to Carthegena.

Three days after this the same measures were taken at Barcelona, and in every other part of Spain. Their effects were every where seized, and their persons conveyed to the ecclesiastical state in Italy, all the native Spaniards among them being allowed a small pension for their lives. But this was to be withdrawn if any of them ever quitted the pope's territories, or gave the court of Spain any just cause of resentment. Moreover, if any Jesuit whatever, should write any thing by way of

apology,

apology, or justification, tending to disturb the peace of the kingdom, all the pensions should be taken away. The return of any of them, and all correspondence with them, were strictly forbidden, and all publications on the subject were declared to be high treason.

The account of this transaction was received in Rome with the greatest astonishment, and while the first impression remained, nine hundred and seventy Jesuits arrived at Civita Vecchia ; but the pope gave orders that they should land, and all his remonstrances with the court of Spain proving fruitless, the republic of Geneva was induced by the court of France to permit them to settle in those towns in Corsica, which then belonged to it ; but it was a long time before these, or those that were sent after them, could be set on shore, there having been much difficulty in settling the terms on which they could be received. At length it is said that two thousand three hundred were landed in that island ; and as they had been at sea in crowded ships, three months, in the hottest season of the year, and some of the vessels had suffered by storms, many had died of the hardships to which they had been exposed, and with which they were ill prepared by their former modes of life to encounter. This too was in addition to what they must have suffered in mind, in consequence of being separated

ted from their friends, and the suddenness of the calamity. Their sufferings, however, were small compared with those of which the society, tho' not these particular members of it, had been the occasion from the time of their institution.

The orders of the court of Spain were executed with the same secrecy and effect in all their colonies. In Mexico seven hundred Jesuits were arrested, and of those alone, it is said, that their wealth amounted to seventy seven millions of piastres. Also their effects in merchandize were valued at a prodigious sum, and in the southern provinces, and the West Indies, they were said to have been richer than in Mexico. But no opposition was made to the measures of the court, not even in Paraguay.

The persecution of this obnoxious order did not end with Spain and Portugal. On the 13th of May of the same year the parliament of Paris published an arret, by which the Jesuits were declared to be the enemies of sovereigns, and of the tranquillity of kingdoms, and they were all ordered to quit the kingdom in fifteen days, under pain of criminal prosecution, and were forbidcen ever to return. Also the king was requested to apply to the pope, and all the catholic sovereigns, to engage him to abolish a society so dangerous to christianity and to government.

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On the 20th of November the same storm fell on the Jesuits in Naples and Sicily; and they were all conveyed to the pope's dominions, notwithstanding the strongest remonstrances against it. These amounted, it is said, to fifteen hundred, and there were still eight hundred of the Portuguese Jesuits then alive, and unprovided for. There was also at that time a great scarcity of corn in the ecclesiastical states. Their expulsion from Malta quickly followed that from Naples, and it was done at the request of the king.

The disposal of the Jesuits occasioned much debate in the congregations which were held for that purpose in Rome. At length it was determined to support the society, which had been of so much use to the holy see, and to intercede with the Catholic princes in their favour. They could not, however, have much prospect of success. For at this time such was the rancour with which this order was pursued, that in almost all the Catholic states, the reading of their works, even on subjects of mathematics and science, was forbidden.

When the French got possession of Corsica, the Jesuits were banished from that island, and more than two thousand of them were landed on the territory of Genoa, and thence conducted in a destitute and starved condition to the ecclesiasti-

cal states, to the great affliction of the pope, whose remonstrances had no effect to pacify the indignation of the house of Bourbon; these princes insisting on the total abolition of the order.

In this state of things the pope wrote an affecting letter to the queen of Hungary, in which he said, " We respect the hand of those sovereigns by whom God now corrects, visits, and humbles us; and tho' it were in our power to repel force by force, we would nevertheless prefer humiliation to triumph; being convinced that the piety of monarchs is our strength, and that our best arms are tears and prayers. Our whole defence is in the hands of God, who softens and nerves the hearts of princes." How different is this from the language of former popes, that is of popes in different circumstances.

Had this pope Clement XIII lived much longer, and retained the same obstinacy, there might have been an irreparable breach between the papacy, and those powers which had always been the principal supports of it. But he dying, a pontiff of more prudence, viz. Ganganalli (Clement XIV) succeeded him, and after some time consented to the suppression of the order of Jesuits, making their general Ricci a bishop, and providing for the subsistence of the others according to their circumstances.

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When this was done it did not appear that this celebrated, and so much vilified, society, had the wealth it was supposed to possess. At least no great treasures were found in their possession, and as some of the other orders, particularly the Benedictines, had of late exerted themselves at least as much as they had ever done in the cause of general literature, their suppression was not attended with any inconvenience to the public, and the apprehensions of their enemies were quieted. Pere Boscovich, whom I saw at Paris in A. D. 1774, bitterly lamented this event, and blamed the weakness of their general, and of the pope, on the occasion.

SECTION V.

Of the State of Religion in Poland.

THE reformation was received in a very early period in Poland, and many of the provinces which constituted that kingdom having been of the Greek religion, both that and the Catholic had been equally favoured by their princes. The same toleration was now extended to the Protestants, whether Lutherans, or the Reformed; and Sigismund Augustus in A. D. 1563, passed a law in the diet at Wilna, by which every person professing the christian religion was declared to have in all respects the same civil privileges. The same was confirmed at the diet at Grodno in A. D. 1568. It was likewise included among the privileges granted at the diet of Lublin the year following, when the grand dutchy of Lithuania was annexed to the crown of Poland. *Annual Register*, A. D. 1767.

At this time the Catholics were but few in comparison with the other inhabitants of Poland, and the
grand

grand marshal Firley, who convened the first diet of the republic, in which the crown was made elective, was a Protestant. Then also “ a perpetual
 “ peace between the Greeks, the Catholics, and
 “ the Protestants, was made a fundamental law
 “ of the republic, which every sovereign was
 “ to take an oath to preserve. All the nobles a-
 “ greed in their own names, and for their succes-
 “ sors, to shed no blood, or to inflict on any per-
 “ son the penalty of confiscation of goods, defama-
 “ tion, imprisonment, or exile, on account of a
 “ difference of faith, or the rites of their churches;
 “ and if any should violate this solemn compact,
 “ they engaged to oppose him, tho’ he should shel-
 “ ter himself under any decree, or other judicial
 “ proceeding.”

But by the great zeal of Sigismund III, in the course of a long reign, a great proportion of the Polish nobles became Catholics; so that tho’ at the beginning of his reign only five members of the senate were of that religion, at his death they were a great majority of them. And means were found at the treaty of Oliva in A. D. 1660, to keep the dissidents entirely out of the senate.

Tho’ in the reign of John Casimir, when the Unitarians were banished, all the other dissidents were assured that they should be continued in the enjoyment of all their rights and privileges, yet in
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the next reign all the causes in which they were concerned were decided by the same rules, and all the causes respecting *religion* being deemed the *cause of God*, they could have no advocates to plead for them.

Farther, at the treaty concluded with Peter the Great in A. D. 1717, much art was used to have an article inserted, in consequence of which, by a construction not thought of at the time, the dissenters were not permitted to build any more churches than had been used before the year A. D. 1632, when, for the sake of peace, they consented to build no new ones in any of the royal cities. In consequence of this, all that they had built after that time were ordered to be pulled down, and even those nobles who had ministers in their houses, and the ministers themselves, were punished by fines, imprisonment, and banishment. Also, all their causes were decided in the inferior courts, in which the clergy chiefly presided; whereas by the antient constitution all causes of an ecclesiastical nature were to be decided in the general diet only. Many protested against this decree, and even some Catholics, and this circumstance alone, according to the constitution of Poland, which requires that all the decrees of the diet should be unanimous, was sufficient to invalidate it. Peter the great wrote a letter expressing his displeasure on this occasion,

sion, and the king declared, in an edict, that he would maintain the dissidents in the possession of their former privileges. But neither the letter, nor the edict was of any use to them.

At the diet in A. D. 1736, not only was the constitution of A. D. 1717 confirmed, but the dissidents were excluded from all public offices. It was also declared that if they should apply to any foreign power, they should be considered as traitors, tho' foreign powers were made guarantees to their privileges at the treaty of Oliva, when it was stipulated that all the subjects of the kingdom of Poland, of what condition or religion soever, should enjoy the same rights and privileges which they had before.

In A. D. 1764 the preceding constitutions were confirmed. In A. D. 1766, however, the dissidents applied to the powers which had been guarantees of the treaty of Oliva, to use their mediation with the king and the republic in their favour; and in consequence of this the courts of Petersburg, Berlin, Great Britain, and Denmark, presented memorials in their favour, to be laid before the diet. But such was the violence of party spirit, that after an inflammatory speech of the bishop of Wilna, it was decreed that the dissidents had violated the laws of the republic in applying to foreign powers, and that their religion should not be tolerated; but the
king

king deferred the execution of the law at that time. The mediating powers made a fresh application, but with no more immediate effect than before, tho' a body of Russian troops had marched into the heart of the country.

At length, however, the Catholic party thought proper to use more moderation, and agreed that the dissidents should enjoy their antient privileges, and repair their churches, or build new ones, wherever they had been allowed before ; but they were not to enlarge their extent. Also, where they had not churches, they were permitted to have divine service in their own houses, and the Greek priests might baptize, marry, and bury as formerly, provided that the established clergy had their usual fees ; and a college of bishops was directed to endeavour to remove all their difficulties. But the bishop of Wilna and some others refused to accede to this, tho' the king was thought to be a friend to toleration.

This decree, and especially the putting of the dissidents into the power of the catholic bishops, who were their declared enemies, gave no satisfaction to those powers who had guaranteed the treaty of Oliva, and the empress of Russia was the first to express her disapprobation. On this, tho' the dissident nobles were reduced to little more

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than two hundred families, exclusive of those in the dutchy of Courland they entered into confederacies in different places for the support of their rights, the cities of Thorn, Elbing, and Dantzick, joined them, and the empress of Russia declared her resolution to support them, to the utmost of her power. Also the kings of Prussia, England, Sweden and Denmark made similar declarations, but Russia alone took an active part in the business.

This example of the dissidents was followed by many Catholics who likewise formed confederacies for the redress of other grievances, acknowledging the justice of the claims of the dissidents. These were distinguished from the dissidents by the denomination of *Malecontents*, and prince Radzivil, who had opposed the election of the king, and had left the country on that account, was made the marshal of them. In order to restore the peace of the country, an extraordinary diet was called, in which, after much violent opposition on the part of the Catholics, and the interference of the Russians, who took some of them into custody, it was settled that the Catholic should be the dominant religion in Poland, that the kings should always be of it, but that the dissidents should enjoy all civil rights, that a superior tribunal should be appointed, consisting of an equal number of the three religions,

Catholics,

Catholics, Greeks, and Protestants, the president of which should be of each alternately, and that all causes relating to the dissidents should be decided in it.

Notwithstanding this seeming pacification, the offence given by the Russians to all the parties, by their interference was so great, that numberless new confederacies were formed against them; but acting without any concert, they were all overpowered, tho' not till after a most dreadful devastation of the country, such as we have no example of in modern times. This state of constant war continued several years, and in A. D. 1770, was accompanied with a plague which made great havoc in the country, carrying off, it is said, two hundred and fifty thousand persons. This scene of disorder terminated in the empress of Russia, the emperor of Germany, and the king of Prussia, making a partition of a great part of the country, in A. D. 1772, each taking what was contiguous to his own dominions notwithstanding a spirited manifesto of the king against this flagrant act of injustice.

The troubles of this unhappy country at length ceasing, by the all prevailing influence of the empress of Russia, the privileges of the dissidents were ascertained and secured to them in A. D. 1775; and they were allowed churches and schools

even

even in Warsaw. They had also a right of appeal in all cases of grievance to a tribunal, in which a certain number of their own commons were assessors. Still, however, they were debarred from a place in the senate, and from occupying any office in the department of government. *An. Reg.* 1775, P. 155.

In A. D. 1793 all that remained of the antient country of Poland, was on various frivolous pretences, divided by the same powers that had made a division of a part of it before; so that Poland has not at present any existence as an independent state.

SECTION VI.

Events in Great Britain.

BY way of opposition to the Puritans, who were advocates for the principles of liberty, and for restraining the power of the crown, the clergy in general, through the whole of the reign of the Stuarts, advanced the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance ; and in consequence of this they were not a little embarrassed when they found that they had a Catholic prince, bent upon introducing his own religion. In these circumstances they became friendly to the nonconformists, and were willing to make a common cause with them against the common enemy. But when they were released from their fears by the expulsion of James II, little of the moderation they had then shewn appeared.

King

King William, educated in the principles of toleration, professing a religion different from that of the church of England, and his cause having been espoused by the Dissenters with at least as much warmth as by the episcopalians, naturally wished to favour both alike. But tho' no opposition was made to the *act of toleration*, which passed on his accession, and which exempted the Dissenters from the penalties of several of the laws by which they had been oppressed, (but which imposed upon them an obligation to subscribe all the doctrinal articles of the church of England) he could not prevail so far as to procure the repeal of the corporation and test acts, tho' in his speech from the throne he expressed a wish that the parliament would make room for the admission of all Protestants who were willing and able to serve him. Also, an attempt to enlarge the establishment, and comprehend many of the Dissenters in it, was defeated by the ecclesiastical commission which was appointed for that purpose.

At this time some of the very high churchmen thinking James to be still king *de jure*, and William only *de facto*, refused to take the oath of allegiance to the latter, and were in consequence deprived of their benefices. And this division of the church was kept up many years, especially in Scotland, tho' the party was never numerous.

The attention which had been given to subjects of theology from the time of the reformation, could not fail to have produced a variety of opinions in the members of all christian churches, nor could all the vigilance of laws prevent the freedom of writing and publishing. Least of all could it be supposed that in a constitution so free as that of Great Britain, all the members, even of the established church, should continue to hold *bona fide*, all their thirty nine articles. In reality there were but comparatively few of them who did so. The generality openly disclaimed the doctrines of original sin and predestination, which are clearly enough contained in them, and were advocates for the Arminian doctrines.

In the country at large no small number disbelieved the doctrine of the trinity, and at the accession of king William many of them, the disciples and friends of Mr. Biddle, were proper *unitarians*, believing the simple humanity of Jesus Christ. These were so far from being allowed the benefit of the toleration, that, with the approbation of christians of all other denominations, a new law was made, in which that doctrine was called *blasphemous*, and it was made punishable by fine and imprisonment to profess it. It seems probable, that this law was occasioned by the publication of

many

many *unitarian tracts* in three small quarto volumes at this time.

During the reign of king William, the high church party were not able to do more than frustrate his endeavours to extend the bounds of religious liberty. But in the latter part of the reign of queen Anne, they urged their intolerant maxims as much as they had ever done, and as many Dissenters were at that time in the habit of communicating occasionally with the church of England, by which means the object of the corporation and test acts were defeated with respect to them, in A. D. 1711, they procured an act to be passed by which any person in office resorting to any meeting house of Dissenters for public worship, forfeited twenty pounds, and was disqualified for holding any office for the future; so that no persons in the customs, excise, or common council, &c. could enter the doors of any meeting house.

In the last year of queen Anne the high church party carried their intolerance still farther by an act which, in order to prevent the increase of Dissenters, ordered that the education of all their children should be put into the hands of full and entire conformists, and that if any tutor or schoolmaster should attend any conventicle, he should suffer three months imprisonment, and be disqualified for teaching for the future. This act was to have

taken effect on the 14th of August A. D. 1714, which was the very day on which the queen died. But George I, convinced of the extreme unreasonableness of these acts, which were aimed at the steadiest friends of his family (for at that time, and long after, the clergy in general were in the interest of the family of James) procured the repeal of them in the fifth year of his reign, tho' the magistrates were still not allowed to carry the badges of their office into a meeting house.

Freedom of enquiry was by no means confined to the Dissenters. In the reign of queen Anne William Whiston, professor of mathematics in the university of Cambridge, wrote in defence of that doctrine which is generally called *Arianism*, and on that account was deprived of his professorship. The convocation also censured his writings, and would have proceeded against him as a heretic, but the queen who either had more good sense, or was better advised, refused to sanction their sentence.

Mr. Whiston was soon followed by Dr. Samuel Clarke, rector of St. James's Westminster, a man of great learning, and of a most respectable character; but tho' he declined repeating his subscription to the thirty nine articles, he did not leave the church, as Mr. Whiston did, or resign his benefice. Following these examples, Mr. Pierce, and

and other eminent Dissenters, became converts to the Arian doctrine; and in a short time this became the prevailing sentiment, not only of the more liberal Dissenters, but of the clergy of the established church, while the proper unitarians, or Socinians, were very few, and little noticed, at least as such. Dr. Lardner, a most learned defender of christianity, was known to be of this class, but he published nothing in defence of his principles till late in life; and even so late as the year A. D. 1770, I do not recollect the names of more than about half a dozen dissenting ministers who avowed that opinion, and it was not openly espoused by any of the clergy.

Notwithstanding this, the doctrine of the proper humanity of Christ, made its way into the established church, and a considerable number of clergymen, who were known to have entertained that sentiment, tho' there might have been some Arians among them, in A. D. 1772, joined some intelligent and liberal minded professors of medicine and law, in a petition to parliament to be released from the obligation to subscribe the thirty nine articles of the church, which at the university of Oxford was required at matriculation, when it could not be supposed that those who subscribed could have considered the subject, so as to have formed any opinion about the articles

of faith to which they professed to give their consent. But such was the dread of innovation, and the apprehension that a concession in this point, would lead to others, that the application was negatived by a great majority of the members of parliament, so that lawyers and physicians, educated at the universities, are still under an obligation to profess the orthodox faith.

One of these petitioning clergymen was *Theophilus Lindsey*, then rector of Catterick in Yorkshire, who, despairing of obtaining any relief in this way, resigned his valuable living, and after struggling with many difficulties, for some time, opened a place of unitarian worship in London, making use of the liturgy of the church of England, as reformed by Dr. Clarke and himself. This scheme, from the excellent character of the man, met with great encouragement, and drew so much attention to the subject, that from this time the number of unitarians in England has greatly increased; and the trinitarians and Arians among the inquisitive and learned christians, have proportionably diminished, both in the church, and among the Dissenters, so that of late several whole congregations have become avowed unitarians, tho' the great majority are still trinitarians.

The controversy which most of all agitated the church of England in this period, beginning

in the reign of George I, was that which was occasioned by a discourse of Hoadley, then bishop of Bangor, thence commonly called the *Bangorian controversy*, from the saying of our Saviour, "My kingdom is not of this world." He maintained that the clergy ought to have no temporal jurisdiction whatever. This gave great offence to the high clergy, and the great number of publications on both sides of the question, were the means of throwing much light on the subject of the different provinces of church and state; and the cause of religious liberty was a gainer by it.

From this time to the death of George II, liberality of sentiment gained ground among the clergy, especially in the upper ranks, and they were in proportion favourably disposed towards the Dissenters, who were also favoured by the court, while the great bulk of the inferior clergy were generally disaffected, and friends to the exiled family of the Stuarts. But on the accession of George III, a change soon took place, the king receiving into favour those who had been the enemies of his family, but whose maxims of government were high, and who had now no expectation from the pretender. On this the clergy in general, being favoured by the court, became advocates for such high maxims of government as they had preached up in the reign of the Stuarts, and the Dissenters,

as the friends of liberty, were equally frowned upon by church and state, now in as strict alliance as ever.

The aversion to all innovation in matters relating to the church, appeared in A. D. 1772, when a motion in the house of commons to quiet the possession of the subject against dormant claims of the church was negatived.

It having been observed by several of the speakers in the house against the petition of the clergy, that if the Dissenters, who derived no advantage from their subscription to the doctrinal articles of the church, to which they were made subject in the act of toleration, should apply for relief, they would be favourably heard, the hint was taken, and the application being made, it passed the house of commons; but by the influence of the bishops, was rejected in the house of lords. The same being moved for the year following A. D. 1773, its fate was the same, being admitted by the commons, and rejected by the lords. At the same time a motion being made to abolish the subscriptions in the universities, it was rejected in both houses.

In proportion as the Dissenters lost ground in court favour in this reign, the Catholics gained it. In A. D. 1778, they were released, by the unanimous vote of both houses, from several grievous penalties to which they had been subjected in former

mer times, when danger was really apprehended from them. For popish priests officiating according to their religion were punishable with death, papists educated abroad forfeited their estates to the next Protestant heirs, and Catholics could not obtain any legal property by purchase.

This favour granted to the Catholics encouraged the Dissenters in A. D. 1779, to renew their application for relief in the matter of subscription, and in these circumstances the opposition to it was inconsiderable. But tho' they were no longer obliged to subscribe to any of the articles of the church of England, they were made liable to be called upon for a declaration of their belief in the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. In fact, however, few had ever been called upon to subscribe, and I never heard of the declaration being required of any person.

From this time no farther application was made in favour of the Dissenters till the year A. D. 1787, when it was thought that the increasing liberality of the times promised a greater extension of religious liberty. It was therefore moved in the house of commons to repeal the corporation and test acts, which excluded Dissenters from offices of trust and emolument. But tho' no such exclusive laws existed even in Catholic countries, or in any part of the world except in England, the sovereigns
being

being every where else at liberty to employ whom they thought proper in public offices, and tho' the motion was ably supported, it was rejected by one hundred and seventy eight votes against one hundred. The same motion was repeated in A. D. 1789, and with more appearance of effect; for the votes in favour of the repeal were one hundred and two, and those of the opposers only one hundred and twenty two.

Encouraged by this large minority, the Dissenters imagined that if they exerted themselves in procuring petitions for the redress of their grievances, from all parts of the kingdom, and from Dissenters of all denominations (because it had been said that only a part of the body, and those the most turbulent, were concerned about it) they could not fail to succeed, as they had done with respect to the business of subscription. But whether it was on account of these meetings to procure petitions, or the dread of innovation in general, from the recent example of France, the clergy formed similar meetings, and by their preaching, writings, and other means, excited a more violent opposition than had ever been known before; so that tho' the motion was most ably supported by Mr. Fox, in A. D. 1790, it was rejected by two hundred and ninety four votes against one hundred and five.

This

This decisive majority put an end to all the hopes the Dissenters had too fondly entertained of any extension of their toleration in the present reign. *

In this same year a large body of the Catholics, with a view to obtain the repeal of some very severe laws by which they were aggrieved (it being still high treason to make converts, and being also liable to several penalties for celebrating masses, &c. tho' they had

* So much was party spirit inflamed by the writings that were published on this occasion, that the Dissenters became the object of more hatred by the friends of the court, than they had ever been since the time of queen Anne. It was in consequence of this that, on the celebration of the French revolution in A. D. 1791, to which the Dissenters, as the friends of universal liberty, were generally favourable, that spirit produced the riots in Birmingham, and gross insults on the Dissenters in various other places. This being, to say the least, connived at by the ministry, made it unsafe for me, tho' I had taken very little of an active part in the application to parliament, to continue in England. But I am thankful to a kind providence for providing me with a safe asylum where I now am. And the difficulties into which the country has been brought by the war with France, by giving all persons another and a more interesting object, has contributed to make persons attend much less to religious distinctions than before, and thus has greatly abated bigotry and party spirit.

had not of a long time been put in execution) made a formal protest against the temporal power of the pope, and his assumed authority to release men from the obligation of oaths, &c. and in consequence of this the next year the repeal of the obnoxious statutes was obtained without the least difficulty, to the satisfaction of all the friends of religious liberty. Still, however, the Catholics remained excluded from both the houses of parliament.

But, however well disposed the governing powers of the nation were towards the Catholics, nothing could be obtained in favour of the Dissenters, at least of the unitarians. In A. D. 1792, Mr. Fox moved for a repeal of the statute of William and Mary above mentioned, which eventually makes the declaration of their sentiments confiscation of goods, and imprisonment for life, and is therefore a case of simple toleration. The most strenuous opposition was made to it, and the motion was rejected, and this was the last attempt that has been made in that country in favour of toleration.

In Ireland, however, where formerly it had been thought necessary to lay the Catholics under the strongest restrictions, they this year obtained the valuable privilege of elective franchise, by

which

which they were enabled to vote for members of parliament, and also the right of trial by jury; and some time before this they had obtained the right of taking apprentices, of teaching school, of marrying with Protestants, and of being called to the bar, which shews the miserable state of servitude to which they had been reduced.

These concessions did not, however, give intestine satisfaction to the Catholics. They reasonably wished to have every civil disqualification under which they laboured removed, and there was an appearance of the ministry in England favouring their claims, when Lord Fitzwilliam was made lord lieutenant of Ireland in A. D. 1795. This nobleman was exceedingly popular in the country, and the Catholics expecting every reasonable indulgence under his administration, Mr. Grattan brought a bill into the Irish parliament for their farther relief. But notwithstanding the most earnest and repeated recommendation of conciliatory measures by this respectable governor, in the prospect of great danger from delay of redress, the English ministry very unexpectedly changed their views. Recalling Lord Fitzwilliam, they appointed Lord Camden to succeed him, and Mr. Grattan's bill was rejected. This, as was expected, gave great offence and alarm, not only to the

Catholics,

Catholics, but to all the friends of reform and liberty in general; and on this occasion the *United Irishmen* became peculiarly active, and at length raised such an opposition to the government as had never been known before.

This society was formed in A. D. 1791, and at that time the object of it was a parliamentary reform, and Catholic emancipation, or a restoration of the Catholics to all the privileges of other Irish subjects. Nor does it appear that till this time the members of this society had any thing farther in view. But after the recall of lord Fitzwilliam, the Catholics despairing of any favour from government, great numbers of them formed themselves into bodies more or less organized and armed, and were guilty of various excesses; and being opposed by other bodies of men in the interest of government, who called themselves *Orange Men*, the country came by degrees into a state of civil war, while the *United Irishmen*, proceeding more quietly and systematically, increased their numbers so much, that they could bring an army of more than an hundred thousand men into the field.

In this very year they opened a regular communication with the French directory, having now nothing less in view than the separation of Ireland from the kingdom of Great Britain: In their expectation of

assistance

assistance from France they were, however, disappointed, the French troops, that landed in Ireland at different times and places, arriving too late, or in too small numbers, to be of any service to them. And when, without waiting for farther aid, the united Irish rose in open rebellion, there being a want of union in their measures, and their secrets being betrayed by some of their members, they were tho' not without some bloody conflicts, finally defeated and suppressed, after the arrival of lord Cornwallis in the capacity of lord lieutenant in A. D. 1798; he with great judgment joining measures of conciliation with those of force. In this contest it is computed that more than thirty thousand lost their lives; and on both sides many persons were put to death in the cruel manner that is too common in civil wars.

Tho' the object of the leaders in this rebellion was entirely political, and no doubt they intended to abolish all civil establishments of religion, the great mass of the common people who entered into it, considered it as a war of religion, and for the re-establishment of the Catholic. They hoped that the heretics, as they called the Protestants, who they said had reigned upwards of an hundred years would now be exterminated, and the true Catholic religion established. Such of the Protestants as joined them were obliged to be baptized

in the Romish chapels; and even several of the chieftains were compelled to attend mass, and at least outwardly to conform to the rites of that religion. *New Annual Register* for A. D. 1798, P. 190.

It is almost a certainty, therefore, that had this rebellion terminated as it was intended in a revolution, the political leaders, and their French auxiliaries, would have been disappointed, from their not being able to controul their bigotted and violent followers; and in many places at least the massacre of the Protestants could not have been prevented, tho' it might not have issued in the final establishment of the Catholic religion.

With a view to prevent any such disturbance as this in future, it was thought advisable to form an union of the two countries, which hitherto had only had the same sovereign, but different legislatures. This measure, therefore, which was generally thought to be very hazardous, was pursued, and after some opposition in the Irish parliament, it was in A. D. 1800 acceded to, and soon after adopted in England. In consequence of this a hundred members from Ireland were added to the commons of Great Britain, with a due proportion of Lords to the house of Peers, and the whole being united was called *the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland*.

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At present it does not appear that this forced union (for such it evidently is with respect to the Irish nation in general) gives much satisfaction. But neither, it is said, did the union of Scotland with England please the Scots at first, tho' they are now sensible of the advantage of it. But the Scots had their own religion confirmed to them; whereas nothing has been done for the Irish in this respect. Tho' at least two thirds of all the inhabitants are Catholics, all the tythes are given to the clergy of the church of England, and these are outnumbered by the Dissenters in that country. Nor are the Irish Catholics eligible into parliament, or to offices of trust under the government; and while this is the case it is more properly subjection than union.

SECTION VII.

Of the Methodists in England:

THE Methodists, who are now a considerable sect of christians in England and North America, had their origin at Oxford in November A. D. 1729, when Mr. John Wesley was a fellow and tutor in Christ Church. He soon distinguished himself by the strictness of the discipline to which he trained his pupils; and becoming very serious, he formed a small society of persons of similar views and principles, who met every evening, at first to read the classics, and on Sunday's books on divinity. Then, to make themselves more useful, they visited the sick, and the prisoners in the castle, and raised a fund for their relief. This industry and regularity got them the title of the *godly club*, and also that of *Methodists*, which they bear to this day. But notwithstanding this

ridicule,

ridicule, and opposition of other kinds, they persisted in their pious and benevolent undertaking.

In October A. D. 1735, Mr. Wesley, accompanied by his brother Charles, and Mr. Ingham, went to Georgia, with a view to a mission among the native Americans; thinking they had a divine call to labour for their conversion, and Mr. Wesley's first preaching without notes was on board their ship while it lay in the river. Among the passengers were some Moravian brethren, of whom Mr. Wesley at that time conceived so favourable an opinion, that after spending near two years to little purpose, as he said, in America, he accompanied some of them to Germany. But in the mean time, having entertained some enthusiastic notions concerning saving faith, and the instantaneous communication of it, he imagined that he received this divine influx on the 24th of May A. D. 1738; tho' on the first day of that month the first society of Methodists was formed in London, when about fifty persons agreed to meet once a week for free conversation, beginning and ending with singing and prayer.

In June this year he embarked for Germany, and was introduced to count Zinzendorf on the 4th of July, and after spending some time at Herrnhut, the principal settlement of the Moravian brethren, he there formed the plan of his own so-

ciety in England, to which he returned in September A. D. 1738, when he began to preach in public, which he frequently did three or four times a day in different parts of London. He also made excursions into the country; and his success was so great that he soon established regular societies in different parts of the kingdom, and he persevered with astonishing activity and courage, notwithstanding the greatest opposition of every kind.

A similar course had been taken by George Whitfield, who had joined Mr. Wesley's society at Oxford five or six years after the formation of it, and for some time they seem to have acted in concert. But their difference of opinion (Mr. Whitfield being a Predestinarian, and Mr. Wesley an Arminian) occasioned a separation, so that their societies had no connection, and their rivalry and opposition was not always conducted with the temper that becomes christians. But Mr. Wesley's antipathy to the Moravians, to whom he had been so much attached, had no bounds. On all occasions he expressed the greatest abhorrence of their principles and discipline, and inveighed in the bitterest terms against count Zinzendorf himself.

Mr. Whitfield was the more popular preacher, but his societies were not so well connected and organized as those of Mr. Wesley; and on this ac-

count the latter promises to be more permanent. Mr. Whitfield also declined employing lay preachers, and Mr. Wesley's preachers were almost altogether of that kind, by which means he gained more upon the common people.

Both these kinds of Methodists have certainly been the means of a great reformation in the lower orders of the community, promoting sobriety and industry in places notorious for profaneness, idleness, drunkenness, and vices of every kind.

The discipline of Mr. Wesley's societies was singularly strict. All his preachers were appointed annually; and for this purpose Britain and America were divided into circuits, which were regularly visited by the preachers every month or six weeks. They seldom passed more than a day or two in any place, except the principal town in the district, where they generally spent about a fortnight.

All the preachers had their circuits appointed for them at a meeting of the whole body, called the *conference*, which was held every year at the following places in their turns, viz. London, Bristol, Leeds, and Manchester. Their orders were to preach twice every day; and besides those preachers there were in all the societies stewards for temporal affairs, and leaders of bands. For every so-

ciety was divided into classes, or bands, which met every week for religious conversation and enquiry into the state of their minds. Of these bands there were some that were termed *select*, on account of their greater proficiency. Of these *select* bands there were in London only in A. D. 1763, six hundred.

Mr. Wesley in his life time could number forty three thousand members of his society in North America, besides about eighty itinerants, and a considerable number of local preachers. In Europe and America together he had upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand, including three hundred itinerants, and thirteen or fourteen thousand local preachers.

For the government of the society after his death, Mr. Wesley transferred the property of all his meeting-houses to one hundred of his preachers, all named by himself ; and from this number many of the oldest and most respectable of the preachers were excluded. This was depriving them of their original right of voting in the conferences, and, as might have been foreseen, gave great offence, and occasioned the defection of many. Mr. Wesley's great foible was his love of power, and he did not find all his preachers so obsequious as he wished.

Mr.

Mr. Wesley injured his scheme with rational christians by many extravagant singularities. Besides his belief in sudden conversion, and miraculous interpositions of providence, a favourite doctrine with him, at least for a long time, was that of *the direct witness*, or a divine impression upon the mind, assuring a person of the forgiveness of his sins. When any person said that he did not certainly know this, he would bluntly reply, "Then you are a child of the devil." He also maintained the doctrine of the possibility of sinless perfection, and held that this state might be attained in a moment, by an act of faith; tho' it is remarkable that, notwithstanding the stress that he laid upon it, he never pretended to it himself.

He was, however, always fully persuaded that his mission was from God; and that it was in the plan of providence to produce a great reformation by the means of his societies. He always called it *the work of God*, and speaking of the rise and progress of Methodism, he said, "it was such an event as, considered in all its circumstances, had not been seen upon the earth before since the time that John went to Abraham's bosom." Thus making it of more importance than the reformation by Luther.

He obliged the boys educated at a school of his at Kingwood, near Bristol, to rise at four, and

never indulged them in any play. He laid the greatest stress on abstaining from every kind of diversion for grown persons. He objected to the use of tea, and was an advocate for celibacy, especially that of the clergy, and his preachers, till he took a wife himself; and he was at one time disposed to insist upon all his disciples having all their possessions in common, like the primitive christians. He also gave it as his opinion, that if the christians of this day had the same degree of faith, they would be endued with a similar power of working miracles; and he was a firm believer in many of the exploded modern ones.

Tho' like other Oxonians, he was a zealous advocate for the church of England, and disliked Dissenters, he would not have his places of worship consecrated by bishops; and tho' he was only a presbyter himself, he ordained bishops for the mission of North America, after the acknowledgment of its independance on England. In this his love of power, which was ever predominant in him, prevailed over his professed principles. See his *Life by Mr. Hampson*, and his *Original Letters, &c.* published by me.

SECTION

SECTION VIII.

Of the Eastern Churches, and the Lutherans and Moravians in Europe.

THE Greek church has continued to the present time in the same state in which it was at the close of the last period. The want of learning among the Greeks, prevents all controversy, and all improvement. The Russians have not more learning or knowledge than the other branches of the Greek church, and appear to have no less bigotry, by a work of Stephen Javorski against heretics of all denominations. *Mosheim*, Vol. 5, p. 81.

The Monophyrites have shewn a laudable zeal for the propagation of their faith, and have gained to their communion some of the Nestorians on the maritime coast of India. *Ib.*

The Lutherans during this period have continued in nearly the same state in which they were

at the close of the preceding, tho' some encroachments have been made upon them by the Catholic powers, especially in the Palatinate. *Mosheim*, Vol. 5, p. 98.

They have had some internal disturbance by various fanatics, and there have been some among them who have ventured, notwithstanding the restraint which their public confession of faith lays them under, to think and write with some degree of freedom, so as to endeavour to make christianity appear rational. But there have not been so many of this character as might have been expected from the great extent of the country. All the open Dissenters from their establishment have been of the enthusiastic cast.

Several attempts to throw light on subjects of theology by means of metaphysics, were made in this period by Leibnitz, Wolf, and their followers, while others took great offence at their labours, and Laurent Smidt, who in his translation of the five books of Moses, endeavoured to prove that there is no prediction concerning the Messiah in them, nor any intimation of the doctrine of the trinity, was in A. D. 1737, apprehended by an imperial edict, and perhaps would not have escaped with life, if he had not found the means of getting out of prison. *Ib.* Vol. 5, p. 88.

There

There have appeared other writers of a liberal cast in Germany, who have objected to the doctrine of the eternity of future punishment, and have contended for the final restoration of all intelligent beings to a state of happiness, but with what success I have not been informed.

Some attempts were made by Matthew Pfaff and others in this period, to promote an union of the Lutherans and the reformed, but without any effect. *Ib.* Vol. 5, p. 92.

At the close of the last period, we left the *Bohemian Brethren* in a state of total dispersion, and almost annihilation; nor was there any revival of this sect till the year A. D. 1721, when some of their descendants, or who pretended to have had some relation to them, obtained, by the solicitation of one Christian David, a carpenter, permission of Lewis Count Zinzendorf (who in early life had devoted himself to the advancement of religion) to settle on his estates in Upper Lusatia, where on a hill on which no house had been built before, they formed a village, and gave it the name of *Herrnhut*, or the *Lord's Hill*. In May A. D. 1724, they laid the foundation of a place of public worship, the count being present, and joining in a solemn act of religion on the occasion.

At this time he had little knowledge of the *Bohemian brethren*; and when some remains of them

them resorted to Herrnhut, and talked with pleasure of their antient discipline, he paid little attention to them. As people came to Herrnhut from very different places, and held very different opinions, it was with some difficulty that the count brought them to any kind of agreement; which, however, he at length effected, and a form of doctrine and discipline was agreed on and signed August 12th, A. D. 1727.

Among other regulations, they formed themselves into *bands* for exhortation and prayer, keeping the two sexes separate. *Crantz*, p. 115. At this time they met with *Comenius's history of the church constitution of the Bohemian brethren*, and found it to be essentially the same with their own; but they had much debating among themselves whether, in order to avoid calumny and persecution, they should not lay aside their particular regulations; but on the whole it was thought most advisable to keep to them, tho' with many variations from their original plan. The count took the office of *Warden*, but from the first he frequently repeated the the discourses of the ministers, and in every other respect gave constant attention to the affairs of this infant church, as his lady did to the females in it. A number of young women at this time, at the head of whom was one who had the title of *eldress of the congregation*, entered into a covenant

covenant to devote themselves, as they said, to the Lord, and to give no attention to any overtures of marriage, unless recommended to them by the elders. And it appears that, in this and every other respect, the members of this society pay the greatest deference to the directions of their chiefs.

This establishment at Herrnhut being much talked of, occasioned many enquiries concerning it from very distant places, and in consequence of these persons were deputed to visit Denmark, England, and most countries of Europe. The first of these deputations was to Copenhagen in A. D. 1717, and this afterwards gave rise to the mission to Greenland and the West Indies. The count himself visited many of the courts of Germany.

Notwithstanding the peculiar regulations and discipline of this society of christians, they attended the neighbouring Lutheran parish church, and received the communion there as members of it; and in A. D. 1728, in order to remove the calumnies that were propagated concerning them, they signed a public act declaratory of their approbation of the Augsburgh confession of faith, tho' they adopted a peculiar discipline, and that notwithstanding their respect for John Hus, they chose to take the appellation of *brethren*, rather than that of *Hussites*; concluding with expressing their hope

that

that they should have the protection of the sovereign of the country, as well as of the territorial lord.

At this time the count himself again proposed the abolition of their particular constitution, and an union with the Lutheran church, but it was decided against him by a solemn lot, drawn by a child of four years of age, and from this time they were determined to hold to their discipline as directed by God so to do, and also that, in pursuance of it, they should preach the gospel to all the nations of the world. At this time Jablonki who had been consecrated bishop of the ancient brethren, and who was then chaplain to the king of Prussia, hearing of the proceedings at Herrnhut, expressed great satisfaction in them, and corresponded with the count, acknowledging that they were worthy descendants of the Bohemian brethren; but it is evident that they were not at all under his jurisdiction.

In A. D. 1732, the count resigned an office which he held in the court of Dresden, and devoted himself entirely to the service of his church, accepting again the charge of Warden, which he had held before, but had resigned, and soon after this he entered as a regular minister of the Lutheran church, his orthodoxy being allowed by those who examined him for that purpose. The arrival
of

of so many strangers at Herrnhut exciting the jealousy of the government, they resolved to send colonies to other places, both with a view to extend their principles, and to provide for their increasing numbers.

From the beginning of this new church there was much enthusiasm in it; but from the year A. D. 1734, the count attending more particularly to the doctrine of atonement by the blood, as he said, and wounds of Jesus, was so impressed by the consideration of it, that from this time he made it almost the sole burden of his preaching, and it became that of the society in general. Indeed, their discourses, hymns, and prayers abound with so many allusions to the blood and wounds of Christ, and especially that in his side, that they are perfectly disgusting. In their prayers, also, they address themselves to Jesus only, on the idea of his being both the creator and redeemer of the world, and therefore that we have no immediate intercourse with any other person in the trinity, in which they differ from all other sects of christians that had preceded them.

The first of the Moravian missions, by which they have so much distinguished themselves, was in A. D. 1732, when two of the brethren set out for St. Thomas, an island belonging to the Danes in the West Indies; where, being received by some

well disposed planters, they preached to their slaves, and with considerable success. The second mission was to Greenland, the year following. This for a long time was very unpromising, but about A. D. 1740, it began to flourish. In A. D. 1734 a colony was sent to St. Croix, but many died on their arrival there. The year following another colony went to Georgia, accompanied by the two Mr. Wesleys and Mr. Ingham, from England. This colony promised well; but the brethren refusing to take arms in the war with the Spaniards in A. D. 1739, they left the place, and went to Pennsylvania. In A. D. 1735 a colony went to Surinam, but they made no settlement there till A. D. 1754.

Hitherto these Moravian brethren conducted themselves as members of the Lutheran church, tho' with particular regulations of their own. But despairing of getting ordinations for the persons who should be sent on these missions, and thinking that the administration of baptism would not be valid without it, the count, tho' long averse to the measure, applied to Jablonski, who joining with Silkovius of Lissa his colleague, ordained David Nitchman, an active member of their society, giving him power as a bishop, to hold visitations, and ordain ministers.

After some difficulty they formed a settlement in Holland, which was very useful to them, as a place

place where their missionaries could furnish themselves with every thing necessary for their distant voyages.

In A. D. 1736 the count, on the complaint of some nobleman, was banished from Saxony, and a commission was appointed to examine the state of of Herrnhut ; when it appearing that the society there had received the Lutheran confession, and differed from the Lutherans only in ceremonies, they were suffered to remain as they were. In this state of exile the count visited foreign countries, and among others England, where he was well received by archbishop Potter, and his church acknowledged to be a true episcopal church, its doctrines not differing from the thirty nine articles of the church of England. At Berlin, where the king of Prussia saw and encouraged him, he received episcopal ordination from Jablonski and Nitchman, and from this time he was usually stiled the *ordinary* of the brethren, and soon after this three colonies of the brethren were settled in the dominions of this prince.

In A. D. 1754, the brethren instituted a college at Barby for teaching divinity, law, medicine, the languages, mathematics, and all the useful sciences. They also encouraged their youth to go, after the education they had received here,

to other universities, and travel into foreign parts, taking care that they were attended by some experienced brother, that their principles might not suffer by it. The princess of Anhalt Zerbst, afterwards empress of Russia, several times visited this college, and expressed her approbation of it.

In A. D. 1756 there was a general synod of the brethren at Bethel from all parts of Europe, and and some from America, when it was resolved to constitute a department for the direction of the church in all its branches, and this was established the year following.

After serving this church thirty years, and devoting all his fortune and his time to it, after spending much of his time in travelling to distant places, and going more than once to America, count Zinzendorf died at Hernhutt in A. D. 1760, with every appearance of genuine piety, to the great edification of many who were present; and his funeral was attended with the greatest respect by persons of all ranks.

On the death of the count, the business of the society was carried on by a *board of directors*, and in A. D. 1764, another general synod was held at Marienburgh in Wetteravia, when there were present eleven bishops and co-bishops, and many

other

other officers, with thirty deputies from distant congregations. At this meeting they renewed their approbation of the confession of Augsbuꝛg, and determined anew that "the doctrine of the "merit of the life and sufferings of Jesus, should be "their chief and fundamental knowledge."

Between this synod and the next in A. D. 1769, the affairs of these brethren flourished greatly, in the extension and prosperous state of their missions into every part of the world, Europe, Asia, Africa, and America; being encouraged by the civil powers, on account of their peaceable behaviour, and the benefit they derived from their labours in civilizing their subjects.

No denomination of christians, not even the antient heretics, were ever charged with more blasphemies, absurdities, and impurities, than the Moravian brethren; and as far as language literally interpreted is any evidence, the charge was in a great measure made good from the writings of count Zinzendorf; and yet it would have been absolutely miraculous if any body of nominal christians could have subsisted in the present, or any other age, if those charges in their full extent had been true. Men who evidently lived the lives of the apostles, giving all their substance, and exposing themselves to every possible hardship, and that for

many years, for the sole purpose of propagating what they deemed to be important truth, could never have been guilty of what has been laid to their charge. It may, therefore be concluded, that the accusation, if true, could only be so with respect to some individuals, and not the society in general; or, if general, that the indecent practices were soon laid aside. As to their mere language, tho' highly offensive to modest ears, it must not have appeared so to themselves; and the most absurd opinions, and the most enthusiastic language, have no necessary connection with vice. Their doctrine of instantaneous conversion and others, which certainly have a bad tendency, they only hold in common with many other christians, whose morals are in general even rigid.

Their historian Mr. Crantz, the intelligent writer of the account of Greenland, intimates something of an apology for his society, when he says p. 370, "The chief topics of their discourses being
" the blood and wounds of Jesus, and especially
" the wound in his side, and their preachers representing believers as playful children, as birds in
" the atmosphere of Jesus, or as doves flying to his
" wounds, as to the cleft of a rock, gave occasion
" to a variety of abuses and excesses in words and
" actions, which tho' they did not break out in

" works

“ works of the flesh, as some bitter enemies have
 “ pretended, were sinful in the eyes of God. This,”
 he says, “ first appeared in A. D. 1746, but was af-
 “ terwards corrected.”

SECTION IX.

Of the Progress of Infidelity.

THE most remarkable feature in the character of this period, is the great increase of infidelity in the course of it, and as towards the beginning of it some English writers distinguished themselves the most in this way, 'it may be worthwhile to give a short account of the more considerable of them, and of the principles advanced by them, which it will be useful to compare with those that are held by unbelievers of the present day.

Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who wrote in the close of the preceding period, held that "there is one supreme God, that he is to be worshipped, that piety and virtue are the principal parts of his worship, that God will forgive sin upon repentance, and that there will be a reward for good men, and punishment for the wicked in a future state." These he represents as "common notices, inscribed by God on the minds of all men," and he undertakes to show that they have been univelsally acknowledged in all nations, ages, and religions. These articles, he says, when explained in their full latitude, are sufficient, so that nothing needs be added to them; and he says it was the great design of christianity, as contained in the scriptures, to establish these principles. He therefore declares it to be far from his intention to do any harm to this best of religions, but rather to establish it.

Notwithstanding this, he inveighs without distinction against all pretences to revelation; but he makes no attempt to refute the evidences of the Jewish or christian revelations. And it is not a little extraordinary, that tho' he rejected all other revelations, he pretended to one made to himself. For having some doubt whether he ought to have published one of his treatises, he says that he made a solemn prayer, requesting some sign from hea-

ven if it was proper that he should publish it; and he imagined that a voice from heaven, tho' not an articulate one, gave him that sanction. He says he not only heard the voice, but that, in the most serene sky that he ever saw, he plainly perceived the place from which it proceeded. *Lelands View of Deistical writers*, p. 24.

Mr. Blount, the principal author of a treatise intituled *The Oracles of Reason*, published in A. D. 1693, advances the same general principles with Lord Herbert, expressing his faith in the being and providence of God, and a future state. He particularly objects to the writings of Moses. *Ib.* p. 40.

John Toland always professed himself a christian, and his first publication intituled *Christianity not mysterious*, was designed to shew that there is nothing in christianity that is either contrary to reason, or above it. But in his other works he labours to invalidate the authority of the canon of scripture, giving an account of a great number of spurious gospels, and other books, as if they were intituled to as much credit as those contained in the present canon. But he has been abundantly refuted by many learned christians, especially by Mr. Jones, who has proved that none of the books excluded from the canon are intituled to any credit, or were ever respected by the Catholic church. Besides

they all assert the miracles and resurrection of Christ, and the miracles of the apostles, on which the truth of christianity depends.

Lord Shaftsbury is generally classed among unbelievers, tho' he frequently speaks with respect not only of the doctrine of a wise and good providence (observing that men were formed for the exercise not of virtue only, and of religion, but of christianity also) and yet there are many things in his writings which indirectly vilify the scriptures and christianity. He particularly reprobates the hope of reward and the fear of punishment as motives to virtue.

Mr. Collins, who wrote about the beginning of the last century, endeavours, in his *Discourse on free thinking*, to show that there was a general corruption of christianity in the sixth century; when it was evidently too late to do it any material injury, and he enlarges upon the divisions among christians, as an evidence of the uncertainty of their principles. In his *Grounds and reasons of the christian religion*, he maintains that it has no foundation in the prophecies of the Old Testament, but says nothing against its historical evidence.

Mr. Woolston, pretending a zeal for christianity, and the character of Jesus, and setting himself up as an advocate for the allegorical sense of scripture, endeavours to shew the absurdity of the literal sense,
and

and objects to several of the miracles of Jesus and to his resurrection, but only on the ground of their natural improbability, and not for any deficiency in the historical evidence.

Mr. Tindal, in his *Christianity as old as the creation*, pretends the greatest respect for the christian religion, and yet he represents all revelation as useless, asserting the clearness and sufficiency of the law of nature.

Dr. Morgan; in his *Moral Philosopher*, does not deny the usefulness of revelation, but says we cannot tell when it is given, undervaluing all proofs of it, either from miracles or prophecy; but he says nothing to invalidate its historical evidence. He says there is but one infallible mark of divine truth, which is its moral truth, or the reason and fitness of the thing itself, when fairly proposed to the understanding.

The anonymous author of *Christianity not founded on argument*, endeavours to shew that its proper foundation is *faith only*, which he attempts to prove from the scriptures; where, however, we find a constant appeal to rational evidence, and the plainest facts.

The author of the *Resurrection of Jesus considered*, only objects to it on account of the improbability of the thing, and the inconsistencies in the different accounts of it, but he does not explain
the

the principles on which he could not deny that it was believed, by those who were the only proper judges in the case, how they came to live, suffer, and die in that belief, and how they were able to draw so many others into the same belief, and to maintain it at the risk of every thing dear to them in life, and of life itself.

Mr. Chubb began to write as a rational christian, and never expressly denied the divine mission of Jesus ; but without any examination of the historical evidence, in his *Posthumous Works*, he insinuates many things to its prejudice. He also denies a particular providence, and the duty of prayer. With respect to a future state, he expresses himself very variously, and with respect to the natural probability of a revelation, he says that “ when men
 “ are sunk into gross ignorance and error, and are
 “ greatly vitiated in their affections and actions,
 “ God may, for any thing that we can know to
 “ the contrary, kindly interpose by a special ap-
 “ plication of his power and providence, and reveal
 “ to men such useful truths as otherwise they would
 “ have been ignorant of, or might not attend to,
 “ and also lay before them such rules of life as
 “ they ought to walk by, and likewise urge their
 “ obedience to them by proper motives, and there-
 “ by lead them to repentance and reformation.”
 But he adds, “ whether this be so, and when it is
 “ so,

“ so, will, in the nature of things, be a matter of “ doubt and disputation.” He does not, however, say, why we should entertain any doubt with respect to the evidence of either the Jewish or the christian revelation.

Lord Bolingbroke says, but without advancing any proof of his assertion, that the Jewish books were written at the time of the Babylonish captivity, that there is no proof that the gospels were written in the apostolic age, that those we now use were not distinguished from the spurious gospels, that the christian clergy through whose hands the scriptures have been transmitted to us, were guilty of numberless frauds and corruptions, but he does not prove any of these random assertions. He also says that the many differences among christians about the sense of scripture, shew that it is absolutely uncertain. But he never attempts to account for the rise and propagation of christianity in the circumstances that he supposes.

In his *Posthumous Works*, he asserts the being of a God, but he reduces all his attributes to those of power and wisdom, denying that we can ascribe to him either justice or benevolence. He says that, tho’ God made the world, he does not concern himself about the affairs of men, or if he do, his providence only respects societies, but not indivi-

duals ;

duals ; that the law of nature, on which our duty is founded, is clear and obvious to all mankind, but that it has been obscured and perverted by heathen philosophers and christian divines ; that there is no need of any supernatural revelation ; that the religion of the scriptures is unworthy of God ; that the gospels of Christ and of Paul were different things ; that christianity in its genuine simplicity, as taught by Christ, is a benevolent institution, and may be regarded as a republication of the law of nature, but that the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is absurd.

Mr. Hume while he lived wrote only against the credibility of miracles universally considered, without at all considering the evidence produced for those of the Old and New Testament, or attempting to account for the belief of them when they were exhibited. But in a posthumous work he denies not only a future state, but rejects and even ridicules the doctrine of a God and of a providence, treating with the greatest contempt the constitution of the world, and the government of it.

Mr. Gibbon, a still later writer, without denying the truth of christianity, ascribes its rise and propagation to the zeal of its adherents, the promises of heaven to their followers, the strict discipline of their churches, &c. without attempting to

account

account for the faith and zeal of the first believers, or how their followers came to be so easily deceived by them, and to believe their fine promises with respect to another life, so as to make them for the sake of it abandon all their prospects in this.

On the continent of Europe no person, I believe, was the means of making more unbelievers than Voltaire, who nevertheless always professed himself a christian, and did so even on his death bed. He never, however, entered into any serious argument on the subject, but indulged himself in ridiculing the scriptures, which he took no pains to understand ; so that he has fallen into the greatest mistakes with respect to them. He also throws out invectives without bounds on the Jews and their religion, tho' had he been unprejudiced, the slightest examination would have convinced him, that the religious and civil institutions of the Hebrews were greatly superior to those of any nation of equal antiquity ; so that, admitting what he perpetually dwells upon, viz. the natural stupidity and barbarism of that nation, their religion must have had a supernatural origin.

Before the French revolution hardly any person in England, or on the continent, avowed himself an unbeliever in writing ; so little disposed were any of them to run any risk for the sake of their

principles

principles ; but since that event, all fear of punishment being removed, they write in the most undisguised manner. But none of them has as yet undertaken to refute the historical evidence of the facts on which the Jewish and christian revelations are founded, or to account for the rise and the reception they met with, on the supposition of the accounts being false ; and some of them have discovered the grossest ignorance of every thing relating to the subject.

Mr. Freret asserted that the first believers in christianity were such miserably poor and abject wretches as are always easily imposed on, and that it owed its principal increase to the violence of the christian emperors, and made such other mistakes with respect to facts, as are highly disgraceful to a man of letters as he was. But since his time Mr. Volney, and Mr. Dupuis, question the very existence of Jesus Christ, and maintain that christianity is nothing more than a disguised worship of the sun, and support their opinion with such arguments as a school boy would not believe to be serious; and I have seen a French pamphlet in which the word *Chretiens* was derived from *Cretans*, as if they were a sect that had arisen in Crete. The mistakes, or misrepresentations, of Mr. Boulanger, and the author of *Bon Sens*, are as gross

almost

almost as these, and those of Mr. Paine (who writes with more confidence and insolence than any of them) are so very absurd, as to be perfectly laughable, if the subject was not too serious.

All these unbelievers discover so much rancour and malignity, and with so much affected levity on the most serious of all subjects, as must convince any calm and unprejudiced person that they were incapable of forming a true judgment in the case. And yet with those who are previously disposed to throw off the restraints of religion, the most contemptible of their writings have a considerable effect.

At the time of the revolution, and for at least twenty years before, the French unbelievers were, with very few exceptions, atheists, their sentiments being contained in the *Système de la nature*, which is intirely atheistical; and tho' the national assembly have since declared their belief in the Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul, it is not probable that such a decree will affect the faith of the thinking and philosophical part of the nation, and much less that of any other; and the hypothesis of atheistical philosophers to account for the origin of the world, and of man, are, as might be supposed, exceedingly various and discordant. The differences of opinion among christians

on these great subjects, are mere trifles compared to theirs.

The doctrine of modern unbelievers with respect to *morals* is far from being a confirmation of what was so confidently advanced by their predecessors, concerning the clearness and sufficiency of the light of nature on that important subject; for they are discordant in the extreme, and many of them such as would have shocked Lord Herbert and Lord Shaftesbury almost as much as they do christians. For to say nothing of the little account the generality of unbelievers make of the vice of sensual indulgence of any kind, even the most unnatural, the latest writers of this class exclude gratitude from the rank of virtues, and deny the obligation of promises, oaths, and even of the bonds of matrimony, pleading for a community of women; principles which, if acted upon, would soon throw the world into the greatest confusion, and reduce men to the condition of brute beasts, and in the end of universal hostility, tho' they are inconsistently advocates for universal peace.

Unbelievers see nothing immoral in the practice of duelling; and as they are retained in life by nothing but the love of it, when that becomes distasteful, they have no objection to putting an end to it. In short, there is hardly any thing universally allowed by them to be a virtue, besides justice,

justice between man and man ; and as they have no respect to a God, a providence, or a future state, the only real motive they can have to enforce the observance of this one solitary virtue, is a dread of the laws of society. Mr. Volney says with respect to religion, “ The experience of all mankind “ proves that morals have no influence on the ac- “ tions of men, but so far as they are seconded by “ the civil authority.” *Voyage en Syrie et Egypte*, Vol. 2, p. 361.

If this period has produced many unbelievers, it has likewise produced many excellent defences of revelation, which have thrown much new light on the subject ; and as most of the objections of unbelievers affect not christianity itself, but only such opinions and practices as have been mistaken for it, especially in the corrupt establishments of christianity, they have been the means of discovering and rejecting those abuses, and in consequence of this, christianity is now much better understood than it ever was before. Also, this great prevalence of infidelity being a striking fulfilment of the prophecies of scripture, which distinctly announce that this very circumstance, will be one of the signs of what are there called *the last times*, or those which will immediately precede the second coming of Christ. This is an event, the most mo-

mentous certainly that can be conceived, that we may now be looking for, tho' the exact time of its arrival, our Saviour says, was not known to himself, but to his Father only.

SECTION X.

Of the State of Religion in the United States of North America.

TO give a satisfactory account of the state of religion in the United States of North America, it will be necessary to give a short account of their early history.

The first settlement, which was that of New-England, was made by a part of the congregation of Mr. John Robinson, an Independent minister who was driven out of England in the reign of James I, and resided at Leyden. They sailed for America A. D. 1620, and settled at New Plymouth.

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Many others followed them in the reign of Charles I; and never, says Mr. Neal, was any country more obliged to any man, than New England was to Laud, who by his cruel and arbitrary proceedings drove many thousand families out of the kingdom, and thereby stocked the plantations with inhabitants in the compass of a very few years, which otherwise would not have been done in an age. *History of New England*, Vol. 1, p. 191.

The settlements in New England were made almost wholly by Independents, or those who soon conformed to their discipline; and it is to be lamented that, tho' persecuted themselves, they had no just idea of toleration, and the rights of conscience. For as soon as Baptists and Quakers appeared among them, they treated them with great severity, tho' with respect to piety, and irreproachable conduct, they were not inferior to themselves.

The Baptists first separated from the Independent churches in A. D. 1651, when some of them were committed to prison, fined, and whipped; and at length a law was made to banish them; p: 284.

When by this means they had expelled the Baptists in A. D. 1656, the Quakers made their appearance, and met with a still worse reception. Laws were made to prevent the importation of

them, to banish those who came, and even to put to death those who returned from banishment. In consequence of these laws three had their ears cut off, and four suffered death. But the more they were persecuted, the more they increased. This was chiefly in the state of Massachusetts, and not in Connecticut. *Ib.* p. 317. *

Dr. Mather at Boston preached and wrote against this persecution, and no doubt many others entertained juster sentiments of christian liberty; but their remonstrances did not restrain the intemperate zeal of those who were in the government. In A. D. 1669, they bore particularly hard upon both the Baptists and the Quakers, and many honest persons, the historian says, were ruined by fines, imprisonment, and banishment. *Ib.* p. 313. Tho' a letter was addressed to the governors of these colonies by the most eminent of the dissenting ministers in London, to dissuade them from these persecuting measures, it produced no effect. *Ib.* P. 354.

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* Some of the Quakers in New England denied the doctrine of the trinity, saying that the doctrine of three persons in the godhead was introduced by the pope. In the address of the general council to Charles II, they say, "they were open seducers from the glorious trinity. *Ib.* p. 323, 328.

In a course of time, however, in consequence, no doubt, of their own experience, of a freer intercourse with other provinces, and other parts of the world, a more liberal spirit prevailed. Even the promoters of the persecution probably lived to repent of what they had done, for I have not been able to find the exact time when all the laws against heresy were repealed. Increase Mather, a very learned minister at Boston, had been a promoter of the persecution, but it is known that before he died he was convinced of the impropriety of it.

At present all denominations of christians are tolerated in all the New England states; nor is more favour shewn to any one more than to any another. For tho' every person is obliged to contribute to the maintenance of religion, the amount of his tax is given to the minister of his own choice. Even unitarianism has of late made great progress in Boston and its neighbourhood, without exciting any alarm, tho' it is regarded with abhorrence almost every where else.

The congregational form of the churches in New England is far more favourable to the introduction and propagation of truth, than that of the Presbyterian or Episcopalian. In the former, all of which are independent of each other, improvements of any kind may be introduced without giving

ing much alarm, none being interested in it besides the minister himself and his congregation; and if he has gained their affection, and conducts himself with prudence, not shocking their prejudices unnecessarily, the introduction of his own sentiments among them may not be very difficult. But in a church connected with many others, nothing can be done without the concurrence of all; and the reformers being for some time a small minority, they are sure to be borne down by the majority.

Rhode Island was settled by those who were generally called Antinomians, * on a plan of perfect religious liberty; and by receiving the Anabaptists and Quakers, who were not permitted to settle in the neighbouring states, it flourished in proportion. In those days Rhode Island was by way of reproach called "the drain, or sink, of New England, and it was said that if any man had lost his religion, he might be sure to find it there." *Belknap's History of New Hampshire*, Vol. 1, p. 89. Thus may the best things be turned into ridicule. At present the Baptists are the prevailing sect in Rhode Island.

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* These had their name from maintaining, or being supposed to maintain, that the *moral law* was abolished by christianity, in consequence of salvation being now *by faith only*.

I shall now proceed to give from *Morse's Geography* chiefly, such a general account of the state of religion in each of the other states, as my plan admits of, beginning with the most northern.

In the state of Maine episcopacy was first established ; but their churches are now chiefly on the congregational plan, as they are, and always were, in Connecticut, as well as in the New England states in general.

In New York there are no congregationalists, but many Presbyterian churches, as also Episcopalians, Baptists, and other sects. This part of the country was discovered in A. D. 1609, or 1610. by Henry Hudson, and was by him sold to the Dutch, from whom it was afterwards conquered.

In New Jersey (settled originally by Dutch emigrants from New York) they are chiefly Presbyterians, tho' there are in that state many Quakers and Episcopalians.

Pennsylvania was granted by James II to William Penn, a Quaker ; and being settled by persons of that persuasion, there are still a much greater proportion of them there than in any other of the North American states, tho' at present they are far from being the majority. This state flourished chiefly in consequence of an undistinguishing toleration of religion, at a time when the Northern states were intolerant. At present there are in Pennsyl-

sylvania more denominations of christians than in any other, and yet they all live in perfect harmony. Many large districts of this state are settled by Germans, who are sub-divided with respect to religion here as they are in their native country. Here are Lutherans, the Reformed, or Calvinists, Moravians, Mennonists, and Dunkers, * all Germans.

In Delaware, settled originally by Dutch and Swedes, the inhabitants are chiefly Presbyterians, but there are among them many Quakers and Episcopalians.

Maryland was granted by Charles I to lord Baltimore, a Catholic, in A. D. 1633, the laws of England at that time bearing hard on those of that persuasion, tho' they were favoured by the court; and the Catholics are still the most numerous sect, but there are of almost all the others.

Virginia was first settled, or attempted to be settled in A. D. 1610, by zealous members of the church of England; and at first they were as intolerant with respect to all others, as the New
England

* These people in sentiment come near to the general Baptists, and like the Quakers, will neither swear nor fight. They will not even go to law. They use the greatest plainness of speech and dress, the men commonly wearing their beards. Some of them keep the seventh day Sabbath. They live nearly all together, and are about two thousand souls.

England states. In particular, there was a heavy penalty on any master of a vessel who should bring a Quaker into that state. After about a century, however, other opinions began to be introduced; and the established clergy becoming indolent, it is said that, at the commencement of the revolution, two thirds of the inhabitants were Dissenters, and tho' not legally tolerated they were respectable on account of their numbers. At present, the establishment being abolished, the Presbyterians are the most numerous in the western parts of the state, while the Episcopalians occupy the eastern parts. But they are mixed with many Baptists and Methodists.

In North Carolina, which together with South Carolina and Georgia, was granted to the earl of Clarendon and others in A. D. 1662, the Presbyterians prevail in the western part; but there are many Episcopalians in the other parts, as well as Germans, and among them Moravians. The upper parts of South Carolina are chiefly occupied by Presbyterians, with some Independents, Baptists, and Methodists. But there are also Episcopalians.

In Georgia, which is but in its infancy, there are almost all the principal denominations above mentioned, and in Kentucky, a more recent settlement, the Baptists are the most numerous.

By

By the general constitution made for all these states, now united under one government, in A. D. 1776, it is declared that "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust." It is a glorious example that this country is now setting to the christian world, shewing not only the perfect safety, but many positive advantages, not only of universal toleration, but of the exclusion of any establishment of religion whatever, the civil government having no more to do with it than with philosophy or medicine. Here are Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, with Seceders of various kinds, from Scotland, Independents, Baptists; general and particular, Quakers, Universalists, Lutherans, Calvinists, Mennonists, Dunkers, Moravians, Methodists, Sandemanians, Swedenborgians, Unitarians, and Jews, which are probably more than can be found in any other christian country. And yet they all live, and have intercourse together, in perfect harmony; and in any common cause act heartily together, those whose religion forbidding them to fight, paying their quota of expence without complaining. They not only give no disturbance to the state, but are ready to render to each other every office of good neighbourhood and humanity. At the same time
there

there is, I believe, as much real religion and christianity in this country as in any in Europe. The majority, as every where else, attend more to the forms than the substance of religion ; the wealthy are in general mere worldly minded men, christians in name only, while too many in the lowest ranks are vicious and profane ; but so, I fear, they are every where, while many who think themselves particularly knowing with respect to religion, and take the lead in their respective sects, especially the Presbyterian, are chargeable with bigotry, and shew the spirit of intolerance without the power. But wherever there is religion, there will be some of this character. At the same time there are, I believe, in these States fewer professed unbelievers than in any other christian country.

SECTION

SECTION XI.

Miscellaneous Articles.

IN A. D. 1796, a bill was brought into parliament to exempt the Quakers from personal imprisonment, on account of the non payment of tythes, and to make their solemn asseveration equal to an oath in criminal as well as in civil cases ; but tho' it passed the house of commons, it was negatived by the lords.

2. Another accession was made to the cause of religious liberty in consequence of the revolution in Holland, as well as of that in France. For the Batavian republic, in the provisional government, without waiting for a constitutional law, abolished their national church, and declared in A. D. 1796, that " from that time the state would not defray the expence of any mode of worship, or pay any of its ministers, except granting indemnities to those who should suffer by that re-
" form."

“form.” This was ascribed to the influence of those who held unitarian principles, which had never been tolerated in Holland, and yet had been received by many men of learning, and friends of civil liberty in that country.

3. Having in the sections appropriated to *miscellaneous articles* in the preceding periods of this history, noticed the progress that had been made in *general literature* and knowledge, as having a connection with, and being subservient to, the advancement of christian truth; I would observe with respect to this last period, that all that had been done of this kind before does not equal what has been effected in the course of it, by the labours of studious and learned men of various nations. For this period contains the great discoveries of sir Isaac Newton, and those that have followed him in *experimental philosophy*, including *chemistry*, which is now extended in a most rapid and extraordinary manner; whereas before this time it hardly deserved the name of a science. This period likewise contains almost all that has been done in *electricity* by Dr. Franklin and others, and of late many new and wonderful discoveries have been made by Dr. Herschell and others in *astronomy*; and more attention than ever has been given to the application of discoveries in philosophy, to manufactures,

nufactures, and the improvement of the conveniences of common life.

No less attention has been given to the study of the *scriptures*; and by this means much new light has been thrown upon them, the evidences of revelation have been much better explained, and its doctrines better understood. An account of all the particulars that would fall under this head would require a volume, and therefore I content myself with barely noticing them.

4. The condition of the *Jews* continues the same as in the preceding period, but they have begun to be more respected, and their civil rights attended to, in several of the nations of Europe. They do not as yet appear to distinguish themselves, as they at one time did, by their application to literature, and it has not been in my power, or that of any christians who have addressed them on the subject, to draw their attention to the evidences of the christian religion; tho' civility on our part has excited their gratitude, and produced a return of civility on theirs; so that mutual prejudices are happily much abated with all persons of liberal minds. Of the Catholics bishop Gregoire in France has distinguished himself by the attention that he has given to the case of the *Jews*; and he agrees with many intelligent Protestants in the
firm

firm belief, and expectation, of their deliverance from their present state of dispersion and persecution, and their restoration to their own country at no very distant period; after which no christian can entertain a doubt of their universal conversion to christianity.

In England such a clamour was occasioned in consequence of an act of parliament to favour the naturalization of the Jews in A. D. 1752, that it was found necessary to repeal it the year following; an event highly disgraceful to that country.

5. Having made but a slight mention of *Mr. Emlyn*, among other English Arians, in the sixth section of this period; a learned friend, who saw the M. S. wished to see a larger account of him; and at my request drew up the following from his writings, and the *Memoirs of his life by his son Mr. Sollom Emlyn*; and as he was the greatest sufferer for his principles of late years, I think it well deserving of a place in this work.

Thomas Emlyn was born at Stamford in Lincolnshire, May 27, A. D. 1663, of religious parents who frequented the established church, and were particularly intimate with Dr. Cumberland, then minister at Stamford, afterwards bishop of Peterborough; but being inclined to the Puritan way, and having observed a spirit of seriousness in

and sobriety to be then more generally prevalent among the non-conformists, they chose to bring up their son to the ministry among them, altho' the times were such as afforded no encouraging prospect to those of that denomination.

Mr. Emlyn after being at a boarding school four years was educated at two dissenting academies, and was once admitted into Emanuel College Cambridge, but returned from it to his first dissenting academy. He first appeared as a preacher, December 19th A. D. 1682, at Mr. Doolittle's meeting-house, near Cripple-gate. He then became chaplain to the countess of Donegal in A. D. 1683, and accompanied her to Belfast in Ireland in A. D. 1684, where she married Sir William Franklin, and lived in great state and splendour.

Sir William who had a good estate in the west of England, offered him a considerable living there, if he would have conformed to the established church; but this he declined, the terms of ministerial conformity being such as he could not conscientiously comply with, tho' he had not then the scruples, which he afterwards had in relation to the article of the trinity: but the principles of an undiffembling honesty had taken such deep root in him, that no worldly advantage could prevail with him to violate the peace of his own mind. And yet he was very far from being stiff in trifles

fles, or bigotted to any particular party ; for on *Sundays* he constantly attended the service of the church both parts of the day, and in the evening when he preached in the countess's hall, was attended by the minister of the parish, with whom he lived in great intimacy, and often officiated for him in the parish church ; for in those days Protestants were united, and *brotherly love continued*; and without any subscription, he had from the bishop of the diocese a licence *facultatis exercendæ gratia* ; infomuch that it was given out that he had quite left the Dissenters, and gone over to the church.

While he was in this station he made a journey to Dublin, and when there preached once to that congregation of which Mr. *Daniel Williams* and Mr. *Joseph Boyse* were then pastors, in a manner so acceptable to the audience, as gave occasion for that people afterwards to invite him thither. Mr. Emlyn left Ireland in A. D. 1688, having previously declined an invitation from Mr. Boyse to join him in the pastoral charge of a dissenting congregation in Dublin, and when in England he refused an invitation to a benefice in the established church from a congregation to which he was very acceptable.

He was after this prevailed upon by Sir Robert Rich, one of the lords of the admiralty, to officiate as a minister to a dissenting congregation at

Leostoff in Suffolk, for about a year and an half, but refused the invitation of being their pastor. While here he contracted a very close and intimate acquaintance with Mr. William Manning, a very worthy non-conformist minister at Peasenhall in that neighbourhood. As they were both of an inquisitive temper, they frequently conferred together, and jointly examined into the principal points of religion, mutually communicating to each other their respective sentiments; which correspondence, notwithstanding the great distance they were afterwards separated to, was carried on by letters as long as Mr. Manning lived.

Dr. Sherlock's book of the Vindication of the Trinity coming out about this time, turned their thoughts very much to the consideration of that subject, which the more they examined into, the more they saw reason first to doubt of, and afterwards to differ from, the received doctrine in that article. Mr. *Manning* adopted the Socinian principles, and strove hard to bring Mr. Emlyn into that way of thinking, but Mr. Emlyn could never be brought to doubt either of the pre-existence of our Saviour, as the Logos, or that God created the material world by him.

In September A. D. 1690, Mr. Emlyn received another most pressing invitation from Mr. Boyse to become his colleague, and he agreed to accept

cept it. In consequence of this he went over to Dublin in May A. D. 1691, and became a settled pastor along with Mr. Boyse, to the congregation at Wood-street there. Here he was a popular and much admired preacher, for he not only had a strong clear voice, and a graceful delivery; but his discourses were for the most part very rational and persuasive, always concluding with something serious and pathetic. He married in A. D. 1694, but lost his wife in A. D. 1701; and soon after this the storm of persecution fell upon him.

It took its first rise from a person of leading influence in the congregation, who had been brought up to the study of divinity, but afterwards chose another profession. This person from the time of Mr. Emlyn's preaching having suspected that his judgment was against the Supreme Deity of the Lord Jesus, first put Mr. Boyse upon making an enquiry, and afterwards he came himself with him to Mr. Emlyn's house in June A. D. 1702, desiring seriously to know his real sentiments on the matter. Mr. Emlyn relates his answer as follows.

“ I now thought myself bound as a christian, to
 “ declare my faith openly in so great a point, and
 “ freely owned myself convinced that *the God and*
 “ *Father of Jesus Christ* is alone the Supreme Be-
 “ ing, and superior in excellence and authority to
 “ his son (or to that effect) who derives all from
 “ him.

“ him. I told them I had no aim to make any
“ strife among them, and offered to leave the con-
“ gregation peaceably, and that they might chuse
“ another if they pleased in my place. But this
“ it seems would not be permitted,”

Mr. Boyse communicated the affair to the
Dublin ministry, in consequence of which confer-
ences took place between them and Mr. Emlyn,
unsatisfactory to both. They agreed that same
day to dismiss him, and that he should preach no
more. Mr. Emlyn afterwards had a conference
with the deacons and chief managers of the church,
who testified great surprize and sorrow. It was de-
termined, however, that he should go to England for
a while, that there might be time for farther con-
sideration how he should act in the case. Accord-
ingly, he went to England, and remained there
about ten weeks; but in his absence a loud clamour
was raised against him and his opinions, and that
in part from the pulpit. When at London at this
time he published a short account of his case.

On his return to Dublin he thought he owed
that justice to himself, and especially to *the truth*,
to shew what evidence he had from the scriptures;
and therefore he wrote his *Humble enquiry into the
Scripture account of the Lord Jesus Christ*. A clear
concise tract, admirably calculated to produce con-
viction in candid and unprejudiced minds.

Mr.

Mr. Emlyn intended to have returned to England a few days after it was printed. But in the mean time some zealous Dissenters resolved to have him prosecuted. By the endeavours of some of them, a special warrant was procured from the lord chief justice Pÿne to seize him and his publication. A part of the impression was actually seized, and himself obliged to give bail for his appearance. He was indicted for blasphemy, and after tedious delays on the part of his prosecutors, and their laying aside two indictments which they had framed against him, a third was brought in, and the trial took place June 14th, A. D. 1703, before the court of queen's bench. Six or seven bishops were present, of whom the two archbishops of Armagh and Dublin took the bench. The indictment was for writing and publishing a book, wherein, it says, he had blasphemously and maliciously asserted, *that Jesus Christ was not equal to God the Father, to whom he was subject, &c.*

Much partiality and injustice appeared in the course of the trial; the lord chief justice was forward to sum up the evidence, and would not allow Mr. Emlyn to speak in his own defence, saying, *he did not care, since he would not satisfy him, how he had the books, which being on his defence he thought he was not bound to do, and*

standing up with great anger, he told the jury, *if they acquitted him my lords the bishops were there*, or words to that effect. The jury in a fright brought in a verdict *guilty*, for which some of them were afterwards sorry when it was too late.

When Mr. Emlyn appeared to have judgment given against him, the queen's council moved that he might retract, which he would not consent to; and so the lord chief justice passed this sentence on him, *viz.* to suffer *a years imprisonment*, to pay *a thousand pounds fine* to the queen, to *lie in prison till paid*; and to *find security for his good behaviour during life*. And then with a paper on his breast he was led round the four courts to be exposed. Mr. Emlyn's fine was beyond his ability to pay, and therefore upon application being made by Mr. Boyse, and a Mr. Medlicote, the duke of Ormond gave directions to reduce it to one hundred marks, which was paid. But Dr. Narcissus Marsh, archbishop of Dublin, demanded a shilling in the pound of the whole fine, as the queen's almoner; and at length after several applications he permitted it to be reduced to twenty pounds, which he had the means to receive from Mr. Emlyn.

This worthy man remained in prison more than two years, *viz.* from the 14th of June A. D. 1703, to the 21st July A. D. 1705, and upon giving

giving security, by two bondmen, for good behaviour during life, he was set at liberty. "But" (as he adds very properly) "still there remains another and more righteous judgment, when all both high and low shall stand and await the sentence of the great judge and *bishop* of souls, who will surely reverse all erroneous judgements here; for *he will render tribulation to them who have troubled others; but to them who are troubled rest and peace*; and they who have conscientiously erred will surely fare better than those who have persecuted them for such error. For *they shall have judgment without mercy, who show no mercy*. But I heartily and daily pray, that this may never be the portion of any who have injured me; and as I hope the good God will forgive me if I have erred, since he knows it is with sincerity, and that I suffer for what I take to be his truth and glory; so I also hope he will pardon them, who have persecuted me only from a mistaken zeal; for *they did it ignorantly in unbelief*."

On his release, July 22, A. D. 1705, he preached an affecting sermon at the Marshalsea prison, from Luke XIII. 29, to several persons who were confined there for debt, and were liberated by an act of grace at the same time.

Mr. Emlyn was the author of many other controversial pieces of great merit, besides that for which he suffered, and of a volume of pious and excellent sermons. The last and best edition of his works is the fourth, in three volumes octavo, London, 1746. The eminence and excellence of his character and writings are very justly described in the following epitaph inscribed on his stone.

Here lie the Remains

Of the REVEREND MR. THOMAS EMLYN,

Eminent for his great piety and learning,

Strong parts and sound judgment ;

Born at Stamford in Lincolnshire,

MAY 27, A. D. 1663.

HE WAS PASTOR TO A CONGREGATION

Of Protestant Dissenters at Dublin,

Which office he discharged during eleven years

With great faithfulness, diligence, and applause.

But having maintained the supreme unequalled

MAJESTY

OF THE ONE GOD AND FATHER OF ALL,

He was, to the shame and reproach of a christian

Country,

Persecuted even to bonds and imprisonment,

And the spoiling of his goods ;

All which he endured with great patience and

Constancy,

With

With such firmness and fortitude of mind,
 As left no room to doubt his integrity,
 And in his writings he supported that important

TRUTH

With such strength of reason and argument,
 As left no room to make a reply.

At length, full of days and ripe for glory,
 He departed this life in peace,

JULY 30. 1741.

In joyful hope of a blessed resurrection
 TO ETERNAL LIFE.

Of Mr. Emlyn the excellent Mr. Lindsey says, (*Apology*, p. 78) “ His works will be a lasting monument of his genius, learning, piety and integrity, written in a clear animated style, equalled by few, exceeded by none in our language, and with such invincible force of argument, as still to promote that truth for which he was not unwilling to suffer.”

In his *Historical View*, p. 325, he farther says, “ I have always reckoned the public prosecution of that learned and excellent person for maintaining the cause of the divine unity by the
 “ Dissenters,

“ Dissenters, and abetted by the bishops in Ire-
“ land, the long imprisonment and hardships which
“ he endured on that account in the beginning of
“ the present century, and his bold and well sup-
“ ported testimony to that great truth by his va-
“ luable publications for a series of years afterwards,
“ together with the esteem and reverence in which
“ he was very generally held, to have been among
“ the things that made an opening for, and great-
“ ly contributed to, that light and freedom in this
“ respect which we now enjoy.”

N. B. A larger account of Mr. Emlyn may be
seen in the *New and General Biographical Dictio-*
nary, in fifteen volumes 8vo, 1798.

THE

THE CONCLUSION.

I CANNOT conclude this history without a few observations, which I hope the perusal of it, and also that of the *History of the Corruptions of Christianity*; will naturally suggest.

1. It appears at first view truly wonderful, that the most simple of all religions, consisting of few doctrines, and those perfectly rational and intelligible, and of few rites, and those as simple as can well be imagined, should, with respect to both, have been so grossly perverted as it evidently has been. For nothing can well be conceived more absurd than the doctrines which were, in a course of time, received as articles of christian faith by what was called the *catholic church*; nor were any rites more disfigured by superstition than those of christian baptism and the Lord's supper. This departure from simplicity and truth will ever be one of the most memorable things in the history of the human mind. And yet, strange as it may appear (when the extremes, things so manifestly heterogeneous, are contrasted) that

that the one should have arisen from the other, the history of the gradual deviation makes every step in the process perfectly intelligible.

This enables us to fill up the great chasm between the creed of the apostles and that which has been ascribed to Athanasius; the former containing the doctrine of *one God*, and the latter that of *three supreme deities*, and which was soon followed by hundreds of subordinate ones.

By this means we see how a just and merciful God, freely pardoning all sins that are repented of and forsaken, who expresses the most earnest desire that *all would repent and live*, came to be regarded as the most unreasonable of tyrants; not only requiring an infinite satisfaction for the slightest offences, but dooming the greater part of his creatures to everlasting torments; a catastrophe foreseen, and intended by him before they were born.

History shews us by what steps the rite of baptism, originally expressive of nothing more than the adoption of a new religion, and a profession of that repentance and reformation which it required, came to be considered as actually *of itself* washing away sin, and a passport for a child to the happiness of heaven, which without that ceremony would have gone to hell; and how on the partaking of bread and wine merely *in remembrance of Christ*
was

was grafted the doctrine of *transubstantiation*; and the complex ceremonies of the mass.

What an immense distance there is between a primitive christian minister, the *true servant of the servants of God*, and him who, retaining that title, assumed *all power in heaven and earth*; making kings and emperors hold up his train when he walked in procession, and hold his stirrups and bridle when he mounted his horse. How great is the difference between the condition and character of the most patient of the *persecuted*, and the most cruel of *persecutors*, and that not of heathens but of their fellow christians. And yet when we consider the several links of the long chain by which these extremes were joined, we see them all perfectly and naturally connected with each other. Philosophical speculation, as well as christian charity, is exercised by the subject, and our astonishment ceases.

2. The recovery of genuine christianity from this deplorably corrupted state to the rational views we now entertain of it, is no less extraordinary; and the contemplation of it cannot but impress the thoughtful and pious mind with sentiments of wonder and gratitude. This restoration admits, however, of as easy an explanation as the various corruptions of it. The scriptures, though long misunderstood, remained, and were open to all

all who wished to study and understand them. The antient state, and gradual progress, of christianity, were always capable of being traced by the sagacious and unprejudiced, if they would attend to the existing monuments of past transactions. Good sense on other subjects that bear some relation to religion gradually prevailed. On the revival of literature light sprung up from various quarters, some the most unexpected; and by laborious and painful investigation, this light was reflected upon christian truth. Thus the treasure that had been long buried was by patient labour dug up again; and one discovery, as in the investigation of natural science, prepared the way for others; divine providence conducting the whole, but without any miracle.

3. Hence we may safely conclude that this natural process, now happily commenced, will proceed till every remaining corruption of christianity be removed, and nothing will be found in it that any unbeliever, any Jew, or Mahometan, can reasonably object to. And since whatever is true and right will finally prevail, that is, when sufficient time has been given to the exhibition of it, rational christianity will, in due time, be the religion of the whole world. In the prophetic language of our Saviour, *he will draw all men unto him.*

Whenever

Whenever freedom of inquiry, and knowledge of other kinds, shall prevail in Mahometan countries, the delusion of that system will disappear, like a fog before the sun. Then, also, will the veil be removed from the minds of the most obstinate and incredulous Jews; tho' probably the personal appearance of Jesus himself may be necessary, as it was to Paul, to their complete satisfaction, and this after their restoration to their own country.

5. Let us not, in this interesting speculation, forget our obligation to sceptics and unbelievers, for exciting the attention of christians to the manifold abuses and corruptions of our religion. Without this powerful stimulus we should probably have been little farther advanced at present than the christian world was in the time of Luther. Their doubts, and even their censurable sarcasms, insults and ridicule, have been useful steps in this process. Let not their conduct, then, excite our surprize or indignation. Plain good sense could not but be shocked at the appearance which christianity made to them; and nothing but the strongest prejudice of education, and the influence of authority, of some kind or other, could have rendered christians themselves blind to such absurdities.

Much, therefore, may be alleged in excuse for unbelievers, who had no advantage of religious education to bias their minds in favour of christianity; but none for those christians who, losing sight of that spirit of meekness and forbearance which becomes their character, can wish to silence objections by authority, or penal laws. Rather, let unbelievers be invited to propose all their objections with the most perfect freedom. If any thing in our religion be really objectionable, let it not be retained because it is pointed out to us by an enemy; but let us follow truth wherever we can find it.

Let us consider that unbelievers, by giving us their assistance, whether willingly or unwillingly, to purge our religion from every thing that is offensive to right reason, are, in fact, preparing the way for their own conversion. Hitherto all their objections have had the happy effect of strengthening the evidences of christianity; so that in this progress they will have less and less to object to every day, and consequently all of them that are truly reasonable and candid will become christians. And those of them that are prejudiced against christianity because it condemns the vices to which they are addicted, who *love darkness rather than light because their deeds are evil* (which, no doubt, is the case of great numbers) will be reduced to silence.

The

The assent of the wise and good will in time force theirs. Thus becoming at first merely speculative, they will at length become practical, believers. When the understanding is well formed, the will and affections, tho' refractory for some time, will follow at length.

If to this meekness and candour towards unbelievers we add the habitual exercise of the other christian virtues, we shall have done every thing that was in our power to recommend our religion, and may safely leave it to the power of truth, and the God of truth; confident, that in due time, the effect of this evidence will not fail to appear. *If our light shine before men, they will glorify our Father who is in heaven.*

The prospect of the improving state of christianity in my own time, and from facts within my own knowledge, is very encouraging. In England till about A. D. 1750, the great body of Dissenters among whom I was educated, were, with very few exceptions, rigid Calvinists. A few of the ministers were of the Arminian persuasion, a small proportion of them were Arians, and a much smaller still Socinians. Even now the majority are Calvinists; but the more liberal bear a much greater proportion to them than formerly. There is not a considerable town in England in which there is not a respectable society of unitarian Dissenters.

and they are continually increasing. Many individual members of trinitarian congregations become at first more candid, and then unitarians; whereas it is hardly ever known that an unitarian becomes a trinitarian.

It is particularly remarkable that in academies in which young men are educated for the ministry among the Calvinists, where freedom of inquiry cannot be entirely excluded, the more ingenious and inquisitive of the students frequently become unitarians, as the opulent supporters of those academies lament; so that their societies are obliged to content themselves with lay^s preachers, or with ministers who have no great share of learning.

Unitarianism has of late made considerable progress among the Methodists, and this without any communication with unitarians of older standing, or the perusal of their writings, but wholly from the study of the scriptures. There are also now many congregations of unitarians in Wales, where much attention was always given to the subject of religion.

Notwithstanding the subscription to the thirty nine articles, required of all who take orders in the church of England, and every other barrier against heterodoxy, unitarianism has not failed to find its way into their churches. Many young men of a se-

rious

rious and inquisitive turn decline entering into the church, tho' they were educated with a view to it, and some have renounced their livings. But many do, by some means or other, reconcile to themselves their continuance in the church with the holding of sentiments which it reprobates, and this number there is reason to think is increasing. The articles of the church are clearly Calvinistic, and yet from the time of bishop Laud a majority of the clergy have been Arminians, and from the time of Dr. Clarke great numbers were Arians. Of this class, till of late at least, were the generality of the more learned and elderly of the clergy, as the younger among them are now more generally unitarians.

That unitarianism is gaining ground on the continent of Europe, there is abundant evidence. It was said long ago, and it has never been contradicted, that in Geneva, where Servetus was burned for professing unitarianism, the ministers in general are of his opinion. A Lutheran minister from Denmark lately told a friend of mine at Paris, that, having travelled through a great part of Germany, and seen many ministers of his denomination, he did not meet with one that was not an unitarian, as he himself was. This however, might be true, tho' the majority were trinitarians, as indeed is most probable.

Tho' I have not had any particular information concerning the state of opinions among the Protestants in France, it can hardly be doubted but that the same causes must have produced the same effects among them, in proportion to their means of inquiry, and the opportunity of indulging it. And where ministers are not confined to set forms of prayer as in Scotland, or where on their entrance on the ministry, and not afterwards, they only engage not to impugn particular opinions in preaching or writing (as I have been informed is in fact the case at Geneva) they may with no great difficulty maintain in private sentiments which they do not avow in public ; but this, being known to their friends, will have its influence. In all these cases the friends of ecclesiastical establishments naturally say, "*They that are not openly with us, are against us.*"

6. Tho' it may be allowed that no particular form of church government is of divine appointment, and that they all have particular advantages to recommend them, it sufficiently appears from the whole of this history, that extensive establishments of any kind are exceedingly unfavourable to reformation ; because the concurrence of great numbers must be necessary to its taking effect. Ideas of improvements of every kind, in science or art, first occur to thinking individuals, and their gaining
ing

ing the concurrence of the majority of the body of which they are members may be impossible, in whatever degree of esteem they may be held. In these circumstances the reformer and his friends, supposing him to have gained some, are sure to be outvoted; and then nothing can be done without a separation or schism; and few persons have strength of mind to bear even the opprobrium attached to the idea of a schismatic, though no more serious inconvenience be sustained by reputed heresy, or schism. And it has been seen that, in general, this crime, as it has ever been deemed by the majority, has been thought deserving of the severest civil punishment, and often that of death, and in the most dreadful forms.

This has always been the case in a greater or less degree when wealth, or power, must be abandoned by the reformers. Worldly minded men will not fail to pretend a zeal for truth, in defence of what they prefer to any truth; and the *bona fide* approvers of the system are generally drawn in to concur in the persecuting measures of those who are no bigots.

If this be considered, we cannot wonder that the church of Rome, the Lutheran church in Germany, the episcopalian church of England, or the Presbyterian church of Scotland, are at this day what they were at their establishment, no articles

in their creed being changed ; and that all considerable changes in the religion of whole countries have been effected by the civil power. The members of the ecclesiastical establishments have never reformed themselves. Many individuals may disapprove of the system, and wish for a change, but the majority, educated of course in the old way, and having acquired prejudices in its favour, will be averse to it. We see that the great mass of mankind, and of all nations, are averse to any material change either in government or religion ; and bear many inconveniences rather than hazard a revolution, even far short of a general one. If the younger part of a community should wish for it, they are restrained by their seniors.

On this account the Independent form of church government has, in this respect, at least, a great advantage over every other ; since no particular society has to wait for the concurrence of any other for the purpose of making a change in any article of faith or practice ; and with proper address of the minister, or any other intelligent and leading member of the society, the rest may be brought to approve and concur in it. At most the inconvenience attending a division in a single congregation is inconsiderable.

In consequence of this state of things, unitarianism has got established, as it may be said, in
many

many congregations of Dissenters in England, all the members of which were not long ago trinitarians ; and by the same means it has prevailed in many of the Independent congregations of New England. What is of more consequence still, in this state of things, every person acts according to the dictates of his own mind, and is under no temptation to prevaricate in any form or degree.

The case is very different from this (which has a near connection with general morality) in large national establishments of religion. There are, no doubt, many unitarians in the churches of England and Scotland, and some among the Presbyterians of North America ; but they are under the necessity of concealing their sentiments, and of joining in forms of devotion which they must regard as nothing less than idolatrous ; being the worship of a creature like themselves, destitute of that omnipotence and omniscience which alone can constitute any being a proper object of christian worship. This they cannot do with perfect sincerity. If they silently refuse their concurrence in what they hear and disapprove, still their example operates to continue and enforce it.

This is the case even with the laity ; but that of the clergy, who derive some advantage from their situation, is much more unfavourable. If they be confined to trinitarian forms of devotion, they
 C c 5 must

must every time they officiate not only profess, but in reality act upon the profession, of what they do not believe. If the forms and discipline of their churches does not require so much as this, but leaves them at liberty to make use of their own forms of devotion, they must, if they were unitarians when they became members of such churches, be guilty of prevarication at that time ; or if not, equity seems to require, that whatever emolument, or advantage of any kind, a man acquires by any profession to which he no longer adheres, he should not retain, but openly abandon it ; so that a person strictly conscientious must be greatly distressed.

It is, however, remarkable and shews in a striking light how ensnaring and dangerous such a situation is, that the concurrence of numbers in acts of manifest insincerity, will reconcile the minds of many to things at which they would revolt in any other exactly similar cases. How many are there who, in the most solemn forms, subscribe to articles of faith which they do not believe, when they would not on any account make a false declaration in any other form. This conduct, however, is such as no person can justify ; and all that can be said in excuse for it is, that it is *doing evil that good may come*. It is doing one bad thing, in order to place a person in a situation in which it will
be

be in his power to do many good things. It makes him an authorized teacher of virtue, and among others that of sincerity. But how can a man with any effect inculcate that virtue on others which he has not practiced himself? And would not more good be done eventually by forbearing to do that thing which is confessedly bad, than by any good that he will probably do by means of it?

A strict adherence to what is in itself right, without regard to any consequences, is the best rule for men. Nothing can justify the doing of any evil that good may come, but a certain knowledge that the good will come, and of its having no connection with any greater evil. The Supreme Being who is omniscient, as well as omnipotent, may safely act, and continually does act, upon this maxim; many evils being introduced into his government of the world. But he knows that they will certainly lead to good, and no doubt to greater good than would be brought about by any other means; and man must not pretend to omniscience, and adopt such a line of conduct as nothing but the consciousness of omniscience will authorize.

7. Disgusting as the perusal of a great part of ecclesiastical history must be, to every person who feels for the honour of christianity, on account of the unchristian spirit that was shewn by too many
of

of its professors, and the factions, animosities, and persecuting spirit that has been too prevalent among them, we cannot but be pleased to see, in the persecuted at least, much of the genuine, the amiable and exalted, spirit of christianity; a spirit of humility, benevolence, and true piety; of patience under reproach, and injuries of every kind, an indifference to the things of this world, and the placing of the heart and affections on the things of another. Also, tho' the generality of the christian persecutors were men of no real religion, but were actuated by the very worst of passions, hatred and ambition; and were altogether destitute of compassion, it may clearly be perceived that some of them entered into these measures with reluctance, being deceived by the false maxims that in their time were universally prevalent, and thinking that they did God and religion real service by extirminating their enemies. Like Paul, and many of his countrymen, they had *a zeal for God, tho' not according to knowledge.*

For this, no doubt, due allowance will be made in the great day of discrimination; when some of the persecutors and persecuted may embrace as friends. This I hope will be the case with Calvin and Servetus, with Cranmer and Rogers, and those whom the good king Edward VI was by them persuaded to commit to the flames; and perhaps
with

with the emperors Trajan and Marcus Antoninus, whose ignorance and general good character will plead for them. But I cannot have the same charity for such men as Bonner, Gardiner, and Laud, tho' I doubt not there is a course of discipline prepared by the merciful parent of us all, that will, in due time, bring all men to think and feel as they ought to do.

Some of the martyrs themselves did not always discover a christian temper; tho' it must be acknowledged even by unbelievers, if they be ingenuous, that, in general, human nature never appeared to so much advantage as in their behaviour; in their sacrificing every thing dear to them in life, bearing reproach, suffering tedious confinement, in loathsome prisons, destitute of all the comforts of life, and meeting death in its most frightful forms, from an adherence to what they considered as the cause of truth, and yet without any ill will towards the authors of their sufferings.

If this be not true magnanimity, and every thing that is great and dignified in the human character, what is so? Surely not the spirit that carries a man into the field of battle, or that which prompts him to risk his life, or that of his enemy, in single combat, for a point of honour. This is acting from the impulse of momentary passion, and
implies

implies no command of temper at all ; tho' it is in the control of the appetites and passions that the power of reason, which distinguishes men from brutes, is alone conspicuous.

As these virtues of the highest class always appeared when they were called for, as in time of persecution, they must have existed when they were not called for. I doubt not they do so among christians at this day, in which persecution, at least in its most prominent feature and form, is not known. Many christians, we may be confident, are now ready to act the part of those of former times, with the same alacrity, and the same excellent disposition ; and their attachment to the things of this life, which naturally gains upon all persons whose attention is not drawn from them by urgent circumstances, would gradually lessen, and wholly disappear, when it should be evident to them that the love of the world and the love of God were in opposition to one another ; which in the present state of things is not so apparent ; and therefore christians too often deceive themselves, and engage in worldly pursuits more than they otherwise would do.

Many christians, however, tho' not persecuted to death, are in situations in which they shew, in trials of a different kind, an energy of mind that would carry them through any trial. And that
mode

mode of perfecution in which life is concerned is not that which, with many, requires so much real fortitude as some others.

I have in my eye several persons whose christian principles have led them to make sacrifices to which many of the martyrs would probably have been unequal. In this some may be apt to think that I refer to the case of some Dissenters in England; and certainly their situation has in it, especially of late years, something very humiliating and discouraging; and to bear, it, and to behave properly under it, has required something superior to the influence of general esteem, worldly ambition, or pecuniary advantage. But this I consider as a trifle compared with the strength of principle which has led some to abandon respectable and lucrative situations, and what is more, to bear the alienation of former friends and connections, together with such privations of a personal nature as would have been sensibly felt by persons who, like them, had lived in affluence. To such persons the greatest homage is due from all who have a just conception of the difficulty of such exertions; and of the strength of mind, and the force of principle, that alone could make men capable of them; as may be inferred from the small number of those who, in the same circumstances, have acted the same part.

The

The surest method of deciding concerning the difficulty of any kind of conduct, is not to consider it, in the first instance, abstractedly from what we should imagine to be its nature, but to examine the numbers that have actually adopted it. Now, since it is evident from history, compared with present observation, that there have been many more persons who have died martyrs rather than openly renounce their principles, than of those who, without being particularly called upon, have relinquished desirable situations in life, and have quietly sunk into obscurity, with the risk of poverty ; it is evident that there must be more real difficulty in the latter case than in the former, and that it requires stronger and purer principles of action. And it only requires attention to some pretty obvious considerations respecting the two cases to see the reason of this.

In the case of open persecution, there is generally no choice between death and infamy, which is always, in a greater or less degree, attached to every thing that has the appearance of cowardice, or dissimulation. And openly, in the face of the world, to renounce a man's principles, and to conform to what he is well known inwardly to condemn, is what no person can justify, tho' out of compassion to human infirmity, he may, in some measure

measure, excuse it, as he would do any other instance of wrong conduct to which the temptation was peculiarly strong. In this situation many persons, from a sense of shame only, without any peculiar strength of religious principle, may be supposed to prefer death to life.

But when a man is not particularly called upon to act at all, when it is in his power to continue to act as all his acquaintance do, and of course to enjoy affluence together with sufficient reputation; in this situation to obey the secret call of conscience only, and against the remonstrances of all his friends and relations to withdraw into obscurity and poverty, is great indeed. Besides, by indirectly reproaching others, he is sure to draw reproach and calumny upon himself; and instead of being held in general admiration, as the martyrs were, he must expect to be ridiculed for his singularity, which precludes all sympathy and compassion. In these circumstances to persist in doing what himself only will do, is an argument if any thing in human life can be, of *pure principle*, without any mixture of ostentation, or any other motive improper for a christian to act upon. The more I think of this case, the more it excites my admiration, and the less do I wonder that so few are equal to the conduct proper for it. Let no

person who has not himself acted this extraordinary part imagine that HZ should, or could, have done it. I am far from thinking so highly of myself, and I am truly thankful that my principles have not been exposed to so great a trial.

ADDITION.

ADDITIONS.

^{1.} SINCE the account of the Catholic confessors in Africa, speaking after their tongues were cut out (Vol. 1, p. 48) was printed, I have met with an account of a young woman in Suffolk (recorded in *Martyn's Abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. 9, p. 126) who spoke articulately without any tongue at all. It is related by Mr. Boddington of Ipswich, a Turkey merchant, who says he had prevailed upon Mr. Notcutt, "a minister, a learned and curious gentleman, and Mr. Hammond, who perfectly understood anatomy," to accompany him to the place where she lived; and they all attest as follows, viz. that she informed them, that when she was four years old, she lost the greatest part of her tongue by a cancer; but that when, after a medical application, the remainder of it dropped out she immediately said to her mother "Do not be frightened. It will grow again." She was then more than twenty years old, and, examining her mouth, they found neither tongue nor uvula; and yet she discoursed as fluently as other persons, tho' she

sometimes pronounced words ending in *ath* as *at*, *end* as *emb*, and *ad* as *eib*. A more particular account of this extraordinary case, and of others of a similar nature, may be seen in the place above mentioned.

2. *A note to Vol. 4. p^a 189.*

Concerning these ejected ministers Mr. Lindsey writes as follows. “ Perhaps the noblest and
 “ most extraordinary sacrifice that was made to
 “ integrity and religious principle, was that which
 “ exhibited by this class of men, whether we con-
 “ sider the extent of the numbers engaged in it,
 “ the purity of their moral characters, or the emi-
 “ nent talents possessed by many of them, with the
 “ necessary valuable qualifications of all of them in
 “ general for their high and honourable office;
 “ when after the reformation, and particularly in
 “ consequence of the Bartholomew act of uniformi-
 “ ty, little short of two thousand gospel ministers
 “ gave up their benefices, which to many of them
 “ was all their worldly subsistence, rather than de-
 “ clare their unfeigned assent and consent to the
 “ liturgy and articles of the church, and conform
 “ to many things which they disapproved and
 “ condemned.”

A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

EVENTS,

CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL,

AFTER THE FALL OF THE

WESTERN EMPIRE.

A. D.

476 Odoacer king of the Heruli in Italy.
Basiliscus recalls Tim. Ælurus and P. Fullo, and anathematizes the council of Chalcedon.

477 Zeno expels Basiliscus.

478 A council at Constantinople, which condemned P. Fullo.

482 Zeno publishes his *henoticon*.

Acacius patriarch of Constantinople makes P. Mongus, an Eutychian, patriarch of A-

A. D.

Alexandria, and quarrels with the pope.

Huneric, king of Vandals in Africa, begins to persecute the Catholics.

485 Gontamond puts an end to the persecution.

493 Theodoric the Goth, king of Italy.

496 Clovis king of the Franks is baptized.

522 The conversion of Zathes king of the Lazi.

529 The publication of the Justinian code.

The monastery of mount Cassin founded by Benedict.

533 The publication of the Digest.

534 Belisarius recovers Africa from the Vandals.

536 Rome taken by Belisarius.

546 Rome taken by Totila.

553 A council at Constantinople for the condemnation of the *three chapters*.

554 Narfes puts an end to the reign of the Ostrogoths in Italy.

560 The conversion of the Suevi from Arianism to the catholic faith.

568 The Lombards established in Italy.

587 Recared, king of the Visigoths, in Spain, becomes a catholic.

598 Ethelred king of Kent embraces christianity by the preaching of Austin.

622 The

A. D.

- 622 The commencement of the Mahometan æra, from the flight of Mahomet to Medina.
- 625 Chosroes king of Persia obliges his christian subjects to embrace Nestorianism.
- 636 The Saracens take Jerusalem.
- 638 They take Antioch and all Syria.
- 639 Heraclius publishes his *æthefis* in favour of monothelitism.
- 640 The Saracens conquer Egypt.
- 647 They extend their conquests in Africa.
- 669 They ravage Sicily.
- 671 Theodore bishop of Canterbury brings all England to the Romish custom of celebrating Easter.
- 680 Monothelitism condemned in a council at Constantinople.
- 692 A council styled *in Trullo* for the purpose of making canons.
- 696 All Africa reduced by the Saracens.
- 713 The Saracens conquer the greatest part of Spain.
- 718 Pelagius the Goth chosen king of the Asturias.
- 719 The first mission of Boniface into Germany.
- 721 The monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland founded.

A. D.

- 729 The Saracens ravage the South of France.
- 730 Leo Isauricus declares against image worship.
- 744 The abbey of Fulda in Germany founded.
- 745 Adalbert and Clement condemned at Rome.
- 752 The Lombards conquer the exarchate of Ravenna.
- 754 A council of the Iconoclasts at Constantinople.
- 755 Pepin defeats the Lombards, and gives twenty two cities to the pope.
- 758 Chrodogand establishes canons regular in his church at Metz.
- 767 A conference with the Greeks at Gentili, about the addition of *filioque* to the creed.
- 774 Charlemagne puts an end to the reign of the Lombards, and enlarges the grant of Pepin to the pope.
- 776 Charlemagne gains great advantages over the Saxons.
- 785 Elipand archbishop of Toledo advances the doctrine of Jesus being the son of God by adoption only.
- 787 The second council of Nice, in which the worship of images is established.
- 794 A council held by Charlemagne at Frankfort, in which the opinion of Elipand and Felix of Urgela is condemned. 800

A. D.

- 800 Charlemagne made emperor of the West.
- 809 A council at Aix la Chapelle on the addition of *filioque* to the creed.
- 820 The Saracens enter Sicily, and take Palermo.
- 826 Heriold king of Denmark embraces christianity.
- 829 Vitmar (or Ansfcaire) sent to preach in Sweden.
- 831 Paschasius Radbert writes his treatise on the eucharist.
- 841 The Normans make descents in France.
- 845 Hincmar made archbishop of Rheims.
- 846 The Saracens advance to the gates of Rome.
- 848 A council of Mayence for the condemnation of Godeschalchus.
- 859 A council of Photius at Constantinople against Ignatius.
- 865 Bogoris king of Bulgaria embraces christianity.
- 866 Many of the Sclavi embrace christianity.
- 869 A council at Constantinople condemns Photius.
- 872 Christianity introduced into Ruffia.
- 877 The Danes make descents on Great Britain.
- 878 Photius restored.
- 884 The Saracens destroy the monastery of M. Cassin.

A. D.

- 910 The monastery of Clugni in Burgundy founded.
- 912 The Normans established in the North of France under Rollo, who embraces christianity.
- 965 Micisslas duke of Poland embraces christianity.
- 968 Adalbert the first archbishop of Magdeburg.
- 969 Dunstan, being archbishop of Canterbury, assembles a general council of the nation, on account of the irregularities of the clergy.
- 993 The canonization of Udalric of Augsburg, by John XV, the first of the kind.
- 1017 Manicheans discovered at Orleans.
Canute the Dane king of England.
- 1018 The Normans enter Italy.
- 1022 Church music improved by Guido.
- 1029 The death of Fulbert bishop of Chartres.
- 1039 The monastery of Valambrose founded by J. Gualbert.
- 1050 The doctrine of Berenger condemned the first time at Rome.
- 1058 Robert Guiscard drives the Saracens out of Italy.
- 1059 Pope Nicolas II makes a treaty with the Normans.
- 1066 William the Norman conquers England.

A. D.

- 1067 P. Igneus passes through the fire at Florence.
- 1077 Henry IV submits to Gregory VII.
Matilda makes the donation of Florence to the pope.
- 1084 The Chartreuse founded by Bruno.
- 1092 Roscellin condemned at a council at Compeigne for a metaphysical explanation of the trinity.
- 1093 Anselm made bishop of Canterbury.
- 1095 Pope Urban holds a council at Clermont, where the crusade was first published.
- 1098 The monastery of Citeaux founded by S. Robert.
- 1099 Jerusalem taken by the crusaders.
- 1106 The monastery of Fontevraud founded by Robert d' Arbriffelles.
- 1110 Basilus the Bogomilian burned.
- 1115 Bernard founds the monastery of Clairvaux.
- 1118 The order of knights Templars instituted.
- 1119 Peter de Bruis preaches against the corruption of the church of Rome. His disciples were called Petrobrussians.
- 1121 Abelard censured at Soissons for his explanation of the doctrine of the trinity.
- 1124 Norbert opposes Tanchelm at Antwerp.
- 1125 Otho converts many in Pomerania.

D. D.

- 1142 Arnold of Brescia preaches against the abuses of the church of Rome.
- 1146 The publication of the second crusade.
- 1147 Alberic of Austria sent against the Albigenses and Henricians.
- 1151 The canon law compiled by Gratian.
- 1154 The order of knights of St. John of Jerusalem instituted.
- 1156 Henry II made king of Ireland by the pope.
The death of Peter the venerable, abbot of Clugni.
- 1158 The order of Calatrava founded in Spain.
- 1164 A council at Clarendon, whence arose the difference between Henry II and Thomas Becket.
- 1175 The order of St. James founded in Spain.
- 1182 Philip Augustus banishes the Jews from France.
- 1184 The commencement of the inquisition.
- 1187 Jerusalem taken by Saladin.
- 1188 The third crusade.
- 1191 Acre taken by the crusaders.
- 1192 The order of Teutonic knights confirmed.
- 1202 The fourth crusade.
- 1203 The crusaders take Constantinople.
- 1204 The abbey of Portroyal founded.

A. D.

- 1208 Peter de Castlenau murdered in Languedoc, whence arose the war against the Albigenses.
- 1209 The works of Aristotle brought from Constantinople.
- 1210 The order of Franciscans approved at Rome.
- 1212 The order of St. Claire (the second order of Franciscans) instituted.
- 1216 The order of Dominicans founded.
- 1221 The third order of Franciscans.
- 1225 The difference between the pope and the emperor Frederic.
- 1236 Cordova taken from the Moors.
- 1248 St. Lewis sets out on the crusade.
- 1250 The college of Sorbonne founded by Robert Sorbon, the chaplain of Lewis.
- 1255 Christianity makes great progress in Prussia.
- 1258 The Tartars take Bagdad, and put an end to the caliphate.
- 1261 The Greeks retake Constantinople.
- 1265 Thomas Aquinas writes his *Summa*.
- 1274 The pope holds a council at Lyons, when the multiplication of religious orders was forbidden.
- 1293 Acre taken from the crusaders, the last place held by them in the East.
- 1298 Ottoman the first emperor of the Turks.

A. D.

- 1300 The first Jubilee celebrated at Rome.
- 1306 Philip le Bel expels the Jews from France.
- 1409 Clement V goes to reside at Avignon, where the popes continued to the year A. D. 1377.
- 1310 Rhodes taken by the Hospitallers of St. John.
- 1312 The order of the Templars suppressed.
- 1331 The Teutonic knights enter Prussia, and settle there.
- 1345 A council at Constantinople against the errors of G. Palamas.
- 1347 Rienzi master of Rome.
- 1348 The greatest plague of which there is any account.
- 1353 Cardinal Albornos sent to Italy to recover towns usurped from the holy see.
- 1377 Gregory XI goes to reside at Rome. He publishes a bull against the Wickliffites.
- 1378 On the election of Urban VI the great schism commences. Clement VII the anti-pope went to reside at Avignon.
- 1387 Christianity received in Lithuania.
- 1394 Benedict XIII succeeds Clement VII at Avignon.
- 1402 John Hus began to preach in Bohemia.
- 1407 Lewis duke of Orleans assassinated by the duke of Burgundy.

1409

A. D.

- 1409 A council at Pisa on account of the schism.
 1413 Somogitia receives christianity.
 1414 The council of Constance opened.
 1415 John Hus burned at Constance.
 1416 Jerome of Prague burned there.
 1418 The termination of the council of Constance,
 and of the schism.
 1420 Zisca, the commander of the Hussites gains
 several victories.
 1431 A council assembles at Basil.
 1434 The Hussites totally defeated.
 1338 The pope opens a council at Ferrara, to op-
 pose that at Basil.
 1439 The council removed from Ferrara to Flo-
 rence. Victor Amadœus made pope by the
 council of Basil, and named Felix V.
 1444 The pope and his council remove to Rome
 1448 The council removes from Basil to Lyons.
 1449 The termination of the schism by the resig-
 nation of Felix.
 The discovery of the art of printing by Lau-
 rence Coster of Haarlem.
 1453 Mahomet II takes Constantinople.
 1467 The foundation of the order of Minims:
 1478 A division between the families of Pazzi
 and the Medici at Florence.
 1480 The siege of Rhodes defeated by the knights

A. D.

- 1484 The discovery of the kingdom of Congo by the Portuguese.
- 1488 The military orders in Spain given to Ferdinand king of Arragon.
- 1491 Granada taken from the Moors.
- 1492 The Moors banished from Spain.
Ch. Columbus discovers America.
- 1494 Charles VIII makes an expedition against Naples.
- 1498 Savonarola burned at Florence.
- 1506 The church of St. Peter begun to be built at Rome.
- 1508 The league of Cambray against Venice.
- 1511 Julius II besieges Merindola in person.
A council at Pisa against the pope.
- 1512 A council at Lateran by the pope.
- 1517 M. Luther begins to preach against indulgences.
- 1518 The Concordat between Francis I, and Leo X.
- 1527 Rome taken by the army of Charles X.
- 1531 The league of the Protestants at Smalcald;
Henry VII made head of the church of England.
- 1533 The Anabaptists excite troubles in Germany.
- 1540 The institution of the order of Jesuits.

A. D.

- 1541 Xavier goes on his mission to the Indies.
- 1542 The council of Trent opened.
- 1545 A great persecution of the Waldenses.
- 1546 The death of Luther.
- 1548 Charles V reduces the Protestants in Germany, and publishes the *Interim*.
- 1552 Charles V narrowly escapes to Inspruck.
- 1553 Servetus burned at Geneva.
- 1559 The peace of Cambray between France, Spain, England, and the empire.
- 1561 The conference at Passy between the Catholics and the Protestants.
- 1562 The beginning of the civil wars in France.
- 1563 The termination of the council of Trent.
Universal liberty of conscience granted in Poland.
- 1564 The origin of the priests of the oratory by Philip de Neri.
- 1565 The conferences between the Socinians, and other Reformed in Poland, and their consequent separation.
- 1566 The beginning of the war in the Netherlands.
Valentine Gentilis put to death at Berne as an unitarian.
- 1571 The sea fight at Lepanto.
The Turks conquer Cyprus.

A. D.

- 1572 The massacre of the Protestants in France on the eve of St. Bartholomew.
- 1579 Faustus Socinus arrives in Poland.
- 1582 The new style fixed by Gregory XIII.
- 1586 Mary queen of Scots beheaded.
- 1588 The Spanish armada dispersed.
- 1593 Henry IV becomes a catholic.
- 1598 The edict of Nantes in favour of the Protestants.
- 1599 The council of Diamper in the East Indies, by Menezes archbishop of Goa.
- 1602 The examination of the book of Molina.
- 1604 F. Socinus dies in Poland.
- 1605 The differences between the pope and the Venetians.
- 1608 A revolt by the Protestants against Matthias, as king of Hungary.
- 1610 The final expulsion of the Moors from Spain.
- 1617 The catholic religion established in Bern.
- 1618 The beginning of the troubles in Bohemia. The synod of Dort in Holland.
- 1619 Vanini burned at Thouloufe.
- 1628 Rochelle taken by Lewis XIII.
- 1631 The battle of Leipzig gained by Gustavus Adolphus.
- 1633 Galileo condemned by the inquisition at Rome.

A. D.

- 1637 The solemn league and covenant in Scotland.
- 1639 The perfecution of the Catholics in Japan.
- 1641 The beginning of the dispute about the tenets of Jansenius, who died in A. D. 1638.
- 1645 The dispute between the Dominicans and the Jesuits about the Chinese ceremonies.
- 1648 The peace of Westphalia, by which the Protestants gained much.
- 1656 The *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum* published.
- 1659 The unitarians form a settlement at Racow, where they publish many works.
The peace of the Pyrennees.
- 1660 The dissidents in Poland excluded the senate.
- 1661 The unitarians banished from Poland.
- 1662 Christians persecuted in China.
- 1668 The peace of Aix la Chapelle.
- 1669 Candia taken by the Turks.
- 1688 The revolution in England.
- 1670 Spinoza publishes his *Traclatus Theologico Politicus*.
- 1685 The revocation of the edict of Nantes,
- 1686 A cruel perfecution of the Vaudois.
- 1687 The opinions of Molinos condemned at Rome.

D. D.

- 1688 The persecution of the christians at Siam.
- 1706 Frederick IV king of Denmark sends missionaries to India.
- 1712 The peace of Utrecht.
- 1713 The bull *Unigenitus* published by Clement XI.
- 1725 Pope Benedict XIV appoints a council for the reformation of the church.
- 1736 The dissidents in Poland excluded from all public offices.
- 1767 The government of Milan lays several restraints on the papal power.
The Jesuits suppressed in Portugal, and not long after in all other catholic states.
- 1768 The duke of Parma forbids his subjects to appeal to Rome.
The king of France seizes Avignon.
- 1772 The first partition of Poland by the empress of Russia, the emperor of Germany, and the king of Prussia.
- 1773 The pope consents to abolish the order of Jesuits.
- 1774 The inquisition in Spain deprived of much of its power.
The grand duke of Tuscany makes many regulations towards suppressing monasteries.
- 1775 The privileges of the dissidents in Poland restored

A. D.

restored by the influence of the empress of Russia.

The beginning of the American war, which terminated in the independence of the United States.

1782 The emperor Joseph suppresses most of the religious orders.

The pope makes a journey to Vienna.

1789 The national assembly of France decrees the estates of the church to be national property.

1790 The Protestants in France have certain privileges granted them.

1791 The revenues of the bishops reduced in France.

1793 The christian æra abolished, and a new method of computing time introduced. The church establishment entirely abolished.

The partition of what remained of Poland.

1798 The papal power abolished, and the Roman republic set up. A national council of the catholics in France.

1799 Pius VII succeeds Pius VI, and the ecclesiastical states, with some diminution, restored.

1802 The catholics re-established in France, with privileges to the Lutherans and the Reformed, and a toleration of all other sects.

A VIEW OF THE SUCCESSION OF THE POPES, AND OF THE PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS, FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE, TO THE PRESENT TIME.

POPES.	EASTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ITALY.	VANDALS IN AFRICA.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
a. d. 467 Simplicius	474 Zeno	476 Odoacer	476 Hunic	481 Clovis
483 Felix II	491 Anastasius		484 Gondebald	
492 Gelasius		493 Theodoric		
496 Anastasius II			495 Thrasamond	
498 Symmachus				511 Childebert
514 Hormisdas	518 Justin			
523 John				522 Hilderic
526 Felix III		526 Athalaric		
530 Boniface II	527 Justinia			530 Gelinus
532 John II		534 Theodatus		
535 Agapetus		536 Vitiges		
536 Sylvester		540 Theodebald		
540 Vigilius				

The Succession of the Popes and of the Principal Temporal Sovereigns.

POPES	EASTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ITALY.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
A. D. 555 Pelagius		541 Totila	559 Clothaire
559 John III		LOMBARDS	562 Contran
	565 Justin II	568 Alboinus	
573 Benedict		572 Cleophis	
577 Pelagius II	578 Tiberius II		
	582 Mauricius	586 Autharis	596 Thieri II
590 Gregory		590 Agilulf	
	602 Phocas		
606 Boniface III			
607 Boniface IV	610 Heraclius	616 Adalwald	614 Clothaire II
614 Deusdedit		626 Arivald	
618 Boniface V		638 Rotharis	628 Dagobert
627 Honorius			638 Sigebert II
639 John IV	641 Constantine II		
641 Theodorus	642 Constans II		

The Succession of the Popes and of the Principal Temporal Sovereigns.

POPES.	EASTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ITALY.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
A. D. 649 Martin			
655 Vitalianus		654 Rodwald	654 Childeric II
		659 Aribert	
		662 Gondebert	
		663 Grimoald	
669 Adeodatus	668 Constantine V		
676 Domnus		673 Pertarich	673 Thierri III
678 Agathon			
683 Leo II			
684 Benedict II			
685 John V.	685 Justinian II		
687 Sergius			
	694 Leontius		690 Clovis III
701 John VI	697 Apsimarus	691 Cunibert	695 Childebert III
	701 Tiberius		
705 John VIII	704 Justinian II		
708 Constantin			
	711 Philippicus		
	713 Anastasius II	713 Luitprand	711 Dagobert III
714 Gregory II	715 Theodosius III		

The Succession of the Popes and of the Principal Temporal Sovereigns.

A. D.	POPES.	EASTERN EMPERORS	KINGS OF ITALY	KINGS OF FRANCE.
	717 Leo Isauricus			716 Chilperic II
	731 Gregory III	741 Constantine VI		720 Thieri IV
	741 Zachary		744 Rachis	742 Childeric III
	752 Stephen II & III		750 Astolphus	751 Pepin the Little
	757 Paul		756 Desiderius	
	769 Stephen IV	775 Leo IV		EMPERORS OF THE WEST
	772 Adrian	780 Constantine VII		768 Charlemagne
	795 Leo III	797 Irene		
			KINGS OF ENGLAND.	
		802 Nicephorus Log.		
		811 Michael	800 Egbert	
		813 Leo Arm.		
	816 Stephen V			
	817 Pascal			
	824 Eugenius II	891 Michael II		
	827 Gregory IV			\$14 Lewis Deb.

The SUCCESSION of the POPES and of the PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

A. D.	POPES.	EASTERN EMPERORS	WESTERN EMPERORS	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
		829 Theophilus			838 Ethelwolf
	844 Sergius II.		840 Lothaire		
	847 Leo IV				
	855 Benedict III		855 Lewis II.		
	858 Nicolas			857 Ethelbald	
	867 Adrian II	867 Basilus		860 Ethelbert	
	872 John VIII			866 Ethelred	
	882 Marin II		875 Charles the Bald		
	884 Adrian III		880 Charles LeGross		
	885 Stephen VI			872 Alfred	
	891 Formosus	886 Leo VI			
	897 Stephen VII		888 Arnolph		
	901 John IX		900 Lewis III		898 Charles the Simple
				900 Edward	

The Succession of the Popes and of the Principal Temporal Sovereigns.

	POPEs	EASTERN EMPERORS.	WESTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
A. D.	905 Benedict IV				
	906 Leo V				
	907 Sergius III		912 Conrad		
	913 John X	912 Constantine IX	920 Henry		923 Rodolf
	928 Leo VI			925 Athelstan	
	928 Stephen VIII				
	931 John XI				936 Lewis IV
	936 Leo VII		936 Otho		
	939 Stéphen IX			941 Edmund	
	942 Martin III				
	946 Agapetus			948 Edred	954 Lothaire
	955 John XII			955 Edwy	
	963 Leo VIII	959 Romanus II		959 Edgar	
	964 Benedict V	963 Nicephorus II			
	965 John XIII				
	972 Benedict VI	969 John Zimisces			
			973 Otho II		

The SUCCESSION of the POPES and of the PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

POPES.	EASTERN EMPERORS.	WESTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
A. D. 974 Boniface VII			975 Edward I	
975 Benedict VII	975 Basilius II Constantine X		978 Ethelred II	
984 John XIV		983 Otho III		986 Lewis V
985 John XV				987 Hugh Capet
996 Gregory V				996 Robert
999 Silvester II		1002 Henry II		
1003 John XVI, XVII				
1009 Sergius IV				
1012 Benedict VIII				
1024 John XVIII	1028 Romanus III	1024 Conrad II	1016 Edmund II	
			1017 Canute	
1034 Benedict IX	1034 Michael IV			1031 Henry
1044 Gregory VI	1041 Michael V	1039 Henry III	1036 Harold	
1046 Clement	1042 Constantine XI		1039 Hardicnute	
			1041 Edward III Con.	

The Succession of the POPES, and of the PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

	POPES.	EASTERN EMPERORS.	WESTERN EMPERORS	KINGS OF ENGLAND, FRANCE.
A. D.	1048 Damasus II			
	1049 Leo IX			
	1054 Victor II	1054 Theodora II		
		1056 Michael VI	1056 Henry IV	
	1057 Stephen X	1057 Isaac Comnenus		
	1059 Nicholas II	1059 Constantine XII		1060 Philip,
	1061 Alexander II			
		1068 Romanus IV		1066 Harold, Wil-
		1071 Michael VII		liam Con.
	1073 Gregory VII	1070 Nicephorus III		
		1078 Alexius Comnenus		
	1086 Victor III			1087 William II
	1088 Urban II			
	1099 Pascal II			1100 Henry
			1106 Henry V	
	1118 Gelasius II	1118 John Comnenus		1108 Lewis IV
	1119 Calixtus II			
	1124 Honorius II		1125 Lotharis	

The SUCCESSION of the POPES, and of the PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

POPES	EASTERN EMPERORS	WESTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ENGLAND	KINGS OF FRANCE.
4. D. 1130 Innocent II			1135 Stephen	1137 Lewis VII
1143 Celestine II	1443 Manuel Comnenus	1138 Conrad III		
1144 Lucius II				
1145 Eugenius III				
1153 Anastasius IV		1152 Frederick Barbarossa		
1154 Adrian IV			1154 Henry II	1180 Philip II Augustus
1159 Alexander III	1180 Alexis II Com.			
1181 Lucius III	1183 Andronicus Com.			
1185 Urban II	1185 Isaac Angelus			
1187 Gregory VII				
1188 Clement III				
1191 Celestin III		1190 Henry VI	1189 Richard	
1193 Innocent III	1195 Alexis III	1198 Philip		
	LATIN EMPERORS		1199 John	
	1204 Baldwin			

The Succession of the Popes and of the Principal Temporal Sovereigns.

POPE	LATIN EMPERORS.	WESTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
1216 Honorius III	1106 Henry	1208 Otho IV		
	1217 Peter de Courthey 1220 Robert	1212 Frederic II	1216 Henry III	
1227 Gregory IX	1228 Baldwin II			1223 Lewis VIII 1226 Lewis IX
1241 Celestine IV				
1243 Innocent IV				
1254 Alexander IV	1250 William			
	1258 John IV Paleologus 1259 Michael Pal.			
1261 Urban IV				
1265 Clement IV				
1271 Gregory X				1270 Philip III
1276 Innocent V				
1277 Nicholas III				
1281 Martin IV				
		1275 Rodolph		
				1272 Edward I

The Succession of the Popes and of the Principal Temporal Sovereigns.

A. D.	POPEs.	EASTERN EMPERORS.	WESTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
	1285 Honorius IV				
	1288 Nicholas IV	1283 Andronicus II			1285 Philip IV Le Bel.
	1294 Boniface VIII		1291 Adodolphus		
	1303 Benedict X		1298 Albert		
	1305 Clement V.				
				1307 Edward II	
	1316 John XX	1320 Andronicus III	1309 Henry VII 1314 Lewis IV		1314 Lewis X 1316 Philip V
	1334 Benedict XI				1321 Charles IV
	1342 Clement VI	1341 John V		1327 Edward III	1328 Philip VI
	1352 Innocent VI				
	1362 Urban V		1347 Charles IV		
				1377 Richard II	1364 Charles V

The SUCCESSION of the POPES and of the PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

A. D.	POPES.	EASTERN EMPERORS	WESTERN EMPERORS	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
1378	Urban VI		1378 Wincelas		1380 Charles VI
1389	Boniface IX	1391 Manuel II			
1404	Innocent VII		1400 Rupert		1399 Henry IV
1406	Gregory XII				
1409	Alexander V		1410 Sigismund	1413 Henry V	
1410	John XXI			1422 Henry VI	1422 Charles VII
1417	Martin V				
1431	Eugene IV	1424 John VI			
1447	Nicholas V		1438 Albert II		
1455	Calixtus III		1440 Frederick III		
1458	Pius II	1448 Constantine Paleol.			
1464	Paul II				1461 Edward IV
1471	Sixtus IV				1461 Lewis XI
					1483 Richard III
					1483 Charles VIII

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The SUCCESSION of the POPES and of the PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

POPES.	KINGS OF SPAIN	WESTERN EMPERORS	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
A. D. 1484 Innocent VIII			1485 Henry VII	1498 Lewis XII
1492 Alexander VI		1493 Maximilian		
1503 Pius III Julius II			1509 Henry VIII	
1512 Leo X		1519 Charles V		
1522 Adrian VI				
1523 Clement VII			1547 Edward VI	1547 Henry II
1534 Paul III			1553 Mary	
1550 Julius III			1558 Elizabeth	1559 Francis II 1560 Charles IX
1555 Paul IV	1555 Philip II	1558 Ferdinand I		
1560 Pius IV.		1564 Maximilian II		
1566 Pius V				1574 Henry III
1572 Gregory XIII		1576 Rodolph II		1589 Henry V
1583 Sixtus V				

The Succession of the Popes and of the Principal Temporal Sovereigns.

POPES	KINGS OF SPAIN	WESTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
1580 Gregory XIV				
1591 Innocent IX				
1592 Clement VIII				
	1593 Philip III		1603 James I	
1906 Paul V				1610 Lewis XIII
		1612 Matthias		
		1619 Ferdinand II		
1621 Gregory XV	1621 Philip IV		1625 Charles I	
1623 Urban VIII				1643 Lewis XIV
		1637 Ferdinand III		
1644 Innocent X				
1655 Alexander VII				
		1658 Leopold		
			1660 Charles II	
1667 Clement IX	1665 Charles II			
1670 Clement X				
1676 Innocent XI				
1689 Alexander VIII				1685 James II
1691 Innocent XII				1689 William and Mary
1700 Clement XI	1700 Philip V			

The Succession of the Popes and of the Principal Temporal Sovereigns.

POPES.	KINGS OF SPAIN.	WESTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
A. D.				
1721 Innocent XIII		1705 Joseph I	1702 Anne	
1724 Benedict XIII		1711 Charles VI		1715 Lewis XV
1730 Clement XII			1714 George I	
1740 Benedict XIV		1741 Charles VII	1727 George II	
	1746 Ferdinand VI	1745 Francis I		
1758 Clement XIII	1759 Charles III			
		1765 Joseph	1760 George III	
1769 Clement XIV				1774 Lewis XVI
1775 Pius VI				

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