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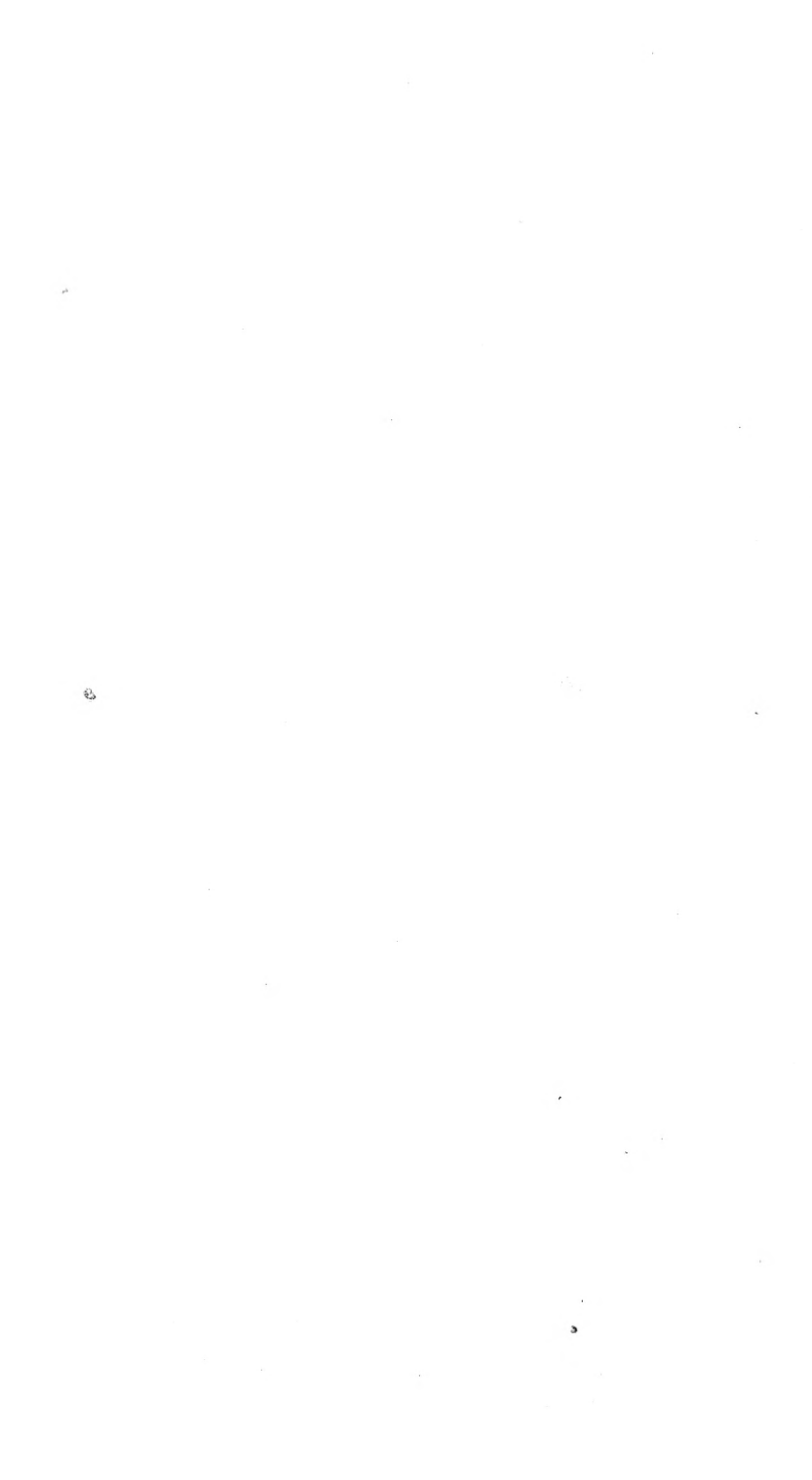
A general history of the  
Christian church











THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

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PERIOD XXI.

FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE COUNCIL  
OF CONSTANCE IN A. D. 1418, TO THE  
REFORMATION, A. D. 1517.

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SECTION I.

*Of the Power of the Popes in this Period, and the  
Opposition that was made to it.*

**T**HE history of the popes in this period has not in it much that is properly of an ecclesiastical nature. They were now sovereign princes, and had no other views in all their trans-  
VOL. V. A actions

actions than the augmentation and preservation of their temporal power. With this view, like other princes, they made treaties or broke them, and they made war or peace as best suited their purposes. Notwithstanding the checks they met with, they still asserted their authority in general, spiritual as well as temporal, in as high a tone as ever; and such was the general prepossession in their favour, from maxims and habits of long standing, that tho' their power as princes was but small, it was the great object of the policy of all the courts of Europe to gain their favour, and the most powerful were often obliged to give way to them.

The merely civil transactions of the popes in this period, such as relate to war and peace, I shall as much as possible omit, only noting such particulars in their pretensions and conduct as are of a more remarkable nature, shewing the character of the men, and of the times, that the necessity of the reformation in the next period of the history may be more evident.

Tho' the superiority of general councils to the pope was asserted in the decrees of the council of Constance, confirmed by Martin V, and those of the council of Basil, which was a sequel to it, the maxim was never acknowledged by any pope afterwards; not even by those who before they arrived at that dignity had most strenuously maintained

tained that doctrine. In A. D. 1460 Pius II, who while he was only cardinal, and bore the name of Æneas Sylvius, had been the greatest advocate for the superiority of the councils, published a bull, in which he condemned all appeals from the popes to councils, which were then very common, as “erroneous, detestable, null, contrary to the holy canons, hurtful to Christianity, and even ridiculous.” And in A. D. 1464 he published a solemn retraction of what he had written in favour of the superiority of the council of Basil, as the production of his youth; saying that he had erred, as Paul had done, and persecuted the church of God, thro’ ignorance.

Nothing that the popes did while they were only cardinals could bind them. Before the election of Paul II, in A. D. 1464, all the cardinals swore to a number of regulations, and even this pope himself confirmed them immediately after his election, but he presently after paid no regard to them.

The popes claimed the sole right of prohibiting books, and asserted that Christian princes ought to publish their decrees on this subject as from the authority of the apostolic see, as of sufficient force, without any sanction of theirs. According to the antient discipline of the church, the censure of

books be'onged to the councils. *Giannone*, Vol. 2. p. 392.

Appeals to the court of Rome were a great source of the wealth and power of the popes, and many attempts were made by the more spirited princes to prevent them, or at least restrict them within certain bounds, while the popes were as watchful to retain and encourage them. In A. D. 1491 Innocent VIII published a bull excommunicating those who obstructed appeals to the court of Rome, in order to transfer the causes which had been usually heard there to the secular courts.

After the extinction of the great schism, the popes were chiefly intent upon the aggrandisement of their families, and they engaged in confederacies, and wars, chiefly with that view. Immense sums were raised by them from church livings. For on the death of any incumbent, before a successor was named, whatever he left was adjudged to the apostolic chamber. Collectors were sent every where, who by severe extorsions seized even the ornaments of the churches, and put the heirs to great trouble with respect to the proper patrimony of the deceased. In case of any doubt, every thing was decided in favour of the chamber, and those who opposed the execution were harrassed with excommunications and censures. These abuses were tolerated in the kingdom of Sicily, and tho'

tho' they were checked by Alphonfus I in A. D. 1431, they came in again in a great measure with Ferdinand the Catholic. They were, however, opposed in other countries, and in Spain restricted to the case of bishops. In France and Germany they were not suffered at all. *Giannone*, Vol. 2. p. 489.

The power of dispensing with oaths, and even annulling the most solemn treaties, with heretics or infidels, was not relinquished by the popes of this more enlightened period. But a memorable instance occurs in it of the folly, as well as wickedness, of that pretension. Tho' in A. D. 1444 the Christians had made peace with Amurath the Turkish emperor, and Ladislas king of Poland and Hungary had sworn to it on the Gospels, as Amurath did upon the Koran; yet an opportunity occurring, of which the Christians thought they could take advantage, pope Eugenius authorized cardinal Julian to absolve him from his oath, and exhorted him to renew the war. But Amurath returning from Asia in greater force than they expected, and in the course of the battle which followed holding up the treaty to which the Christians had sworn, cried, aloud, "This, O Jesus, is the  
"treaty which the Christians, swearing by thy  
"name, made with me. If thou be a God, re-  
"venge thy injuries and mine." Then, gaining

a complete victory, both Ladislas and the cardinal were slain.

There was no want of good sense, or spirit; in several of the temporal princes of this period, to set the pretensions of the popes at defiance; but the superstition of the common people, and the situation of their affairs, made it necessary for them to give way. In A. D. 1488 Innocent VIII excommunicated Ferdinand king of Naples for refusing to pay the stipulated tribute, depriving him of that kingdom, publishing a crusade against him, and inviting king Charles of France to join Nicolas de Ursino, whom he had appointed commander of the forces against him. Ferdinand however, persisted in his disregard of these proceedings, and he appealed to a future council. But at length his fear of Charles brought him to submit to the terms required of him.

The opposition made by the Venetians to Julius II promised something more, but ended in a similar manner. In A. D. 1509 this pope published a most violent bull against them for their usurpation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, threatening them with every thing that had ever been denounced by former popes; and for a long time they paid no regard to it, but appealed to a future council. All the effect it had at first was that a few monks, particularly attached to the court of Rome, left the city.



city; while all the other clergy, secular and regular, continued to discharge their functions as before. The pope then published another bull, annulling their appeal, and laying all their estates under an interdict. This, however, they would have disregarded; but being distressed in the war against them, in which the pope joined his forces, they wished to make peace with him. His demands, however, being thought too exorbitant, the people spared no invectives against him.

At length it was thought necessary, on account of the situation of their public affairs, that the doge should write to the pope in the most submissive terms, leaving the satisfaction they were to make to himself; and the year following he granted them absolution, but on the following humiliating terms. Six ambassadors from the republic prostrated themselves at the pope's feet, and visited the seven churches in Rome. They were obliged to desist from their appeal to a council, to confer only lay benefices, to admit of appeals to Rome, to allow the pope to levy any taxes upon their clergy, and also to grant him many advantages of a civil nature; and thus he was fully satisfied. Thus, says the historian, this republic which had paid less regard to the thunders of the Vatican than any other state, submitted to the most imperious conditions,

such as only the most haughty and successful sovereign would have imposed.

In order to support the expences which such a system of power required, the popes had recourse to various methods, which rendered them exceedingly unpopular; but yet not so much so as to occasion any open or confirmed revolt. The wars which Sixtus IV promoted against the Turks, his presents, and public buildings, and his furnishing the Vatican library, which he provided with Greek, Latin, and Hebrew librarians, induced him not only to create new offices in his court, but to dispose of them for large sums, which was much complained of, as it took from able and worthy men the means of advancing themselves.

In A. D. 1457 the Germans made loud complaints of the pope's violation of the agreement that had been made with their emperors, in taking from the country more than he ought to have done, but he exculpated himself on account of the expences he had been at in repulsing the Turks, when the Christian powers in general had been inattentive to their progress, and suffered them to take Constantinople. On this occasion Æneas Sylvius wrote in defence of the pope, and was answered by James de Wimphile and others.

The right of the popes to grant countries to those who would discover, conquer, and christianize  
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ize them, as also to grant titles, &c. seems to have been undisputed in this period. In A. D. 1420 Martin V granted to the Portuguese all the countries they should discover from the promontary of Genara to the East Indies; and in A. D. 1492 Alexander VI granted to Ferdinand, king of Arragon, the investiture of all the countries his subjects should discover to the West. But on the discovery of America by Columbus, the Portuguese objected to this grant, as inconsistent with that which had been made to them by Eugenius IV, of all the land they should discover to the East. However, after many assemblies held at Rome on the subject, the Portuguese were obliged to acquiesce in the pretensions of the Spaniards. In A. D. 1494 the same pope granted to Ferdinand and Isabella the right of conquering Africa, on condition of their establishing the Christian religion in it; but, not to interfere with the claims of the Portuguese, he restricted their permission to the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis; that of Fez and the neighbouring countries being within the grant to the Portuguese. In A. D. 1496 this pope to the great dissatisfaction of the Portuguese, gave the title of *Catholic* to the kings of Spain. He had intended to take the title of *most Christian* from the kings of France; but some of the cardinals remonstrated against it.

The Christian world is indebted to the university of Paris for much of the just opposition that was made to the unreasonable pretensions of the popes and their advocates before the reformation. In A. D. 1430 John Sarrazin a Dominican was censured by it for maintaining that "all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, except that of the pope was derived from him, that these jurisdictions are not immediately of divine right, that all the decrees of councils derive their force from the pope, that other spiritual powers can do nothing against him, and that he cannot be guilty of simony." In consequence of this censure, the author was obliged to retract his propositions. In A. D. 1470 the faculty of theology at Paris condemned a proposition of John Meunier, another Dominican, that the apostles did not receive their authority from Christ himself; but from St. Peter. In A. D. 1497 Charles VIII proposed to this faculty whether the pope was not bound by the decrees of the council of Constance to assemble a general council every ten years, and whether, on his refusal, the secular princes might not call one without him. They answered in the affirmative, and added, that the then present time was peculiarly proper for it, there were so many notorious disorders in the church, both in the head and the members.

members. The death of this prince prevented his proceeding any farther in the business.

But the most effectual opposition to the papal usurpations was made not by arguments, but actions. Of these, and some very persevering and successful ones, there are several instances in the course of this period.

Commendams had not been much used in Germany, tho' they were at this time frequent in other parts of Europe. Sigismund duke of Austria had, on this subject, a difference with the cardinal of Cusa, who held the bishopric of Brixen by commendam from the pope, without residing. The case had been proposed at the council of Mantua, but was not decided; and the parties coming to an open rupture, the cardinal was taken prisoner, and was not released till he had paid a considerable sum for his ransom, and had likewise engaged for the absolution of Sigismund, who had been excommunicated by pope Calixtus.

The agreement being broken, and hostilities resumed, the cardinal was again made prisoner, when he purchased his release by the surrender of a castle, and paying another large sum. On this Pius II excommunicated the duke. But not terrified with this, he appealed to a future council, the act of appeal being drawn up by Gregory of Heimburg, a doctor of law. The pope then ad-  
dressed

dress'd a letter to the people of Germany, in which he order'd Heimburg to be avoided, as a heretic, and guilty of high treason, for appealing to a council after his express prohibition of it. He also order'd all his goods to be confiscated. But Heimburg appeal'd against this bull, and this led to a controversy, in which Heimburg inveigh'd against the pope with more violence than had ever been done in that age.

This pope had appointed a nephew of cardinal Sbignée to the archbishopric of Cracow, tho' Casimer king of Poland had named another person; and notwithstanding the remonstrances, menaces, and even excommunications, pronounced against Casimer and his adherents, the cardinal's nephew was oblig'd to resign; the king having declared that he would sooner lose his crown than suffer a bishop in his dominions against his consent, which, says the historian, was no small mortification to the holy father.

In A. D. 1461 Pius II excommunicated the archbishop of Mayence for not appearing before him, and paying the annates of his church, according to his promise. On this the archbishop appeal'd to a futuré council, and was supported by the princes of Germany, who complain'd of the exorbitant sums demanded for the confirmation of his election, the tenths of his benefice, and other griev-

grievances by which the Germans in general were affected, in order to raise money, on the pretence of the Turkish war, but which was employed for other purposes. Nothing, however, being done in consequence of the princes declaring for him, he made his peace with the pope; but giving fresh offence by continuing to officiate as bishop before his excommunication was taken off, another archbishop was appointed by the pope, and the two prelates were at open war, till they made peace by a division of the revenues, the latter retaining the title and the office.

The German princes on many occasions shewed a spirit of resistance to the papal claims. When Sixtus IV sent to collect the tenths of the benefices in Germany, for the war against the Turks, which more immediately affected the empire, and they were threatened with an excommunication, they absolutely refused to pay them.

The people of Florence, more enlightened than any other in this age, had frequent contests with the popes, and some of them continued a long time. In A. D. 1478 Sixtus IV excommunicated Lorenzo of Medicis, and laid the city of Florence under an interdict, for hanging the archbishop of Pisa, who had been engaged in a conspiracy against the Medici, in which Julian the brother of Lorenzo was murdered in a church, and Lorenzo  
him-

himself very narrowly escaped. But tho' the pope gave them to understand that he would remove the interdict if they would banish Lorenzo, they persisted in their neglect of it, throwing the blame of the whole transaction on the pope, as the original author of the conspiracy. They even assembled the bishops of Tuscany, in order to appeal to a future council, and obliged the priests to celebrate mass notwithstanding the interdict. They were secretly assisted by the Venetians, but afterwards they made their peace with the pope.

In the time of this pope the spirit of resistance appeared in Scotland. For having made Patric Graham, the archbishop of St. Andrews, his legate in that country, the lords would not suffer him to exercise his functions; it being, they said, a violation of the antient rights of the kingdom.

The citizens of Rome were never well affected to the civil government of the popes. They had also frequent contests for the possession of Bologna. In A. D. 1420 Martin V recovered the possession of this city, after it had long been independent of the see of Rome. In that year he left Florence, where he had resided some time, and went to Rome, which he found in a very ruinous condition, but it was soon restored to its former splendour. Nothing but the advantages the people were sensible they derived from the residence of the popes kept them



them in obedience. In A. D. 1434 the inhabitants of Rome revolting from pope Eugenius, he disguised himself in the habit of a monk, and fled to Florence. But after six months they made their peace with him, and received the magistrates of his appointment.

Rome appears to have been very ill governed in this as well as in the preceding periods, and to have suffered extremely for want of a good police. On the death of Innocent VIII, in A. D. 1492, there were dreadful disorders in Rome. The city was abandoned to the mob, who plundered houses, and filled the streets with carnage. The judges durst not appear for fear of being exposed to the rage of the people, who cursed the late pope for having had, as they said, no compassion for the poor. At the time of the election of another pope, the streets were so crowded with banditti, robbers, and assassins, that the cardinals were obliged to introduce whole companies of musketeers into their palaces, and to have cannon pointed to the avenues leading to them. The streets of the burgh of St. Peter were barricaded with large pieces of timber, behind which were placed soldiers, while the light horse continually paraded round the palace.

The personal characters of the popes in this period had nothing to recommend them. They were all men of ambition, some of them very rapacious,

pacious, and also profligate in other respects. Cardinal Borgia, who after Innocent VIII was pope, and took the name of Alexander VI, was not only, says the continuator of Fleury, unworthy of the pontificate, but of the lowest functions in the church. While he was cardinal he had by Vanotia, the wife of D. Arimano, four sons and a daughter. His eldest son, Lewis Borgia, was duke of Gandia, the second, called Cæsar, was a cardinal, and afterwards the duke Valentinois, the most cruel and ambitious of men; but his father had such a blind fondness for him, as to overturn all laws, human and divine, in order to advance him.

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## SECTION II.

### *The History of the Councils of Basil and Florence.*

**T**HE greatest contest the popes had in this period was with the council of Basil, and tho' their conduct was manifestly irregular, yet by superior address, and perseverance, they triumphed in the end. At the council of Constance, little having been done in the reformation of the church; either, as the phrase then was, in *the head, or the members,*

*members*, it was appointed that other councils should be held, at times then fixed for that important purpose. When this time was come, so that it could not be decently deferred, Martin V. summoned one to meet at Pisa; and, sending three legates, it was opened in the usual forms in May A. D. 1423. But few prelates arriving, and there being some apprehension of a plague in that city, it was transferred to Sienna, where the first session commenced the 8th of November, and some decrees were made respecting the Hussites. But before they proceeded to any articles of reform, the pope, fearing lest the ambassador of the king of Arragon should give him some disturbance about Benedict XIII, who was then living, and favoured by him, but chiefly dreading any regulations of reform, he put off the council to another time and place, on the pretence of the small number of prelates attending, and the wars with which the empire was then distracted.

However, his legates, having sufficient powers for that purpose, and being desirous of promoting the object of the council, appointed another meeting at Basil, seven years from that time, the archbishop of Toledo alone objecting to it, as seeming to be made with a view to elude the proposed reformation. Others expressing the same apprehension, the legates declared that by this translation

the council could not be considered as even interrupted, for that, in the mean time, the president and deputies would seriously labour in the business of the reformation of the church.

In the mean time Martin was succeeded by Eugenius IV, a man still more averse to the council, and who did every thing that he could to prevent its meeting, well aware that it could not but be prejudicial to his authority. This, however, was not in his power; and the first session at Basil was held December 14th, A. D. 1431, when it was opened by cardinal Julian, who had distinguished himself in his embassies to Bohemia; and the members of the council, desirous of promoting the proper object of it, used every precaution to prevent the cabals of the Italian prelates, who were in the interest of the pope. And being apprized of the pope's intention to dissolve the council, the first decrees they made were in confirmation of those of the council of Constance; asserting the power of the council, and the obligation of all persons to submit to its decrees, in whatever respected articles of faith, the extinction of schism, and the reformation of the church; that if any person whatever, even the pope, should refuse to obey its decrees, he should be put in a state of penance. They farther decreed that the pope had

no power to dissolve, transfer, or prorogue, the council, without its own consent.

Notwithstanding these spirited decrees, and all the endeavours of cardinal Julian, who wrote repeatedly, and in the most earnest manner, to dissuade the pope from his purpose, seconded by a deputation from the council itself, and the resolutions of the prelates of France, who had been assembled at Bourges, and had asserted the validity of the council at Basil; notwithstanding also the strong remonstrance of the emperor, Eugenius persisted in the publication of his bull for the dissolution of the council. On this the members of it pronounced him contumacious, suspended from the administration of the pontificate, and forbade any one to obey him.

By proceeding so far, however, the council suffered much in the esteem of the princes of Europe; who, dreading another schism, wished them to proceed with more moderation, thinking it to have been possible to gain the pope, if they had adopted more lenient measures. But in this respect the council had formed a truer judgment of his character than they. The pope, tho' at that time attended by no more than three cardinals, published a bull, declaring the decrees of the council against him to be null, by the plenary authority with which he said he was invested as pope. At length, how-

ever, his temporal affairs not being in the best situation, and urged by the emperor, who wished to moderate the violence of both parties, and by any means to prevent another schism, he revoked his bull, and acquiesced in the decrees of the council; expressly confirming those relating to the superiority of general councils to the pope, in whatever respects articles of faith, the extinction of schism, and the reformation of the church.

Possessed of this advantage, the council decreed that the popes should take an oath, not only at their election, but annually on the anniversary of it, that they held the catholic faith, and the decrees of all the general councils, expressly mentioning those of Constance and Basil. And among their articles of reformation, they decreed that the popes should not give any places of power and trust to their relations beyond the second degree.

The pope, as might be expected, was exceedingly offended at these decrees; and paying no regard to any of their reforms, the council cited him to appear before them in sixty days. In vindication of their conduct, they wrote to all the princes of Europe; and he not appearing, they once more declared him contumacious. In the mean time, he gained a decisive advantage over the council, by sending legates to Constantinople; who arriving before those of the council, prevailed upon

upon the Greeks, who then courted an union with the Latins, to send their ambaffadors to a council which the pope propofed to affemble at Ferrara, when the Fathers at Bafil had propofed to give them a hearing at Avignon. With this advantage Eugenius publifhed a bull, in which he allowed the members of the council at Bafil to continue their fittings thirty days, but only for the purpofe of treating with the Bohemians. To this they paid no regard, but declared the pope's calling of a council to meet at Ferrara to be null, and threatened him with depofition if he did not recall his bull for that purpofe.

Not difcouraged by the fpirit which the council fhewed, the pope fixed the meeting of his council for the 8th of January, A. D. 1438; and on the 10th it was actually opened; when he declared the tranflation of the council from Bafil to Ferrara, and that every thing that fhould be done there from that time fhould be null, except what related to the Bohemians. Cardinal Julian, who had hitherto prefided in the council of Bafil, now left it, and joined that at Ferrara, tho' only four prelates accompanied him. All the ambaffadors from the princes of Europe remained at Bafil, and the king of France exprefsly forbid any of his prelates to go to Ferrara.

The prelates at Basil, not discouraged by the desertion of their president, or the proceedings at Ferrara, not only continued their sittings in defiance of the pope's prohibition, but again declared him suspended from his jurisdiction. Being now in a state of open hostility, he forbade their assembling under pain of excommunication, and ordered them to leave the place within thirty days. He also ordered the magistrates of the city to drive them from it, under pain of excommunication and interdict; and forbade any provisions or merchandise to be carried into it while they continued there. They, however, shewed no less spirit, declaring the assembly at Ferrara schismatical, ordered the members to appear before them within a month, and excommunicated all those who should directly or indirectly hinder any person from going to Basil. After this, however, all farther hostile proceedings were suspended by the interposition of the ambassadors from the diet at Nuremberg. Albert duke of Austria also entertained some hope that, by his intercession with the pope, an open rupture might be prevented, in consequence of which nothing was done till May A. D. 1438.

In January A. D. 1439 the pope, on the presence of the plague being in Ferrara, removed his council to Florence, the people of that city having promised to defray a considerable part of the



expencc; and this city being more convenient for him in several respects. Here were all the proceedings relating to the union of the Greek and Latin churches, of which an account will be given in a separate section; and during all this time the council at Basil continued to sit, attended by the ambassadors of all the princes of Europe, except those of the duke of Burgundy, who were at Florence. They would not, however, consent to any of the decrees against the pope, but preserved a kind of neutrality. This moderation had no effect on the members of the council. For, after long debates on the subject, they proceeded on the 25th of June to pass the sentence of deposition on the pope as "a simoniac, a perjured person, an encourager of schism, a heretic, obstinate in his errors, and a dissipater of the goods of the church;" and it is something remarkable that this decree was passed at Basil on the very day that the union of the two churches was concluded at Florence, an event that to appearance reflected the greatest honour upon him.

The princes of Europe were by no means satisfied with this violent proceeding of the council at Basil, and their deputies, sent to inform them of it, were universally ill received. At Frankfort and Mayence they were expressly told that the princes of Germany would not depart from their neutrality,

ty, but would appeal to a council more general than that at Basil, to pope Eugenius and the apostolic see, or the person to whom it rightly belonged. Eugenius himself, hearing of their proceedings, acted with no less violence, publishing a bull, in which he annulled all they had done, declaring them excommunicated, heretics, and schismatics, and that there was no punishment great enough for them or their adherents.

The prelates at Basil replied; but after much debating on the subject, refrained from calling his decree heretical. However, after much preparation, they proceeded to the election of another pope, and the choice fell on Victor Amadeus, late duke of Savoy, but who had relinquished the sovereignty, and lived a religious and reclusive life near the lake of Geneva. After much hesitation, he accepted the nomination, and took the name of Felix V. On this Eugenius declared him a heretic, and schismatic; he excommunicated his electors and adherents, and in order to strengthen his interest, created seventeen new cardinals.

The election of another pope was so like the commencement of another great schism, which had produced so much mischief, and had been so difficult to terminate, that the best friends of the council of Basil greatly disapproved of it. When the members of the council demanded of the princes of Ger-

Germany, at their diet in Frankfort in A. D. 1440, their acknowledgment of Felix, they refused to do it. Notwithstanding this, they excommunicated all who would not acknowledge him, of what rank soever they were, and also renewed their decree against Eugenius, while he again excommunicated Felix, calling him antipope, heretic, schismatic, &c. to which he replied with equal violence.

In order to support the dignity of the new pope, the council voted him a fifth of the revenues of the greater ecclesiastical benefices for the five first years of his pontificate, and a tenth afterwards. The princes of Europe were divided in a singular manner in this dilemma. The kings of France, England, and Scotland, and the German princes, acknowledged the council of Basil, but not the pope they had elected. But Elizabeth queen of Hungary, Albert of Bavaria, and Albert of Austria, acknowledged Felix, as did Piedmont and Savoy, and the university of Paris, with those in Germany and Cracow in Poland. Italy, and the rest of Europe, acknowledged Eugenius.

In an assembly of the German princes at Mayence, in A. D. 1441, orators on both sides were heard at great length; but instead of declaring for either, the princes recommended the calling of another council in some city of France or Germany; and for this purpose invitations were sent

both to Eugenius and Felix. Both sides then applied to the emperor Frederic, who was at Vienna, but he referred them to the diet which was to be held at Frankfort the year following. Then also it was agreed to send ambassadors both to Eugenius, and the council of Basil, to propose another council, to be held in Germany; and to this the members of the council, tho' with reluctance, consented, but Eugenius, with great haughtiness, rejected the proposal.

In the mean time Alphonso of Arragon submitted his six kingdoms to the obedience of Felix. The same was also promised by Ulric governor of Bohemia, then hard pressed by the Hussites. The bishop of Cracow also acknowledged Felix, and the king of Poland was favourable to him.

Soon, however, after this his affairs took an unfavourable turn. In A. D. 1443 Alphonso, after negotiating with Felix, made better terms with Eugenius, and then acknowledged him, and recalled his prelates from Basil. Felix himself, being dissatisfied with his council, retired to Lausanne, and refused to return; saying he found by experience that the council was better governed there, than at Basil. At length the wars of Germany, the retreat of the prelates of Alphonso, the pressing instances of the emperor to call another council, the absence of Felix, and the little assistance

assistance they could expect at Basil, obliged the members of the council to separate, after their fourth session in May A. D. 1443, and after nominally transferring the council to Lyons, or Lausanne, but without ever meeting there. Felix was sometimes at Lausanne, and sometimes at Geneva, attended by four cardinals. But two of them dying, and one of them going to Vienna, he had obtained the leave of the council to create five more. In the meantime Eugenius had removed his council from Florence to Rome, where he himself arrived Sept. 28, A. D. 1443.

The king of France, and the princes of Germany, who interested themselves the most in this business, proposed different schemes of accommodation. The latter sent a letter to Eugenius from the diet of Frankfort in A. D. 1446, proposing another general council, which he should acknowledge to be superior to the pope; but the king recommended the withdrawing of all the censures on both sides, the acknowledgment of Eugenius, and the reservation of the highest honours in the church next to that of pope to Felix. Presently after, receiving the deputation from Germany, the pope died in February 23, A. D. 1447. But before his death he granted several of their demands in favour of their churches, and he died in some measure like a christian, annulling all that had been done

done contrary to the holy see during the schism, absolving all those who had adhered to the council of Basil after his rupture with it, and also restoring them to their dignities, provided they returned to the unity of the church.

On the death of Eugenius, his cardinals chose for his successor the cardinal of Bologna, who took the name of Nicolas V, and was immediately acknowledged by the emperor, and the princes of Germany, as also by the king of France; and from this time all respect for the remains of the council of Basil was withdrawn. Thus encouraged, Nicolas published a bull, in which he excommunicated Felix, calling him "a child of iniquity, a schismatic and heretic." He also gave the duchy of Saxony, which adhered to him, to the king of France, or the dauphin, and granted a plenary indulgence to those who should assist in the conquest of it for them. To satisfy the Germans, he entered into a treaty with them called the *Concordat*, in consequence of which the disposal of certain ecclesiastical benefices was reserved to himself, and the rest left to free election.

In the time, Felix being weary of opposition, and having expressed a willingness to resign the dignities with which the council of Basil had invested him, Nicolas was not inexorable, but published a bull, in which he annulled all that had  
been

been done during the schism; and in order to put an end to it in the easiest manner, the king of France held an assembly at Lyons, in consequence of which ambassadors were sent to Nicolas and Felix from France, and also from England, and it was agreed that the latter should resign, but continue a cardinal bishop, be legate, and perpetual vicar of the holy see in Savoy, have the first place next to the pope, and other personal honours. Favourable stipulations were also made for the cardinals of Felix, their dignity being allowed. Accordingly Felix resigned in proper form April 9th, A. D. 1449; and those who remained of the members of the council of Basle, assembling at Lausanne the 16th of the same month, authorized in proper form all that had been agreed to; they received the resignation of Felix, and elected Nicolas, in the usual manner. Thus was the last schism in the Roman church happily terminated, to the great joy of all Christendom. Felix retired to Ripailles, where he lived three years, dying in A. D. 1452, at the age of 68.

It is impossible to consider this history without seeing that the credit and authority of all councils is derived from the support of the temporal powers; and that without this, no regularity in the form of convocation, or in the proceedings, is of any avail.

## SECTION III.

*Of the Councils of Pifa, and Lateran.*

AS the spirit of pope Eugenius IV enabled him to get the better of the council of Basil, that of Julius II, which was no way inferior to that of any pope, enabled him to triumph over that of Pifa, notwithstanding the advantage it derived from the authority of the council of Constance, which was certainly intitled to very great respect. A reformation of the church, in its head as well as its members, was universally deemed to be necessary; and in order to ensure this great object, provision was made for a succession of general councils, the authority of which was decided to be superior to that of the popes. Sensible, however, that their power would be materially affected by any reformation, they had used all their influence to prevent the convocation of any such council, and, as in the case of that of Basil, to defeat the object of them when assembled in the most regular manner. Many of the cardinals, however, and all the princes of Europe, being aggrieved by the exactions of the court of Rome, favoured the calling of councils, by which they hoped



hoped to be relieved, and especially when they had any difference with the popes, whom they wished by this means to mortify.

In A. D. 1511, after an open war between Julius II and some of the states of Italy, assisted by the king of France, a council was called in the name of nine cardinals, the emperor, and the king of France, to meet at Pisa, after the pope had in vain been invited to concur in the measure, and had been reminded of his engagement to call a council within two years of his election. The professed object of this council, as well as of that of Basil, was the reformation of the church in its head and members, and the pope himself was in the most respectful manner cited to appear and preside in it.

In order to ward off this blow, the pope, encouraged by the coolness of the emperor in the business, published a bull, convoking another general council, to meet at Rome in April A. D. 1512; and forbidding under pain of excommunication the celebration of any other general council. He also published another bull against those cardinals who were the principal authors of the convocation of the council at Pisa, summoning them to appear before him, and threatening them with the deprivation of their ranks as cardinals, and of all their ecclesiastical benefices in case of disobedience.

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These cardinals, tho' not a little intimidated by this threat, persisted in their purpose, and wrote to the cardinals at Rome in vindication of their conduct. They also published another apology for holding a council, and giving their reasons for doing it without the concurrence of the pope. And in November 1, A. D. 1511, the council was actually opened; when it was attended by four cardinals, the principal of whom was Caravajal bishop of Bayeux, who was president, procurators from several others, many prelates, and among them the archbishops of Lyons and Sens, the abbot of Cîteaux, and others, a deputy from that of Clugny, some doctors from the university of Paris, and many other respectable persons.

In the first session the members of this council asserted their power to meet and act notwithstanding the censures of the pope; in the second they made regulations for their future proceedings, and in the third they decreed the superiority of general councils to the pope, and the obligation to submit to their decrees.

As soon as the pope was informed of the opening of the council, he excommunicated by name all the cardinals who attended it; depriving them of their dignities and benefices. But the cardinals who were with him not approving of this violence, he was so much agitated, that he fell sick, and his death

death was expected. However, when he recovered he abated nothing of his violence. And in the mean time the people of Florence, who were masters of Pisa, apprehending inconvenience to themselves from the holding of the council in that city, when the pope was to hostile to it, the members removed to Milan, where they were under the protection of the emperor, and where they were received with great joy.

At Milan the council was better attended than it had been at Pisa, two more cardinals having joined it, and several more bishops and abbots. They then appointed a farther time for the pope to fix upon some place where they might meet him, for the purpose of holding the council, answered his excommunications, and forbade the domestics of any of their members to leave the city without the consent of their masters; as many of them, terrified by the bulls of the pope, had done. In another session they decreed the convocation of the council at Rome to be null, and allowed the pope twenty four days to retract what he had done with respect to it; and this term being expired, they proceeded so far as to decree his deposition, and exhorted all christian people no longer to acknowledge him, being "a disturber of the council, contumacious, the author of schism, incorrigible, and hardened."

The emperor had never been very zealous for the council, and being at length gained by the pope, the members found it necessary for them to leave Milan, and transfer the council to Lyons, where they were under the protection of the king of France. But he not being able to engage other princes in their support, they could not proceed any farther. Lewis himself, however, accepted the decrees of this deserted council, and forbade his subjects having any recourse to Rome: while the pope, perceiving his advantage in the general desertion of the council, issued a bull, annulling all that had been done at Pisa, Milan, or Lyons. He also excommunicated the king of France, and laid the kingdom under an interdict; and to punish the city of Lyons for receiving the council, he deprived it of the privilege of holding its annual fair, and removed it to Geneva. The king, provoked by this violence, replied by a spirited protest, and also struck a medal, with the arms of France on the reverse, and this motto *Perdant Babylonis nomen.*

About this time cardinal Cajetan published a treatise, and sent a copy of it to the members of this council, in which he asserted the superiority of the pope to all councils. This the king of France referred to the judgment of the university of Paris, who appointed three persons to reply to it; but the

the members of the university did not themselves proceed any further than to condemn what he had advanced against the authority of the councils of Constance and Basil. In this treatise the cardinal advanced that " St. Peter had alone the govern-  
 " ment of the church, that tho' the other apostles  
 " received their apostleship from Christ himself,  
 " yet as part of his flock, they were subject to Pe-  
 " ter; that he received his authority by the order  
 " of nature, but they theirs by special favour; that  
 " he was the vicar general of Jesus Christ, and  
 " they his lieutenants and delegates; that their au-  
 " thority expired at their death, but that his was  
 " continued in his successors; that their power was  
 " that of executing, but his of commanding;" distinctions says Fleury, altogether new. He further asserted, that in no case except that of heresy, could a council be lawfully called to depose a pope, and then that they had no other business than to chuse another.

Julius, tho' disappointed in his endeavours to procure the attendance of the archbishop of Toledo, the celebrated Ximenes, and the archbishop of Seville, nevertheless opened his council with much solemnity, May 3, A. D. 1512. when it was attended by fifteen cardinals, three hundred and eighty bishops or archbishops, but all of Italy, and sixteen abbots or generals of orders. And the third

session, which was held in December, was attended by the bishop of Gurck, who was sent by the emperor to signify his renunciation of all that had passed at the council of Pisa, and his approbation of the present council of Lateran. In this session were read all the pope's bulls in condemnation of the council of Pisa, and against the king of France; and in the fourth were read the letters of Lewis XI, signifying his abrogation of the pragmatic sanction; when all who favoured it were cited to appear in sixty days. A fifth session was held February 16, A. D. 1513, but the pope dying before that time in Feb. 21, nothing of importance was done in it.

Julius was succeeded by the cardinal of Medicis, who took the name of Leo X, a great favourer of men of letters, by which his family was distinguished, but, given to voluptuousness, and prodigality. He entered into all the views of Julius, and held the sixth session of the council the 11th of April A. D. 1513, in which the prelates were divided into three classes, one to treat of the peace among the christian princes, the second of matters concerning faith, and the third what related to the reformation and the pragmatic sanction.

In the seventh session, held the 17th of June, letters were read from the cardinals Carovajal and Severne, renouncing the schism, condemning the  
acts

acts of the council of Pifa and acknowledging that of Lateran. But an event of much more consequence than this, was the king of France now acknowledging the authority of this council, and renouncing that of Pifa. To this conduct he had always been solicited by the queen, who was strongly prepossessed in favour of the pope, and the court of Rome. It was, besides, with the greatest reluctance that he himself had quarrelled with the pope, and he had always wished for a reconciliation; and therefore, on the pope's making an apology for engaging the Swifs to act against him, he sent ambassadors for the purpose of making his peace. The two cardinals above mentioned, after expressing their repentance were with great ceremony restored to favour, and reinstated in the dignity of which they had been deprived.

The parliament of Provence had always exercised the right of annexing their signature to the pope's bulls, without which they were not allowed to be issued. This the popes had always complained of, and in the eighth session of this council a monitory was issued to command the members of that parliament to appear before them within three months; and the king being now reconciled to the pope, they made the submission that was required of them, and the pope confirmed their privileges.

In the ninth session, held May the 5th, deputies from the king of Arragon attended, and what was more, the prelates who had formed the council of Pisa, and who were then at Lyons, sent to make their submission, renouncing all their proceedings, and apologising for not attending the council in person, on account of their not having been able to procure a safe conduct for their passage of the Alps. The excuse was admitted, and they were absolved from all the censures that had been passed upon them. The tenth session, held May 14, was attended by ambassadors from the duke of Savoy, to signify his submission to the council. At the same time, the last term was fixed for the French to give their reasons against the abolition of the pragmatic sanction.

Two other sessions were held, one on the 11th, one the 19th of December, in which the Maronites acknowledged their submission to the church of Rome, a bull was published relating to the business of preaching, and another for the abolition of the pragmatic sanction, and in approbation of the Concordat, of which an account will be given in another session, and on the sixteenth of March, A. D. 1517, the council was closed, after the holding of the twelfth and last session, in which was read a letter from the emperor Maximilian on the subject of the Turkish war, a bull to prevent the plundering



plundering the houses of the cardinals who should be elected popes, and another for the dissolution of the council; in which it was said, that, as the ends for which it had been convoked were happily answered, peace being established among the christians, the reformation of manners, and of the court of Rome effected, and the assembly of Pisa abolished, there was no reason for its longer continuance. Several of the prelates, however, observed that many things yet remained to be regulated, and that therefore the council ought to sit longer; but the plurality of voices were for its dissolution.

Thus ended the fifth council of Lateran, after it had continued near five years. The great business of *reformation* was still left in nearly the same state in which it had been at the council of Constance, no abuse of any consequence being removed. But what the church would not do for itself, the providence of God was preparing the means of doing in a much more effectual manner, by the instrumentality of Martin Luther, who was about this very time beginning to declaim against the doctrine of indulgence, which led to his rejecting the papal authority *in toto*, and engaging several states of Europe to renounce their subjection to the see of Rome.

## SECTION IV.

*Of the Pragmatic Sanction, and Concordat.*

NEXT to the councils, the most serious alarm the popes had in this period, was the opposition that was made to their exactions by the kings of France; but this, like the business of the councils, terminated in favour of the papal see, though the popes did not gain all they wished, and all they gained was with difficulty.

While the two opposite councils of Basil and Ferrara were sitting, Charles VII of France held an assembly at Bourges in A. D. 1438, where deputies from both were heard; and then it was that the ordinance called the *Pragmatic sanction*, in favour of the liberties of the Gallican church, was passed. It took from the pope almost all the power of conferring benefices, and judging ecclesiastical causes in France. It also confirmed all the good regulations made by the council of Basil, the authority of which it established above that of the popes. This law was sent by ambassadors appointed for the purpose to the council of Basil, and received its confirmation. It was observed during

during all the reign of Charles VII, notwithstanding all the endeavours of pope Eugenius to procure the abolition of it. When William de Maletrot, bishop of Nantes, appealed in A. D. 1456 to the pope against this law, the parliament of Paris ordered his temporalities to be seized, as having by that appeal violated the rights of the Gallican church, and a fundamental law of the kingdom; since, as they said, the king holds his temporalities of God only, and tho' the pope may excommunicate him, he cannot deprive him of his estates, and that the pope cannot cite before him any of the king's subjects. In consequence of this, the bishop found it necessary to resign his bishopric in favour of his nephew, and the pope, unable to give him any other redress, made him bishop of Theffalonica.

At the council of Mantua, in A. D. 1459, Pius II complained heavily of the injustice done to the church, and the authority of the papal see by the Pragmatic sanction; tho' in the council of Basil, of which he was an active member, he had approved of it. But the parliament of Paris was offended at what the pope had said on the occasion, and the procurator general made a formal appeal, in the name of the king, from the sentence of the pope, to a future council; tho' the pope had by a parti-

cular bull, juſt before condemned all ſuch appeals.

The politic and ſuperſtitious Lewis XI, who wiſhed to keep meaſures with the court of Rome, promiſed this pope the abolition of the Pragmatic ſanction, which gave him ſo much offence ; but the pope not fulfilling what he had promiſed in return for ſuch a favour, and both the parliament of Paris and the univerſity remonſtrating againſt it, he made ſuch ordinances reſpecting reſerves and expectatives, that the court of Rome derived very little advantage from what the king had done in its favour. To pleaſe the pope, he had even diſmiſſed the procurator general for his oppoſition to the pope in this buſineſs ; but it was obſerved, that he conferred greater favours on him in another way, and was always his friend. In A. D. 1476, this prince gave more offence to the pope, by ordering that all perſons who came from Rome, ſhould, at their entrance into the kingdom, ſhew the letters, bulls, and other writings which they brought ; that it might be ſeen whether they contained any thing contrary to the ſtate, or the intereſt of the Gallican church.

In A. D. 1478 this king held an aſſembly of his clergy and nobles at Orleans, with a view, as he gave out, to reſtore the Pragmatic ſanction, and aboliſh the annates. At the ſame time he re-  
queſted

quested the pope to take off the interdict which he had laid on the city of Florence, threatening, in case of his refusal, to withdraw from his obedience, and appeal to a future council. He also ordered all the prelates of France to reside on their livings, on the penalty of the deprivation of their benefices. Nothing however, was done in consequence of these resolutions, as the king only meant to intimidate the pope, and to favour the Florentines. He however forbid his subjects going to Rome in order to obtain benefices, or to send any money thither.

Thus things continued till the death of Lewis XI. His son Charles VIII shewed still more spirit. In A. D. 1485 cardinal Baluz being sent legate to France, and exercising his functions before his letters to the king had been presented to parliament and accepted, the king was so much offended, that he forbid him to use the badge of his legantine office. The procurator general of the parliament also took the opportunity of appealing against all that the pope should do, accusing him of infringing the rights and privileges of the kingdom.

Other things were done by the court of France not immediately in consequence of the Pragmatic sanction, which gave great offence to the court of Rome. Alexander VI having in A. D. 1502,  
imposed

imposed a tenth upon the clergy of France for the expence of the Turkish war, the university of Paris, having consulted the faculty of theology, decreed that such an imposition being contrary to the decrees of councils ought not to be obeyed, and that the censures of the court of Rome in consequence of this refusal ought not to be regarded; it being an immemorial custom in France, that there should be no levy without the king's consent.

In A. D. 1510 Lewis XII being, tho' much against his will, in a state of hostility with the pope, assembled the clergy of his kingdom at Tours, in order to consult them how far he could in conscience assert his rights against the injustice of Julius II, and how far the spiritual arms of the church were to be respected, at the head of an army, who made use of them to support injustice in temporal affairs; when they agreed, that the pope had no right to make war in a case in which neither the cause of religion, nor the dominions of the church, was concerned. They further said, that a temporal sovereign may lawfully seize upon the lands of the church for a time, in order to deprive the pope, being his enemy, of the power of hurting him, and that, in this case, also, the censures of the pope ought not to be regarded.

In return for this, the pope fulminated his censures against all those who should obey the decrees

crees of the French clergy, and against the general of the French army by name, considering their conduct as an attack on the authority of the holy see. On this occasion, however, five of his cardinals left him, and joined the council, which was then at Milan, notwithstanding all his endeavours to prevent it. And the French general was so far from being intimidated by the pope's bulls, that several attempts were made by him to get possession of his person.

On the accession of Francis I to the crown of France, and of Leo X to the popedom, this difficult business was compromised. They had a meeting at Bologna in A. D. 1515, and the pope insisting upon the abolition of the Pragmatic sanction, the king referred the business to the chancellor du Prat, who consented to the exchange of the Pragmatic sanction, for another system, called the *Concordat*, in consequence of which the kings of France were to nominate to the church livings, and the popes were to have the annates of the more considerable of them.

The French nation in general were exceedingly dissatisfied with this agreement; and the chancellor made himself very unpopular by his conduct in this business; and the advocate general, at the opening of the parliament in A. D. 1516, appealed from the act of revocation, and abrogation of the Pragmatic

Pragmatic sanction. It had not, however, any other effect than to increase in the French nation their dislike of the court of Rome, and did not discourage the pope. When the act of revocation came to the usual form of registering in parliament, tho' the king, as bound in honour to fulfill his agreement with the pope, used his utmost endeavours; and did not spare even threats, the parliament for a long time refused to comply. The university made a still more obstinate resistance, appealing to the pope better advised, and a future council. In the act which they published on this occasion, March 27. A. D. 1517, they said, "The vicar of Jesus Christ, called the pope, tho' he has his power immediately from God, is not impeccable; that, if he command any thing that is unjust, he ought to be resisted; that if he will compel the faithful to obey him, natural right leaves them the remedy of an appeal, which the king cannot take from them, being founded on divine right."

They then make an encomium on the councils of Constance and Basil, and pass severe censures on Leo and the council of Lateran, which they say was not convoked in the spirit of the Lord, because the Holy Spirit orders nothing contrary to the divine law, and the sacred councils; and lastly

they



they accuse him of nothing less than aiming at the ruin of the church, in conferring benefices on the most unworthy persons, to deprive those who have merit, which compel them to appeal to a future council, and protest against the nullity, the abuse and the injustice of all that should be done against the Pragmatic sanction. At length, however, the act of its abolition was registered by the parliament, but not without some modifications, and as “by the express order of the king, often repeated, and in the presence of an envoy deputed by the king for the purpose.” This was done by way of signifying their own strong disapprobation of the act.

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## SECTION V.

### *The History of the Hussites.*

AT the time of the death of John Hus it is evident that a great majority of the Bohemians, and especially the nobility, were his friends, and they were exceedingly exasperated at the conduct of the council of Constance, especially in the violation of the safe conduct that had been given

given him; and nothing that was done by the council, or the popes afterwards, had any tendency to appease their resentment. Being a warlike people, and having an able commander in Zisca they had recourse to arms, rather than, as would better have become christians, suffer persecution without resistance.

The war was kept up a long time, and with a degree of ferocity and cruelty which has too generally characterised religious and civil wars. But the issue of this, as well as of every other similar case, shewed that the cause of *truth* is never really promoted by *arms*. Notwithstanding the great success of the Hussites for a considerable time, their numbers diminished rather than increased, as it is probable they would have done by persecution, and after their great defeat in A. D. 1434, all who opposed the church of Rome in that part of Europe dwindled to an inconsiderable sect; and what is particularly remarkable, having seen the folly of having had recourse to arms to support religion, they as well as the Anabaptists afterwards, became the most peaceable and passive of all christians. For such are the *Moravian brethren*, who are all that remain of the once formidable Hussites. It will be necessary to give some account of their wars, as well as of other particulars in their history, but the recital shall be as brief as possible.

After

After the death of Hus and Jerom of Prague, near five hundred of their followers in Bohemia were summoned to appear before the council ; and not attending, they were declared to be contumacious. Seeing their extermination was determined, they formed an army of forty thousand men for their defence, under the command of Zisca, who chose for the place of his chief resort a mountain some miles from Prague, where they formed themselves into a regular body, openly disclaiming the authority of the pope, as no more than any other bishop, rejecting purgatory, prayers for the dead, the use of images, confession, and the fasts of the church, and they communicated in both kinds. Winceflas, who favoured them, granted them the use of several churches in Prague.

Martin V, presently after his election in A. D. 1418, published a bull against the Hussites, ordering them to be delivered to the secular arm, and enjoining all christian princes to assist in exterminating them. In this bull he inserted forty five articles of the doctrine of Wickliffe, and Hus, condemned by the council of Constance, in which he directed that all suspected persons should be examined on oath.

So far were the troubles of Bohemia from being appeased by this bull, or the decrees of the council, that they were increased, and that year the

Hussites were joined by forty Picards, probably Waldenses from Picardy, who came to Prague with their wives and families. Before recourse was had to open war, a Dominican was sent to reclaim the Hussites; but he soon returned, and gave it as his opinion, that nothing would reduce them but force. This too was the opinion of Gerson, in the advice that he gave to Sigismund the year before. So much were the Hussites increased, that on the 16th of April, being assembled in the castle of Visegrade, they deputed Nicolas de Hufsinez to Winceflas, to request the use of more churches, those which had been allowed them not being sufficient. He desired time to consider of their request, and at the expiration of the time that he had fixed, required them to appear before him, but without arms; but by the advice of Zisca, who knew the timid temper of the king, they appeared with their arms, saying it was the privilege of their nation, and to shew him their readiness to fight his enemies. Struck with their courage and resolution, he dismissed them with a favourable answer.

On the death of Winceflas, in A. D. 1418, Zisca and his followers refused to acknowledge his brother Sigismund; saying that after his consent to the death of John Hus and Jerom of Prague, he was unworthy of the crown; and taking advantage

tage of the war in which he was engaged with the Turks, they declared war against him. Nothing, however, appears to have been done in consequence of this, till the year A. D. 1420, when they defeated a body of imperial-cavalry, and recovered Mofca, from which the Hussites had been expelled. On this the emperor sent a thousand lances, and the choicest of his cavalry; but they also were cut off, and it was with much difficulty that the commander of them saved himself. In this state of their affairs, the Hussites expecting to be attacked by all the forces of the emperor, fortified a place to which they gave the name of *Tabor*, and they defeated some forces which the emperor sent to take it. After this Zisca made himself master of Prague, and also took Visigrade.

About this time there appeared some new-sectaries, called *Trebites*, who exercised great cruelties on the catholic priests, and Zisca received them among his own troops. This same year the pope published a crusade against the Hussites; but the army that was raised in consequence of it deserted their commander on the approach of Zisca. At the siege of Robi this year, Zisca lost the only eye that he then had; but notwithstanding this disadvantage when he recovered of the wound, he resumed the command of the army.

The emperor, being now feriouſly alarmed at the progreſs of the Huſſites, aſſembled the diet of the empire at Nuremberg, when all the nobility of Germany agreed to join their forces againſt them; and accordingly they all took the field, except the elector of Treves, who was ſick, and who arrived on the frontiers of Bohemia in Auguſt; but not being able to take Soez, which they beſieged, the troops deſerted in the month of October. The emperor himſelf had not been able to join them, becauſe he could not bring his troops from Auſtria and Hungary, as they diſliked the ſervice, before December. It being impoſſible then to do any thing, he propoſed a truce; but the Huſſites reſuſed to agree to it, except on ſuch terms as the emperor would not admit, viz. that preaching ſhould be free thro' all Bohemia, that the communion ſhould be in both kinds, that the clergy ſhould have no poſſeſſions in land, or any civil jurifdiction, and that mortal (by which they meant public) ſins in any perſon ſhould be animadverted upon.

Shortly after this the Huſſites addreſſed a letter to certain princes, to juſtify themſelves againſt the charge of rebellion, and in this they accuſed Sigifmond of the death of John Huſ, and of promoting the cruſade againſt them; profeſſing that they had recourſe to arms in the defence of their religion

religion, their liberties, and their lives. At the same time they threatened to act, hostilely against all who would not admit of the four articles above mentioned. In this cessation of hostilities they held a council in Prague, when they agreed on twenty two articles, some of which, however, occasioned a division among them.

About this time there arrived in Bohemia some of those who called themselves *brethren of the free spirit*, who had been very numerous in France, Flanders, and Germany, but still more in Suabia and Switzerland, tho' few of them escaped the pursuit of the inquisitors. One of their leading principles was said to have been that bashfulness and modesty are marks of inherent corruption, and, that they were not properly purified, till they could behold without emotion the naked bodies of the different sexes; and therefore they, sometimes at least, frequented public worship in that state, whence they were called *Adamites*, and were universally and naturally suspected of incontinence. Zisca so far from receiving those people, fell upon them in A. D. 1421, and putting some of them to the sword, condemned the rest to the flames, which they suffered with the greatest fortitude. *Mosheim*, Vol. 3, p. 274.

It can hardly be doubted, however, but that these people were no other than Waldenses, Picards, or

Lollards (terms of the same signification) that the indecencies they were charged with as Adamites were mere calumnies, and that the true reason of Zisca's aversion to them was their differing in opinion from him, and their taking part with his enemies. They denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, and refused to adore the host. One of them being put to the torture, said, "It is not we that are in an error, but you who cause us to be burned. Deceived by false teachers, you prostrate yourselves before a creature, a piece of consecrated bread, and burn incense before it; imagining that you are offering upon the altar for the living and the dead, the body of Jesus Christ which is in heaven." *Beaufelre in L'Enfant's Basse*, Vol. 2, p. 329.

The Waldenses were in Bohemia in A. D. 1173, and were well received at Zatec and Lanni on the river Egria, near the frontiers of Misnia, from which place they probably entered Bohemia. Being in great numbers in an island formed by the river Laufnitz near Neuhaus, in the district of Bechin, they took arms,\* and were defeated by Zisca. *Ib.* p. 393.

The

\* *L'Enfant* says they joined the Taborites. But according to other accounts the division of the Hussites into Orphelins and Taborites did not take place till after the death of Zisca.



The same year viz. A. D. 1421, the Hufsites made an offer of the crown of Bohemia to the king of Poland; but he declining it, they offered it to Withold, duke of Luthiania, who accepted of it, and sent an army to their assistance. But making his peace with the emperor, he soon after abandoned them; when they were again left to themselves; but they had no more occasion for the use of arms during the life of Zisca. In A. D. 1424, the emperor despairing of conquering the Hufsites, proposed a treaty in which he agreed to give up to Zisca not only the government and the command of the forces, but the revenues of the country, retaining the sovereignty only. These terms were accepted, and presently after, when Zisca was going to wait on the emperor, he was seized with the plague, and died October 6th, A. D. 1424.

On the death of Zisca the Hufsites divided into two parties, one called *Taborites*, commanded by Procopius, surnamed *the Great*, and the other *Orphelins* (to signify the loss they had of their great chief Zisca) who chose fresh chiefs every year, except that in battle they were commanded by another Procopius, called by way of distinction from the other, *the little*. Both parties uniting in a common cause, and not observing the terms of the treaty that had been made with Zisca, plun-

dered the catholic countries in their neighbourhood. The emperor then making a new treaty with them, allowed them the free exercise of their religion, till the meeting of the council of Basil. The citizens of Prague accepted these terms, but the army refusing them, Henry bishop of Winchester was sent as legate in A. D. 1428, and with an army, to subdue them. But this army was beaten, and his camp taken. After this the Hufsites divided themselves into three bodies, and committed dreadful ravages in Hungary, Poland, and Austria.\*

In A. D. 1430 the Hufsites extending their ravages to Silesia and Misnia, the pope sent cardinal Julian at the head of an army, procured by the publication of a second crusade; when all the electors of the empire, and all the princes, ecclesiastical and secular, promised to raise a powerful army.

The

\* Among the Taborites were many whose opinions were very extravagant, and led to much mischief. They demanded the erection of an entirely new hierarchy, in which Christ alone should reign. Some of them, as Martin Loquis, a Moravian, were of opinion, that Christ himself would descend in person, armed with fire and sword, to extirpate heresy, and thought that they ought to pursue the enemies of Christ in the same manner. Hence the dreadful ravages of which they were guilty. *Mosheim*, Vol 3, p. 263.

The army was raised, but it had no more success than the former. Tho' it consisted of forty thousand German horse, besides a numerous infantry, they fled on the approach of the Hussites, abandoning their camp and every thing in it.

The emperor despairing again of success in the way of arms, wrote a soothing letter to the Hussites, inviting them to send deputies to the council of Basle; and tho' the Orphelins objected to it, it was agreed to by the majority, and accordingly a safe conduct being granted them, four deputies were sent, two from their clergy, and two from their nobility, who arrived at Basle January 4, A. D. 1432, and were received with great respect. They proposed the four articles abovementioned, promising that if they were granted, they would, in every other respect, conform to the catholic church. They were permitted to argue at large in defence of all their articles, and were answered by the members of the council, the discussion continuing from January 16, to March 6; when, receiving no satisfaction, the deputies returned to Prague, accompanied by ambassadors from the council.

These ambassadors were received with much respect, and employing their address in concert with Maynard, a Bohemian nobleman, they suc-

D;

ceeded

ceeded in sowing divisions among the Hussites, and induced the count of Pilsen to revolt from them. Presently after this, they were driven out of Prague, and a battle being fought in A. D. 1434, on the octave of the festival of the holy sacrament, both the Procopius's were slain; and afterwards when they had entered into terms with their enemies, all the old soldiers who had fought under Zisca were treacherously put to death. After this they made no appearance in the field; but a treaty being entered into between them and the deputies of the council, it continued a long time, the Hussites objecting chiefly to the usurpations of the possessions of the church being termed sacrilege. At length however, at an assembly held at Iffaw in A. D. 1436 at which the emperor assisted, they gave up three of the articles they had before insisted upon, and contented themselves with gaining the fourth, which was the communion in both kinds.

Thus an end was put to a cruel war, which had desolated the country twenty two years. But the pope and the court of Rome objected to the terms. The Hussites had farther demanded of the council of Basil, that their children might receive the eucharist immediately after baptism, but it had not been granted to them. On these accounts the schism, tho' not the war, was renewed by a considerable number of the Hussites, who published  
forty

forty five articles of a new confession of their faith.

In A. D. 1448 pope Nicolas sent a legate into Bohemia, but he hesitating to satisfy the demands of Rokysan, to be archbishop of Prague, which the Bohemians insisted upon, it was with difficulty that he escaped out of the country. At this time there were two lieutenants in the kingdom of Bohemia, Maynard, a favourer of the old religion, and Petarscon, a friend of Rokysan. He dying was succeeded by Podiebrad, who seized upon the city of Prague, and put Maynard in prison, where he soon died; and being then sole governor of the kingdom, he gave the archbishopric to Rokysan; without waiting for the bull from Rome.

In A. D. 1453 Ladislas, then thirteen years of age, was crowned king of Bohemia, according to the rites of the catholic Church. He even refused to go into a church belonging to the Hussites, or to adore the host that was carried before Rokysan. He discovered a still greater aversion to the Hussites after his return to the kingdom, in A. D. 1457, just before his intended marriage with a daughter of the king of France; and as he presently after this died of poison, his death was generally imputed either to Rokysan, or Podiebrad\*, whose interest

\* This name is written by Fleury and others *Fogebrac*, and under his effigies in L'Enfant's History it

it was that a prince so zealous for the catholic religion should not be their king.

On his death, Podiebrad was elected king of Bohemia; and finding it necessary to gain the allegiance of the catholics, he took advantage of the divisions among the Hussites, and exterminated the greatest part of them. On the defeat of their army, the two parties before mentioned had ceased; but they had separated a second time, and the Calixtins, being the stronger, had seized upon the city of Tabor. Being, however, persuaded to send deputies to a general assembly of all the Hussites, and abide by the resolutions of the majority, they were condemned, and Podiebrad upon their refusing to comply with the articles agreed upon, marched against them, and besieging them in Tabor, not only took the place, but it is said cut them all off to a man, and demolished the fortifications.

Podiebrad also compelled all the Manicheans, or those who passed for such, to become catholics or leave the country. About two thousand of them were baptized, but more than four hundred thousand retired to Stephen duke of Bosnia, a Manichean like themselves. The bishop of Neva sent three principal chiefs of the sect  
 is *Podibraski*. I have given the name as I find it in L'Enfant's History.

set in chains to the pope, who put them into a monastery, to be instructed in the principles of the catholic faith, and then sent them back to the king, *Fleury*, Vol. 23, p. 123.

The people here called *Manicheans* were probably no other than Waldenses, or such as going by the appellation of *Adamites* were put to death by Zisca.

It was not to be expected that, in an age so enlightened as this, and when opinions were so much discussed, all the Bohemians should confine themselves within the limits of the first reform by John Hus, or the Calixtins. Great numbers soon expressed a wish for a farther reformation. At the head of them was Gregory Rokysan's sister's son, and not being able to gain Rokysan himself for their head, they, by his advice, and assistance, withdrew to a place in the lordship of Letitz near Leutomischel, between Silesia and Moravia, which had been laid waste by the ravages of war, and there they regulated their worship according to their own ideas, *Crantz*, p. 21. This they carried into execution about the year A. D. 1453; and in A. D. 1457, they had digested their scheme of church-government, and at first called themselves *brethren of the law of Christ*; but being afterwards joined by others, who had formed similar plans, they took the name of *Unitas Fratrum*, or the *United brethren*

*brethren*, and they all agreed never to defend themselves by arms, but only by prayer, and reasonable remonstrances against their enemies.

Their number increasing, they were exposed to great calamity and persecution, neither Rokyfan, nor the king, chusing to patronize them. Being declared outlaws, they were driven from their habitations in the depth of winter, and many of them died in prison. All the apologies they addressed to the king, or the states, only served to exasperate them, and the persecution did not abate till the death of Podiebrad, in A. D. 1471. Some time before this Rokyfan had died, they say in despair.

Podiebrad, desirous to recommend himself to his catholic subjects, always communicated in both kinds, and was at enmity with Pius II. as long as he lived; but having punished some catholics, on the charge of treason, in A. D. 1466, he was excommunicated, and his subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance. His crown was first offered to Casimer king of Poland; but he not chusing to contend with Podiebrad, who was supported by several of the princes of Germany, it was offered to Matthias king of Hungary, who at first also declined it, but was afterwards, encouraged to engage with Podiebrad, the catholics in Bohemia declaring for him. However, soon after  
this



this Casimír, with the consent of Podiebrád, permitted his son Uladissas to be appointed his successor; and tho' the pope refused to confirm the choice, he became king of Bohemia.

In A. D. 1474, the Calixtins revolted from Uladissas; and in D. D. 1483, they drove the catholics out of Prague. They also compelled the monks to leave the city; and destroyed the monasteries, the king not being able to resist them.

In the reign of Uladissas the united brethren for the most part enjoyed peace, tho' several attempts were made to excite him to persecute them; and in A. D. 1481 they were banished from Moravia, Lusatia, and Silesia, which had been seized by Matthias king of Hungary; and some of them went as far as Moldavia; and being taken by the Tartars even settled near mount Caucasus beyond the Caspian sea. At this time, however, the brethren in Bohemia were not molested. But they were unfortunately divided among themselves; some of them becoming anabaptists, and accusing others of designs against the state. This brought on them a grievous persecution, which, however, did not lessen their numbers; and at the beginning of the sixteenth century there were two hundred congregations of them in Bohemia and Moravia; when many men of learning, and some priests of the Calixtins joined them. They were  
also

also joined by several lords, who built places of worship for them in the towns and villages, the churches being in possession of the Calixtines. Being thus happily at rest from persecution, and having learned men among them, they published a translation of the scriptures into the Bohemian or Schlavonian tongue, at first only from the vulgate Latin, but in a later period from the languages in which they were written.

Having an idea of the transmission of episcopal powers from the apostles, and supposing that the bishops of the Waldenses were regularly descended from the earliest times, they got their first bishops ordained by them; having first chosen them by solemn prayer, and the casting of lots. This was done at a synod held by them at Lhoten in A. D. 1467. In A. D. 1504 they presented to Uladislas a confession of their faith, in which they acknowledged the three creeds. When the king forbade their assemblies, and ordered them to join either the Catholics, or the Calixtines, they presented another remonstrance, explaining some of their principles, but without any effect.

In A. D. 1509 one Augustin drew up a letter in the king's name in answer to their remonstrance, and to this they published a reply, in which they rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, the adoration of the virgin Mary, and other saints, and purgatory

purgatory ; seeming rather to approve of the opinion of the antients, of the just being purified by fire before the day of judgment, and that souls do not enter into happiness till the resurrection. They said they would submit to any mere external ordinances, if they could do it without sin, such as the observance of festivals, fasts, and other things of an indifferent nature ; but not those which encouraged idolatry, and superstition.

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## SECTION VI.

*Of the Attempts to unite the Greek and Latin Churches.*

**E**NDEAVOURS to promote the union of the Greek and Latin churches, make a considerable part of the ecclesiastical history of this period, as well as of several of the former. The Greek emperors, being in general less attached to the religion, and standing in great need of the assistance of the christians of the West, in their wars with the Mahometan powers, frequently wished for such an union ; and the popes, tho' having little concern for the interest of religion, were de-

firous of extending their authority over the whole christian world. But they being unwilling to give up any article of what was called the catholic faith, and the Greeks in general being as obstinate on their side, every attempt to reconcile them, however promising in the negotiations of a few, always miscarried when a general consent became necessary.

Manuel Paleologus II, as well as the patriarch Euthymius, seem to have had no objection to receive the catholic faith, and his successor Joseph, who had been the metropolitan of Ephesus, having the same disposition, he applied to Martin V for leave to marry one of his sons to a catholic princess. To this no objection was made, and in A. D. 1419, John the oldest of his sons, was married to Sophia, the daughter of the marquis of Montferrat, and was associated with his father in the empire. In order to obtain the assistance of the Latins, these two emperors resumed the project of the union of the two churches, and proposed to carry it into execution, in a council to be held at Constantinople for that purpose. The pope, entering into their views, sent legates to make preparation for it, and promised to send the assistance they had applied for.

But the cardinal of St. Angelo being sent in A. D. 1420 to Constantinople, on this business, insisted

sisted upon the Greeks accepting the intire creed of the church of Rome; and as the emperor and his prelates would only say that they would be determined in this respect by the result of the council, which the state of their affairs would not permit being called immediately, all further proceedings in the business were at that time discontinued: But much farther progress was made in the succeeding reign of John Paleologus.

This emperor being pressed by the Turks, and getting no assistance from the emperor Sigismund, applied to Martin V in A. D. 1430, who recommended the council of Basil, which was summoned for the year following, instead of that which had been proposed [at Constantinople; promising to defray the expences of the Greeks who should attend it; and to this the Greek emperor, not being able to do better, consented. But the death of the pope threw difficulties in the way of the scheme. His successor, Eugenius, not having the same friendly disposition, and the Greeks in general discovering a great aversion to the union, the Greek ambassadors returned to Constantinople. The treaty was, however, renewed, and the Greeks sending ambassadors to Basil, they were received with much honour. But deputies being sent by the council in return, found the Greeks but ill disposed to the union, and particularly offended at a decree of the council, in which mention was made of the *antient heresy of*

*the Greeks.* After much difficulty, the Greeks consented that the council should be held in some seaport of Italy, tho' they had consented to meet at Basil, the pope having thwarted the negociation of the council, which he thought took too much upon it in the business.

Ambassadors both from the pope and the council were sent to Constantinople at the same time, and gallics to take the charge of the Greeks. But those of the pope arriving the first, the emperor and his suite chose to embark in them. Besides the emperor himself, there was Demetrius one of his brothers, the patriarch of Constantinople, metropolitans, bishops, abbots, in all seven hundred persons, with powers from the patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem. They arrived at Venice the 8th of February A. D. 1438, and thence proceeded to Ferrara, where they were received by the pope with much ceremony.

Before any regular sessions were held at this council of Ferrara, there were several congregations, in which the five following articles were discussed, viz. the procession of the holy spirit, the addition of *filioque* to the creed, purgatory, and the state of the dead before the day of judgment, the use of unleavened bread in the eucharist, and the supremacy of the church of Rome. The sessions were deferred six months because the ambassa-

dors

dors from the princes of Europe did not attend, being directed to continue at Basil.

On the subject of purgatory, with which the private conferences began, the Greeks themselves could not agree; and the first article that was regularly discussed was the addition to the creed, on which the speeches were very long, the Greeks insisting on the impropriety of making any addition to it, and the Latins maintaining that what they had done was not by way of addition, but only of explanation. They, therefore, proposed to discuss the question of the *procession*, since, according as that was determined, the addition to the creed might be retained or rejected.

In this state of things the council was transferred to Florence, where the debates were resumed, and continued till the 5th of June, the emperor earnestly wishing for an agreement, and a majority of the prelates being also inclined to it, but Mark of Ephesus strenuously opposed it. At length, however, the following form of a confession of faith was agreed on, “The holy spirit is eternally from the Father and the Son, and from all eternity proceeded from them both, as from one sole principle, and by one sole production, called *spiration*; the Son having received from the Father from all eternity that productive virtue,

“ by which the holy spirit proceeds from the Son  
 “ as from the Father.”

It was soon agreed that leavened or unleavened bread might be used in the eucharist. They agreed also that there is a purgatory, and that it was indifferent in what the pains of it consisted, whether fire, or darkness, tempest, or any thing else. On the subject of the supremacy of the church of Rome there was more difficulty. At length, however, the Greeks acknowledged, that the bishop of Rome was the sovereign pontiff, and vicar of Jesus Christ, who governs the church of God, saving the privileges and rights of the patriarchs of the East. Agreeably to this, a solemn act of union was drawn up, and signed the 6th of July A. D. 1439. The pope, however, did not give the Greeks leave to celebrate the eucharist in public, lest some of their rites should be such as he could not approve; and on the other hand they would not, at the request of the pope, choose another patriarch, in the place of Joseph, who died at Florence, to be confirmed by himself, but deferred the election till their return to Constantinople, which was the 1st of February A. D. 1440.

The reception of the emperor and his prelates, on their return from the council, was by no means such as they wished. The great body of the clergy regarding them with abhorrence, would  
 not



not admit those of the clergy who had subscribed to the union to any ecclesiastical functions. The monks were more particularly irritated, and excited the people against them. Wherever they went they were insulted as traitors to their religion, and apostates, and by way of reproach called *azymites*; while Marc of Ephesus was extolled to the skies, as the only defender of the true religion, and who alone had the courage to maintain the honor of the Greek church against the Latins. In this state of things he had a great advantage in writing, as he and several others did, against the union; and tho' it was ably defended by Bessarion and others, their writings had no effect on the people in general. Few would attend divine service, even with the emperor himself, and in some churches his name was left out of the diptychs. Tho' one of the deputies who had subscribed to the union was made patriarch, and the pope sent a legate to Constantinople to act in concert with him; all they could do was of no avail; and the emperor himself, expecting little assistance from the West, and dreading a revolt of his own subjects, became indifferent about enforcing the union, and of this the pope complained.

Tho' Metrophanes, whom the emperor had made patriarch of Constantinople, favoured the union, and advanced the favourers of it to all the

ecclesiastical dignities that became vacant, great and general complaints were made of it. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, all published synodical letters, pronouncing sentences of deposition against those whom he had ordained, and excommunicating them if they persisted in exercising their ecclesiastical functions. They also wrote to the emperor, threatening him with excommunication, if he protected Metrophanes, and adhered to the Latin church.

In Russia the news of this union was as ill received as in Greece itself. There the legate Isidore whom the pope sent to announce it, was apprehended as a seducer, and apostate, who had had sold them to the Latins. He found means, however, to escape out of prison, before they proceeded any farther against him.

After the great defeat of the christian powers at the battle of Varna, the Greek emperor, having no expectation of assistance from the West, said nothing more about the union of the two churches, or of his league with the Latins.

When the affairs of the Greeks wore an unpromising aspect, by the near approach of the Turks to Constantinople, pope Nicolas addressed a letter to them ; urging them to confirm the union of the churches, and in consequence of this the emperor Constantine sent ambassadors to Rome, requesting

requesting the pope to send some able persons to assist in the reduction of the schismatics; when cardinal Isidore, a Greek, was sent, and was received by the emperor, and a small number of prelates, December 12, A. D. 1451. But this measure only increased the obstinacy of the Greeks in general; and when the cardinal performed mass in the church of St. Sophia, the monk Gennadius, being applied to by the citizens who ran in a tumult to his cell, without going out of it affixed to his door a writing, in which he denounced the greatest miseries on those who received what he called the impious decree of the union; on which priests, abbots, monks, nuns, soldiers, and citizens, in short persons of all descriptions, except a small part of the senate, and those about the court, particularly devoted to the emperor, began to cry out with one voice, "Athema to those who are united to the Latins." They would not so much as enter the church of St. Sophia, considering it as prophaned, and avoided all those who had assisted at the service in it, as excommunicated persons, refusing them absolution, or entrance into their churches.

Two years after this Constantinople was taken by Mahomet II; and Isidore, who was in the city at the siege, was taken prisoner, but had the address to make his escape. He was the same

person who had been sent to Russia to establish the Latin service there, and had been thrown into prison as a schismatic.

Mahomet gave the christians leave to chuse their patriarchs, as they had done under their former emperors, retaining the power, which they had had, of confirming, that is, directing, their choice. By his order they chose G. Scholarius, who had declared for the union of the churches, and the emperor afterwards paying him a visit, requested him to explain to him the principles of the christian religion, which it is said that he did in so able a manner as greatly struck him, and made him more favourable to the christians than he had been before. This patriarch, not being able to engage the Greeks to embrace the union, quitted his preferment after he had held it five years, and retired to a monastery.

There was no abatement of the antipathy of the Greeks to the Latins in this period. In A. D. 1509, the patriarch of Constantinople excommunicated Arsenius, archbishop of Malvasia in the Morea, which was then in the possession of the Venetians, and all who had been ordained by him, because he had submitted to the church of Rome. Arsenius fled to Rome, and complained to the pope, who wrote to the Venetians on the subject, desiring them to oblige the Greeks to make satisfaction

faction for the injury ; but the Venetians were in danger in making the attempt.

On the same principle on which the apparent union of the Greek and Latin churches was brought about, several of the eastern sectaries were induced to submit to the see of Rome ; but in all the cases it was the act of a few, and had no effect with the great mass of the people.

After the union of the Greek and Latin churches was determined upon at Florence, Constantine, patriarch of the Armenians, sent letters to Modena, and four deputies, to whom the pope explained the articles of the catholic faith, and especially the doctrine of the council of Chalcedon, and others which the Armenians had hitherto rejected, and all the seven sacraments. All these they agreed to receive, and the decree of their union with the church of Rome passed the 22d of November, A. D. 1439.

In A. D. 1440 the Jacobites sent deputies to Florence, and were united to the Roman church. Pope Eugenius addressed letters to their patriarch John, who apologized for his own non attendance at the council, on account of his poverty and infirmities, but sent a legate with power to agree to the union. Accordingly, he, in the name of his principal, accepted a long constitution, in which the pope defended the catholic faith, in opposition to the errors of the Eutychians. Complimentary letters  
were

were also received from the king of Ethiopia; and Philotheus the patriarch of Alexandria, in praise of the union, but the whole ended in words.

In A. D. 1444 the christians of Mesopotamia sent Abdalla, the archbishop of Edeffa, to Rome, to signify their acceptance of the catholic faith; and pope Eugenius assembling a council, as a continuation of that of Florence, passed a decree of the union of the Syrian Church with that of Rome.

The same year some Chaldeans or Nestorians and Maronites sent deputies to Rome, to acknowledge the catholic faith, and they were received in the same council. But this also had no effect in the East, where they continued as remote from the church of Rome as ever.

In A. D. 1460 Pius II received a deputation from the patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, promising obedience to the see of Rome, according the council of Florence, which they said had been agreed to, in an assembly convoked for the purpose.

In A. D. 1496 Constantine, king of the Georgians, sent a deputation to pope Alexander VI, acknowledging him to be the vicar of Christ, and to request that he would oblige the catholic princes to join those of the East against the Mahometans. He also desired him to send him the decrees  
of

of the council of Florence, which condemned the errors of the Greeks. The pope received the deputies with much joy, and promised every thing in his power.

Before this, viz. in A. D. 1478, the queen of Bosnia dying, left her dominions to the fee of Rome, with a reversion to her son, if he should abandon the Turkish interest and Mahomitanism, and return into the bosom of the church.

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## SECTION VII.

*Of Various Opinions advanced in this Period.*

**T**HE present period abounded with men who thought with great freedom and acuteness, on many subjects of theology and church government, the effects of which would have been very conspicuous, if it had not been for the omnipotent authority of the church of Rome, which, wherever it interfered, as it did in all cases in which its interest was the most remotely concerned, suppressed every thing that threatened innovation. In the account of the more remarkable opinions

nions that were advanced in this period, I shall begin with those that more particularly affected, or threatened to affect, the court of Rome; and the more fundamental doctrines of the church.

In A. D. 1479 the following propositions of Peter de Osma, professor of theology at Salamanca, were condemned by the archbishop of Toledo, after an examination before many doctors; and the condemnation was confirmed by pope Sixtus IV. "Mortal sins may be effaced by contrition  
" only, without the authority of the church. Pri-  
" vate confession is not of divine right, but found-  
" ed on the orders of the church. The pope can-  
" not remit the pains of purgatory. The church  
" of Rome may err in its decisions. The pope  
" cannot dispense with the orders of the universal church." It was remarked that these propositions were condemned by the pope without particular specification, in order, as it was expressed in the bull, that those who knew them might forget them, and those who were ignorant of them might not learn any thing new. This mode of condemnation indicates an apprehension of such doctrines as these recommending themselves to those who should hear of them; but it would certainly excite the curiosity of many to know what the unnamed propositions were.



The same year some similar propositions of John of Wesalia, a doctor of theology, and a preacher at Worms were condemned by the inquisition. "He denied that bishops had the power of making laws. He maintained that indulgences are of no value, and that the elect will be saved tho' all the priests should condemn them. Jesus Christ, he said, appointed neither fasts nor festivals, and did not forbid the use of any kind of meat, on any day; holy oil does not differ from common oil; they who go on pilgrimages to Rome are mad." Some of his propositions have an humourous turn, as this, "If St. Peter did appoint any fast, it was only that he might have a better sale for his fishes."

The archbishop of Mentz wrote to the university of Heidelberg and Cologne, to desire that they would examine these propositions; and several assemblies were held on the subject, John was publicly interrogated, and after several subsequent sittings obliged to retract what he had advanced. For some time, however, he refused to do it. His examiners were blamed by many persons, as having proceeded with too much warmth in the business, especially as it was said that some of the propositions might have been supported, if they had been properly explained.

In A. D. 1485 John Laillier, a licentiate in theology at Paris, advanced the following propositions.

tions. “ St. Peter did not receive from Christ  
“ more power than the other apostles. All those  
“ who compose the ecclesiastical hierarchy have  
“ received equal power from Christ, even the curés.  
“ The sovereign pontiff cannot remit all the pains  
“ due to sinners by virtue of his indulgences. Con-  
“ fession is not of divine right. The decrees and  
“ decretals of the popes are a mockery. The  
“ church of Rome is not the chief of other church-  
“ es.” He also advanced other propositions con-  
trary to the authority of the church, in favour of  
the marriage of priests, against the canonizing of  
saints, fasting in Easter, &c. which were censured  
in a faculty of theology, June 5. A. D. 1486.

Being refused the degree of doctor, he appealed  
to the bishop of Paris, and presented an explanati-  
on of some of his propositions, which he said were  
not so strong as some that had been advanced by  
Gerson. In consequence of these censures, he  
was obliged publicly to retract his propositions;  
and on this he was absolved from the excommuni-  
cation which had been pronounced against him,  
and restored to the power of obtaining the honours  
of the university. The faculty, however, would  
not give him the degree of *doctor*. The court of  
Rome was not a little alarmed on this occasion.  
Innocent VIII published two bulls, approving of  
the condemnation of Lailier, forbidding him to  
preach,

preach, making him incapable of the degree of doctor, and even ordering him to be put in prison.

Considerable alarm was given to the church by the singular and bold opinions of John Picus prince of Mirandola; who at a very early age distinguished himself by his genius and writings. In A. D. 1486, being at Rome, he proposed several theses respecting subjects in theology, mathematics, magic, the Cabalistic art, and natural philosophy, which were thought not a little extraordinary, and several of them were said to be heretical. He published a defence of them; but the pope forbade the reading of his theses under pain of excommunication, and cited Picus to appear before him. However nothing farther was then done in the business.

Among his propositions were the following. "Jesus Christ did not descend into hell in reality, but only in effect. Infinite punishment is not due, even to mortal sin, which is only finite. Neither crosses nor images are to be adored with the adoration of *latria*, even in the sense of Thomas Aquinas. God cannot be united hypostatically to any but a reasonable creature. There is more reason to believe that Origen was saved, than that he was damned!" The other propositions were more properly of a metaphysical nature, and so were his explanations of

these. Having made his submission to the holy see, he was absolved by Alexander VI in A. D. 1493; when his innocence, and the purity of his sentiments, were acknowledged. After this he gave all his time to the study of the scriptures, the controversy with the Jews and Mahometans, and writing against judicial astrology. That he might give himself wholly to his studies, he renounced the sovereignty of Mirandola and gave all that he had to the poor. He died at Florence in D. D. 1494, at the age of thirty three, putting on before he expired, the habit of the Dominicans, for whom he had a great regard.

A friend of Picus, Jerome de Savonarola, excited more attention than he did; and the consequences of his opinions and conduct were much more serious. He was a Dominican, and in A. D. 1492 began to distinguish himself by his preaching but much more by his prophecies. Picus of Mirandola brought him to Florence, where he published explanations of the book of Revelation, and foretold that the church would be renewed, after a great scourge which would fall upon it. He was vehement in his declamations against the clergy and the court of Rome, which soon made him many enemies.

But in A. D. 1478, after having been idolized by the people of Florence, as a prophet, and even directing

directing their public measures, especially in defending their liberties against all attacks upon them, he incurred their indignation by favouring, as it was supposed, the execution of some of the party of Peter of Medicis. in the night, than which nothing could be more opposite to public liberty. and even to a law which he himself promoted a short time before. Also Lewis Storza, jealous of his great influence, employed some monks to decry him, and did him ill offices with the pope, who was already sufficiently irritated against him, on account of his free censures of the court of Rome, and his writing to the emperor and the kings of France, Spain, Portugal and England, to engage them to demand the convocation of a council, for the reformation of the church, in its head and members.

The pope, therefore, summoned him to appear before him. But not chusing to put himself into the power of his enemies, he contented himself with writing an apology for his conduct; and being forbidden to preach, he employed another person, who in his sermons spoke in his favour. On this Alexander excommunicated him as a heretic. This proceeding, however, he shewed to be null, and instead of being silenced by it, he in A. D. 1498 resumed his functions, on which the pope excommunicated him again; and the people of Florence, wanting at that time the pope's interest

for the restitution of Pifa, obliged him to refrain from preaching. But the Dominican, whom Savanorola had employed to preach in his place, was so far from being intimidated by this, that he proposed to prove the truth of his doctrines, and the holiness of his character, by passing through the fire. A Franciscan accepted his challenge, and offered to go through the fire along with him, to prove the contrary. But when every thing was ready for the trial, and the people were assembled to see the issue, the Dominican insisted upon taking the host with him ; and this not being permitted, nothing farther was done.

Savanorola being now unpopular among the citizens, was attacked in a church in which he had taken refuge ; and being obliged to leave it, and appear before the magistrates, he was asked whether the revelations to which he pretended were real ; and when he declared that they were, tho' on leaving his asylum, they had promised to send him to his monastery, they ordered him to prison, and appointed commissaries from among his enemies to examine him. They did it by torture, and in a particularly cruel manner, tho' commonly practised in the inquisition, viz. [by tying his hands behind him, then drawing him up by a cord fastened to them, letting him fall with his whole weight, and checking him before he got

to the ground ; by which means his arms were dislocated. Not content with this, they applied hot coals to his bare feet, and insulted him in the grossest manner. All this, however, he bore with wonderful constancy, and as soon as he was in a condition to do it, he fell upon his knees, and prayed for his executioners.

The pope hearing that he was in custody, desired that he might be sent to Rome ; but this not being approved of, he sent two judges, who, tho', they could get no confession from him, even by a second torture, condemned him to die, along with two others. When they were degraded before their execution, the bishop who performed the ceremony, said to Jerome in the course of it, " I separate thee from the church triumphant," he replied, " Thou mayest separate me from the church militant, but not from the church triumphant ;" and to the last he persisted in declaring that every thing he had foretold would certainly come to pass. After this they were all hanged, their bodies burned, and their ashes thrown into the river. This was the 23d of May A. D. 1498. A life and defence of Savanorola was written by John Francis Picus of Mirandola, nephew of the celebrated John Picus, who maintained that the pope had been deceived by the enemies of Savano-

rola. His letters, which I have lately perused with much satisfaction, are certainly those of a man of real piety. The writer of these letters might be deceived, but I cannot think him an impostor, who would endeavour to deceive others.

In the same year in which Savanorola died, Peter D'Aranda, bishop of Calahorra, and master of the sacred palace, was degraded, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the castle of St. Angelo at Rome, on being convicted, as it was said, of judaism. He was said to have taught that the Jewish religion had one principle, but the christian three. In his prayers he said *glory to the Father*, without adding to the Son or the Holy Spirit. He said that indulgences were of no avail, but were invented for the sake of the profit that was drawn from them, that there was neither hell nor purgatory, but only paradise. He observed no fast, and said mass after dinner. From his saying mass, or receiving the Lord's supper, it is evident he was not a Jew, but probably an unitarian christian.

About twenty years before the reformation, a physician of Bologna, named Gabriel de Salodio, denied the divinity of Christ, and moreover affirmed that he was conceived and born as other men are; and yet the citizens would not suffer the in-

John



John Reuchlin, a learned German, eminent for his skill in the Greek and Hebrew languages, and who contributed much to the restoration of literature, and eventually to the reformation in Europe, made himself many enemies by his favouring the Jews. A Jew of the name of Pfeffercorn, becoming a christian, persuaded Hochstrat, a Dominican inquisitor in Germany, and Arnaud de Tongres, professor of divinity at Cologne, that all the books of the Jews ought to be burned, as full of impiety and blasphemy; and they easily procured an order from the emperor Maximilian for the purpose. The Jews, however, having some interest at the imperial court, procured an order to the university of Cologne, and others, to give their opinions jointly with Reuchlin, who was then with Eberhard, count of Wirtemberg, Victor of Corbie, and James Hockstrat. Reuchlin said that the Jewish books on indifferent subjects ought to be spared, and that only those that were written against christianity should be destroyed.

On this Pfeffercorn wrote against that opinion, and Reuchlin in defence of it. But the theologians of Cologne, examining the work of Reuchlin, found in it forty five propositions, which they said were erroneous and heretical. Reuchlin answered their charges, in an apology addressed to the emperor, on which he was cited before the inquisi-

tor Hochstrat, in the presence of the elector of Mayence ; when, notwithstanding Reuchlin's appeal to the court of Rome, the inquisitor forbade the reading of his book. It was also ordered to be burned by the university of Paris. This encouraged Pfeffercorn to write again in answer to Reuchlin, who again appealed to Rome. All the learned in Europe took his part, and the pope, having appointed commissaries to examine the business, the Dominican was in the issue obliged to pay the expence of the cause, and absolve him from his excommunication.

There were some other controversies within this period, which, tho' of trifling consequence in themselves, may deserve to be just noticed in this section. At the council of Basil in A. D. 1435, the opinions of Augustin de Roma were condemned. He attributed to the human nature of Christ what belonged to the divine nature, and also ascribed to Christ himself what belonged to christians, on account of their union with him ; saying that Christ sinned every day, meaning his members, which with himself make but one person.

In A. D. 1462 there was a warm dispute between the Franciscans and Dominicans on the subject of that blood of Christ, which was separated from his body before his burial, viz. whether it was separated from his divinity, so as not to be intitled

intituled to adoration ; the Franciscans maintain-  
ing that it ought to be adored, and the Dominicans  
the contrary. Pius II summoned the ablest the-  
ologians on both sides to dispute before him,  
which they did with so much warmth that they  
sweated profusely. The pope not chusing to of-  
fend either of the parties, made no decision on the  
subject; but forbade any more disputing about it.  
This pope had himself maintained that it was not  
contrary to religion to assert that some of the  
blood of Christ remained on the earth. The uni-  
versity of Paris also had come to a similar decision  
in the year A. D. 1408.

In A. D. 1470 it was maintained by Peter de  
Reve, in the university of Louvain, that proposi-  
tions relating to any future event, as that there  
will be a resurrection of the dead, cannot be assert-  
ed without a belief in the doctrine of fate or ne-  
cessity ; and an appeal was made to the university  
of Paris, which asserted that this was a false conse-  
quence. The divines of Louvain, not satisfied  
with this answer, appealed to the pope, and on that  
occasion the cardinal Peter *aux liens*, afterwards  
himself pope, under the name of Sixtus IV, wrote  
a treatise on the subject of future contingencies ;  
but all the propositions of Peter de Reve, twenty  
five in number, were condemned.

The doctrine of the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary was first advanced as an innocent, and then a probable opinion ; and it is curious to observe how this, as other opinions in favour of the dignity of Mary, gained more and more credit, till it became hazardous to call it in question.

At the council of Basil, in A. D. 1438, this doctrine was decreed to be a pious opinion, agreeable to the catholic faith, and it was ordered that no person should preach against it, and that the festival of the conception should be celebrated the 8th of December. In a council held at Avignon in A. D. 1457, these decrees of the council of Basil were confirmed, all persons were forbidden under pain of excommunication to preach the contrary doctrine, and the clergy were ordered to announce it to the people, that no person might pretend ignorance of it.

Notwithstanding these decisions, the Dominicans were always disposed to deny this doctrine ; but it was enforced by the university of Paris, which in these times was generally the umpire in theological controversies, as well as by papal authority. Upon occasion of a dispute between the Dominicans and Franciscans on this subject in A. D. 1483, pope Sixtus IV published a bull, in which he declared that they who said it was heresy  
to

to preach that doctrine were excommunicated, and if any person preached or taught contrary to that decree, he incurred the indignation of God, and of the apostles Peter and Paul.

All persons however, were not silenced. For in A. D. 1493, a Franciscan having maintained that the virgin Mary was conceived in original sin, after preaching this doctrine, was cited before the university of Paris, and obliged to retract it. And in A. D. 1497 the faculty of Paris, after deliberating on the subject in three assemblies, resolved that the blessed virgin was preserved by a singular gift from the stain of original sin. They farther thought the question of so much importance, that they engaged by oath not to admit any person into their body who should maintain the contrary doctrine.

This same year they obliged John Mercelle, a Dominican, to retract some propositions which he advanced, as they thought, derogatory to the honour of the virgin. For their curiosity I shall recite them. " God can produce a mere creature in  
 " greater glory than the holy virgin by his absolute  
 " power, tho' he cannot according to his ordinary  
 " power. It is a problem whether the virgin  
 " Mary was, as to her body, more handsome than  
 " Eve. It is apocryphal to say, that Jesus Christ  
 " went before the virgin Mary in his assumption.

" We

“ We are not obliged to believe under pain of mortal sin, that the holy virgin was taken up to heaven in body and soul, because it is not an article of faith.” All these propositions were declared to be calculated to lessen the devotion of the people towards the blessed virgin, and most of them were denominated false, scandalous, impious, or offensive to pious ears, &c. &c. &c.

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## SECTION VIII.

### *Of the Clergy and the Monks.*

THE state of the clergy in this period did not materially differ from that in the preceding; for tho' some reforms were made, or rather directed to be made, respecting them, it does not appear that they were much improved by them.

At the council of Basil, in A. D. 1437, all priests who publickly kept concubines, were ordered to be deprived of their livings, and the bishops were directed to take pains to expel all concubines, and suspected women, from their dioceses. It was observed that some of the superior clergy not only tolerated this evil, but derived advantage, from

from taxing it. At the same council it was ordered, that there should be a theologian in every cathedral church, that a doctor or bachelor in theology who had studied ten years in some privileged university, should give lectures twice a week. and that a third part of the prebends should be given to doctors licentiates, or bachelors, in some faculty.

It is evident from these provisions, that the great body of the clergy were very ignorant; but we have the most direct evidence of this with respect to Spain. So great was their ignorance, that hardly any of the Spanish clergy understood latin. Self indulgence of every kind was their great pursuit; concubinage was almost public among them; and the least of their disorders was carrying arms, and going to the wars. Nothing was more common than buying and selling benefices. It was done without scruple.

In order to remedy these evils in some measure, it was ordered in an extraordinary council held by cardinal Borgia, afterwards pope Alexander VI, held at Madrid in A. D. 1473, that in every cathedral church there should be one canonry held by a theologian, and another by a lawyer, and a canonist chosen by the bishop and the chapter jointly. The archbishop of Toledo, the celebrated Ximenes also held a council the same year, in which it was ordered, that no living should be given but to those who understood  
latin

latin, and that the clergy should not serve as soldiers, nor send any to serve for them, except to the king's armies. Other decrees were made against concubinage, simony, and gaming, among priests, and also against shows exhibited in churches. *Fleury*, Vol. 23, p. 369.

In A. D. 1498 the same archbishop held a synod at Alcala, in which it was ordered, that every Sunday, and on all the festivals, the curés should, after high mass, explain the gospel to the people in a familiar and solid manner; and that in the evening they should assemble their parishioners, and especially the children, and teach them the christian doctrine. To make this business easier to them, he procured catechisms, and other books of instruction, to be drawn up, which were afterwards of great use.

At the council of Lateran in A. D. 1514, many excellent decrees were made for the reformation of the clergy, respecting their age and qualifications, the suppression of Commendams pluralities, the behaviour of the cardinals, and the officers of the court of Rome; but the historian says they only respected the clergy of the city of Rome, and did not in any measure remove the complaints of France and Germany.

In this same council some excellent rules were laid down respecting preaching, which before  
this



this time appears to have been very low and unedifying. “Whereas,” says this bull, “many persons in preaching do not teach the way of the Lord, or explain the gospel, but rather speak by way of ostentation, accompany what they say with violent gesticulations, speak loud, and publish feigned miracles, apocryphal and scandalous stories, of no authority, and not tending to edification, we order, under pain of excommunication, that from this time, no clergyman, secular or regular, be admitted to preach, whatever privilege he pretends to have, before an account has been taken of his morals, his age, doctrine, prudence, and probity, and till evidence has been given of his living an exemplary life ; and that the preachers explain in their sermons the truth of the gospel, according to the sentiments of the holy Fathers, that their discourses abound with quotations from the scriptures, that they endeavour to inspire a horror of vice, and a love of virtue and charity to their neighbours.”

One great abuse, however, had its origin in this period. In A. D. 1473, Sixtus IV, tho, with much reluctance, at the request of Ferdinand king of Spain, granted the bishopric of Saragossa in perpetual commendam to his bastard son Alphonso, then only six years old, by which, said the  
cardinal

cardinal of Pavia, he introduced a new example, of which popes and kings have taken great advantage since that time.

There was as little change in the state of the *monks*, as in that of the clergy of this period. The military orders, who were the nearest to the secular character, lived, as might be expected, like other secular persons, with as little regard to religion or morality; and the Teutonic knights were noted for their violences and disorders. In A. D. 1429 Gofwin of Archenberg seized sixteen deputies, sent from the council of Riga to Rome, and considering them as traitors, caused them to be drowned; which increased the odium under which that order lay, as the enemies, and not the friends, of religion.

As the military orders had expensive as well as hazardous services to perform, their revenues in an age of religion and chivalry, were proportionally liberal; but when their services were less wanted, those large revenues became an object of desire to the temporal sovereigns. In A. D. 1488 Ferdinand king of Spain was by the pope made great master of the orders of Calatrava, St James, and Alcantara, the revenues of each of them being not less than an hundred thousand ducats; and it was the more natural for the king to take them himself, as

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the grandees of the kingdom had been guilty of great disorders to get them into their hands.

The mendicant orders were still more favoured by the common people than the monks, and indeed some individuals of these orders were intitled to the highest respect, on account of their genuine ardour in the cause of religion. The case of Savonarola has been mentioned before. In A. D. 1418 another Dominican, called Manfred of Verceil, announced the near approach of Antichrist; and by that means drew a great number of men and women to engage in his order, living by the labour of their hands, the men separate from the women, and reciting the divine offices with great devotion. The pope apprehending some mischief from these societies, abolished them; but in this he could not succeed entirely, on account of the great regard the people had for Manfred.

The mendicants were always at variance with the secular priests about the privilege of confession, which was a source of great emolument to them. Nicolas V had favoured them, giving them liberty to confess persons at Easter, which was deemed to be contrary to the rights of the clergy, established by the canons. The university of Paris took the part of the clergy in this business, and because the mendicant professors would not join in a petition for the revocation of that pope's bull, they exclu-

ded them from their body. On an application to pope Celestine III, he confirmed the bull of Nicolas, and cancelled the orders of the university. But the members of the university expressed so much resentment at this conduct of the pope, that he thought proper to revoke his bull, and the mendicants made their submission, and promised not to solicit for any more bulls in their favour. The general of the order, however, encouraged a second opposition, but the university again brought them to submission. These disputes, were, however frequently revived.

On occasion of a difference between the mendicants and the Parish priests in Germany, Sixtus IV decided in favour of the priests; forbidding the former to preach against the will of the latter, during the parish masses, on festivals, or fundays; but directing them to teach the people that they were not obliged to confess to their parish priests, except at Easter.

The two orders of mendicants were no more disposed to agreement than they both were with the monks, or the secular clergy. In A. D. 1483 there was a warm dispute between the Dominicans and Franciscans; the latter maintaining that the honour of the stigmata was peculiar to St. Francis; whereas the latter asserted that Catherine of Siena had the same honour. Pope Sixtus IV, who had

had been a Franciscan, decided in their favour, and forbade the painting of the image of Catherine with stigmata. Afterwards, however, he thought proper to soften his decree and withdraw his censures.

In A. D. 1486 John Marchand, a Franciscan preacher at Besançon, advanced several strange propositions concerning the prerogatives of St. Francis, which were condemned by the faculty of theology at Paris, but which deserve to be mentioned as curiosities of the kind. "St. Francis," he said, "was the only person who was found, "worthy to be advanced to that place in heaven "from which Lucifer fell, and it was given to him "on account of his superior humility. St. Francis resembles Christ in forty respects, among "which are the following. He is a second Christ, "or second son of God, his conception was fore- "told by an angel, and he was born in a stable, be- "tween an ox and an ass. When he received the "stigmata (concerning which he asserted many "ridiculous particulars) the rocks were rent; they "began to be imprinted early in the morning, and "the operation continued till three in the afternoon, "the time on which Christ expired. St. Francis "obtained of God the privilege of descending eve- "ry year on the day of his festival into purgatory,

“ and then he carried away with him all the men  
“ and women of his order into heaven.”

Lewis XI of France, tho' ridiculouſly ſuperſtitious, yet from policy and avarice, torbad all abbots, priors and monks, to attend the chapters of their order out of the kingdom, under pain of baniſhment, and other heavy puniſhments.

This period, as well as the preceding, furniſhes ſome examples of perſons of diſtinction ſhewing their reſpect for the monaſtic life, by adopting it, or the ſymbols of it, before their death. The moſt remarkable inſtance of this kind in Europe is that of Victor Armadœus, duke of Savoy, who in A. D. 1434 quitted his ſovereignty and retired to Ripailles, near the lake of Geneva, where he founded the order of St. Maurice. He was afterwards, as we have ſeen, elected pope by the council of Baſil, when he took the name of Felix V.

In the Eaſt Manuel Paleologus the Greek emperor put on the dreſs of a monk two years before he died, leaving the adminiſtration to his ſon John.

So much account is made of the monkish character in the Eaſt, that when, in A. D. 1474, Manuel was choſen patriarch of Conſtantinople, he was made a monk, according, as it was ſaid, to the univerſal cuſtom of the Greeks with reſpect to all biſhops. On this occaſion he preſented Mahomet

the

the Turkish emperor with five hundred crowns of gold, besides paying him two thousand every year as a tribute.

The Fratricelli, or *Minorites*, continued, tho' in a state of persecution, through the whole of this period, their chief places of resort being the march of Ancona in Italy, the south of France, and Bohemia. They were vehemently persecuted by Nicolas V, but especially by Paul II. All that remained of them embraced the reformation by Luther. *Mosheim*, Vol. 2. p. 251.

A new sect of *Flagellants* appeared in this period in Germany, and especially in Lower Saxony. They are said to have placed their hope of salvation in faith and flagellation, to which they added some peculiar opinions concerning the Holy Spirit, and other subjects. They were headed by Conrad Schmidt who was apprehended and burned alive in A. D. 1414 by Henry Schonfield, an inquisitor in Germany, a man famous for his zeal in the extirpation of heresy. *Ib.* Vol. 3, p. 278.

The *Cellite brethren*, who were at Antwerp, had their name from living in cells, *Alexians*, from Alexius their tutelary saint, and *Lollards* (which was then a term of reproach) from their singing at funerals. They attended the sick and

buried the dead, who in a time of pestilence were much neglected by the clergy. *Mosheim*, Vol 3, p. 184.

The sect that was called *men of understanding*, arose in this period at Bruffels. At the head of them were Ægidius Cantor, and William Heldenissen, a Carmelite monk. They held many of the tenets of the mystics, denied the power of absolution in the priests, and that mortification was necessary to salvation. Their doctrine was condemned by Peter D'Ailli archbishop of Cambray, who compelled William Hildenissen to abjure them. *Ib.* Vol. 3, p. 277.

In this period was instituted the order of the *Hermits of St. Francis*, called afterwards that of the *Minims*, founded by Francis de Paola, a simple and illiterate man, who led the life of a hermit in Calabria, abstaining from almost every article of the common food of man. So famous was he on this account, that he was usually called the *holy man of Calabria*. Sixtus IV was so much pleased with him, that he authorized him to institute a new order. Lewis XI of France sent for him in his last illness, and he surprized all his court with the pertinency of his answers to the questions that were put to him. After this he resided at Tours in France, and in a short time many monasteries



of his order were built in that neighbourhood, and they afterwards spread over all parts of Europe. *Giannone*, Vol. 2, p. 492.

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## SECTION IX.

### *The History of Jetzer at Bern.*

MANY of the superstitions of the church of Rome were supported by pretended miracles, and especially those of the apparitions of dead persons; and as every thing of this kind fell under much suspicion by the detection of one of them at Bern, in Switzerland, a short time before the reformation, and is considered by many as having contributed to prepare the way for it, I shall for this reason give a more detailed account of it than it would otherwise have been entitled to. I abridge it from *Ruchat's History of the Reformation in Switzerland*. His authorities are taken from the public acts of the State of Berne, copied by Stettler in his history, of whose fidelity Mr. Ruchat speaks in the highest terms.

The two orders of Dominicans and Franciscans had been a long time divided on the subject of the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary; the

former denying that doctrine, and the latter maintaining it. The Franciscans, supported by the principal universities, were perpetually insulting the Dominicans with their incredulity on this subject, and especially in their sermons addressed to the common people. This irritated them so much that, at a general chapter of their order held at Wimpfen in Germany in A. D. 1506, at the lodgings of Werner de Selden prior of the Dominicans at Basil and vicar in Upper Germany, it was observed that, as the Franciscans supported their doctrine by false miracles, it was necessary for them to support theirs in the same way; and at length it was determined to make Bern the scene of their operations, on account of the inhabitants of that city being a plain simple people, and therefore more easily imposed upon.

It happened conveniently for their purpose that a stupid young man of the name of *John Jetzer*, a taylor of Zurzach, applied at that time for admission into the order at Bern; and in 1507 he was received. Soon after his entrance into the monastery, and before he had made his professional vows, they began to affright him with apparitions in the night, and especially with one of a pretended old Dominican, who said that he was suffering for his sins. Terrified with this apparition, Jetzer would have quitted the order, but, though with  
some

some difficulty, he was persuaded to continue in it, and at his own request another apartment was assigned him in a remote part of the house, and more convenient for the use that was to be made of it; and four persons undertook to conduct the business. These were John Fetter of Marpach the prior, Dr. Stephen Boultzhorst the reader, Francis Ultfchi of Bern the subprior, and Henry Steinegher the steward.

Accordingly the sub-prior, on the eve of the three kings in A. D. 1507, appeared like a spirit, followed by a company of devils in the form of dogs during several nights; and in one of them he entered the chamber of Jetzer, who calling for help, the steward and the cook, who were also in the secret, encouraged him, and advised him how to proceed in future.

On the 7th of March the spirit appeared again in a more frightful form than before, extinguishing his candle and throwing down the holy water, with which he had been provided. And when Jetzer, as he had been taught, said "the Lord have mercy upon thee, and deliver thee," he replied, "Thou and thy brethren can deliver me, and I will come again in eight days." After that interval he appeared again, and after much conjuration, said that he had been prior of that monastery one hundred and sixty years before, and for some

crime which he had committed had been tormented in purgatory ever since. He then told him what himself and the brethren should do for his deliverance. Among other things Jetzer was to discipline himself till the blood flowed from him, and to lie upon his face in the form of a cross &c. &c. Before the spirit took his leave, he with the consent of Jetzer, took him by the hand, that he might give him an idea of the torments he endured; and what he did to him gave him so much pain in his middle finger that the nail came off.

After eight days more the spirit appeared again but without any thing terrifying in his appearance, to tell him what was still necessary to compleat his deliverance. This being complied with, after eight days more he appeared in a sacerdotal habit, and with a cheerful countenance; and in discoursing with him said that several persons were in hell, and others in purgatory, for asserting the immaculate conception of the virgin, and especially J. Scotus, who first advanced that doctrine; that St. Barbara and the Virgin Mary herself would soon appear to him, and that he must prepare himself by fasting and prayer for so great an honour. When Jetzer informed the brethren of this, they gave him several questions to propose to the virgin, the principal of which related to the doctrine of the immaculate conception.

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In the night between the 10th and 11th of April his room was entered by a person dressed in white, who said she was St. Barbara, the servant of the virgin; and upon this she took the paper containing the questions, and said she would deliver it to the virgin. The next day after mattins the reader appeared again as the virgin, attended by St. Barbara, who was the prior, and two angels, which were wooden images; and after much discourse, containing a solemn declaration that she was born like other women, in original sin, though she continued in that state only three hours; she, as an especial favour, took his hand, and nailed it to the bed post; saying that she would visit him again, and favour him with the four other wounds of her son. This treatment, as may be supposed, was not much to Jetzer's liking; but she exhorted him not only to bear it with patience, but to receive it with gratitude for the honour that was done him. All this was at this time published in the city, and boasted of in the sermons of the friars, as an honour to the city of Berne, and to all Switzerland.

On the Palm Sunday following the supposed virgin appeared to Jetzer again, discoursed more at large concerning her conception, and promised to honour him with more visits. At this time the sub-prior went to meet the provincial of the order at Ulin, informed him of what had been done,  
and

and advised a meeting of the principal fathers of the order at Pfortzeim. at the time of holding the chapter, when the prior and the reader would attend. Eight days after Easter the four principals of the monastery, after some preparation, waited upon Jetzer, and gave him two papers, containing the opposite doctrines concerning the conception of the virgin, and directed him to request at her next visit that she would tear that which was false; and the night following this was done by the reader, who personated the virgin.

Some of the friars affecting to doubt whether the apparition might not be that of an evil spirit, Jetzer was directed to request the next time the virgin appeared, that she would repeat the *pater noster*, the *ave Maria*, and the apostle's creed. This she readily did, and at the same time pretended to bring him a lighted candle from heaven.

At another time this virgin pretending by some trick to change a white wafer into a red one, as a proof of the reality of the vision, Jetzer, forgetting his promise not to stir from the bed on which he lay, jumped out, and seizing the pretended virgin, discovered the imposture. They then told him that they had done this in order to try whether he was a man easy to be imposed upon; and that not being able to deceive him, they now had no doubt of the truth of the former appearances; and showing

ing him that other wafers could not be coloured with blood as that was, he was made to believe that the red wafer was really one that had been made for by the virgin, and that they had taken it from the altar where she had deposited it.

After this, the other actors being gone to the chapter to consult with their brethren how they should conduct themselves in the present circumstances, the sub-prior appeared to Jetzer again as the virgin, and persuaded him to receive the four remaining marks of her son's passion; and he impressed them upon his feet, hands and side, with a hot iron, which made him roar with pain. But he was persuaded to bear it with patience and gratitude.

The prior and reader being returned from Pfortzheim, and after discoursing with Jetzer, finding that he had some suspicion of a trick with respect to the red wafer, they determined to take him off by poison. But he, suspecting that there was something noxious in some soup that was given him, gave it to some young wolves, and they died in consequence of it. Still, however, he was made to believe, that tho' the soup had killed the wolves, it would not have hurt a man.

In the mean time the sub-prior personating the virgin Mary, and another friar coming to dress

his

his wounds, he discovered who they were. But again they said they did it only to try him.

They then contrived to make a statue of the virgin Mary appear to shed tears of blood, and to hold a conversation with an image of Jesus who complained of the honor done to her, in derogation of that which was due to himself only. And when Jetzer acted the passion of our Saviour as he had been instructed to do, they would have given him the red wafer which was poisoned; but he declined it, and took another. Many of the people of the town were permitted to see this miracle of the tears of blood, but several of them thought it to be only a trick; and when after this exhibition one of the friars was concealed behind a board in the wall near the image of the virgin, in order to make her seem to converse with Jetzer, he discovered the cheat by the motion of the board, and openly reproached them all as impostors.

The council of Berne, being at a loss what to think of the affair, desired the provincial of the Dominicans to inquire into it; and he sent two deputies to Jetzer; who after using very harsh language, and ill treatment, made him promise that when the bishop of Lausanne came to examine him (as they had heard that he would) he would not divulge any thing to the prejudice of the order. The bishop accordingly came, but he could



could not discover any thing ; as they had taken down the cell of Jetzer, and also that which was next to it, lest their apparatus for imposing upon him should have been found out.

The prior then personated St. Bernard ; and after discoursing with Jetzer in that character, would have gone out of the window like a spirit, that had no occasion to tread the ground. But Jetzer, discovering the trick, pushed him with such violence, that the sub-prior and the steward, who waited without to receive him, were obliged to carry him away, and take care of his wounds.

About this time Jetzer refused to have his wounds dressed by the friars, and then found that they healed of themselves in three days. And when the sub-prior and the steward entered his room, one of them in the character of the virgin, and the other in that of St. Catherine of Sienna, he knew them by their voices, and, falling upon them, he wounded one of them in the shoulder, and stunned the other with a blow of a hammer. In defending themselves, however, they struck him a blow on the cheek, which was swelled eight days: He then complained to the prior, and, to the reader, of the imposition in very harsh language. And after this he surprized three of the friars in the chamber of the prior regaling themselves in company  
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with women, and sharply reprov'd them for their conduct.

Finding that they could not impose upon him any more, they compelled him by harsh usage and torture to take an oath that he would never discover the imposture ; but not depending upon this, they put a poisoned wafer into his mouth as he was acting the passion of our Saviour, which they had persuaded him to do once more ; but, suspecting their intention, he did not swallow it, and spit it out when the ceremony was over.

Still hoping to deceive him, they dressed a person to resemble the virgin, who spoke to Jetzer when he was on his knees before the great altar. But being now well apprized of their tricks, he replied “ *Thou art not Mary, but the devil,* and drew his knife in order to wound her ; when she put out the candle and escaped.

On the 24th of September the reader and the sub-prior went to Rome to consult with their general. He being absent, they applied to his vicar general, who enjoined them to proceed no farther, promising to procure a brief from the pope to prevent any inquiry into the business. But the citizens of Bern not being satisfied, the affair was brought before their council, and the prior and Jetzer were both examined ; when nothing being discovered, the latter was conducted to Lausanne ; but thinking himself

self bound by his oath, he professed, when he was interrogated, that he believed the truth of the visions. The council of Bern not being satisfied with this, he was examined by torture; when he confessed all that he knew, and the bishop wrote to Rome, to consult his superior upon the business, which now appeared to be of considerable importance.

In the beginning of the year A. D. 1500, Paul Hughes, the vicar of the order, with other ecclesiastics arrived; and to cover the disgrace of the order he degraded Jetzer. But being then examined again before the council, and confronted with all that were concerned in the imposture, he persisted in his evidence against them, and in his account of the scandalous lives that they led.

On the 5th of February, Jetzer persisting in his evidence when again put to the torture, the four friars were apprehended, and committed to the custody of soldiers. The pope (Julius II.) being then applied to, and all the four being examined in his presence, they confessed the whole, and begged for mercy; but after much formality in the proceedings, the judge appointed by the pope sentenced them to be first degraded, and then burned alive; and this was executed on the 31st of May, in the presence of an infinite number of spectators. Jetzer was made to walk in the streets of Bern with a

mitre of paper on his head, exposed upon a ladder for one hour before the house of the provost, and banished from upper and lower Germany.

Thus ended this bold attempt to impose upon the world by a pretended miracle, which naturally led persons to suspect that other miracles pretended to have been wrought in proof of other doctrines, and especially of purgatory, and others in which the emoluments of the priests, monks or friars were concerned, might have no better foundation, tho' it was impossible to prove the imposition.

This story is alluded to in that admirable poem of Buchanan intitled *Franciscanus*, the object of which was to expose the order of Franciscans, and the friars and monks in general. With the same view he dwells more largely on the case of a nun, who being pregnant, but to disguise her sex was dressed like a man, was delivered of a child in the vessel in which she, together with the monk with whom she had co-habited, was sailing on the river Loire in France, to go to Bourdeaux.

We are not, however, to infer that all the members of these religious orders were thus licentious; tho' in certain periods, and especially a little before the reformation, the generality of them perhaps were so. There were among them at all times numerous examples of the most fervent piety, tho' debased with much and gross superstition. They  
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really renounced the pleasures and vanities of this life, in order to facilitate, as they thought, their preparation for another.

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## SECTION X.

### *Articles relating to Church Discipline.*

**I**N this period some new festivals were introduced into the church. In A. D. 1441 the council of Basil decreed the festival of *the visitation of the virgin Mary* to be celebrated the 2d of July. In A. D. 1456 pope Calixtus III confirmed the celebration of the festival of *the transfiguration*, an office was composed for the purpose, and indulgences annexed to the observance of it, similar to those annexed to the observance of the festival of *the holy sacrament*. In A. D. 1476 Sixtus IV. in order to guard against the plague, and an inundation with which the city of Rome had been afflicted, granted indulgences to “those who would observe this festival of the holy sacrament, and that of the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary,” so expressed in the bull. This order was received with much satisfaction, because, tho’ the same had been

ordered by the council of Bafil, that council was by many considered as schismatical. In A. D. 1481 the same pope established the festival of *St. Joseph*, ordering the observance of it to be universal; whereas it had before this time been confined to the cloisters of the Carmelites, the Franciscans, and perhaps the Dominicans.

The jubilee in A. D. 1450 was frequented by more persons than any former one. Many were crushed to death in the churches and other places. Ninety seven persons were thrown off the bridge of St. Angelo and drowned on occasion of a mule passing over it. Persons of great distinction attended this jubilee, and among them the count of Cilley in Stiria, a man addicted to every kind of vice, and who continued to be so after his return. The people of Poland and Lithuania were allowed the benefit of this jubilee, on their paying half as much money as the journey to Rome would have cost them, of which the king was to have one half for the expences of the war against the Turks. One fourth was to be at the disposal of queen Sophia, for the purpose of giving portions to young women, and the remaining fourth was to be applied to the repairs of churches in Rome. This, being more than was wanted, was reduced one half, and still was a great sum.

In A. D. 1470 Paul II. reduced the term of the jubilee to twenty five years, to commence in A. D. 1475. The jubilee in A. D. 1500 was not so well attended as the preceding, on account of the wars in Italy. Also the same indulgence was granted to those who did not go to Rome on their paying a certain sum of money, which it was pretended would be employed in the war against the Turks. Notwithstanding this, Rome exhibited on this occasion a scene of the greatest disorder, says Mariana, especially among the clergy, who ought to have set a better example.

Among other regulations to secure the decent celebration of public worship, it was ordered in the council of Basil, in A. D. 1435, that all persons should bow on the pronounciation of the name of Jesus. It was at the same time forbidden to say mass in so low a voice that no person could hear it. Also plays performed in churches by children were forbidden, together with masquerades, and sales in churches, and church yards. Dances and plays in churches were forbidden at a council held at Sens in A. D. 1485.

In March 1471 Galeazzo Sforza duke of Milan accompanied by his duchess Bona, sister of the duke of Savoy, paid a visit to Florence, where they took up their residence with Lorenzo de Medici, but their attendants, who were very numerous, were

accommodated at the public charge, and this occasioned a scene of general riot and dissipation. Machiavelli says it was the first time that an open disregard was avowed in Florence of the prohibition of eating flesh in lent. *Roscoe's life of Lorenzo*, p. 137.

The evils which arose from the privilege of asylum in churches and church yards in England was great in D. D. 1488, all kinds of criminals being by that means screened from the pursuit of justice. Henry VII. applied to the pope for a remedy. But all that was done was to order that, if any person quitted his asylum to commit any new crime he lost the privilege, that debtors might be compelled to satisfy their creditors, and that traitors, tho' they could not be forced from their asylums, should be kept in view, and prevented from acting against the king.

We have seen the first establishment of the *inquisition* in a preceding period; but it was not fully established in its present form, at least in Spain, till the year A. D. 1478, when certain officers were appointed for the sole purpose of judging in articles of faith, heresy, and infidelity, independant of the bishops.\* The occasion of this establishment was the

\* The man who put the finishing hand to the Inquisitorial system in Spain, and brought it to its present form, was Thomas of Torquemada, confessor to Ferdi-



the relapsing of many Moors and Jews, and their perverting others. After the taking of Grenada, the inquisition was extended to all the conquered countries, afterwards to Sicily, and Sardinia, and all the other states of the king of Spain, except Naples, and the Low Countries, where the people always revolted on every attempt to introduce it. It had now got the title of the *holy office*, and besides heresy, took cognisance of fortilege, sodomy, and polygamy. The king appointed an *inquisitor general* for all his dominions; and he, with the consent of the king, appointed particular inquisitors for each place. The king also appointed a council or senate, to assist the inquisitor general. His officers, whose business it was to apprehend the prisoners, were called *familiars*.

In about A. D. 1440 great numbers of persons were, at the instigation of the inquisitor, driven out of Biscay to Valladolid, and Dominga de Calvados, and burned alive at those places, for refusing to abjure doctrines condemned by the church of Rome. *Geddes's Tracts*, Vol. 1, p. 455.

In A. D. 1485 the erection of the inquisition occasioned much disturbance in Spain, many persons being put to death in it, and among them

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nand and Isabella. He was made Inquisitor General of all Spain, and also the chief instrument of the expulsion of the Jews and Moors. *Robinson*, p. 323.

there were said to have been many that were innocent. Some of the chief nobility joined the complainants; saying the inquisition was a violation of their liberties, that the inquisitors were not content with the confiscation of the goods of persons accused, that the informer was allowed to be a witness, that the accused had no knowledge of his accusers, and that there was no confrontation of witnesses. From complaints they proceeded to open revolt. The states of Arragon intreated Ferdinand to regulate the tribunal of the inquisition on the model of other tribunals, and forbid the confiscation of goods. One of the inquisitors was murdered in a church by a band of persons; but he was afterwards canonized as a martyr.

IN A. D. 1517 also strong remonstrances were made against the proceedings of the inquisition in Spain. Complaints were made that innocent persons were put to death in it, and a deputation was sent to the king at Bruffels, requesting, as before, that their proceedings might be made to conform to those of other tribunals, that the informer should not be a witness, that the accused should know his accuser, and that witnesses should be confronted. The Jews and Moors strengthened this application by the offer of a large sum of money. But cardinal Ximenes represented that, if the inquisition was reformed, they would be liable

ble to be murdered, and there would be an universal revolt through Spain. This had its effect, and nothing was done.

Some time before this, viz. in A. D. 1510, the people of Naples revolted against the inquisition which the Spaniards had introduced into that city. In order to appease the tumult, the viceroy ordered all the Jews, who were newly arrived from Spain, whether converted or not, to leave the kingdom; and there being then no pretence for the establishment of the inquisition, he abolished it, with the advice of the pope himself, interested as he was in keeping it up.

The liberty of the press, after the invention of multiplying books by printing, could not fail to alarm the governing powers in the church, in this age of reading and thinking. At the council of Lateran in A. D. 1515, it was decreed, that, since many books containing pernicious doctrines, and offensive to persons in high stations, had been printed, nothing should for the future be published in Italy till it had been examined by persons appointed by the pope, and in other places by the bishop of the diocese, or the inquisitor of the place, under pain of excommunication, to be pronounced without delay.

No council ever met with better intentions than that held at Basil; and notwithstanding the

opposition the members met with from the pope, and the coolness of the christian princes, they made several useful reforms ; but as the credit of the council sunk, they came to have no effect. They ordered that no town or place should have an interdict laid upon it, except for the fault of the whole town or its governor. For the ease of scrupulous consciences, they decreed that it was safe to communicate with any person who was not excommunicated by name ; and when the excommunication had been pronounced by a competent judge, and properly notified. They ordered that nothing should be taken for provisions, collations, elections, and institutions, at the court of Rome, for any benefice whatever, on the pretence of annates, or any other cause ; that if the pope himself should act contrary to this decree, he should be denounced to the council. The pope and his legates protested against this decree, but in vain. They condemned all expectative graces, mandates, and reserves of benefices, which the popes had been used to appropriate to themselves. They reduced the number of cardinals to twenty four. They ordered that nephews of popes or cardinals should not be eligible to this dignity, that they should not be under thirty years of age, their revenues should be derived from the lands, and places belonging to

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the see of Rome, that they should be the pope's council, and sign all his acts.

Pope Eugenius in his defence of the archbishop of York, whom he had made a cardinal against the archbishop of Canterbury, carried the origin of the cardinalship as high as the old Testament, and asserted its dignity above that of an archbishop. These he said, presided over particular churches, but that the cardinals had the jurisdiction of the whole church, in conjunction with the holy see.

The business of *confession* was so gainful to the church, that it was watched with the most scrupulous attention. At the council of Tortosa in A. D. 1429, it was ordered that physicians should not pay three visits together to any person who had not confessed. And, at a council held at Paris, the same year, physicians were directed to exhort their patients to confess before they administered any medicines to them, and not to administer any if they refused.

Extreme unction by its denomination implies that it is not to be repeated. Notwithstanding this, Pius II, tho' he had received this sacrament when he had been supposed to be at the point of death, but had recovered, received it a second time before he actually died. At the time, however, there was much dispute about the propriety of it.

## SECTION XI.

*Miscellaneous Articles.*I. *Of the Waldenses and Jews.*

ABOUT the year A. D. 1560, the Waldenses being, like the primitive christians, accused of shocking enormities, Lewis XII. desired the parliament of Provence to inquire into the facts, and punish them as they should appear to deserve. In consequence of this many persons being falsely accused were put to death; but the king, who meant well, hearing that the people were innocent made farther inquiry, and finding that they were not guilty of any of the crimes laid to their charge put a stop to the persecution; saying that those who had suffered were better than himself and his catholic subjects. *Laval*, Vol. I. p. 40.

The cruel persecution of the Jews was carried on in several places within this period, tho' in other respects more enlightened, and liberal than the preceding. At the council of Basil in A. D. 1434, christians were forbidden to have any communication with Jews, and to sell, or pledge to them any ornaments of churches. They were ordered  
to

to wear a particular dress, and to live as much as possible by themselves. At the same time those of them who would become christians were allowed to retain what they had got by usury, provided they did not know to whom it belonged. At a council at Frisingue, in A. D. 1440, Jews were forbidden to lend on usury, to have christian domestics, to have their windows or gates shut at whitfuntide, to appear in public in passion week, to say any thing against religion, the virgin Mary, or the saints, when the sacrament was carried to the sick. It was also ordered that no christian should go to the bath along with them, or take their medicines.

Ferdinand and Isabella, after expelling the Moors from Spain, issued an edict in A. D. 1492, by which all the Jews were ordered to leave the country in the space of four months, if they did not embrace christianity; and all who could not afford to pay for their passage out of it were made slaves. Mariana says that seventy thousand families and eight hundred thousand persons left Spain in consequence of this edict. But the Jews say they were not less than an hundred thousand families. The favour that the learned Abrabinel had with the king and queen could not save him. He went with the rest of his brethren into exile into Italy. Great numbers, however, gave way to the storm, by pretending to become converts to christianity

anity; but they were narrowly watched by the officers of the inquisition.

John II. of Portugal permitted the Jews to take refuge in his country, but he made each of them pay him eight crowns of gold; and Emanuel, who succeeded him, marrying the daughter of Ferdinand, banished both the Moors and Jews, and not allowing them to take their children that were above fourteen years of age, some killed themselves, and others their children. Those who fled being obliged to go from one port to another, and many delays being purposely thrown in their way, many of them were entirely impoverished.

In A. D. 1494 twelve Jews and two Jewesses were executed in Hungary on the charge of killing a christian, and drinking his blood. But they suffered the most by the inquisition in Spain and Portugal; so that great numbers, finding it inconvenient to leave the country, outwardly conformed to the catholic religion. In A. D. 1498 two hundred and eighty Jews in Spain made profession of the christian religion.

In A. D. 1506 the populace of Lisbon rose upon the Jews, on the occasion of one of them, who had been newly converted, exposing a pretended miracle, while he was attending divine service. He was immediately dragged out of the church, and burned in the middle of the street.

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The people were headed by two monks, and they made a dreadful massacre of the newly converted Jews, sparing neither men, women, nor children. This massacre continued three days; and about two thousand persons perished in it. The king however, was much offended, and the two monks were punished with death, and their ashes thrown to the winds.

In the fifteenth century Paul of Burgo, who had been a Jewish Rabbin, embraced christianity, and was made bishop of Carthagen, and afterwards of Burgos. He wrote, among other things, a work entitled *Scrutinium Scriptorum*, which has been printed. He had a large family, which subsists still in Spain, and in much splendor. He died in A. D. 1431. *La Croze's Ethiopie*, p. 54.

In A. D. 1614, a professor in the academy at Marpurg, of the name of Victor, being shocked at the mystery of the trinity, renounced christianity, for Judaism, and retired to Thessalonica, taking the name of Moses Pardo. *Basnage*, Vol. 9, p. 844.

## II. *Of the Propagation of Christianity.*

Little occurs about the propagation of christianity in any form within this period. In A. D. 1490 the king of Portugal sent missionaries to Congo, and the king of that country was baptized.

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But finding that he would be allowed to have no more than one wife, he returned to his former religion, tho' his son persevered in the profession of christianity.

### III. *Of the Moors in Spain.*

ON an apprehension of a revolt of the Moors In Spain in A. D. 1499, king Ferdinand, by the advice of Ximenes, summoned the Moorish priests and monks before him at Grenada, and by threatening them with death, engaged them to become christians, and endeavour to convert other Moors. On this occasion the number baptized was very great. Among others, a Moorish prince, of the name of Zegri, was converted, and he afterwards became a zealous catholic. But in general it could not be supposed that many of these conversions were real. At this time it was said, that five thousand copies of the Koran were burned. This persecution occasioned a sudden revolt of the Mahometan Moors, and about an hundred thousand of them appeared in arms; but having no plan, or regular commander, they were soon dispersed.

### IV. *Of the Turks.*

The recovery of the holy land was in this period wholly despaired of by the christians in the West, and instead of measures of offence, their  
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great object was to defend themselves against the Turks. The great object of the council of Mantua, in A. D. 1459, was to promote the union of all the christian powers against this formidable enemy. Pius II had this business much at heart, and to appearance he brought the princes of Europe to enter into his measures; but dying as he was ready to embark in person on the expedition, the enterprize came to nothing.

#### V. *Of Unbelievers.*

There were, no doubt, many unbelievers, in this, as well as the preceding periods; but as they had no interest in being martyrs, they would naturally disguise, or deny, their principles. According to the philosophy of these times, originally derived from Averroes, they held that there was only one soul in all men, and of course that all separate consciousness ceased at death. At the council of Lateran in A. D. 1513, a decree was made against the philosophers who taught this doctrine, as also that of the eternity of the world, and others of a similar tendency. They had been taught by Peter Pomponatius, a professor of philosophy of great reputation at Padua. However, he always said that, tho' there is no proof in natural reason for the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, it was established by the scriptures, and the authority of the

church. Sigismond Malatesta, prince of Rimini, who commanded the armies of the Siennese and Florentines, and who had the character of being the greatest general of these times, was a man without any religion, openly denying the immortality of the soul. He was excommunicated by Pius II for refusing to pay a tax to the church. At length, being defeated by the troops of the pope, he confessed his errors, and received absolution.

#### VI. *Of Superstition.*

Many instances of *superstition* occur in this as well as former periods ; and as they are instructive, as well as amusing, I shall recite a few of them. In A. D. 1480, the inhabitants of Perugia had a warm contest with those of Clusium, assisted by the Siennese, about the ring which Joseph gave to the virgin Mary when he married her. The former said that they got the possession of it in some miraculous manner, and were ready to expose their lives and fortunes for the recovery of it from the latter, who had stolen it from them. Pope Sixtus IV, not chusing to hazard his authority on the occasion, did not venture to decide in the cause ; but Innocent VIII confirmed the inhabitants of Clusium in the possession.

In A. D. 1492 the title written by Pilate for the cross of Christ was pretended to be found in  
Rome,

Rome, and was said to have been sent thither by Helena the mother of Constantine. Another title being pretended to be found at Thoulouse, and to have been there long before the discovery of that at Rome, Alexander VI, in A. D. 1496. published a bull, in which he asserted the authenticity of that at Rome, and granted indulgences to those who should visit the church in which it was kept the last Sunday in January. In the same year the Turkish emperor Bajazet sent the pope the iron head of the lance with which it was said the side of Jesus had been pierced. All the clergy in Rome, accompanied by the pope himself, went in solemn procession to receive it. However, the emperor was said to have the same relic at Nuremberg, and the king of France at Paris.

Judicial astrology was in great credit in these times, tho' always regarded with suspicion by the friends of religion. In A. D. 1493 one Simon Pharos, a professor of judicial astrology, having been forbidden the practice of his art by the archbishop of Lyons, appealed to the parliament of Paris. They referred the cause to the faculty of the university, who in A. D. 1494 declared the art to be "pernicious, fabulous, superstitious, an usurpation of the honour of God, a corruption of good morals, and invented by dæmons for the destruction of men." The parliament, in conse-

quence of this opinion, confirmed the decree of the archbishop of Lyons, and forbad the exercise of the art.

*Of the Art of Printing, and the Progress of  
Literature.*

Notwithstanding this superstition, this was the age in which the foundation was laid for the advancement of literature in all future ages, by the invention of the art of *printing*. This noble art to which religion and literature are so much indebted, was invented about the year A. D. 1440. There has been much disputing about the origin of it; but it is with the greatest probability ascribed (as I think is clearly proved by Dr. Cogan in the account of his journey along the Rhine) to Laurence Coster a magistrate of Haarlem in Holland about A. D. 1430. But a servant of his, John Geinsflesche, having robbed him of his types, which were made of wood, and joining J. Faustus a person of property at Mentz, and afterwards Guttenberg of Strasburgh, and they taking into their service P. Schæffer, an ingenious young man who discovered the method of casting metal types, and then printing books in Latin, while Coster only printed a few in Dutch, the Germans carried away the honour of the invention.

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At first their printed copies were sold as manuscripts; but appearing to be too numerous, and too like one another, to have been executed in that way, the secret was discovered; and from Germany the art was soon carried to other parts of Europe. This art, by making books cheap, put it within the power of the poor, as well as the rich, to acquire knowledge.

The literature of Europe gained much by the extinction of the Greek empire by the Turks, many learned men leaving Constantinople, and being received with much distinction in Italy, especially by the Medici of Florence. Till this period very few Europeans understood any thing of Greek.

It was in favour of free enquiry that Lewis XI of France, gave leave to read the works of Occam, and other Nominalists, which had been prohibited in the university of Paris; the advocates for them pleading their merit, in opposition to the doctrine of a professor at Louvain, concerning the certainty of future events.

Biblical knowledge is much indebted to cardinal Ximenes, who in A. D. 1502 began the construction of a *Polyglott Bible*, employing the most learned men that he could find in Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek, in the execution of it. But it

was not printed till the year A. D. 1515. when it was dedicated to Leo X. The cardinal himself defrayed all the expence of this work, which was very great.

PERIOD



## PERIOD XXII.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY, A. D. 1517, TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT IN A. D. 1563.

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## SECTION I.

*Of the Proceedings of Luther, till they attracted the Notice of the Pope.*

WE have seen in the course of this history the amazing and almost incredible progress of corruption and abuses of every kind, both in doctrine and discipline. At the period to which we are now arrived the call for reformation was loud and universal, the necessity for it being in all respects apparent. Through all Europe ignorance, especially of the scriptures, and of theology, was extreme. Divines in general knew nothing of the bible, but through the Vulgate version, and they studied nothing but what was called *scholastic theo-*

*logy*; or the works of Lombard, Aquinas, and Scotus the subjects of which were subtleties of the most trifling kind. Public worship consisted of mere ceremonies, and was read in a language not understood by the common people, and religion in general consisted in little besides the worship of images, pilgrimages to particular relics, paying tithes, and purchasing indulgences.

Church livings were given to those who paid the most for them, and generally to foreigners. At Geneva, of a great number of canons in the cathedral all were foreigners except one. The greater part of the clergy never preached at all, but left that business to the monks, or the mendicants; who instead of explaining the scriptures, and inculcating the principles of sound morality, generally amused their hearers with idle legends. The great business of the clergy, secular and regular, was to get all the money they could from the laity, especially for the redemption of souls out of purgatory, granting liberty to eat meat in lent, and burying in holy ground. Church discipline was fallen into the greatest abuse by excommunications on frivolous pretences, and absolutions purchased with money. And the generality of the clergy, instead of shewing good examples, were debauched in the extreme. As an example of this, I shall quote the complaints

of the people of Bern addressed to the bishop of Lausanne in A. D. 1477.

“ We see clearly,” they say, “ that the clergy  
 “ of our parts are excessively debauched, and ad-  
 “ dicted to impurity, which they practice openly,  
 “ and without shame. They keep concubines,  
 “ they stroll by night round the houses of prosti-  
 “ tutes, and so impudently, that they have no re-  
 “ straint from honour, conscience, or the fear of  
 “ God. This gives us great concern. Our an-  
 “ cestors had a police, which put a stop to these  
 “ disorders when the ecclesiastical tribunals were  
 “ relaxed in this respect.” *Ruchat's Preliminary  
 Discourse*. p. 19.

In A. D. 1533 the people of Lausanne, among twenty two different articles of complaint against the clergy say that “ some of them had murdered  
 “ the citizens, at one time two in one day, without  
 “ any punishment ; that some of them had beat the  
 “ citizens with their fists in the church, and in the  
 “ midst of divine service, that they were all whore-  
 “ masters, especially the canons, and debauchers of  
 “ married women, whom they refused to leave, tho'  
 “ ordered by the bishop ; that they often abused  
 “ and fought with one another in the church ; that  
 “ they went through the streets by night, disguised  
 “ as soldiers, with naked swords ; that some of  
 “ them took poor girls by force, and ravished them

“ in their own houses ; that they were public  
 “ gamesters, blasphemers, and revealed the secrets  
 “ of confession ; that they falsified wills in their own  
 “ favour ; that many of them had a great number  
 “ of children, whom they sent a begging, instead of  
 “ maintaining them, &c. &c. &c. \*

The

\* Complaints of this kind we have seen to have been made in several of the preceding periods, and many of the abuses here enumerated were attempted to be corrected by particular synods and councils, especially that of Basil. But the effect of the orders and regulations that were given for this purpose was partial, and never of long continuance, so that there were frequent calls for the repetition of them.

We are not, however, to consider this state of things in Switzerland (which is probably exaggerated) as that of all christendom. There were, no doubt, in the very worst times many of the clergy, and also of the monks and friars, of exemplary characters. Literature had unquestionably at this time made considerable progress ; and certainly the clergy in general excelled the laity in this respect. We should make some allowance for the vices of the clergy from considering the character of the times in which they lived. And it would be against all probability to suppose that the wealthy clergy were ever more dissolute than the equally wealthy laity. That the character of great numbers of the feudal barons was profligate, and violent, in the extreme, all history bears witness.

The reformation was no less necessary in the head than in the members ; all the popes of these times being men of ambition, and some of them addicted to vices the most disgraceful to human nature. Yet they were possessed of the most absolute authority, and laid all Europe under contribution. They drew immense sums from the clergy also by annates, pensions reserved from livings, and tenths, sometimes double and treble, on church revenues, all on divers pretences of religion.

After many attempts to procure a reformation of the numerous abuses with which we have seen the christian church abounded, and which were increasing every day, all of which had been prevented from having any considerable effect by the exertion of the civil power, always directed by the popes, it pleased God that a solid and permanent reformation at length arose from a quarter from which nothing of the kind had been expected, viz. from a person of the order of monks, which had always been peculiarly devoted to the interest of the see of Rome. To this reformation nothing that had been done by any of the preceding reformers, the Waldenses, Albigenses, Wickliffites, or Hussites, at all contributed. Indeed, in every view the concurrence of circumstances that assisted in bringing about this extraordinary revolution deserve the closest attention, on which account I shall

shall be the more particular in the detail of them. And as the characters and conduct of the several popes in this period were among the most considerable of these circumstances, it will be necessary to attend to them.

On the death of Julius II, Leo X, of the family of the Medici, was elected pope, at the age of thirty seven. He was a man distinguished, as were the rest of his family, by the love of literature; but with this he was a lover of pleasure, and had little knowledge of, or respect for, religion. His court being a scene of luxury and boundless profusion, among other measures to recruit his exhausted treasures, he was advised by cardinal Pucci, his cousin german, a man ignorant of ecclesiastical discipline, of the councils, or canons, to make a new publication of *indulgences*, on the pretence of a want of money to complete the church of St. Peter at Rome.

These indulgences, we have seen, were originally relaxations of canonical penances, granted at the intercession of confessors, and other persons of eminent piety, and afterwards, for money to be expended in pious uses, especially for the recovery of the Holy Land, and in the wars against infidels and heretics. In later times it had been pretended that this power arose from a superabundant stock of merit in the church, that of saints, martyrs, and confessors, but

but more especially that of Jesus Christ ; his sufferings having been more than sufficient for the purpose for which they had been endured. This stock of merit was allowed to be at the disposal of the pope, and from the nature of it, it might be applied not only to the remission of penance in this world, but of the pains of purgatory, and final damnation in the next. The value of these indulgences it had been the business of those who published them, and who had a profit from their sale, to exaggerate in the most extravagant manner ; and on this occasion they exceeded every thing that had been done before in the same way.

These indulgences allowed those who purchased them to eat eggs, milk, cheese, and butter, during lent, and on other fast days, and also to chuse their own confessors. But what was more, the purchasers had the assurance of the intire remission of all their sins, and deliverance from the pains of purgatory for all those for whom they interested themselves.

All the revenue that should arise from the sale of these indulgences in Saxony, and as far as the Baltic Sea, the pope was said, but it seems without sufficient authority, (*Roscoe's life of Lorenzo* Vol. 2 p. 282.) to have given to his sister Magdelane, for whom he had a particular affection, and who was married to Francis Cibo, a natural son of Innocent

nocent VIII. In order to make the most of the privilege, he employed bishop Arcembold, who had a license from the emperor to publish all indulgences, and who sold them to the highest bidder; the pope having given orders to Albert of Brandenburg, archbishop of Magdeburgh and Mayence, (a man whose character resembled in all respects that of the pope himself) to cause them to be preached thro' all Germany; and he was allowed one half of the profits. The Franciscans having declined the office, he employed John Tetzel, a Dominican, who had with great success preached indulgences for the knights of the Teutonic order. This man had a strong voice, and was possessed of every art by which to recommend his goods to the populace, but he was a man of profligate manners, who had been sentenced to death for the crime of adultery by the emperor Maximilian, but had been pardoned at the intercession of Frederic elector of Saxony.

Tetzel and his companions did not fail to magnify their office. They had the impudence to say that "the red crosses elevated in the churches  
"in which they preached, with the arms of the pope  
"annexed to them, had the same virtue as the cross  
"of Christ; that Tetzel himself had saved more souls  
"by the indulgences that he had disposed of than St.  
"Paul by all his preaching; that as soon as the  
"found



“ found of the money that was paid for them was  
 “ heard in the bafon in which it was received, the  
 “ fouls for whom it was given were releafed from  
 “ purgatory that repentance and contrition were not  
 “ neceffary; that thefe indulgences ensured a par-  
 “ don for every crime and blaſphemy that could be  
 “ imagined; and, in ſhort, that no crime was abfo-  
 “ lutely unpardonable, but that of deſpifing thefe  
 “ indulgences.”

Thefe assertions the confefſors were obliged by an oath not to contradict, but to confirm. Such was the impudence of this Tetzal, that the biſhop of Meiffen ſaid he ſhould be the laſt who ſhould make a traffic of indulgences in Saxony. And a circumſtance which added much to the indignation with which this conduct was viewed, was the manner in which theſe preachers ſpent much of the money which they got from the people, as in taverns and places of debauch. They alſo paid their hoſts and ſervants, &c. with indulgences, inſtead of giving them money.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſhocking abuſes, ſuch was the blind ſuperſtition of the people, that where-ever theſe preachers came they were received with triumph. When they entered any city they had the pope's bull covered with a ſtuff of ſilk, and embroidered with gold, carried before them, preceded by the magiſtrates and the people, carrying  
 lighted

lighted candles. The bells were rung, and instruments of music played upon. The red cross, above mentioned was then elevated in the church, and the preacher mounting the pulpit made such an harrangue as has been mentioned. The form of the absolution signed by Tetzel concluded with these words, " I re-establish you in the innocence which you received at your baptism, so that if you die soon the gate of punishment will be shut, and the gate of happiness open to you; and if you do not die soon, this grace will be reserved and secured to you."

These horrid abuses, however, proceeded without open opposition till they excited the attention of Martin Luther, a man raised up by divine providence for the great work of an effectual reformation, and endued with talents, and a temper suited to it. He was born Nov. 10, A. D. 1483, at Ilsebe, in the county of Mansfeldt, and in that city his father, who had some property in the mines in that neighbourhood, was a magistrate, respected for his probity. Luther having been educated at Eisenach, finished his studies at the university of Erford in Thuringia; and at the age of twenty two A. D. 1505 he entered the monastery of Augustines at Erford, being induced to do so, tho' contrary to the wishes of his father, by the sudden death of one of his companions in a storm, by which his own life had been in danger. The

The first months of his residence in the monastery he was very melancholy, owing in some measure to his ill usage by the prior, who employed him in the meanest offices, and often sent him to beg in the city, which was particularly disagreeable to him. But he was relieved by the interposition of the vicar general, † John Stupitz, who had been very attentive to him during his melancholy; telling him that God had great views in his trials, and that by this means he might be prepared for some great work. By his orders he had liberty to study, and to this he soon attached himself with uncommon ardour.

He had been a year in the monastery when he for the first time saw a latin Bible; having till then known only those passages of scripture which are contained in the liturgy and breviary. His favourite study for some time was scholastic theology, when he was an admirer of the writings of Occam, which he preferred to those of Scotus or Th. Aquinas. He also read with care the works of Gerson. For his amusement he applied to music, dissipating his melancholy by singing psalms and hymns. He also exercised himself in the art of turnery, and used to say, that in all events, he could get his living by the labour of his hands.

In A. D. 1507, Luther took holy orders, and the year following he was called to teach philoso-

phy at the university of Wittemberg, where he greatly distinguished himself by his superior knowledge, and acuteness, and also by the freedom of his sentiments; which led one Martin Polichius, who had himself acquired so much reputation as to have got the title of the *light of the world*, to say that this young monk would disturb the doctors, and change the system of the schools.

On occasion of some difference in his order, Luther was sent to Rome, where he was much shocked at the impiety of the Italian priests; who seeing him officiate with much devotion, laughed at him, and bid him make more haste. On his return he was made doctor of divinity October 19, A. D. 1512. He then applied himself to the study of the Greek and Hebrew, that he might read the scriptures in the languages in which they were written. On this he abandoned scholastic theology, and the philosophy of Aristotle, as abounding with vain subtleties; and as he always delivered his sentiments with great freedom, he was suspected of heresy some years before his dispute about indulgences. At this time his lectures were much crowded, being heard with much admiration to explain the scriptures in a plain and clear manner, without any of the terms used in the schools; and using no authorities for his opinions besides

besides the scriptures themselves, or the writings of christian fathers, a method of teaching then quite new.

In a very early period Luther embraced the doctrine of justification by faith without works, having been taught it by an old monk, who comforted him in his sickness; and his reading of the scriptures, together with the works of Auflin, confirmed him in that opinion. And he then published some theses on the subject of free-will. Being ordered by his general Stupitz to visit the monasteries in Misnia and Thuringia, he explained his sentiments with so much freedom that he gave great offence to George duke of Saxony, before whom he preached, so that from that time he conceived a great dislike to him. He also made himself obnoxious to the Dominicans by the contempt which he expressed for Th. Aquinas.

Such was the character, the general conduct, and sentiments of Luther, when Tetzel, in A. D. 1517, came to publish his indulgences in the diocese of Magdeburg. Luther had not at that time given any particular attention to the subject; but seeing the people crowding to buy them, he said, in his sermon, that there were things more pleasing to God, and of more importance to salvation, than running in such crowds to purchase pardons. The elector, however, who had at great expence pro-

cured for his church of All Saints many relics and indulgences, in order to draw the devotion of the people to it, not being pleased with the liberty he took, Luther, who was unwilling to offend him, and who was not as yet apprized of the magnitude of the evil, was silent on the subject. But his attention was forcibly recalled to it by the reports of the extreme rapaciousness, and the scandalous lives of those who published these indulgences, and especially by some who confessed to him refusing to submit to the penances that he imposed, on the pretence of their being possessed of indulgences which superseded them. These people complaining to Tetzel, he was much enraged at it, and threatened with the inquisition all who doubted the authority of the pope. He even prepared a pile of wood in the public square of Wittemberg, in order to burn them in effigy.

This violence gave fresh provocation to Luther, and examining the subject afresh, he composed several *theses* upon it, and drew ninety-five *conclusions*; but they were all calculated to correct the abuses, and not to abolish the use of them. Among other things he advanced, that “ the life of a christian ought  
 “ to be a perpetual penance, that the pope has only  
 “ the power of remitting canonical penances, that  
 “ the canons of penance do not extend to the dead,  
 “ that the treasure which the church distributes is  
 “ not

“ not that of the merits of Christ or of the saints,  
 “ because neither of them depend upon the pope,  
 “ that the true treasure of indulgences is the gospel,  
 “ that the gospel was the net with which the apostles  
 “ caught men, but that indulgences are a net with  
 “ which priests fish for money.”

Besides these logical theses and conclusions, he proposed some plain questions for the use of the common people; such as these, “ Why does not  
 “ the pope who takes so many souls out of purga-  
 “ tory for money, do the same out of charity? Why  
 “ does the anniversary of the dead subsist by alms  
 “ if souls are delivered out of purgatory by papal  
 “ pardons? He concluded, however, with declar-  
 ing, that he was willing to receive instruction if he  
 was in an error, and that he was far from preferring  
 his own opinion to that of all the world; but that  
 he was not so silly as to prefer the fallibility of man  
 to the word of God.

It was impossible but that such plain good sense  
 as this must make an impression on many persons.  
 Having maintained these propositions in the uni-  
 versity of Wittemberg, Luther sent them to the  
 archbishop of Magdeburg, and also to the bishop of  
 Brandenburg, in whose diocese Wittemberg was;  
 when the latter advised him to take care of himself;  
 for that in attacking the power of the church, he  
 might bring himself into a disagreeable situation.

Notwithstanding this caution, Luther preached two short but plain sermons, one on the subject of indulgences, and the other on repentance, in which he advanced that it was not certain that souls can be redeemed from purgatory: that satisfaction for offences, consisting in good works, ought not to be dispensed with, and that sinners ought not to apply for indulgence from them. He advanced other things equally solid and useful.

Such was the effect of these theses, that they were circulated with extreme rapidity thro' Germany; and the people in general began to open their eyes, and to despise the indulgences as useless, so that there was a general aversion to the publication of them; and Tetzel coming to Friberg a short time afterwards, not only got little or nothing, but was very near being killed by the miners. Every body was astonished that a simple monk should have the zeal and the courage to oppose the extortions of the pope and his ministers, when so many bishops and powerful ecclesiastics kept a profound silence, and left their churches a prey to avarice and imposture.

But Tetzel, depending upon the protection of the pope, condemned the theses of Luther to the flames, as full of heresy and blasphemy; and after burning them in public, he attempted the refutation of them in two disputations, which he printed. In  
the



the first of them he maintained that " alms given  
 " for the release of souls from purgatory are of  
 " more value than those that are given to the poor ;  
 " and in magnifying the virtue of indulgences,  
 " he said, that, should a man have ravished the  
 " blessed virgin he could absolve him both from  
 " the crime and the punishment." In the second  
 he asserted, " the authority of the pope to be su-  
 " preme with respect to councils and the universal  
 " church, that he alone, as the husband of the  
 " church, has the power of granting indulgences ;  
 " and that it was blasphemy to say that Leo X had  
 " less power in this respect than St. Peter himself!"  
 He concluded with saying, that " whosoever should  
 " write against indulgences, or the power of the  
 " pope, must expect eternal damnation hereafter,  
 " and the most rigorous punishment at present ;"  
 adding, from the Pentateuch, *every beast that  
 touches the mountain shall be stoned.*

These propositions of Tetzel being brought to  
 Wittemberg, were publicly burned by the students,  
 to revenge the affront offered to their master ; but  
 Luther himself had no hand in it. He despised  
 every thing that Tetzel had done, but he published  
 more theses, in which, without speaking of indul-  
 gences, he undermined the foundation of them,  
 attacking the merit of good works, on which it was

pretended that they were founded, and maintained the doctrines of election and predestination. All this passed in A. D. 1517.

In the year following Luther attended the chapter of the Augustins at Heidelberg, where, in the presence of the elector palatine, to whom the elector of Saxony had given him recommendations, and Laurent de Bibra, bishop of Wurtzburg, a man of piety and good sense, well disposed to a reformation, he proposed more theses on the subject of free will, good works, and justification by faith alone; in which it was said that he discovered the subtlety of St. Paul, but not that of Scotus. This was the account that was given by Martin Bucer, then almoner of the elector Palatine; who said that he maintained the sentiments of Erasmus, but more openly. On this occasion Luther gained so much of the esteem of the bishop, that before he died, which was in the year following, he wrote to the elector Frederic to conjure him not to suffer a good and honest man like Luther to leave his estates, an advice which he did not forget. In all this Luther only proposed subjects for discussion. He respected the decisions of the church; but perceiving the weakness of the scholastic doctrines, and the gross abuses of the papal authority, he began to reject every thing that was not founded on the scriptures.

The

The first who undertook the defence of Tetzel against Luther were Sylvester de Prierias, master of the sacred palace, and John de Eyk, or Ecthius, professor of theology at Ingolstadt, a friend of Luther; who by order of his bishop made some critical remarks on his theses, and with more asperity than became a person who professed friendship. Among other accusations he insinuated that he was tainted with the venom of Bohemia, which at that time was the most injurious reflection that he could have thrown out. Luther answered with equal severity, but tho' without any respect for the schoolmen, with due regard to the authority of the pope, ascribing the abuse of indulgences to his flatterers.

Prierias's treatise was in the form of a *dialogue*, dedicated to Leo X. In it he expressed great contempt for Luther, and asserted the authority of the popes in the highest terms; taxing with heresy all who denied it. In answer to him Luther insisted upon his maxim of trying every thing by the scriptures, which he maintained on the authority of St. Austin. He now proceeded farther than he had done before, attacking the infallibility of the pope and even that of councils. He did not omit to censure the power which the popes claimed over the rights of princes, and did not fail to mention the tyranny of Boniface VIII,

and the bloody wars of Julius II. And as Prierias had insinuated that he would not have written as he did against indulgences if he had had a bishoprick, and a church in which he could have published them himself, he said that if these had been his views, the method of succeeding in them was well known, and even resounded in the streets of Rome; alluding to some popular ballads in which the venality of the court of Rome was exposed.

Luther also took this opportunity of publishing an explication and proof of his original theses, written some time before; a work composed with much care, but in which he was far from rejecting the authority of the pope, or the generally received doctrines. On the contrary, he censured the Bohemians for rejecting the doctrine of purgatory; saying that they preferred a doctrine of fifty years standing to the ancient faith of the church. This work he dedicated to Leo X, expressing his persuasion that he would do him justice; complaining of the conduct of his enemies, and the indecent manner in which indulgences had been published; and avowing his submission to the holy see in the most respectful manner. He concluded with saying, "I submit to your judgment my person and my writings. You have the power of taking my life, or of giving it to me, to approve or to condemn me as you please. Whatever you pronounce

“ nounce I shall receive it as the award of Jesus  
 “ Christ, who presides in your person, and speaks  
 “ by your mouth.”

This work Luther sent to the bishop of Brandenburg, and also to his vicar Stupitz. This bishop disapproved of the shameful traffic of indulgences, but he thought the doctrine of Luther still more dangerous. Writing to Stupitz Luther reminded him of an excellent remark of his, which he said he would never forget, viz. that there is no true repentance that does not begin with the love of God and of virtue. This he said was the first light he received on the subject. and after desiring him to transmit his book to the pope, he concluded in this memorable manner. “ I have  
 “ no fortune, and I wish for none. If I had any  
 “ reputation, I am daily losing it. I have only a  
 “ weak body, subject to continual illness. Let  
 “ them take my life by violence, or in any other  
 “ way, I am ready to obey God. They cannot  
 “ shorten my life much. Jesus my master, and  
 “ my redeemer, is sufficient for me, and as long as  
 “ I live I will sing hymns to his honour.”

## SECTION II.

*The Progress of the Reformation from the Time that Luther attracted the Notice of the Pope to the Advancement of Charles V to the Empire, A. D. 1519.*

HITHERTO the dispute about indulgences had been confined to the monks. The grandees, indeed, as well as the common people, had been spectators, but they had taken no part in it. And had the pope contented himself with imposing silence on the disputants, the affair might have proceeded no farther. Leo himself is said to have been inclined to this measure; saying that Luther was a man of spirit and ability, and that all the dispute arose from the quarrels and jealousies of the monks. But, happily for the interest of the reformation, and the progress of truth, he was overcome by the importunity of the Dominicans, and especially of James Hochstrat, of the monastery of Louvain; who told him that his authority and his interest were at stake. He, therefore, proceeded so far as to cite Luther to appear before him; but perhaps without intending him any harm. Lu-  
ther

ther, however, when he received the citation, which was in August 8, A. D. 1518, concluded that his ruin was determined, but he did not on that account hesitate in forming his resolution. Writing to George Spalatin, a person of great authority in the court of the elector of Saxony, who had been tutor to his nephew, and to the duke of Lunenburg, he said he was able to defend himself, that he did not expect to escape violence, but that, at all events, the truth should be defended. This he wrote when he had no expectation of protection from the elector, or any other person.

Stupitz, writing to him at this time, says, "The world is violently set against the truth, it has few protectors, and those very timid. I am of opinion that you quit Wittemberg for some time, and come to me, that we may live and die together. Your prince is of the same opinion. That is enough." The elector was not a little embarrassed, as he did not wish to quarrel with the pope, who had ordered him, on the obedience which he owed to the church of Rome, to deliver the heretic Luther into his hands. Cajetan, his legate in Germany, also had orders to require all persons, ecclesiastical or secular, the emperor alone excepted, to deliver him up, and that under pain of excommunication, interdict, and deprivation of goods and dignity to any who should afford him

him retreat or protection. Accordingly the elector promised to send Luther to Rome.

The diet of the empire was this year held at Augsburg, and one of the commissions which the legate Cajetan had was to terminate the affair of Luther, and if possible by inducing him to retract what he had advanced. If he refused to do this, he was to demand him of the elector; and if he should refuse to give him up, he was to excommunicate Luther and all his adherents. In order to accomplish this, he had prevailed upon the emperor Maximilian (who, however, was known to have an esteem for Luther) to promise that if he should be condemned, he would see that the sentence should be executed.

Luther, knowing that at Rome his enemies would be his judges, got Spalatin to entreat the elector to obtain the pope's leave to have commissioners appointed to examine him in Germany. But all that could be done was to have the legates take cognizance of the affair at the time of the diet. Accordingly, Luther being assured by the elector, that he should not be sent to Rome, went to Augsburch. But previous to this he had given more offence by the publication of a sermon on the abuse of excommunication, in which he maintained that an unjust excommunication does not deprive a christian of communion with Jesus Christ, and  
that



that such an excommunication, endured with patience and humility, is the greatest virtue. He asserted, however, that men ought to bear with patience the chastisements of the church, since it was the power of Jesus Christ which she exercised, tho' it might be in the hands of Herods, or of Pilates.

Before he set out, the members of the university of Wittemberg, which Luther had already made very famous, wrote to the pope in his favour; assuring his holiness that he was orthodox, and faithful to the holy see; and they requested Charles de Miltitz to interpose his good offices in his favour. But this produced no good effect, and Cajetan had orders to insist on Luther's recantation. This prelate, however, endeavoured in the first instance, to get Luther into his power, that he might send him to Rome; but Luther, apprized of his danger, declined seeing him till he had obtained a safe conduct of the emperor, which was readily granted, and the pope and the cardinal thought proper to dissemble their chagrin.

Luther being introduced to Cajetan, which was on the 12th of October, was willing to speak on his knees before him; but the cardinal very politely would not suffer it. However, after hearing him with great patience, he required of him three things, that he should retract what he had advanced

ed respecting indulgences and justification by faith alone, that he should keep silence on the subject for the future, and in general refrain from any thing that might disturb the church. But gradually, and without design, entering into a dispute on the subjects, Cajetan appeared to be altogether unacquainted with the scriptures, to which Luther constantly appealed, and insisted chiefly on the bull of Clement VI, in which Luther said that the scriptures were falsely quoted; and to this bull he opposed the sentiments of the faculty of theology at Paris, and the writings of Gerson. Cajetan, provoked at this, said they would chastise the divines at Paris, and that Gerson and his disciples were condemned already. In this altercation the cardinal did not fail to magnify the authority of the pope, as superior to that of the councils, or even that of the scriptures.

The next day Luther again waited upon the cardinal, accompanied by four counsellors of the empire, a notary, and another witness, when he read a protestation of respect for the Roman see, but declared that, being persuaded that he had not advanced any thing but what was orthodox, he could not retract till he was convinced of his error; that he was willing to appear before any proper tribunal, to give an account of his writings, and that he would submit to the judgment of the uni-  
versities

versities of Basil, Friburg, Louvain, and Paris. The cardinal, paying no attention to this, resumed the dispute, without giving Luther time to reply; when both Stupitz and Luther asked leave to defend themselves in writing, Luther saying that they had disputed enough the day before. To this the cardinal, recollecting the part he ought to have acted, said he had not been disputing, he had only been instructing him, and that with gentleness, out of regard to his illustrious prince Frederic. Confiding too much in his powers, he had gone out of his province of judge, to which it had been his wisdom to have adhered.

In this last interview Luther presented his answer in writing to the cardinal's objections, in which he sufficiently shewed his unwillingness to quarrel with the court of Rome. For he concluded with expressing his submission to the judgment of the church, and desired the legate to instruct him, and intercede with the pope for him, "to have compassion on a soul that only sought the truth, and who refused to retract only because he could not do it without prevarication." The legate received this answer with disdain, and only said that he should send it to the pope. But resuming the dispute, Luther by his acute remarks on the bull of pope Clement, which he had requested to be read, greatly embarrassed the legate;

who finding himself unequal to the contest, sent for Stupitz, and ordered him to employ all the authority he had over Luther. This he promised to do, but when the legate desired him to convince Luther out of the scriptures, he replied that that was above his strength; for that he was not comparable to Luther either for genius or knowledge of the scriptures. Besides, in order that he might not be responsible for the consequences, he had absolved Luther from his vow of obedience.

Stupitz, willing to heal this breach, joined with Lincius in persuading Luther to give satisfaction to the cardinal; and he so far yielded to them, that he wrote him a letter, in which he asked pardon for the irreverence with which he had treated the pope, blaming the violence of his enemies. He also promised to keep silence, and submit to the authority of others, tho' not to that of Th. Aquinas; and said he was ready to do every thing except directly retracting what he had advanced, provided his enemies would be more moderate.

Hearing nothing from the cardinal, Luther appealed from the sentence of the pope, to *the pope better informed*, and leaving his appeal with a public notary, withdrew privately from Augsburg; and when he was got to Nuremberg, he was for the first time apprized of the danger he had been in, the cardinal having had absolute orders to seize him

him, and send him to Rome. This provoked him so much, that he said that such an order could only come from a villain. Stupitz and Lincius set out after him, without taking leave of the legate; and the former, fearing to suffer for permitting Luther to escape sought an asylum in Saxony. When Luther was gone, the notary, not daring to carry his appeal to the cardinal, exposed it in the public square of the city. But he, without taking any notice of it, wrote to the elector, reproaching him with procuring a safe conduct for a heretic already condemned, and with much haughtiness demanded of him either to banish Luther from his estates, or send him to Rome. The elector, offended at this conduct, only sent the letter to Luther with orders to answer it.

The measures of the cardinal having had no good success, he was much blamed by some for his vigour, and by others for his tameness. The elector was at first inclined to send Luther out of his estates, and he was as ready to go; expressing himself with great piety and magnanimity on the occasion. But at length this prince came to a firm resolution to protect him, and in answer to the legate said, that he had sent Luther to Augsburg as he had promised, and that when he was there he ought to have been convinced of his errors, and

not have been commanded by mere authority to retract; that orthodox universities had assured him that his doctrine was pure, and finally declared his resolution that the university of Wittemberg, the members of which had declared Luther's sentiments to be catholic, should not lose a professor of so much use to it.

At this time Melancthon, then in his twenty-second year, at the recommendation of Reuchlin, who was his relation, came to be professor of Greek in the university of Wittemberg, and he proved to be of the greatest importance to Luther, and to the cause of the reformation in general. Such was the reputation which at that early age he had acquired for his knowledge of the *belles lettres*, that Erasmus, writing to Œcolampadius, said, that if that young man lived, he would take from him the glory he had acquired. With him Luther soon formed an intimate connection which nothing ever broke.

Prierias at this time made a second publication, in which he advanced such high maxims with respect to the power of the pope, as tho' they had always been avowed by the zealous catholics, it was thought unseasonable to insist upon at this conjuncture. as they gave Luther a manifest advantage. The Dominicans themselves were aware

of this, and endeavoured to suppress the book. But Luther soon put it out of their power. For he himself reprinted it, with a preface, notes, and a conclusion, in which he no longer observed the measures he had hitherto done with the court of Rome. “If these,” said he, “are their pretensions, there is no remedy but some exemplary chastisement, to revenge the majesty of princes, and to exterminate those monsters, who would attribute to the pope the rights of God and of all sovereigns;” adding “If this be taught and believed at Rome, and if the pope and the cardinals, which, however, I do not believe, be informed of it, I boldly declare that Antichrist is now sitting in the temple of God, and that he reigns in Babylon, [that Babylon which is clothed in purple, and that the court of Rome is the synagogue of Satan. Farewell unhappy Rome, the wrath of God is come upon thee to the uttermost, as thou hast well deserved. Let us leave it to be the den of dragons, of evil spirits, and monsters. It is full of the idols of avarice, perfidy, and all wickedness, a new pantheon of impiety.”

He also at this time published an account of the conferences at Augsburgh, with very free reflections, in which he intimated a doubt whether the authority of the pope was sufficiently proved by the words of Christ to St. Peter, “Upon this rock

“I will build my church.” Besides this, he proposed another appeal to a council, tho’ he did not intend to publish it till his sentence of excommunication, which he now daily expected, should arrive. But the eagerness of the public to get the writings of Luther was now become very great, and the printer shewing some copies of it, it was published against his will. This gave more offence than any thing that he had done before; tho’ in fact this appeal implied nothing more than the superiority of general councils to the pope.

The court of Rome, seeing the spirit of Luther, the applause that his conduct met with, and the protection of the elector, which was now declared, and who might interest other princes of the empire in his favour, began to think that they had acted with too much precipitation. They therefore wished to gain Luther by milder methods, and in this they were very near succeeding. With this view the pope published a bull, November 9th, establishing the doctrine of indulgences on the immemorial usage of the church, but without any reflections on Luther. On the contrary, his adversaries were censured for publishing some errors when they were only sent to preach the word of God. It was expected that he would have submitted to this bull, and have said nothing more on the subject. But



it was now too late. Luther had acquired more light, and was determined to pursue it.

In the mean time the elector dreading the power of the pope, tho' determined not to deliver up Luther, took a middle course, by making him with his own consent a prisoner; and then he informed the legate that he was ready to deliver him up to any judicature that should be appointed to examine him, provided it was in Germany.

When Miltitz the nuncio arrived, and found the general esteem in which Luther was held, he dropped the design of carrying him to Rome, and endeavoured to reconcile him to the pope. For he said that if Luther should be delivered to him, he believed it would require not less than twenty thousand men to conduct him to Rome. He therefore, began with praising the zeal and talents of Luther, and only blamed him for accusing the pope of the extravagances of other persons. He said that, as a monk, he owed submission to the holy see, and assured him that the pope was ready to receive him into his favour, that he had already shewed his forbearance in deferring the sentence of excommunication, and that, as he had promised to submit to the pope, he ought, if he was sincere, no longer to refuse his retraction, now that the pope had decided in favour of indulgences. He also highly complimented the elector, and mentioned

the great respect the pope had for him, as he said he had shewn him by sending him the golden rose, which he brought with him.

In order to gain his point with Luther, the nuncio resolved to punish Tetzel, and with this view ordered him to meet him at Altemburg. Tetzel declined his interview, but Luther went thither, and met the nuncio at the house of Spalatin, in the beginning of January A. D. 1519. There the nuncio spared nothing to flatter, and at the same time to intimidate Luther, but he could not prevail upon him to submit implicitly to the judgment of the pope. However, Luther believing that they now really wished that the differences should proceed no farther, proposed that they should be referred to some prelates in Germany who should have private orders to delay the decision till the affair should be forgotten, and thus save both the pope's honour and his own; and he named the archbishop of Salzburg as one of his judges.

In this state of things the elector at first thought of writing to the pope, to apologize for his conduct and that of Luther too; but on second thoughts he declined it. Miltitz went to Leipzig in his way to Coblenz, to meet Cajetan, without whose concurrence he had orders to do nothing definitively. And being informed of some scandalous  
conduct

conduct of Tetzcl, who was then at Leipzig, he reproved him, and also his superior, with so much severity, that believing that he was to be made a sacrifice to the reconciliation of Luther with the pope, he was reduced to a state of despair. Luther hearing of it wrote the letter of submission to the pope which he had promised, and he did it in language expressive of the greatest humility, only declining to make a formal retraction of what he had written, as that would, indeed, be of no avail to the holy see, but of real prejudice to it. He acknowledged the power of the pope as only inferior to that of Jesus Christ, and promised to exhort all persons to honour the see of Rome, and justify it from the prophane exaggerations of the preachers of indulgences, and never more to touch upon the subject, provided his adversaries would renounce their impostures. In short, he engaged to do any thing to give his holiness satisfaction.

This is usually considered as a most lamentable weakness in Luther, and a base compliance with the court of Rome. But his opinions were not as yet absolutely fixed with respect to the authority of the church of Rome, at least that of councils, on which it was in a great measure founded; and he was willing to comply as far as he could with the wishes of his most respectable protector. Also he, like other good men, dreaded the conse-

quences of such a schism as would be made in the church if he had not taken this step. That Luther had any fears on his own account by no means appears. But if he had, they were the feelings of human nature, mixed with considerations of more importance. It was not, however, without a great contest with himself that he complied thus far. For he was then reading the decrees of the pope, in order to prepare himself for the disputation at Leipzig, which will be mentioned hereafter, and he told Spalatin, who informed him of the wishes of the elector, that they made him doubt whether the pope was not either antichrist, or his apostle, so miserably was Jesus Christ crucified in these decrees. He added, "I am cruelly tormented to see the people thus imposed upon on the pretence of the laws of Christ, and the christian name." But if it was weakness in Luther to make such a submission, it was folly in the extreme in the court of Rome not to take advantage of it.

The progress of the reformation was at this time favoured by a circumstance of an external nature, as it will be seen it was several times afterwards. The emperor Maximilian died in the beginning of the year A. D. 1519, and in the interregnum the elector of Saxony was vicar of the empire, not only in upper and lower Saxony, but in several other provinces; and the universal esteem in which he

he was held was in some measure reflected upon Luther. It was also then in his power to afford him effectual protection, and it was known that he would do so. His writings were now read with the greatest eagerness, and his disciples were astonishingly multiplied thro' the whole empire. His courage and his doctrines were equally admired, and all persons wished to know something more of him. On this account there was a great resort of persons from all parts to Wittemberg, and many were heard, with their hands joined, and their eyes lifted towards heaven, thanking God that that city was become another Zion, from which the light of the gospel would be diffused over all the world.

In the mean time, the elector of Treves, being an ecclesiastic, accepted the office of the judge of Luther, and the elector of Saxony was requested to send Luther to him. But he made so many reasonable objections to his cause being decided by him alone, which indeed had not been the proposal of Luther, and especially in the presence of Cajetan, who would certainly have directed all the proceedings, that the elector of Saxony proposed to bring him to the diet of the empire, which was to be held at Frankfort, to have the cause decided there; and this was acceded to; Luther

absolutely

absolutely refusing to make an unconditional retraction, which they again endeavoured to bring him to.

Luther was now much encouraged by the great increase of his reputation, and not only in Germany, but in all parts of Europe, where his writings were eagerly read, and with general approbation. He was more particularly flattered by a letter from Frobenius, the famous printer of Basil, and still more by one from Erasmus, informing him of this circumstance. He could not, he says, express the alarm which his writings had occasioned among the monks, who, he said, mortally hated literature, as fatal to their theological majesty, of which he said they make incomparably more account than of that of Jesus Christ. He described their malice, and calumnies in the strongest language, and said that they insinuated that he himself was the real head of the faction, and even assisted him in his compositions. But he said he should endeavour to act a neutral part, as more useful to literature, and because he thought that greater advances would be made by prudence and moderation than by too much vehemence.

Such was the uniform maxim of this great man who by the hints that he had occasionally given in a fine vein of irony, concerning the abuses of the court of Rome, and the frauds of the monks, was  
hated

hated by the bigoted catholics as much as Luther himself. He afterwards owned that he had not, like Luther, the spirit of a martyr. Erasmus also wrote to the elector, to tell him that the morals of Luther were held in general esteem, and that his writings were every where read with the greatest avidity; a testimony which had no small weight in determining this prince to protect him.

At this time the Franciscans holding their chapter at Jutterbach, in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg, took that opportunity of expressing their zeal for the church by their condemnation of fifteen propositions extracted from the writings of Luther. But such was the confidence he now had in himself, and in his friends, that he answered them with a threat, that if they did not retract what they had advanced, he would expose them and their order, in such a manner as should make them repent of it. Eckius writing in defence of the Franciscans, Luther replied in an *Apology*; which was afterwards published, on which Eckius published thirteen propositions against the doctrine of Luther, and Luther answered in thirteen others, in one of which he said that the authority of the pope was only supported by the decrees of the popes themselves, and that to these might be opposed the scriptures, histories of approved credit, eleven hundred years old, and the canons of the first council of Nice.

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The court of Saxony began now to be leniently alarmed, and Spalatin being desired to inform Luther of it, he replied that, after the risk which he had run, he had no doubt of the divine protection; that he was informed the court of Rome was so much disturbed, that they had recourse to their usual arms of defence, poison and assassination; that if it had not been for his regard for the elector and the university of Wittemberg, he would have declared his whole mind with respect to Rome, or rather that Babylon which was so opposed to the scriptures, that one or the other must be renounced. He added, "I always declared that I was ready to withdraw myself rather than involve our prince in the dangers that threaten me. As to myself, I shall not avoid death, tho' in my Apology I sufficiently flattered the court of Rome, and the pope." However, in order to give some satisfaction to the court of Saxony, he published an explanation of one of his theses, in which he admitted the superiority of the church of Rome over other churches, but only on the foundation of the consent of the people, which however, he allowed to be sufficient for the purpose.

Eckaus, who saw Luther at Augsburg, challenged him and André Rodenstein generally called Carlostadt, from the place of his birth, to a public disputation, which was accepted, and leave was obtained



obtained of George duke of Saxony to hold it at Leipzig, notwithstanding the opposition of the university and the bishop. Accordingly the disputants appeared in that city June the 8th, and the disputation commenced on the 18th in the hall of the castle. It began between Eckius and Carolstadt on the difficult subject of *grace*, which Carolstadt maintained to be in the strictest sense necessary to all good works, and Eckius with certain limitations. This dispute continued several days without any great advantage on either side.

After this Eckius challenged Luther, and their disputation commenced the 14th of July on the *authority of the pope*, in which Luther maintained from the scriptures, that Peter had no superiority over the other apostles; but being unwilling to deny the authority of general councils, he was embarrassed when he was urged with their decisions. He did not absolutely deny the doctrine of purgatory, but intimated some doubts on the subject. In disputing concerning indulgences, he did not deny the infallibility of the church in matters of faith, but he maintained that this was not a question concerning faith, and that he only condemned the abuses that had been introduced into it. And Eckius saying that, tho' indulgences were not to be despised, they ought not to be too much considered in, Luther replied, that if all persons had held

held that language he should have kept an eternal silence on the subject. After this they passed to questions concerning repentance, absolution, and satisfaction. When Luther had done, Carolstadt and Eckius disputed two days on the subject of grace and free-will; but nothing deserving of much notice was advanced by either of them.

This disputation, which was published, terminated like most others, each party claiming the victory. The audience in general were disposed in favour of Eckius. But the consequences were injurious both to the pope, and to Luther. The reading of the acts of this disputation, opened the eyes of many persons with respect to the foundation of the power of the pope; but on the other hand, Luther was thought to favour the opinions of Wickliffe and Hus; and as the Bohemians lay under a great odium, he of course partook of it, and was with many considered as a heretic. This disputation produced many writings, and among others Melanchton's account of it to Cœcolampadius, which was answered by Eckius, and defended by its author with singular judgment and moderation. Eckius also wrote to the elector, persuading him to burn the writings of Luther, and Luther published an explanation of his theses. It was on this occasion that, not being able to reconcile James and Paul on the subject of justification, he  
said

said that the style of James was below the majesty of an apostle, and not to be compared to that of Paul; seeming to intimate a doubt of the authenticity of the epistle of James; but he afterwards saw his error in this.

This dispute brought forth the most dangerous enemy that Luther ever had, Jerom Emser, a professor of canon law in the university of Leipsic. Writing to a Romish doctor in Bohemia, he said that Luther entertained the sentiments of the Bohemians. On this two of the Bohemian brethren wrote to him, exhorting him to avow and defend the truth, and sending him a book composed by John Hus, and that from which the articles of his condemnation had been drawn. This letter being answered by Luther, gave occasion to a report that he was in strict correspondence with the Bohemian brethren. But he defended himself from the imputation in a letter to Emser, in which he said, that his most zealous friends were those who had no connection whatsoever with the Bohemians.

In all this time the reformation was greatly promoted by the writings of Erasmus, especially by his new version of the New Testament, and his edition of the works of Jerom in A. D. 1519. This gave great offence to the divines of Louvain, who engaged Dorpius to write against him. But Eras-

mus replied with so much effect, that Dorpius made an ingenuous retraction of what he had advanced; and afterwards he with great force recommended the study of the scriptures in their original languages, in preference to Logic and the Metaphysics of Aristotle, which he said consumed all the time of scholars to no good purpose whatever.

At the diet at Frankfort in A. D. 1519, the elector of Saxony gained great honour by refusing the imperial dignity which was unanimously offered him; the electors not having been able to agree in the choice of either of the competitors Francis I, king of France, or Charles king of Spain. But Frederic declining that honour, and declaring for Charles, turned the scale in favour of the latter; so that the elector had at the same time the honour both of refusing, and of giving, the imperial dignity. Charles wrote him a letter of acknowledgment, and requested his care of the affairs of the empire in his absence. In what manner he requited the family of this great elector will be seen hereafter. Miltitz now presented the elector with the golden rose, but he did not think proper to receive it in person, but appointed another person to go through the formalities of receiving it in his name; \* and when he was urged to proceed

\* The ceremony of consecrating a golden rose, and sending it to princes and persons of distinction, ha

proceed against Luther, with intimations of his incurring the indignation of the pope, he declared that he should take no part in the business.

Luther was all this time prosecuting his studies, and continually getting more light. He began to entertain doubts with respect to the number of the sacraments, auricular confession, communion in one kind, and some other articles. But still, in his *Commentary on the Galatians*, published this year A. D. 1519, hoping to accommodate matters with the pope, he repeated his protestation of obedience to the see of Rome. In public he continued to explain the psalms and the gospels.

About this time the reformation was greatly advanced by Ulric Zuinglius, who indeed began to explain the scriptures in a manner very hostile to the church of Rome in A. D. 1516, before the name of Luther had been heard in Switzerland. This extraordinary person was born in A. D. 1481, in a village near the Lake of Zurich, of which his father was bailiff. He studied theology at Basil under Thomas Witternbach, a man who was well

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aware

its origin in the 11th century; and it is generally ascribed to Urban II, who in A. D. 1095 gave it to Fulk count of Anjou. Others ascribe it to Leo IX, about fifty years before this. *L'Enfant's Pise*, Vol. 1, p. 525.

aware of the abuses of the times; and especially that of indulgences, which he combated as occasion served, and who was disgusted with scholastic theology. When he had finished his studies, Zuinglius was chosen pastor of the church of Glaris, and there he preached ten years, applying closely to the study of the scriptures and the Fathers, and there he learned Hebrew.

In this situation he laboured much to enlighten the minds of his parishioners, but more to reform their worship; and he particularly endeavoured to dissuade the Switzers from furnishing troops for pay to foreigners, by which he got many enemies. From Glaris he was invited to the church of Notre Dame of the hermitage, the most celebrated in all Switzerland, in A. D. 1516. Here he was in a very conspicuous situation, on account of the great number of pilgrims that resorted to it; but his method was to inculcate truth, rather than directly expose error. But while he was at Glaris, he had written to the bishop of Constance about the reformation of abuses. He had also spoken of them to the bishop of Sion, a prelate who was himself very sensible of them.

The reputation which Zuinglius acquired at the hermitage, was the occasion of his being invited to Zurich, Decr. the 10th, A. D. 1518. There he began with explaining the gospel of Matthew, being

then thirty four years of age, having declared his resolution not to preach in the usual manner, but to follow the method of the Fathers, and to explain the scriptures by themselves; and in this he united courage with prudence. In this year he opposed the Franciscan Samien, who published indulgences, and he was commended at first by the bishop of Constance, who encouraged him to proceed with firmness, assuring him of his support. In return, he exhorted the bishop to favour the progress of truth, which was now bursting upon them on all sides, in such a manner that it was not possible to resist it. After this, however, the bishop grew cool, and rather thwarted the endeavours of Zuinglius, tho' he was sufficiently disgusted with the pride and arrogance of the court of Rome.

Zuinglius also addressed himself to Antonius Pucci, the pope's legate in Switzerland, and had four conversations with him on the subject, in which he openly proposed his views; declaring that he should expound the scriptures in such a manner as would give a great shock to the pope. In this last situation of Zuinglius, his labours as a preacher and a lecturer, as well as in other ways, were very great, and exposed him to much danger both from the Catholics and the timid friends of truth and liberty. Many attempts were made up-

on his life, but they were frustrated by the care of his friends and of the magistrates, who placed guards near his house every night. His greatest enemies, as those of Erasmus and Luther, were the monks, in consequence of his having advised the magistrates to let the monasteries fall after the decease of the present members, and to employ the revenues of them for the use of the state. He also obtained of the magistrates an order to all the ecclesiastics to preach nothing but the pure word of God, and to omit every thing suspected of novelty. All this passed before any thing was heard of Luther.

That Zuinglius was a person of some note and character as a scholar, is evident from his receiving money from the pope's legate while he was at Glaris, to buy books, and his having been made acolyte, and chaplain to Leo X, who with all his faults was a lover of learned men.

## SECTION



## SECTION III.

*The Progress of the Reformation from the Accession of Charles V to the Empire, to the Citation of Luther to appear at the Diet of Worms.*

**I**T is something remarkable that Luther began his reformation independently of any thing that had been done before him, so that he was truly a great original in that way. He ever dreaded the reproach of heresy, and it was by slow degrees that he was brought to any connection with those who had been denominated heretics ; but the affinity between his doctrines and those of the Hussites in Bohemia could not but soon be perceived, and all his enemies eagerly propagated reports of his connection with them. Some colour was given to them by the publication of a sermon this year, in which he expressed a wish that the church assembled in general council, would restore the cup to the laity. The bishop of Misnia censured this piece, and forbade the reading of it in his diocese, and the duke of Saxony wrote to the elector

to complain of it. But he answered with great prudence, that he did not take upon him the defence of any of the writings of Luther, tho' there were persons of acknowledged piety and good sense who saw nothing reprehensible in them.

Luther easily defended himself from this accusation in two publications. The first bore the title of *an Apology*, in which he shewed that the Bohemians could not be called heretics on account of their receiving the communion in both kinds, because they did it with the consent of the church; nor could he be called a heretic for having expressed a wish that the communion in both kinds might be restored, unless Pius II was a heretic for having wished that the priests might be allowed to marry. The second piece contained a refutation of the sentence of the bishop of Misnia, in which he was very severe on two or three ecclesiastics, whom he considered as the authors of it. This publication was disliked by the electoral court, and the impression of it was stopped for fear of provoking the pope.

This interference of the court displeased Luther, and what he wrote to Spalatin on the occasion discovers his firmness and the justness of his way of thinking. "You would have me," he says, "continue to teach, but how can this be done without offending the pope. The scriptures con-  
" demn

“ demn the abuse of sacred things, and the popes  
 “ will never bear the condemnation of the abuses  
 “ of which they are the authors. I have devoted  
 “ myself to the service of God, and may his will  
 “ be done. Let us leave this business to him, and  
 “ make ourselves easy. What can they do? They  
 “ may take my life, but this I cannot lose more  
 “ than once. They may defame me as a heretic,  
 “ but was not Jesus Christ condemned by the  
 “ wicked? Every time that I meditate on the suf-  
 “ ferings of our Saviour, I am concerned to perceive  
 “ that my trials appear so great to many persons.  
 “ This comes from our not being used to suffer,  
 “ that is, to live as the disciples of Christ. Let  
 “ them do what they please. The more they en-  
 “ deavour to destroy me, the more I deride their  
 “ efforts. If I did not fear to involve our prince  
 “ in my destruction, I would write all I think  
 “ without reserve, in order to provoke them the  
 “ more.”

At this time the new emperor was expected in  
 Germany, and it was thought that he would be  
 favourable to Luther, as it was well known that  
 the pope had opposed his election. He therefore  
 addressed a respectful letter to the emperor, in  
 which, however, he expressed himself with proper  
 firmness, explaining his sentiments, and expressing  
 the hope he had of his protection, concluding with

saying, that if there was any thing that would do honour to his memory in future ages, it would be his not suffering the wicked to trample upon the righteous. But previous to this he had adopted other conciliatory measures. He had made a public protestation of his resolution to live and die in the communion of the catholic church, that he was ready to renounce all disputation in order to employ himself in more useful works, and to appear before any ecclesiastical or secular judges, provided he could have a safe conduct; praying the public to excuse his faults, since he aimed at nothing but the edification of the church, and the discovery of truth.

In a short time after he wrote with the same spirit of moderation to the archbishop of Mentz, and to the bishop of Meissberg. The answer he received from the former was mild, and did the writer much honor. He had the greater expectation from this prelate, in consequence of a letter which Erasmus had written to him the year before, as it was a complete justification of his conduct, and a condemnation of that of his enemies. It shewed at the same time the necessity of a reformation. This letter Erasmus, agreeably to his usual caution, wished to be kept secret; but Ulrich of Hutten, who was then at the court of the bishop, made it public, which gave the author much concern. In  
this

this letter he made heavy complaint of the mendicant friars, as the great supporters of superstition, and whose practices would exterminate all christian piety. In mentioning their artifices, he referred to the history of Jetzer at Bern. Erasmus also wrote to the elector of Saxony to the same purpose adding that such was the artifice of the monks, that as they saw all the learned to be against them, they endeavoured to persuade the people that the study of languages, of eloquence, and of literature in general, was the source of the heresy of Luther and his great support.

These two letters were of great service to Luther, as the writer was universally esteemed both for his knowledge and moderation; so that the censures of the universities of Cologne and Louvain, which were now published, did Luther less harm than the testimony of Erasmus did him good. Indeed, Luther's own replies to these censures were so bold and just, as to be of great service to his cause. In them he mentioned a number of most respectable persons whom they had censured, especially Erasmus and Reuchlin, saying it was the opinion of all the learned that they had lost nothing of their just reputation, having been calumniated by men whose pride and passion were equal to their ignorance, and that whatever advantage they had gained over such men had been by their intrigues, or their authority.

At

At this time, however, Luther did not wish wholly to abolish the authority of the pope, thinking it might be of use to preserve the unity of the western church; but he was desirous of moderating its authority, since it was become tyrannical, and the avarice and ambition of the court of Rome encouraged those abuses which were the source of their wealth. To accomplish this end he this year published a treatise in the German language, addressed to the emperor and the nobility of the empire, in which he sapped the foundation of the papal tyranny by arguments which went further than his own views. The foundations of this tyranny he said were three. 1. The prerogative which the clergy assumed over the laity, whereas the scriptures made no such distinction as then prevailed between them, and laymen might exercise the functions of the christian ministry in case of necessity. 2. The right which the popes claimed to determine the sense of scripture, when they were as liable to error as other men. 3. The sole power of calling general councils, which properly belonged to the princes, and had been usurped by the popes.

He then gave a detail of the abuses of the court of Rome, and proposed the means of rectifying them; and this he did in so able a manner as appeared extraordinary in a man who had been educated

educated at a distance from the business of the world. He particularly exposed the pretensions of the popes to the giving of the empire to the Germans, after taking it from the Greeks. On the contrary, he shewed that they had revolted from the emperors, whose subjects they were. He also dwelt upon their artful and unjust methods of exhausting Germany. He acknowledged, however that the popes had a spiritual authority over the emperors, as they preached the word of God, and administered the sacraments, which Ambrose did to Theodosius. But, said he, " Let the emperor  
" shew at length that he is emperor and their sove-  
" reign, and let him not be surpris'd by the tricks  
" of Rome. Let him not suffer the pope to seize  
" upon his authority, and take from him the sword  
" which God has put into his hands."

Tho' these things were well known before, the emperors not having been ignorant of their rights, this work of Luther's made a great noise. The friends of the court of Rome were inexpressibly enraged, and the friends of Luther trembled for him; thinking that after such an affront the pope would never forgive him. This publication was, however, of service to him with the nobility, but hurt him with the ecclesiastics in general, who were not pleas'd to see themselves reduced to a level with the laity. He was much urg'd by his friends

to suppress this piece, but he said it was impossible, and four thousand copies were soon sold. He added, "We are persuaded, that the papacy is the "seat of Antichrist, and we expose his impostures." He did not, however, mean any thing more at this time than to reduce the power of the pope within due bounds.

At this time the elector of Saxony having some business to manage at Rome, in which he did not succeed to his wishes, was told that he could not wonder that it went so ill while he protected such a man as Luther. But he answered, that he had never arrogated to himself the right of judging Luther, and was far from defending him; and that he had let him alone, on his assurance that he was ready to defend his opinions before a proper tribunal, as soon as he should have a safe conduct for that purpose; that Luther himself had voluntarily proposed to leave his estates, but that the legate Militiz had opposed the measure, fearing that he might write with more freedom in some other place. In order to prevent their proceeding to the excommunication of Luther, he observed that Germany was not now what it had been, that it abounded with learned men, that all persons were passionately bent upon reading the scriptures; and that if the court of Rome was determined to treat Luther with rigour, it might occasion a revolution as fatal to the pope as to others. The



The pope, somewhat intimidated by this remonstrance, wrote to the elector, praising him for his moderation, but still speaking of Luther as the most wicked and detestable of all heretics, who had no mission but from the devil. He further informed him that the doctrine of Luther had been condemned in a congregation held for that purpose, and that if he did not retract in the time prescribed he desired the elector to secure his person.

About this time Luther found other friends and protectors in Germany. Sylvester de Schaumberg, a nobleman of Franconia, and Francis Seckingen, a person of great wealth and influence in the empire wrote to him, desiring him not to take refuge in Bohemia, as that would make his cause generally odious; but they assured him that there were an hundred gentlemen who were determined to protect him from any injury till his affairs should come to some regular decision. These friends, gained by nothing but the justice and goodness of his cause, greatly encouraged Luther to despise the thunders of the court of Rome, and he signified to the elector, that it might answer a good purpose to intimate this to his friends at Rome; hoping it might stop the excommunication which he knew was preparing against him. He added, "As for  
" myself, my determination is taken. I equally  
" despise

“despise the favours and the frowns of Rome. I  
 “will have no peace or communion with them.  
 “Let them condemn me, and burn my books if  
 “they will. I will condemn and burn their de-  
 “crees, and renounce forever all submission. I  
 “have gone too far in this way to recede. I  
 “doubt not God will finish his work either by  
 “me, or by some other.”

Luther did not, however, always retain this de-  
 gree of courage. About this very time, or not long  
 after, he wrote to Spalatin to request his mediation  
 in the business; saying that he would agree to every  
 thing except an absolute retractation, submitting to  
 the brand of heresy, and the deprivation of his li-  
 berty to preach the word of God. He had, how-  
 ever, he said, an asylum in the hearts of the Ger-  
 mans. We cannot wonder at this vacillation in a  
 man whose temper was naturally violent, and  
 therefore subject to extremes, in a conjuncture of  
 such great difficulty and importance.

All this time Luther continued to write, and  
 now he published a book which surprized by its  
 title, and not less by its contents. It was entitled,  
*De Captivitate Babylonica*, in which he treated of  
 the sacraments, as nothing had contributed more  
 to raise and maintain the authority of the pope  
 than their number and supposed efficacy, and his  
 exclusive power of administering them. In this  
 work

work he reduced the sacraments to three, baptism, the eucharist, and penance, tho' this last he said was not properly a sacrament. He maintained on clearer ground than he had done before the right of communion in both kinds; but tho' he denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, he retained that of the *real presence*; saying that, as the divine nature of Christ became flesh without the flesh being changed into the divine nature, so the bread became the body of Christ without any change in its substance. This doctrine was called *consubstantiation*, and Luther illustrated it by the comparison of fire being in the substance of hot iron, where both subsisted together. In this work he took great pains to prove that the eucharist was no proper sacrifice, and therefore that no person can offer it for another, that therefore the priest can no more communicate for the people, than he could be baptized for them. Consequently, that all anniversaries, masses for the dead, or for the living who are absent, and the foundations which supported them, ought to be abolished, which would ruin an infinite number of priests and monks, who had no employment besides the celebration of such masses. With respect to sacraments in general, he said that they did not justify, but the faith which men have in the promise of God; as Abraham was

not justified by circumcision, because he was justified before he was circumcised.

In the mean time Miltitz, whose interest it was not to offend either the court of Rome or the elector, was indefatigable in his endeavours to bring about a reconciliation; and for this purpose he applied to the archbishop of Treves, to whose judgment Luther had made no objection. But this prelate, perceiving the difficulty of the business, referred him to the approaching diet. He then applied to the chapter of the Augustins, and they appointed Stupitz, who had resigned the office of their vicar general, and Vincellus Lincius, who had succeeded him, to confer with Luther for the purpose. Accordingly they both went to Wittemberg, and actually prevailed upon Luther to promise that he would write to the pope, assuring him of his filial submission; and Miltitz was overjoyed at this success. But in the mean time Eckius arrived from Rome; and having brought the bull of excommunication, Luther changed his opinion, and informed Spalatin, that as he had not actually written the letter which he had promised to write, he would not now do it. This letter to Spalatin is dated Oct. 3.

This was a great mortification to Miltitz, but he did not yet despair. He applied again to Luther, and promised the electoral court that, if Luther

ther would abide by his promise to the Augustins, he would procure the bull to be revoked or moderated, in one hundred and twenty days. On this Luther again consented, and promised to write to the pope within twelve days a letter that should be dated the 6th of September, that it might not appear to be written after the arrival of the bull, or extorted for fear of the excommunication. Miltitz's design was to go himself to Rome before the expiration of the one hundred and twenty days, and negotiate the business with the pope. Luther then actually wrote his letter, and sent it to the pope together with a book he had just published on the liberty of a christian, in which he maintained the seeming paradox that a christian is at the same time subject to no one, and yet subject to all the world, taking advantage of the saying of Paul, *tho' I am free, I am servant of all*. This work gave offence to some, as favouring sedition, and was incautiously written. The court of Rome might, however, have borne with it if it had been capable of moderation, or had consulted its interest.

But the conduct of Miltitz was by no means approved at Rome. It was thought that he had acted with too much meanness; and Eckius, who was then at Rome, had so boasted of his superiority in the conference at Leipzig, and so exaggerated the heresy of Luther, that he succeeded in procur-

ing a bull against him, which, after much difficulty with respect to particulars, it was agreed should contain a condemnation of Luther's doctrine in forty one propositions, but should allow him to retract in six days. All the books which he had ever published, or that he should publish, were ordered to be burned, and all christian princes were exhorted to seize his person and his adherents, after that time should be expired, with a promise of a reward for so great a service, and an interdict was laid upon any place to which he should retire. In this bull Luther himself is treated as the greatest of heretics. The pope, however, expresses his extreme concern for the state into which this heresy had brought the German nation. Even the composition of this bull, tho' exceedingly elaborate, did no credit to the composers of it; the periods being uncommonly long, and perplexed with parentheses, as well as objectionable on many other accounts.

Ulric de Hutten, a nobleman of Franconia, but a man of letters, and deeply impressed with the prevailing abuses of the times, caused this bull to be published, and at the same time exposed its defects, adding at the close of his remarks the words of the psalmist, psalm 2. *Let us break their bonds asunder, and cast their cords from us.*

Eckius

Eckius having obtained the character of nuncio, returned to Germany with this bull; but his reception was very different from his expectations; and at Leipfic, where he had disputed with Luther, and where he hoped to have met with the greatest applause, he was worse treated than in any other place. Even the duke of Saxony forbade the publication of the bull without an express order from the bishop of Merseburg; and when it appeared the people and the students tore it in pieces, and threw it into the dirt. Eckius himself was so much insulted that he took refuge in the monastery of the Dominicans. Leaving Leipfic in the night, he presented the bull to the university of Erford; but there it was not received on the pretence of the want of some formality. In this place also it was torn, and thrown into the water, and the students kept him besieged in his own house.

The bishop of Bamberg made the same objection to the reception of the bull that had been made at Erford, and the bishop of Eickstadt, where Eckius was a canon, was the first who at length published it. The bishop of Merseburg deferred the publication till April in the year following, and the bishop of Misnia, the most violent against Luther, did not do it till the 7<sup>th</sup> of January. At Vienna it was not published till Easter in A. D. 1521, and then the senate ordered all the

people to withdraw before the reading of it. The bishop of Brandenburg, tho' accompanied by the elector, and Albert duke of Mecklenberg, went to Wittenberg to publish it there; but finding the favourable opinion the people there had of Luther, and both the elector and the duke his brother speaking favourably of him, they left the place without doing any thing in the business.

Thus encouraged, we are not surprized to find that Luther treated this bull with contempt. At first he thought to advise the elector of Saxony, who was then at Aix, attending the coronation of the emperor, to obtain an imperial rescript, forbidding the condemnation of him till he should be convinced of heresy out of the scriptures. But finding by a letter from Erasmus that the emperor was surrounded with monks, who had prepossessed his mind against him, he did not wish to expose his master to the inconvenience of a refusal, and thought it would be better that he should appear to have no knowledge of the matter. The first step that he took was to attack Eckius, in a work in the German language, in which he exposed his vices and hypocrisy, and for the first time openly vindicated John Hus; having now read his books, and approved of them. He also renewed his appeal to a general council, the pope having condemned him without giving him a hearing. The  
pope



pope himself he treated as a tyrant, an apostate, and antichrist, and conjured the emperor, and the states of the empire, to respect his appeal, and suspend the execution of the bull till he should be heard and convinced of his errors out of the scriptures.

Not content with this, he attacked the bull itself in two publications. In the first he gave the lie to the pope, who had said that he made him an offer of money to defray the expences of his journey to Rome. On the other hand, he said it was well known that there was a sum of money in the hand of some bankers, to reward the villain who should assassinate him. Keeping, therefore, now no measures with the pope, he said, "If you do not renounce your blasphemies and impieties, know that not only I, but all who serve Jesus Christ, regard your church as the damnable seat of anti-christ, which we will not obey, and to which we will not be united. We shall bear with joy all your unjust excommunications, and even voluntarily devote ourselves to death. But if you persevere in the fury with which you are now actuated, we condemn you, and deliver you to satan, with your bulls and your decretals." In the second publication he defended the propositions which the court of Rome had condemned.

In the mean time the pope's bull had been received at the universities of Cologne and Louvain, and in consequence of it the writings of Luther were publicly burned in those cities. This was on the day on which the emperor set out from Spain. The same was attempted at Antwerp, but without success. Those who undertook to do it at Mentz were in great danger, hardly escaping the rage of the people. In other places the monks purchased of the magistrates the liberty of doing it, and it generally cost them dear. In return Luther, accompanied by the doctors of the university of Wittemberg, with the students and the people, having lighted a great fire, threw into it the pope's bull with all the decretals; at the same time pronouncing these words, "Since thou hast troubled the holy one of God, may eternal fire consume thee." This was transacted December 10, A. D. 1520.

Luther followed this bold action with a public justification of it, in which he alleged, that, being a doctor in theology, it was his duty to prevent the increase of impiety, and that all the world ought to be informed, that he, Luther, convinced that the pope was anti-christ, had thrown off his yoke, and was resolved to sacrifice every thing to the truth which he had taught. In this work, which he entitled *an Apology*, he inserted thirty propositions drawn from the decretals, and shewed

shewed them to be impious. They were such as these. "The successors of St. Peter are not subject to the command which this apostle gave to all the faithful to obey the temporal powers; that the pope has all power in heaven and in earth; that he can absolve from all oaths and vows, that he does not depend upon the scriptures, but that the scriptures derive their authority from him," &c. &c. &c. He concluded with quoting Rev. xviii. 6. *Do unto Babylon as she has done unto you, render unto her double.* The next day, in lecturing on the Psalms, he discoursed on the necessity of renouncing obedience to the pope, telling his pupils that there was no medium, and that they who aspired to the ministry of the gospel, must either expose their lives in resisting the reign of error, or renounce eternal life; and that he had taken his own measures accordingly.

In the mean time the pope used his utmost endeavours to gain the elector, and for this purpose had appointed two nuncio's, whom he sent to Germany to wait upon him. One of them was Alexander, a person of Jewish extraction, bishop of Brindisi. He was a man of whom Luther said that tho' born of a Jew, he was not of the sect of the Pharisees, living as if he disbelieved the resurrection of the dead, his life was so notoriously profligate. The other was Carraccioli, sent more

particularly to congratulate the emperor on his arrival in the low countries. Both these nuncio's applied to Frederic, and after a long preamble, acquainted him with the request of the pope, which was that he would order the books of Luther, and himself also, to be burned, or at least that he would keep him in close custody, if he did not chuse to send him in irons to Rome, which would be most agreeable to his holiness.

The elector heard them both with great patience and replied that he would consider of the business. And after a few days he commissioned his counselors to tell them, that he had determined to have nothing to do in the business of Luther; and after repeating what he had said on a former occasion, about his sending Luther to Augsburg, and the archbishop of Treves, he said that people judged so differently of his writings, that he thought there had been precipitation in burning them before they had been examined, and he desired the nuncio to suspend the execution of the bull till the pope had granted that Luther should be judged by German divines of known capacity and probity; and he said that if Luther should be convicted of error from the scriptures, he would not fail to do honour to the holy see, and every thing that his holiness could require of an obedient son. The nuncio's seeing no prospect of gaining their point with the elector,

elector, told the counsellors that the pope did not wish to take the life of Luther.

Eraſmus being at Cologn at this time, the elector conſulted him about his conduct in this buſineſs, and in the grave and ſerious manner that was natural to him. After paufing ſome time, Eraſmus ſaid that Luther had committed two great crimes, he had touched the crown of the pope, and the bellies of the monks, which made the elector, who before had been very grave, to laugh outright. He then ſaid more ſeriouſly, that Luther was juſtified in checking the abuſes that had been introduced into the church, and that his doctrine was right, but he wiſhed he had uſed more moderation. Soon after this Eraſmus gave his opinion more at large in writing, concluding with ſaying, that the ſtate of the empire, and the intereſt of the emperor, required that the beginning of his reign ſhould not be ſtained with blood ; that it was the intereſt of the pope himſelf to have affairs accommodated ; that the adverſaries of Luther had advanced things which all divines diſapproved, that now all the world fought for the evangelical doctrine, and that it would be dangerous to oppoſe their inclination in an odious and violent manner.

There was great boldneſs in this conduct of Eraſmus, conſidering that he had come to a reſolution

lution to be neuter in this controversy. Dreading the consequences of having delivered his sentiments with so much freedom, he wrote to Spalatin, requesting that the letter might be returned to him. This was done, but not till a copy had been taken of it, and this being by some means published gave great offence both to Erasmus and Luther. In consequence of this, Alexander, tho' before a friend of Erasmus, did every thing he could to ruin him, especially after having endeavoured in vain to engage him by the promise of a bishoprick to write against Luther.

The elector, confirmed in his judgment by the opinion of Erasmus, prevailed upon the emperor to allow Luther a hearing before he should be condemned; and the emperor, highly respecting his character, being under great obligations to him, and indeed wanting his assistance, desired him to bring Luther to Worms, where the diet was to be held; but he forbade him in the meantime to write any thing more against the pope. The elector with his usual prudence declined having any thing to do with the conduct of Luther; who, however, was far from having any objection to appear at Worms on the summons of the emperor, which he said he thought consider as the call of God; and with great piety and magnanimity he expressed his firm resolution to go at all events, tho' his death should be the consequence of it.

At

At this time there was a very general wish for a reformation. The emperor himself was not disinclined to it, and this was even the case of some of the ecclesiastical princes. The archbishop of Mentz, tho' a voluptuous man, was not much averse to it, and the archbishop of Treves, tho' attached to the pope, had prevented the burning of Luther's books in his diocese. George duke of Saxony, tho' a rival to the elector, and disliking Luther, was so much persuaded of the necessity of some reformation, that he carried to the diet of Worms a proposal in twelve articles, which concluded with his saying, " We must labour for an  
 " universal reformation, and as it cannot be ef-  
 " fected more commodiously than in a general  
 " council, we all demand the immediate calling of  
 " one." Notwithstanding these favourable appearances, the friends of Luther, who knew the situation of the emperor, and especially how desirous he was to gratify the pope, in order to gain his interest to oppose Francis king of France, were not a little apprehensive for his safety.

However, the enemies of reformation dreaded the appearance of Luther at Worms much more than his friends, and nothing that they could do was spared to prevent it; and when the diet was met, Alexander on the 13th of February, delivered a flaming invective against Luther, in which he  
 said

said that his books were full of as many heresies as would justify the burning of an hundred thousand heretics, and declared that they could not avoid ordering them to be burned without offering an affront to the emperor, and especially the elector of Mentz and Cologn. Of himself, he said that he was not of Jewish extraction, but descended from the marquises of Istria.

But all the influence of the pope and his partisans could not prevail upon the diet to take any harsh measures with respect to Luther, tho' they thought the authority of the pope well founded, and only wished to correct the abuses of it. The sentiments of Erasmus being desired on this occasion, he wrote his advice at large, blaming the enemies of Luther, who he said were the enemies of literature. for their violence, as the cause of his advising moderate measures; asserting the necessity of a reformation, and saying that the old theology was nothing but a heap of useless subtleties. that the people were every where longing for the doctrine of the gospel, and that if the sources of this knowledge were shut to them, they would open them by force. In his opinion he said, the only method of terminating the differences was by the emperor, the kings of England and Hungary, who could not be suspected by either party, chusing out of their estates prudent and enlightened persons



persons to take cognizance of the writings of Luther. The pope he allowed had a right to judge in all matters of faith, but that on this occasion he ought to decline it, and leave the business to others.

In this state of things Glapius, confessor to the emperor, had many conferences with Pontanus, the chancellor of the elector of Saxony, the object of which was to prevent the public discussion of Luther's sentiments, to have the business settled in some private manner, or to amuse the people with some slight reformation. But the issue of the whole tended to confirm the elector in his opinion that Luther had much reason on his side, and that he ought to protect him.

The emperor, being thus assailed on all sides, thought of an expedient, which he imagined would satisfy all parties for the present. It was that the books of Luther should not be burned, nor yet suffered to be circulated, but that the magistrates of each place should take them into their custody. Accordingly, an ordinance was made to that purpose. But the magistrates said that this measure could not answer any good end, since the doctrine of Luther was not now confined to his books, but was fixed in the minds of the people, from which it was not in their power to force it. They, therefore, thought that the better way

way would be to require him to retract what he had written, and that if he refused, they would employ all their force to second his majesty's intentions, but they added their intreaty, that he would correct the abuses by which the court of Rome was ruining Germany. This advice was approved, and the emperor gave orders for the citation of Luther, and also that a memorial should be drawn up of the abuses complained of.

Notwithstanding this seeming moderation, it sufficiently appeared that the emperor was gained by the enemies of Luther, and he even joined with them in having recourse to expedients unworthy of his dignity to prevent his appearance; and several things were proposed in the diet, which, if they had been carried would certainly have prevented his journey. The emperor also endeavoured to draw the elector of Saxony into some difficulty, by advising him to grant the safe conduct. But Frederic had too much prudence to be thus surprized; and when the summoning of Luther could not be prevented, and a safe conduct must be given, not only by the emperor, but by all the princes thro' whose estates he was to pass, he did not give his till he received an order from the emperor so to do. At length, not only was the safe conduct given in the fullest manner, but it was accompanied with a respectful letter from the emperor

emperor to him, requiring him to attend at Worms within twenty one days, there to give an account of his doctrine and his writings. No mention was made in it of retractation, or any prohibition to preach on his journey. Accordingly, he set out respectably attended, and on his way he preached at Gothen, Erford, and Eifenach.

Still the partizans of the pope entertained some hope that they should be able to prevent his coming, and with this view they spread a report which was calculated to intimidate him, and it had such an effect upon his friends, that they endeavoured to persuade him to return. But tho' he was at that time in a bad state of health, he persisted in his purpose, and said he would go to Worms in spite of all the powers of hell. When he was within three leagues of the city, he received a letter from Spalaun, conjuring him once more not to proceed any farther. But he replied that he would go to Worms, tho' there should be as many devils there as there were tiles upon the houses.

Another attempt was made to divert him from his purpose, by deferring the execution of the imperial ordonance to take his books into custody, till the very evening before his arrival. This induced Seckingen to send Bucer to him, to per-

suade him to retire to some castle in the neighbourhood, where Glapion would be ready to confer with him on the subject of religion. But he replied, that only two days remained of his safe conduct, and that this was not sufficient for any conferences with the emperor's confessor. He therefore proceeded, and arrived at Worms the same day, April the 16th. His entering resembled a triumph rather than that of a man accused of heresy. A herald walked before him in his habit of ceremony, a number of courtiers, who had gone to meet him; walked along with him, and the streets were crowded with people eager to see him. He was lodged with the ministers of the elector of Saxony, where he received the visits of many persons of distinction.

## SECTION

SECTION IV.

*From the Appearance of Luther at Worms in April  
A. D. 1520, to the Pontificate of Clement VII  
A. D. 1523.*

**A**T length the day, the subject of so much expectation, when Luther was to appear before the diet, arrived. It was April the 17th, the day after his arrival at Worms, when the marshal of the empire waited upon him with an order to attend the diet at four in the afternoon. At that hour he waited upon him again, and conducted him to the diet, preceded by a herald. But the crowd was so great, that they were obliged to break down the pallisades of some gardens to make room for his passage. All the windows, and even the roofs of the houses, were crowded with spectators.

When he was introduced into the assembly, he was required to say whether he was the author of the books ascribed to him, and whether he would retract or defend what was contained in them. To the former he readily replied in the affirmative,

but he desired time to consider of the latter; and after some debate, he was allowed till the next day, provided he would then give his answer *viva voce*.

This delay led the enemies of Luther to think that he was intimidated; and even his friends, the elector of Saxony among the rest, were not without their fears on this head; and as he was the next day going to the hall of audience several persons were heard speaking to encourage him. One gentleman, who had been in the army, told him, that tho' he was going into a place of more danger than ever he himself had been in, he might take courage, for God would never leave him. As he entered the hall, which was at six o'clock in the afternoon, some were heard to say, "Fear not them that kill the body," and others, "When you are taken before kings, and governors, take no thought what ye shall say, &c.

Being at length introduced, and again asked by the public orator, whether he would defend or retract his writings, and was insulted by saying, that so great a doctor as he was, should always be ready to answer, and not have required so much time, without taking any notice of that, he addressed the emperor and the audience in the German language; and after an introduction suited to the case of a person who had been educated far from courts, and

the

the intercourse of such persons as he was then addressing, he said that he must make a distinction in his writings. Some of them he said were works of piety, which his enemies allowed to be useful, tho' the pope had ordered them to be burned along with the rest; others related to the pope and his partisans, who by their doctrine and their example, equally pernicious, were ravaging the christian world, ruining families, and destroying souls, as he said cannot be denied or dissembled. These, he said, he was not capable of such cowardice as to retract. In his other writings he said he had censured particular persons, and he was ready to allow that he had sometimes done it with too much asperity; but that farther than this he could not make any concession. He was ready, however, he said, to retract any thing that he should be shewn by the word of God to be an error; and he conjured the assembly to inform him of them, declaring that then he would burn his books himself.

He was well aware, he added, both, of the danger to which he exposed himself, and of the evils that would arise from the difference of opinion and conduct which would be occasioned by his writings; but this, he said, was in the order of providence. Christ himself said that he was not come to bring peace upon earth, but a sword, and to

put division between the nearest relations. He concluded with solemnly warning the audience not to defeat their own purpose by proscribing the word of God, and thereby bring a deluge of evils upon the empire, which would make the reign of their young prince, from which they had formed such great and just expectations, a very unhappy one. He then intreated their protection, and that they would not suffer the clamour of his enemies to prevail over their regard to equity.

Having said this in the German language, he was required to speak in Latin, and this he did with the same readiness and firmness. When he had concluded, the public orator, with much indignation, replied, that he had not answered the question that had been put to him ; he must say distinctly whether he would retract, or not ; nor must he call in question what had been decided in general councils. To this Luther replied, that he must be convinced of error by proofs drawn from scripture, or from plain reason ; he would not yield to the authority of popes, or of councils, both of them having fallen into manifest errors and contradictions. Being persuaded that he had taught the truth, " I cannot," he said, " retract upon any article. This is my final resolution, I shall take no other. So help me God."

After



After he was withdrawn, and the princes had considered his speech, he was called in again; when the orator told him that his answers to the questions that had been put to him were deemed to be neither decent, nor to the purpose; that the distinction that he had made in his writings was useless, as he had only to retract those that contained errors; that it was unreasonable in him to expect to be confuted out of the scriptures, when he revived errors which had been condemned in the council of Constance, at which the German church had assisted; that the emperor commanded him to say distinctly, whether he would maintain what he had advanced, or retract it. Luther, however, persisted in his resolution; and as he finally withdrew, the Spaniards belonging to the emperor's household followed him with hootings. But his friends received him with the warmest congratulations, and especially the elector of Saxony, who said to Spalatin, that he had always feared lest Luther would have been intimidated by such an assembly; but then, full of joy and admiration, he said to him, "How well Luther has  
 " spoken, both in German, and in Latin, he has  
 " shewn all the courage that he ought to have  
 " done, and perhaps too much."

The day following the emperor, who was beset by the emissaries of the pope, produced in the

diet, without consulting the princes of the empire, a writing in Latin, which expressed that the emperors, his predecessors, having always honoured the church of Rome which Luther had attacked, without renouncing his errors, he was resolved to defend the church. He, therefore, ordered the excommunication of Luther and his adherents to be carried into execution ; and said, that if it should be necessary, he would employ all his force to reduce them, tho' he would cause him to be reconducted in safety to Wittenberg.

But the princes of the empire refused to be governed by this decision of the emperor, and appointed the archbishop of Treves, who had always shewn much moderation, to confer with Luther again ; wishing him to retract some thing or other ; hoping that, as in most things he had reason on his side, this might be the means of procuring an useful reformation, and reducing the power of the pope. This conference, however, with the archbishop, tho' conducted in a manner the most likely to answer this end, had no better success than any of the preceding attempts to produce a compromise. After their private conference some other person being introduced, the prelate said, " What remedy then can we find in this business." Luther answered " that of Gama-  
" liel,

“liel, if this thing be of man, it will soon come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot destroy it.”

Except that the emperor was unfavourable to Luther, he had no reason to complain of the reception he met with at Worms. He was visited by many persons of the first distinction, especially by William duke of Brunswick, William prince of Henneberg, and Philip the landgrave of Hesse, tho' he was not at this time in his sentiments. However, speaking to him one day on the subject of his doctrine, he gave him his hand at parting, and said, “If you have reason on your side, God will be with you.”

Notwithstanding the safe conduct that had been given to Luther, some of the ecclesiastical princes, and of the secular too, solicited the emperor to arrest him; saying that so fine an opportunity of extinguishing heresy ought not to be lost; that they would be justified by the example of the council of Constance, and that Luther was infinitely more condemnable than Hus. But Lewis the elector Palatine said, it was not reasonable that all Germany should be stained with the infamy of violating the public faith, for the sake of pleasing some ecclesiastics. George duke of Saxony, tho' an enemy to Luther, was the first to con-

demn this act of perfidy; and on this occasion he said that, if good faith was banished from the earth, it ought to be found in the breasts of princes. It was, therefore, signified to Luther that he had leave to depart, that he should be allowed twenty one days for that purpose; but that the emperor forbade his preaching on his journey; that when that time should be expired, he must expect that his imperial majesty would do his duty as a good defender of the catholic faith. Luther replied, "It is as God wills. His name be praised." He then desired the officer to thank the emperor and the states for the public audience and the safe conduct they had given him. He was ready, he said, to sacrifice his life in their service, and reserved to himself only the liberty to preach the word of God. And notwithstanding the emperor's prohibition, he preached on his journey, having made no promise that he would not do it.

Tho' Luther had given the greatest satisfaction to all his friends, his behaviour did not fully please himself. Writing to Spalatin, he said, "I reproach myself for yielding too far to your advice, and that of my other friends, and for relaxing too much of my zeal on that occasion, I ought to have shewn these idolatrous Israhelites the spirit of a new Elias. They should hear other things, if they were to call me before them now."

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The elector of Saxony conducted himself with the greatest firmness and prudence in this conjuncture, as on all other occasions; and resisted all attempts to injure Luther. Writing to his brother from the diet, he said, "I have been solicited in the strongest manner by persons of such character that you would be surprized if I were to tell you. When I come I shall tell you astonishing things. This is the work of God, and not of man. Be assured that not only Annas and Caiaphas, but that Pilate and Herod, are the enemies of Luther."

When Luther was arrived at Frideberg, where he might think himself safe, he dismissed his guard with two letters, one addressed to the emperor, and the other to the states of the empire; expressing himself as he had done before, and saying that he was ready to appear before equitable judges; but on the only condition that his cause should be examined by the scriptures, and expressing his sincere good will towards the emperor and the German nation. When he was entering the forest of Thuringia, he was by the direction of the elector, who saw no other way of saving him and himself, and with Luther's own consent, seized by an armed force, and conveyed to the castle of Warburg, and this was done with so much secrecy, that it was not known either to the friends or  
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the enemies of Luther; and, on its being reported that he was assassinated, it appeared by the consternation excited by the news, that he had more friends than his enemies wished him to have, and that it was impossible to destroy him by proscription.

The friends of the pope, however, did not fail to endeavour it. The emperor, being wholly governed by their councils, issued an edict on the 26th of May, after the friends of Luther were purposely tired out with their attendance at the diet, and had left it, but dated the 8th, as if it had been dictated while the diet was full, in which Luther was treated in the most opprobrious manner; being said to be the devil himself, who had taken the form of a man, and of a monk, to conceal himself and destroy mankind; that the emperor had perhaps gone too far in hearing a man who had been condemned by the pope, who was obstinate in his errors, and was acknowledged to be a heretic. He therefore condemned and banished him as the author of schism, and an obstinate and notorious heretic, and directed that every person should endeavour to apprehend him, and to put him under lawful custody. He also ordered all his books to be destroyed. *Sleidan*, p. 49.

By this measure the emperor gained the friendship of the pope, and drew him off from the interests

ests of the king of France. This, and not his zeal in the cause of religion, was, no doubt, the true reason of this proceeding. The edict, however, had no effect. No inquiry was made after Luther, and the emperor did not appear to be solicitous about it; which made some persons think that he himself was in the secret of his seizure.

Luther, in the mean time, was at his ease, more respected than ever, and employed in writing more books. He would have wished however, to have had more liberty, tho' attended with more danger. Being tired of his solitude, and his health suffering from it, he wrote to one of his friends, that he had rather be put upon burning coals for the glory of God, the strengthening of his own faith, and the faith of others, than remain there alone, in a state of confinement, hardly alive, and rotting in a dismal solitude, before he was buried. In this situation it gave him much concern to hear that when the canons of Erford would have driven from their body one of their brethren on the pretence of his being a Lutheran, the students rose and plundered some of their houses, and set fire to them, and that the insurgents were not punished. He was far from being pleased with this mark of popular favour; being of opinion, that the true method of establishing the gospel was by patient suffering.

Towards

Towards the end of this year appeared Luther's answer to Ambrose Catharin, a Dominican, who had written in defence of the authority of the pope and his brother Prierias; a work which he had composed before his journey to Worms. In this work he not only exposed the fallacy of the argument from the words of Christ, *thou art Peter*, but he applied some passages of Daniel, and some prophecies of the New Testament, to the rise, progress and character of the pope, in such a manner that the historian says, it was astonishing that he should have lived twenty five years after this. He also shewed the impropriety of applying the word *church*, and the character of *without spot and blameless* to the clergy, exclusive of the christian laity. But the first work that Luther composed in his retreat was on the subject of auricular confession, the evils arising from which he exposed, as Erasmus had done before him. And in this work he vindicated the freedom of his writings from the censures that had been thrown upon them on that account.

At this time the faculty of divinity at Paris published a censure of one hundred and four propositions extracted from the writings of Luther, which was answered by Melancthon, who effectually exposed the absurdity of the censure; especially their saying that Luther had adopted all the antient heresies,



refies, and their defence of the scholastic theology, which Luther had attacked. Speaking of the commentary of John Major on the sentences of Peter Lombard, then much celebrated by the divines of Paris, he said, "I will not judge of the morals of this person, but, Good God, what a heap of nonsense do I find in his works. How many pages does he employ about the question whether a horse be necessary to riding (*aller a cheval*) Can we be surprized if such sophists as these be unfavourable to Luther." He adds, however, that there were doctors of the Sorbonnæ who were not displeas'd with the doctrine of Luther.

At this time also Luther and Melancthon, or rather the latter only, called in question the propriety of the law for the celibacy of the priests. Melancthon was not in orders, and married; and had no doubts on the subject, but Luther had, especially with respect to monks, whose vows were voluntary. The controversy was heightened by the curé of Kemberg, a Saxon, a man of learning and good character, publicly taking a wife, which gave great offence to many; but Melancthon defended his conduct with great zeal, and showed that the established custom was novel, unjust, and tyrannical, as well as the source of many disorders.

At this same time Luther wrote against the obligation of monastic vows, a treatise which gave  
great

great offence, tho' written with much moderation; advising persons not to renounce their vows rashly, as a great abuse of their christian liberty. The court of Saxony suppressed this book, so that it did not appear till some time after. The court also suppressed another tract of Luther's against the archbishop of Mentz, for suffering the preaching of indulgences, and for imprisoning a priest for marrying. This piece was written with much unjustifiable intemperance. He even threatened the archbishop, tho' a cardinal, and prince of the empire, that if he did not put a stop to the preaching of indulgences, he would fill him with confusion by a treatise which he had then ready for the press, and he would allow him no more than a fortnight to consider of it. The archbishop, however, answered with great mildness; assuring him that he had given orders to do what he wished to have done. In answer to Capito, who was with the archbishop, and a friend to reformation, but who was displeas'd with the freedom that Luther had taken, he endeavoured to vindicate his conduct, but it was in a manner that gave little satisfaction.

While Luther was employed in writing in his place of retreat, a reformation of the public worship took place at Wittemberg. This had not been attempted by Luther, who was of opinion that

that previous to this, the minds of the common people should be fully enlightened on the subject, and that then it would be accomplished without difficulty, but that otherwise there would be great danger of tumults. This important business, however, was begun in the monastery of Augustins, which was full of monks who came to study in the university, drawn by the reputation of Luther. Many of these, at the head of whom was Gabriel Didymus, were of opinion that private masses and masses for the dead should be immediately laid aside, and the communion in both kinds restored. He was opposed by the prior, and an appeal being made to the court of Saxony, they were desired to wait the orders of their provincial.

Thirteen monks, however, had already left the monastery, because the prior would have compelled them to say mass as usual; and they being joined by some of the students, and citizens, the elector sent Pontanus to inquire into the matter, and deputies from the university and the chapter were appointed to hear the reasons of those seceders. These they gave in writing, and being considered by the elector, he appointed Christian Beyer, a burgo-master of Wittemberg, who was also a professor in the university and a chancellor, to represent to them the necessity of proceeding

with caution in a business of so much importance, especially as much inconvenience would arise from the heirs of the founders of public institutions claiming the estates that had been granted for services which would now be discontinued. To this they made a reply which was reported to the electoral court, which was not a little embarrassed with the business.

At length, however, Carolstadt, a few days before christmas, celebrated mass in the parish church in the German language, and some disturbance was occasioned by it, which made the people apprehensive of the resentment of the emperor, the regents being particularly attentive to every thing that passed at Wittemberg. But it was found absolutely necessary to yield in some measure to the wishes of the people. Some of the changes that were most eagerly called for were made. The monks were forbidden to beg, and the images were removed from the church. The chapter of the order being now held, a medium was ordered to be observed; the monks being left at liberty to leave the monastery or not, and masses for the dead were discontinued. Those of the monks who were able were directed to preach, and the rest to subsist by their labour. Luther being informed of these regulations made by the chapter, was greatly rejoiced; and in a work which he now composed, but  
which

which was suppressed by order of the court, on the abolition of private masses, he congratulated his brethren of the order upon them.

It was in A. D. 1522 that the Anabaptists, who were the occasion of so much disturbance in Germany, first made their appearance. A draper of Zuichaw in Misnia, called Nicolas Storch, was at their head. Being chosen by his brethren of the same persuasion, he chose twelve apostles, and seventy two other disciples. Next in authority to him were Marc Stubner, Martin Cellarius, and Thomas Muncer, \* who was afterwards at the head of the revolted peasants in Thuringia. This Muncer preaching in a seditious manner in the church of St. Catharine, notwithstanding the opposition of the pastor, the duke of Saxony had him put in prison; but Storch, Stubner, and Cellarius, fled to Wittemberg. These men pretending to immediate revelations, as a fulfillment of the prophecy concerning "the effusion of the spirit upon all flesh," both Carolstadt and Melancthon were much taken with them. The elector did not approve of them, but he said on this occasion, that

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\* Muncer was not concerned in the first insurrection of the peasants; but believing their cause to be just, he drew up a manifesto for them. It is applauded by every writer who mentions it. Voltaire said a Lycurgus would have signed it. *Robinson*, p. 548.

he would abandon every thing, and set out with his staff in his hand, rather than oppose the gospel.

Luther was more upon his guard than Melancthon, and said that they ought to prove the spirits before they gave credit to their pretended revelations. Melancthon, however, who was more credulous, and perhaps, we may add, less jealous, received Stubner, who had some knowledge of letters, into his house ; and these fanatics preaching publicly, soon gained many followers among the common people, which alarmed Luther, and induced him to write to the elector that he was determined to leave his retreat and return to Wittenberg. The elector endeavoured to prevent this, but in vain. Luther, with uncommon firmness, explained to him the reasons of his conduct ; saying that his retreat had retarded, instead of advancing, the progress of the gospel. He desired the elector to leave him to himself ; saying that his cause ought not to be defended by force, that if the emperor came to seize him, he ought not to be resisted.

With this the elector acquiesced, and with his concurrence Luther published a letter in justification of his conduct, in coming abroad ; which he said was to promote the reformation which he had begun, and to prevent the disturbances which were  
taking

taking place in his flock. Accordingly he left the castle of Wartburg, and arriving at Wittemberg, the 6th of March A. D. 1522, he was received with every expression of joy. He immediately declared himself much offended at the alterations made by Carolstadt in the public worship, and pleaded for every person being left at full liberty to conform to them or not, and on the whole, seemed to discover something of jealousy of Carolstadt, as having interfered in his province of sole reformer.

The states of the empire being assembled at Nuremberg the 17th of March A. D. 1523, the bishops made great complaints of the protection afforded to Luther by the elector of Saxony, particularly the bishop of Strasburg, who said that the greatest part of his priests were Lutherans. The duke of Saxony was at first exceedingly violent, but at length the business was conducted with more moderation, and the diet being prorogued till October, the farther consideration of it was referred to that time.

About this time Luther had an interview with Stubner and his two companions at the house of Melancthon, when he treated them as impostors, and they him as one who opposed the work of the spirit, and they left the city the same day. Luther had also seen Muncer, and invited him to come

and confer with him at Wittemberg, but he did not chuse to do it. Luther said of him, that he used such language in explaining his sentiments as might lead persons to take him for one who was either drunk, or mad.

The bishops being the principal enemies of the reformation, Luther wrote a treatise in the German language against them, reproaching them with all their vices and intrigues, and concluded with a kind of bull, in imitation of those of the pope, which gave great offence not only to the clergy, but also to the nobility, whose youngest sons got establishments in the rich bishopricks. When this was objected to his scheme, Luther replied, "Let the younger sons of great lords be allowed a proper maintenance, and become private citizens." The superiority of the bishops to priests, he said, had no foundation in scripture, and the order ought to be abolished. It is evident, however, from this conduct of Luther, that there was nothing of worldly policy in his scheme.

Luther had in his retreat translated the New Testament, and it was published in September A. D. 1522. Melancthon and others having assisted in the revival of it; and being recommended by the purity of the style, and the neatness of the printing, it was received with the greatest avidity,  
and



and circulated over all Germany. He then applied himself to the translation of the Old Testament, and publishing it in parts as they were finished, the whole was not completed before the year A. D. 1530. This work contributed greatly to the advancement of the reformation. Consequently, it gave alarm to the papal party, who did every thing they could to cry it down, but without effect. Many of the princes of the empire forbid the use of it, and ordered the copies to be burned.

This opposition on the part of the princes, led Luther to compose a treatise on the subject of *secular power*, in which he shewed that princes arrogated to themselves the rights of God when they prescribed to man what they ought to believe. He then exhorted the people not to give up their bibles voluntarily, but not to oppose force to force. "We are not," he said, "to be surprized if princes make war on God and the gospel, since they have also done it from its first appearance, so that a pious prince is almost a miracle;" and he expressed himself with much energy and justice on the impossibility of suppressing heresy by power. This treatise was composed by order of the elector and his brother.

In the year A. D. 1522, Henry VIII of England published a book against Luther on the sub-  
 P 4 ject

ject of the *seven sacraments*, which he dedicated to Leo X, who, in return, gave him the title of *Defender of the faith*, retained by his successors to this day. This work was much praised at Rome; but Luther in his answer treated it as the weakest production of all his opponents, tho' written in better Latin. He treated the king himself with so much freedom as offended his own friends. Duke George complained of it to the regents of the empire, and the king himself wrote to the elector and the dukes John and George, exhorting them to employ fire and sword to extinguish the rising heresy. But the elector and his brother wrote a respectful answer, saying that they neither approved nor condemned the doctrine of Luther, and desired him to use his influence to procure the calling of a general council, according to the resolution which had been taken at Nuremberg.

Luther was by this time assisted in the work of the reformation by many learned and able men. Among them was Bucer, a Dominican, almoner of Lewis the elector Palatin, who preached at Strasburg, Osiander at Nuremberg; and Seckingen, not only caused it to be preached in his own estates, but defended it by his writings, and before the imperial regency in A. D. 1523. So great was his zeal that, in a letter to the princes who composed the regency, he said, that he would joyfully suffer the most grievous

grievous punishment, if his death would procure to his country the knowledge of the gospel,

By the zeal of numbers in this great cause, the reformation spread itself into all places, there being no town, or almost a village, in which there was not a Lutheran preacher. Christian II. king of Denmark forbade the burning of the books of Luther. There were preachers in Bohemia, protected by the margrave of Brandenburg, and in Silesia by the duke of Munsterberg, the bishop himself not being averse to the new doctrine. This gave great joy to the elector of Saxony, who, however, would not do any thing more than leave the people at full liberty to act as they should think proper.

Leo X. died in the beginning of December, A. D. 1521, and was succeeded by Adrian VI, who had been tutor to Charles V. He had a great attachment to scholastic theology, and was a man of good morals. Being in Spain at the time of his election, he did not arrive in Rome till September, A. D. 1522. He was sensible of the corruptions of the court of Rome, and was persuaded that if they were reformed, every thing would return into its right channel. He also wished to reform the abuses of indulgences; but when the subject was viewed in every light, it was found to be impossible without such a dimunition

of the papal revenues as they could not bear; and finding no encouragement or assistance in his schemes of reform, he is said to have lamented the condition of a pope, who had no power to do what was right, tho' he endeavoured to find the means. He, however, retained his resolution to attempt a reformation, and thought that by his own presence in Germany, whither he intended to go, he should restore every thing to order.

To prepare the way for this he wrote a civil letter to the elector of Saxony, exhorting him to defend the catholic faith, as his ancestors had done, without making any mention of Luther. But in his letter to the diet of the empire, then assembled at Nuremberg, he did not spare him, but exhorted the princes, if he could not be reclaimed, to use the same severity against Luther and his disciples that had been done to John Hus and Jerome of Prague. This was vehemently urged by the ecclesiastics in the diet, especially as Seckingen was then at war with the archbishop of Treves, at which they were all alarmed. But the secular princes were no less intent upon reforming the court of Rome than giving it satisfaction in other respects. They therefore ordered the pope's letter to be read, and in this he did not hesitate to acknowledge that the source of all the evils then complained of was in the court of Rome, and the  
conduct

conduct of the clergy, which he said he was determined to do every thing in his power to reform, but that the business was of so extensive and complicated a nature, that it could not be done all at once. This was a great mortification to the prelates, as it confirmed all that the reformers had written about their ignorance and debauchery.

The members of the empire, tho' urged by the ecclesiastics to enforce the edict of Worms, did not chuse to do it; thinking that if Luther was suppressed, they would be at the mercy of the pope, and should hear no more of the reform of any abuses. They, therefore, agreed to suspend the execution of that edict; saying that the only method of terminating the business of Luther, was the calling of a free council in some city of Germany, in which he might be heard and judged; and to the great mortification of the bishops, they prefixed the pope's letter to their ordonance. In their letter to the pope they thanked him for his good intentions, but informed him of the great evils that would arise from complying with his proposal; and they desired of him the suppression of annates, as the term for which they were granted was expired, and they were wanted for the occasions of the empire.

The nuncio was much offended at the conduct of this diet, and made many objections to every article

article of their edict; but the princes paid no regard to them, and took this opportunity of drawing up an account of their grievances, which was done under an hundred heads. A similar memorial had been presented to the emperor Maximilian on this subject in the year A. D. 1518, in which many of the extortions of the court of Rome were enumerated, and complained of; when the secular princes assured him of their assistance in any contest with the pope upon the subject. The same was urged with some additions at the diet at Worms under Charles V, but he did not concur in the measure, being unwilling to offend the pope. This emperor, writing to the pope from Spain, informed him of the resolution of the states of the empire with respect to the annates, but insinuated to him that the money which they wished to employ in the war against the Turks might be used to chastise the followers of Luther.

While these things were passing at Nuremberg, the elector of Saxony received a letter from the emperor, requiring him to oppose the progress of the doctrine of Luther. But he said in answer, that he did not wish to take any part in the affairs of Luther, especially as his age and growing infirmities did not allow him to think of any thing but his repose and his death. At the same time he received a brief from the pope, reproaching him for the  
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the countenance which he gave to Luther and his followers, concerning whom he spared no terms of abuse; reminding him that pope Gregory V. had given the electoral dignity to his family, and he concluded with saying, “ If you refuse to harken  
 “ to our paternal admonitions, we denounce to  
 “ you, in the name of Almighty God, and the  
 “ Lord Jesus Christ, that your sin will not remain  
 “ unpunished in this world, and that you will  
 “ burn in eternal fire in the world to come. Know  
 “ that the sovereign pontiff Adrian and the empe-  
 “ ror Charles both live, and will never suffer that  
 “ the people whom pope Adrian and the emperor  
 “ Charlemagne formerly begot to Jesus Christ,  
 “ should now perish by the venom of heresy and  
 “ schism under an heretical tyrant, while another  
 “ Adrian is upon the papal throne, and another  
 “ Charles is emperor. And if you and your sub-  
 “ jects do not change your conduct, you must ex-  
 “ pect to feel both the stroke of the apostolic sword  
 “ and that of the emperor.”

A bull so violent and absurd, calculated for an age of barbarism, was not likely to produce any good effect in an age so enlightened as this; and being addressed to a prince who was considered as a model of wisdom and piety, and every quality that can make a man respectable, justified, if any  
 thing

thing could do it, the rude treatment of Henry VIII. by Luther. The pope's comparing himself and Charles V. to pope Adaian I. and Charlemagne discovered a ridiculous vanity, and no doubt was the true reason of his refusing to change his name when he was made pope. The elector insulted in this gross manner, ordered the nuncio to be told that he could not receive such a bull, and that it must have been forged at Nuremberg by some of his enemies. He also complained to the regents of the empire of the treatment he had received.

In the mean time the list of the *hundred grievances* was drawn up at Nuremberg by the secular princes, the ecclesiastics declining to have any thing to do in the business, which might draw upon them the anathema of Rome. After this enumeration of abuses, they say that, if they were not effectually remedied by the pope, they would relieve themselves by throwing off so tyrannical a yoke, and give to Germany its antient rights and original liberty. The nuncio, knowing what was preparing, would not receive this writing, but left the diet before it was concluded. The writing, however, was dispersed over all Germany, and copies of it sent to Rome. The elector of Saxony some weeks before the conclusion of the diet made a protest by his envoy, in which he declared that he



he would consent to no regulation contrary to the progress of the gospel, and that he was determined always to act the part of an honest and pious man.

At this time John Faber, a canon of Constance, having orders to preach against Luther in a progress through Germany, thought it necessary to apply to the regency for a safe conduct. But tho' they gave him one, it was drawn in such a manner that he did not think it safe to make use of it, and laid aside his design. The regents did not wish to encourage a scheme which might add to the troubles of the country. The cause of the reformation gained much by this means, the followers of Luther had liberty to preach without molestation, and the priests continued to exercise their functions tho' they were married, being only subject to such censures as they despised. The suspension of the edict of Worms made it considered as acknowledged to have been unjust, procured by the intrigues of the court of Rome, and for the interest of the emperor, who was disposed to gratify it. Besides, the reference of the controversy to a future council shewed the persuasion of the diet that Luther was not altogether in the wrong. And above all the acknowledgment of Adrian, of the corruption of the clergy and the court of Rome, confirmed a great part of what Luther had advanced against it, while

while the promises of the pope to promote a reformation were not at all regarded.

Luther, pleased with this state of things, wrote to the regency, to assure them of his obedience to the edict of Nuremberg, praising the wisdom and the equity of the princes who had made it; observing that by ordering the preachers to adhere to the interpretation of approved doctors, they must have meant the fathers, and not the scholastics; and that by the prohibition of books, they could not have meant the New Testament, which had no need of an approbation. He added that if he were to reveal what he had heard from all parts, of the abominable impurities that were practised in convents, his greatest enemies would be the first to destroy them; and he concluded with saying, that he considered himself as absolved from the anathema of the pope by the edict of Nuremberg, at least till the convocation of a council, to the decision of which he professed his readiness to submit, tho' his life was so painful to him, that it signified little whether he was proscribed or not. However, as the edict of Worms was not executed by the princes who favoured Luther, no regard was paid to that of Nuremberg by the princes in the opposite interest, so that the reformers were persecuted, or not, according to the dispositions of the civil magistrates.

At

At this time there was a general call for a reformation of the public forms of worship, and there being very different opinions on the subject, and different practices set up, Luther was looked up to, to interpose his authority ; and finding it to be unavoidable, he did it with much prudence and moderation, retaining all that was tolerable in the old forms, and leaving much to the discretion of the person who officiated. These changes in the public forms and ceremonial of worship were violently exclaimed against by Emser and Cochlæus ; but as they discovered great ignorance, they were reprov'd by Cassander, who nevertheless adhered to the customary worship.

A new disposition of the revenues of churches and monasteries was also called for by the new state of things ; and this, probably with the advice of Luther, was first made at Leisnitz, a small town in Misnia, where the magistrates, in concert with the abbot of the monastery of Buach in that neighbourhood, agreed to chuse every year ten persons who should receive all the revenues, and employ them for the maintenance of ministers, schoolmasters, and the poor, as also for the repair of sacred buildings ; and that all begging should be prohibited, &c. &c. Of these regulations Luther published an account, recommending them in other places. With respect to the bishoprics, he rather wished that the

occupants should become secular, than that they should be deprived of their fiefs, except in particular cases.

At the intreaty of the pope's nuncio, and of some princes, Erasmus was at this time desired to endeavour to restore peace to the church, and he recommended moderation on both sides. But neither his endeavours, nor those of some of the friends of Luther to the same purpose had any effect.

Hitherto the reformation had made a great progress in Germany, without the popish party coming to any great extremity. But the duke of Saxony, irritated by some letters of Luther, having discountenanced the reformation in his states, and having tried without effect the punishments of fine, imprisonment, and banishment, now proceeded to punish with death; and the same violence of persecution was exercised in many of the cities of Germany. In these circumstances Luther addressed letters of consolation to the citizens of Worms, Augsburg, and other places, where his friends were persecuted, as they also were in the Low countries; the promoters of the persecution there being Alexander the nuncio, seconded by Nicolas D'Egmond the Carmelite, and James Hochstrat the Dominican; Margaret sister of the emperor, and governess of those provinces, lending them her authority.

Three

Three persons, monks of Vilvoorde, not yielding to any promises or threats, were conducted to Bruffels, and that their punishment might have the greater effect, two of them, whose names were Henry Voes, and John de Esse, were sentenced to be publicly burned alive; after being formally degraded. The younger of them was first brought to the public square of the city, a handsome young man, of a mild and modest appearance. They purposely employed more than an hour in degrading him, tho' he did every thing that he was ordered to do with surprizing quickness; saying, "I will be obedient even unto death," and all the time shewed the greatest tranquility and meekness, which astonished the spectators, and filled them with compassion.

When this tedious ceremony was over, and they were both brought to the pile, they said, "This is the happy day which we have long waited for," and professing that they died in the faith of Jesus Christ, and the catholic church, they embraced the stake to which they were fastened, and when the fire was lighted, they began to sing the creed, and continued to sing till the flames stifled their voices, but did not efface from their countenances an air of firmness, and even of joy. Luther composed an hymn in memory of this martyrdom, which was long sung in the churches. He also

wrote to his friends in the Low countries exhorting them to patience, and constancy, blessing God for the consecration of the new harvest, by these holy first fruits.

At this time, A. D. 1523, Albert of Brandenburg, grand master of Prussia, declared in favour of the reformation. It also made great progress in Silesia, having been begun there by John Thurson bishop of Breslaw, who died in A. D. 1520, when he was succeeded by James de Seltz, who followed his steps. The duke of Savoy was also much inclined to the reformation, and Luther wrote to him on the subject; but he was so circumstanced, that it would have been peculiarly hazardous for him to have done any thing openly in favour of it.

Zuinglius had all this time been preaching with great success in Zurich, notwithstanding all the opposition that the friends of the pope could give to him, especially by endeavouring to excite the other cantons against that. The magistrates, dreading the effects of these machinations, with the advice of Zuinglius, called a general assembly for the 29th of January, A. D. 1523, when they invited the bishop of Constance to attend either in person or by a deputy, in order to hear Zuinglius explain his sentiments, with liberty to any person

to impugn them, provided they argued from the scriptures. They also invited the other states of the union to send their learned ecclesiastics.

The bishop sent John Faber his grand vicar, with two other theologians, and his chancellor; and there was a great concourse of people on the occasion. Before this assembly Zuinglius proposed his doctrine in sixty seven propositions, which he had printed and dispersed previous to the meeting. But he could not provoke any discussion on the subjects; Faber referring them to a council which he said would be held soon, but which Zuinglius said would never be held at all. At length Faber being incautiously drawn to dispute about the worship of saints, and alleging no proofs but from councils, without producing any arguments from the scriptures, and being reminded of it, said we can do without them. The magistrates seeing no good end answered by this assembly, dissolved it, and ordered all the clergy of the city to preach nothing but what was contained in the scriptures, and to disregard all human traditions, but to refrain from all invectives, and endeavour to promote peace.

The consul of Zurich called a second assembly the same year, for the sake of discussing the subject of the worship of images, and the sacrifice of the mass; and this was more numerously attended than the former. It continued three days, on the

last of which Zuinglius spoke in so affecting a manner, that being in tears himself, he drew tears from many of the audience. In conclusion it was left to the senate to correct the abuses complained of.

In this year A. D. 1523, Frederic the elector Palatin, and Lewis count Palatin of Deux-ponts, embraced the reformation, and they both reformed the abuses in public worship, the latter on the plan of Zuinglius. In this year also the Bohemian brethren sent one of their ministers to Luther, to confer with him on the subject of their common faith; and in consequence of it, he was led to entertain a much more favourable opinion of them than he had done before. He afterwards dedicated to them a treatise on the adoration of the body of Jesus Christ; and after commending them for rejecting human traditions, a purgatory, and the worship of saints, he blamed them for not admitting the corporal presence, and faith in young children, and for making holiness an essential condition of justification. From this it is evident that the Bohemian brethren held a much more rational doctrine than Luther. He held that in baptism faith was communicated to young children by the operation of the Holy Spirit, in consequence of the prayers of the church.



For, thinking faith to be necessary to baptism, he thought that on any other supposition, it were better not to baptize them at all.

In the year A. D. 1523 Bennon bishop of Mussen who lived in the time of the emperor Henry IV, was canonized, and among his merits, recited in this bull, mention is made of his strenuous opposition to that emperor, and his unshaken attachment to Gregory VII, when most of the other bishops deserted him. A number of miracles of the most improbable kind were also recited, and among them his appearing to the margrave William after his death, and tearing out one of his eyes. This gave a fine handle to Luther to write on the subject of canonization in general, and the effrontery of the pope in canonizing a rebel to his prince, and to expose the pretended miracles. He was answered by Emser, who had written the life of the new saint, and boasted of his grand installation in the church of Meissen, fortelling that his festival would be perpetual. But fifteen years after this it was abolished.

In the same year some nuns left the monastery at Nimpschen, and among them was Catherine Bore, the same who two years after was married to Luther. They were conducted to Wittenberg, and the elector provided for their maintenance, as

their relations, notwithstanding the address of Luther to them in their favour, refused to receive them. Their example was afterwards followed by other nuns.

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## SECTION V.

*The Progress of the Reformation from the Pontificate of Clement VII A. D. 1523, to the Meeting of the Diet at Augsburg A. D. 1526.*

**A**DRIAN VI dying in September A. D. 1523, was succeeded by Julius de Medicis, the natural son of Julian who was murdered in A. D. 1478. He took the name of Clement VII, and was much more of a politician than his predecessor, tho' his refined policy was in several respects injurious to the interests of his see. But in these difficult times it is probable that no policy whatever would have succeeded any better. The cardinals, however, and all the friends of the court of Rome, rejoiced exceedingly on the death of Adrian, who was both hated and despised by them all,

chiefly

chiefly because he was a friend to reformation, which they dreaded. The last act of his pontificate was the canonization of Bennon above mentioned.

In A. D. 1524 all the cantons of Switzerland, except that of Zurich, assembled at Lucern January 26, when they expressed their resolution to maintain the catholic faith. At the same time they sent a deputation to the magistrates of Zurich, desiring them to restore the antient worship; but saying that, if the pope, or any of the clergy, had incroached upon the rights of the temporalty, they were willing to deliberate with them on the means of throwing off that yoke. The senate of Zurich in reply explained their principles and conduct at large, and expressed their wish, that if they had any thing to object to them they might be informed of it in the space of two months. Having no answer, they proceeded in the work of reformation, removing the images from the churches; but for the present they left the mass as it was, waiting till the people at large should be better informed. The bishop of Constance answering the senate, they gladly laid hold on the opportunity of making their sentiments more public, that the world might judge of them.

The policy of Clement with respect to Germany was the reverse of that of Adrian. His great

aim was to elude the calling of a council, and to keep up the abuses of the court of Rome as long as possible. The diet of the empire being held this year at Nuremberg in the month of November, Campegio was sent to it with these views of the pope as legate. But it appeared by the circumstances attending his journey, and his reception, that a very great change had taken place in the state of things. As he passed thro' Augsburg, which he entered in the usual manner, with much ceremony, the cross being carried before him, while he gave the benediction to the people, they ridiculed him in such a manner that his own followers could not refrain from laughing. To avoid the same insults he entered Nuremberg in the habit of a traveller; so that when a few persons of distinction went to meet him they were disappointed.

When he went to the diet he was preceded only by the bishops of Treves and of Bamberg, but by no secular prince whatever; and tho' while he was in the city one of the preachers in a public discourse called the pope anti-christ, he did not think proper to call for his punishment. When Ferdinand reproached the senate of Nuremberg with their attachment to Lutheranism, it was without any effect, and the monks of St. Auffin administered the Lord's Supper at this time in both kinds to more than four thousand persons. The  
queen

queen of Denmark; who was then at Nuremberg, received it in this manner. The legate had brought a very flattering letter to the elector of Saxony; but being very ill, he had left the diet before his arrival.

The principal object of the legate was to get the edict of the diet of Worms enforced; but tho' he was seconded by the ambaffador of the emperor, so much opposition was made to the measure, that it was only carried with this addition, "as far as it shall be possible." It was also decreed at this diet that the pope should call a free council in Germany, and that, in the mean time, a diet should be held at Spire on the 10th of November, to settle these differences, that each of the princes should choose in his own estates persons of knowledge and probity to examine the books of modern writers, and report concerning them; that in the mean time the gospel should be preached with purity and modesty, and that every thing of a satirical nature should be avoided. It was also ordered that the persons chosen by the princes should examine the grievances, a list of which the secular princes had presented as well against the court of Rome, as against the prelates, and endeavour to find means to satisfy both parties; and that on their report the next diet should come to some final resolution.

This

This decree gave great offence to the legate, but all his remonstrances could not prevail to have it altered. On the other hand great objection was made to it by the imperial cities, which were almost all inclined to Lutheranism, and by the counts, who differed with their princes, and entered a protest against the decree. Also the prelates, who by their superior number had carried the decree in the diet, could not agree with Ferdinand the emperor's brother. For tho' they concurred with him in his wish to exterminate Lutheranism, they would not concede to his demand, tho' the pope had consented to it, of one third of their revenues for the war against the Turks.

While the legate was at Nuremberg, there was brought before him a dispute between the senate of Straßburg and the bishop of that city, who complained that his clergy were publicly married, while they complained that for a moderate sum he allowed others of the clergy to have concubines, which they took and dismissed at pleasure. The legate could not avoid condemning the practice of concubinage, tho' in extenuation of it, he said that it was not in the power of all men to live like John the Baptist. But he said that the marriage of priests was much more criminal. The magistrates, however, notwithstanding this decision,

protected

protected the married priests, and endeavoured by every means to promote the reformation.

In one thing, however, the legate had more success. He procured that the former regency of the empire, who were chiefly Lutherans, and held their sittings at Nuremberg, should be dismissed, on the pretence that the funds for their maintenance were exhausted, and other regents, all papists were appointed, and they held their sittings at Esslingue, a city in the power of Ferdinand. The elector of Saxony hearing of this, protested against all that should be done by those regents, either against the reformed religion, or the liberties of the states of the empire. The legate also procured by the help of Ferdinand, a league of the popish princes and states for the defence of the antient religion, and for the suppression of Lutheranism. This was called *the league of Suabia*, and tho' it did not consist of more than one sixth part of the German empire, it had disagreeable consequences, as it obliged the zealous protestant princes to enter into a similar league for their own defence.

The emperor, who was then in Spain, was exceedingly dissatisfied with the decrees of this diet, and signified his disapprobation of them in a letter to the princes, in such a manner as gave great offence. In his letter to the elector of Saxony, he particularly observed, that the calling of a general

general council belonged to himself and the pope, as well as the fixing on the place in which it should be held. He expressly forbid the meeting of the diet at Spires, and ordered the execution of the edict at Worms. The answer of the elector was respectful, and he assured him that neither himself nor his brother had any thing in view but the glory of God, the progress of truth, and the repose of the empire. Tho' the emperor's letter prevented the meeting of the diet of Spires, it only irritated the princes and states of the empire, and did not procure the execution of the edict of Worms. For no regard was paid to it in the greater part of Germany.

Luther was as much dissatisfied with the edict of Nuremberg as the pope or the emperor, and he printed both it and that of Worms with remarks, in order to shew the contradiction between them. In this publication he abated nothing of his usual spirit. He lamented the blindness of his countrymen and of their princes, as always tantalized by the pope, whose tyranny they endeavoured to strengthen. He also reproached the emperor and the kings of England and of Hungary, with their usurpation of the title of *Defender of the Faith*, when they were in reality making war upon the faith. He dissuaded them from making war on the Turks, as he said it would never succeed, if it  
was



was made by persecutors. He said that he did not fear death, but that his death would be fatal to his enemies.

The good elector of Saxony, now old and dying, was much distressed at the present aspect of things. The league of Suabia, at the head of which were the houses of Austria and Bavaria; might do him great injury. He had also a near relation, George duke of Saxony, whose ambition would be aided by the pretence of religion; and it was the known design of the pope to ruin him as the chief support of the reformation, and deprive him of the electorate. But at this time providence raised up several friends to this cause. The landgrave of Hesse now openly declared for the reformation, as did Albert duke of Brandenburg, a young and courageous prince, George de Polentz of an illustrious house in Misnia, and the bishop of the district of Samland.

The declaration of this bishop in favour of the reformation gave particular satisfaction to Luther. Writing to Spalatin at this time, he said, the princes and bishops now acknowledge that it is not Luther, a man of nothing, but Jesus Christ, who is all powerful, that does these wonders. At this time also the cities of Magdeburg, Nuremberg, and Strasburg, embraced the reformation; and when the first of these was threatened by the imperial re-

gency, they prepared for their defence. The reformation was also established in Westphalia, in the city of Brunfwick, tho' the duke was one of its greatest enemies, in the dutchy of Mecklenberg, in Pomerania, Livonia, Bremen, and Holstein, and even in Leipfic, notwithstanding the opposition of the duke of Saxony:

In the year A. D. 1524 Carolstadt was obliged to leave Wittemberg through the violence of Luther, who had annulled every thing that he had done during his absence; and having procured him to be expelled Saxony, he took refuge in Strasburg, whither also Luther pursued him by violent letters. Their principal difference of opinion respected the eucharist; Luther maintaining that the body of Christ was really present in it, whereas Carolstadt said it was so only by way of figure. Zuinglius and Œcolampadius taking the part of Carolstadt, Luther wrote against them with great violence; and this dispute, which continued a long time, did great injury to the cause of the reformation. Several persons endeavoured to compose this difference, but without success.

Erasmus had been long urged in the most pressing and the most flattering manner to engage in the controversy with Luther. Pope Adrian had conjured him to do it most earnestly; calling him "the only and last hope of the church." He was  
joined

joined by Campegio, and Toustal bishop of London pressed him strongly on the part of the king of England. At length, in order to avoid the charge of heresy, and fearing to lose his pension, from the catholic princes, tho' he dreaded the violence of Luther; after alleging his age, and making other excuses, he undertook to write against what he had advanced on the subject of free-will. Luther endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose, tho' without shewing any fear of him; but at the same time reflecting upon him for his dissimulation, and want of courage in defence of the truth.

This offended Erasmus; and in his reply, he said he had contributed more to the discovery of truth than those who boasted so much of their being the apostles of it. When this piece came out, it appeared to be written in such a manner as pleased no party, and Erasmus owned to his friends that in defending the free will of man he had given up his own. For he acknowledged to Melancthon, that it was much against his will that he had entered the lists with Luther; that it was only to avoid the charge of heresy, and avert the vengeance of the church of Rome. Luther, finding himself not much hurt by this treatise of Erasmus, deferred his answer till the next year.

In A. D. 1524 Luther quitted the habit of a monk, and took that of a doctor; and the prior being the only person who remained with him in the monastery, they resigned the revenues into the hands of the elector, as that of Hertfberg had been before; but he advised that the funds should be disposed of to pious and charitable uses, blaming those princes who seized upon the goods of the church.

It was in this year that William Farrel, who contributed largely to the reformation in Switzerland, came to Basil. He was a gentleman of Gap in Dauphiné, studied at Paris, and in A. D. 1522 was invited by Briffonet bishop of Meaux to preach in his church. But the parliament of Paris beginning to persecute the reformers the year following, he went to Strasburg, where he became acquainted with Wolfgang, Capito, and Bucer. Thence he went to Basil, where he proposed a conference with the literati of the place. But his theses appearing heretical to the heads of the university, they would not suffer the disputation to be in public. The senate, however, thinking better of them, permitted him to fix them up at the college.

In A. D. 1525, Francis I was taken prisoner by Charles at the famous battle of Pavia, and in a consultation what use he should make of his victo-

ry, the bishop of Osno advised the giving him his liberty, and treating him generously; for this reason among others, that by their cordial union the progress of the Turks might be stopped, and Lutheranism entirely suppressed. This measure, which would probably have been fatal to the reformation, was overruled by the advice of the duke of Alva and others, in consequence of which such hard terms were proposed to Francis that he rejected them with indignation; and thus a foundation was laid for such contests between these great rivals for power, as was highly favourable to the progress of the reformation. At the same time a dread of the increasing power of Charles, who was evidently aiming at universal monarchy, united all the powers of Europe against him, and among them the pope himself.

The German peasantry had long been grievously oppressed, especially by the rich ecclesiastics, and were burdened with taxes unknown to their ancestors. This had frequently been the occasion of revolts, and much blood had been shed in the reduction of them. But the year A. D. 1525 was distinguished by a revolt much more general than any of the preceding, especially in Suabia, where the oppression was the greatest. It began on the usual ground of civil oppression; but afterwards the revolted availed themselves of the prevailing

sentiments with respect to freedom in religious matters; and by this means brought a great scandal upon the reformation. They demanded, among other things, the power of chusing their own ministers. They also said that, as christians, they ought not to be the slaves they had been, attached to the soil. They did not reject all authority of magistracy, but said they would only obey them in things that were lawful. They claimed the freedom of hunting and fishing, and some regulations in the payment of tithes. The rest of their demands, which made twelve articles, were intirely of a civil nature.

On this occasion both Luther and Melancthon addressed the public. The latter was of opinion that the demands of the peasants were reasonable, and agreeable to the scriptures; and he exhorted the princes to behave towards them with clemency. Luther advised obedience to magistrates, however unjust, as Christ, he said, had Peter put up his sword into the scabbard, and his church flourished in consequence of his bearing all the injuries that were offered to him, without making the least resistance. If, said he, the people do not approve of the ministers appointed by the magistrates, who have the disposal of the revenues, they should peaceably withdraw, and maintain their own ministers; and that private persons have no right to change  
established

established customs. At the same time, however, he addressed the princes with great freedom; telling them that they were the real causes of the disturbance, especially the ecclesiastical princes; and he forewarned them of the judgements of God if they continued to oppose the progress of the gospel, and of reasonable liberty, as he said they did against their own consciences, and he concluded with giving excellent advice to both parties. But this advice was disregarded by both. The revolt continued, and much blood was shed before it was terminated, as these revolts always had been, by the reduction of the insurgents; tho' in some places the lords gave them favourable terms.

Among the chief of these revolters appeared Muncer above mentioned. He pretended to divine illuminations, declaimed against Luther as much as against the pope, and became very popular with the commonalty. He took down the names of his disciples, and made them take an oath to extirminate wicked princes, and appoint new ones. When his designs were known, he was driven out of Saxony, and went to Nuremberg, and being banished from that city he went to Mulhausen, where he had some partisans, and by their help he seized upon the place, and taking possession of a rich monastery, he became the sovereign of the city. In this capacity he decided all causes by

the bible, or pretended revelations to himself, and introduced a community of goods. During two years he only threatened the neighbouring princes, but now that the peasants were in arms, he invited them to join him, cast cannon, and formed an army.

One Pfeiffer, who had persuaded him to take this step sooner than he otherwise would have done marched out of the city, plundered the neighbouring territory, and took some prisoners; but Muncer himself, who had put himself at the head of three hundred men, was defeated by Albert of Mansfieldt. Notwithstanding this, he wrote him an insolent letter, commanding him to abandon the corrupt doctrine of Luther, and join him. But his army being attacked by the elector John, who had just succeeded his brother Frederic, the landgrave of Hesse, and Henry of Brunswick, they were soon defeated, and Muncer and Pfeiffer being taken prisoners were beheaded with other leaders of the party. This war of the peasants cost the lives of fifty thousand men.

Luther may be said to have been in some measure the innocent cause of this war, by his invectives against the princes, ecclesiastical and secular, for impeding the progress of the gospel; but seeing the advantage which the common people took of this, and the devastations they made in the country, he did  
every



every thing in his power to prevent these excesses ; and writing on the subject, he then, with his usual violence, exhorted the princes to destroy them like wild beasts ; assuring them that, whoever died in the war would be martyrs. Being on this accused of exciting the princes to an excess of violence, he published an apology, but it gave little satisfaction.

The excellent elector Frederick died May 5, A. D. 1525, just before the suppression of this revolt ; and before he died he exhorted the princes to use moderation towards the deluded multitude, and punish only their leaders. He was a man universally esteemed for every great quality that can adorn a prince, especially for his great prudence (on which account he was surnamed *the Wise*) his sincerity, his piety, and his regard for his subjects. He was withal well made, and had an air of great dignity, tho' mild and condescending in his behaviour. Before Luther appeared he was so zealous a catholic, that he employed the first year of his reign in collecting relicks, and multiplying canons and priests in the church of *All Saints*, in which near ten thousand masses were said every year ; and the number of relicks, it was said, amounted to several thousands. He used great caution in favouring the reformation, and did not encourage the exercise of the new religion till he saw

that it was generally wished for, and the withholding of it was in some measure the cause of the revolt of the peasants. At the time of his death he was disposed to grant it universally.

His brother John, who succeeded him, had not all his great qualities ; but he had the same good disposition, and the same firmness, whence he was called *the Good*, and *the Constant*. But in his son John Frederic, surnamed *the Magnanimous*, they were all united. He was, tho' young, prime minister to his father, and thinking Frederick to have been too complaisant to the emperor and the court of Rome, he joined heartily with the landgrave of Hesse in a resolution to establish the reformation at all events. Their relation, duke George, whose daughter the landgrave had married, was a great obstacle to them ; and they found it impossible to gain him. But by this time the reformation was, after several public disputations, firmly established in many cities of the empire, as Nuremberg, Bremen, Dantzic, and Zell, but especially in Prussia.

In this year, A. D. 1525, Luther, now forty-two years old, to the great surprize and dissatisfaction of his friends, married. The wife he made choice of was Catharine Bore, who had left the nunnery some time before, and whom Luther, tho' he had an inclination for her, wished to have married

ried to another person, being apprehensive of the inconveniences that might arise from his own marrying. But she objecting to the match he proposed, and his father wishing that he would marry, he yielded to his own and their inclinations. The enemies of Luther triumphed greatly in this event; and this, together with the coolness of his friends, distressed him much. But Melancthon encouraged him, tho' he could have wished there had been no occasion for it.

Carlostadt, who had differed with Luther, wished to return to Saxony; but he did not obtain the leave of the court till he had signed a retraction of what had given offence to Luther. By this means he had leave to live in a private manner, in a village near Wittemberg. But Luther urging him to make a more public declaration of his concurrence with him with respect to the doctrine of the eucharist, he found it necessary to leave Saxony, and go to Strasburg. It being however, thought imprudent to receive him, lest the magistrates should offend Luther and the elector, which would have been inconvenient to them in their circumstances, they recommended him to Zuinglius, who received him with much kindness. There he was made archdeacon of the principal church, and after the death of Zuinglius he was invited to Basil, where he both preached and taught in their academy.

In the mean time Zuinglius, who, like Carolstadt, denied the real presence, did not think it prudent to publish any thing on the subject; but in this year, A. D. 1525, Œcolampadius, who thought as he did, and was a man of great modesty and diffidence, wrote a treatise upon it, the sale of which was prohibited by the magistrates of Basil, who urged Erasmus to answer it; but he appears to have thought too well of it to engage in the controversy. It was, however, answered by some ministers of Suabia, one of whom was Brentius. Œcolampadius replied, and Luther prefixed a preface to the work of Brentius, which was very disrespectful to the Swiss; but Zuinglius and Œcolampadius made no great account of it. Pomeranus also wrote on the subject, and Zuinglius answered him. Various other persons also appeared in this controversy. The divines of Strasburg, desirous of composing this difference among the friends of reformation, applied to Luther, proposing that both parties should content themselves with saying in general terms, that Christ was present in the sacrament, without saying *in what manner*; but Luther replied, that the article was of so much importance, that one or the other of them must be the ministers of Satan.

The pope, without attempting any means of conviction or persuasion, bent all his policy to procure

procure the suppression of the reformation by force. This was the object of all his treaties with foreign princes; as that which he made with Charles after the victory of Pavia, in which it was said that the pope having infinitely more at heart the interests of religion than his own private advantage, said that the emperor, the king of England, and the archduke Ferdinand, must unite all their forces to make war on the corrupters of religion. A similar clause was inserted in a treaty which he made with the kings of France and England, and in that which Louisa, the mother of Francis, made with Henry VIII. Nor was it forgotten in the treaty made at Madrid, between Charles and Francis then his prisoner. But the power of truth raised up in favour of the reformation the common people, and several princes, which defeated the sanguinary policy of the court of Rome.

In this year Luther answered the treatise of Erasmus on the subject of free will. But Melancthon did not approve of the sentiments of Luther, and the Lutherans in general came to adopt the doctrine of Melancthon on this subject, which makes election to depend on certain conditions on the part of man. This was not, however, completely effected till the year A. D. 1580, when Hegidius Hunnius, a professor at Wittenberg, defended the sentiments of Melancthon. In the  
mean

mean time Erasmus, who was roughly handled in the answer of Luther, made a reply, and was so much offended that he was ever after the declared enemy of the Lutherans, and omitted no opportunity of speaking ill of them.

At the meeting of the diet of the empire this year at Augsburg, the Catholics maintained that the revolt of the peasants arose from the heresy of Luther, and that the only means of preventing new troubles was to extirpate that heresy; and a previous meeting of the electors of Mentz and Brandenburg, Henry of Brunswick, and his uncle Eric, who were of their opinion, at Dessau, gave great cause of suspicion to those princes who were the friends of the reformation, that measures were taken to their destruction. They therefore found it necessary to form an union for their own defence, and at Salsfeld they entered into a resolution that they would never suffer the truth to be extinguished, and informed duke George of it; complaining at the same time of the meeting at Dessau. The magistrates of the cities of the empire also assembled for the same purpose at U'm.

In the mean time came out the emperor's edict for the meeting of the diet the 1st of October, and his order for the execution of the edict of Worms; and in his letters he spake of nothing but the extirpation of the heresy of Luther. To the elector

of Saxony, however, he wrote in a milder manner, only desiring that he would attend the diet. The regency of the empire also required the same, but he was advised by his friends to take care of his safety, apprizing him that several charges would be brought against him.

This conduct of the emperor, however, displeased not only those princes who wished for a reformation, but those who had at heart the peace of the empire; being sensible that the schemes of the emperor, the pope, and the clergy, and the violence of the zealous Catholics, were the cause of the rigour that was exercised against the Protestants.

Alarmed at these threatening appearances, the landgrave of Hesse and John Frederic, son of the elector, met in order to consider of what was to be done; when it was agreed that it would be advisable that all the friends of reformation should make a common cause. They also agreed to represent to Ferdinand the inexpediency of executing the edict of Worms, and that it was more reasonable to examine the doctrine of Luther, and approve what was good in it; and that it was absolutely necessary to retain this to satisfy the people, and preserve the peace of the empire. This advice was not much disliked by Ferdinand. The elector Palatine also and the elector of Treves approved of it, tho' his dignity of archbishop obliged him to  
use

use great caution. Accordingly, the deputies of the landgrave and of the elector of Saxony were directed to remonstrate against the measures proposed, and to recommend the decrees of the diet of Nuremberg.

While these princes were thinking to strengthen themselves by alliances, directions were given to the divines of Wittenberg to prepare an apology to be presented at the diet. This was done, evidently drawn up by Melancthon, and it concluded with declaring, that they considered the doctrine of justification by faith independently of good works to be so essential to the christian religion, that there were no troubles, wars, or persecution, that should oblige any of them to deny it.

When the diet was held, it was not numerously attended. There was no ecclesiastic there except the bishop of Trent, and but few deputies from the electors and princes of the empire. After the reading of the letters of the emperor, they were so far from ordering the execution of the edict of Worms, that they confirmed that of Nuremberg. They also recommended to all the princes that the gospel should be preached in its true sense in all the churches, but without tumult and scandal, and they exhorted the people to peace and to respect their magistrates. They prayed the emperor to hasten the calling of a council, and his journey to  
Germany;



Germany; and as the assembly was incomplete, they prorogued the diet to the 1st of May. This recess was dated January 9<sup>th</sup>, A. D. 1526, and the remarkable moderation of the proceedings in it was owing to the measure that had been taken by the landgrave and the elector of Saxony. Even Ferdinand, and the most devoted partisans of the church of Rome were sensible that the peace of the empire required the abrogation of the edict of Worms.

In the mean time, as the catholic princes were forming leagues to oppress the reformers, these had a meeting at Torgau the 4<sup>th</sup> of May, when they agreed upon a league for their mutual defence, and it was concluded the 12<sup>th</sup> of June following. There entered into this alliance the dukes of Luneburg, Henry duke of Mecklenberg, Wolfgang prince of Anhalt, Gothard and Albert counts of Mansfeld. The city of Magdeburg also entered into it. They had had private information that the emperor had sent to the duke of Brunswick letters of instruction to all the princes not suspected of favouring the reformation, acquainting them that he had heard with great concern of the progress of the heresy of Luther, but that he hoped with their assistance to ex irpate it. It was this information that hastened the confederacy of the friends of the reformation.

At

At the diet held at Spire, which was opened the 25th of June, the president said the emperor had called them together to deliberate upon the means of maintaining the antient religion, and punishing those who opposed it, agreeably to the edict of Worms, which he would have observed. But this proposal displeased almost all the assembly; and the friends of reformation demanded, agreeably to the resolution taken at Nuremberg, that persons should be chosen to regulate matters that related to religion; and accordingly some were then named. But the ambassadors of the emperor opposed it, saying that they had no power to relax in any article of religion, that the emperor had cancelled the resolutions taken at Nuremberg, and would adhere to those of Worms; that he was going to Rome to be crowned, and would then consult with the pope about the calling of a council; that he complained of the rise of new errors every day in Germany, that factions were formed there, and that the revolt of the peasants arose from the heresy of Luther.

The opposition, however, from the cities prevented any compliance with the emperor's wishes. They insisted upon it that it was impossible to carry into execution the edict of Worms, and that the insurrection of the peasants shewed that they had to fear from such rigorous measures; that in  
those

those places in which the reformation was established there was no sedition, and that during the present difference between the pope and the emperor, there was no prospect of the convocation of a council. They also made several demands for a farther and more general reformation. At length it was agreed that, till the convocation of a council, which the emperor should be desired to call within one year, the states of the empire should engage to conduct themselves with respect to matters of religion in such a manner as they should be able to give a good account of their conduct to God and his imperial majesty.

The circumstance that happily in a manner compelled them to lay aside all consideration of their differences with respect to religion, was the application they received for assistance from Hungary, which was almost over-run by the Turks. This diet was the most numerous that had ever been known, and the elector of Saxony and the landgrave distinguished themselves by their firmness, their zeal for the reformation, and the strict order in which they kept their servants and dependants; no riot or debauch, which had been customary, being allowed among them, while at the same time they paid no regard to the fasts appointed by the church. They could not obtain leave

to have their ministers preach in the churches, but they preached in their own houses, which were very much crowded.

In this state of threatened hostility the moderation of Luther fully appeared. For being consulted by the elector of Saxony, he avowed his opinion to be, that he ought not to defend himself by arms in case of an attack from the emperor, but only by remonstrances and prayer; and that at all events he ought not to be the aggressor; nay, rather than that he ought to renounce his alliance with the landgrave of Hesse.

As soon as Francis was released from his confinement at Madrid, the pope entered into a league with him, in order to strip the emperor of the states he held in Italy; and for this purpose he absolved him from the oath which he had taken to fulfil the articles of the treaty which he had made at Madrid. The emperor, provoked at the treachery of the pope, sent an army into Italy chiefly composed of Germans, all friends of the reformation, and the general wanting money to pay them promised them the plunder of Rome. In consequence of this, the city was taken by assault the 6th of May A. D. 1527, and plundered. The pope himself being taken prisoner was detained six or seven months, and made to purchase his liberty at a great price. However, one of the conditions  
of

of the treaty he made with the emperor was that he should take measures for the extermination of Lutheranism. In this the emperor's view was to make himself absolute in Germany. And thus the pope evaded the calling of a council for the reformation of abuses.

In this year Zuinglius and Cœcolampadius wrote against Luther on the subject of the real presence with much moderation; but he replied with his usual asperity. Zuinglius, however, answered him with his usual mildness and good sense; saying that his innocence was at the same time a sufficient answer to his abuse, and enabled him to bear it.

It was in this year that the duke of Saxony, to the surprize of every body, expressed a wish to have a Lutheran preacher sent to him; and accordingly the bishop of Misnia sent him Alexis Crossner, a canon of Altenburg, who had been educated under Luther; and he gave him an honorable reception, telling him that tho' he was considered as one who would not bear the evangelical doctrine, he would find that he was only offended at the indecent manner in which it was preached. Accordingly he continued with him three years, preaching with great freedom; and whenever he spoke too freely, he was only reprov'd by the duke in private.

Toward the end of this year the magistrates of Berne signified to their neighbours, that in the beginning of the following year there would be in that city a free discussion of the articles of religion, comprized in ten theses, against the principal articles of popery, which any person should be at liberty to canvass on the authority of the scriptures; and they requested the bishops of Constance, Basil, Sion, and Lausanne, to attend with their divines. Those bishops did not attend, but there were deputeis from Zurich, Schaffhausen, the Grisons, and some of the confederate cities, and several from the imperial cities of Strasburg, Ulm, Augsburgh, Lindau and Constance. There were very few to oppose the theses. However the disputation continued from the 7th to the 26th of January A. D. 1528, and in the issue the magistrates of Bern abolished the mass, and removed the images from the churches. Those of Constance soon after did the same.

In A. D. 1528, a council was held in France by Anthony du Prat, archbishop of Sens, the chancellor of the kingdom, and a cardinal, on account of the spread of the reformation in that country, many persons then preaching in the vulgar tongue. They passed sixteen decrees against the reformation of doctrines, and forty of reformation in articles of discipline. In this council, the archbishop imitated

ted the pope in the late council of Lateran, deciding himself, as by the advice of the bishops who attended.

In this year it appeared from information communicated to the landgrave of Hesse, by Otto de Pach a counsellor of duke George, that a confederacy had been entered into by the catholic princes of the empire at Breslaw May 12th of the preceding year. At the head of this was Ferdinand, now king of Bohemia, to compel the elector of Saxony to banish Luther, and restore the antient religion; and in case of his refusal a plan of attack was laid by which he was to be assailed in all directions. The landgrave was to be attacked in the next place, but he was to be treated with more mildness on account of his youth, and his relationship to duke George, who was one of the confederates. They likewise agreed upon the division of the spoils. George was to have the electoral provinces, Ferdinand what he possessed in Suabia and Silesia, and the other confederates were to have their share either in territory or in money.

Upon this intelligence, of the truth of which they entertained no doubt, the elector and his friends entered into a new league the 9th of March A. D. 1528, by which they engaged to raise an army of twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse, and to expose their lives, their honours, and

their estates, in the defence of their religion. They also endeavoured to form alliances for their support, and among them with the king of Denmark, but especially with the imperial cities. In consequence, however, of the remonstrances of Luther, the elector was unwilling to defend himself by force of arms: But the landgrave expostulating with duke George on the subject, both he and the rest of the catholic princes declared that they had never entered into any such league as that of Breslaw, and that the whole was a forgery of Pach's. However, being interrogated in their presence, he persisted in his evidence, and being banished by the landgrave he retired into Flanders, where he was in A. D. 1536 apprehended by the agents of duke George and beheaded.

The emperor, being informed of these proceedings, wrote a very haughty letter to the elector of Saxony, severely censuring him for raising an army in consequence of being imposed upon by a treaty which had no existence. If, said he, any such confederacy had been entered into, it was his business as emperor to disperse it. This was such language as the princes of the empire had not been used to, as it was their indisputable right to make peace or war at their own discretion, within or without the empire, without consulting the emperor. This discovery, however, if it was one, probably prevented the breaking out of a war, and  
both



both Luther and Melancthon exerted themselves in promoting peace. They were even determined to leave Wittemberg, if the elector engaged in any war on the account of religion. Zuinglius differed from Luther on this subject, thinking that force ought to be repelled by force; and seeing the design of the catholic powers to exterminate the reformation in Switzerland, he said they ought to be before hand with them, and by the destruction of images, the discontinuance of the mass, and abolishing the monasteries, make it impossible for them to restore the antient worship.

In this year Melancthon drew a formulary of doctrine and discipline for the Lutheran churches, revised by Luther himself. In it they preserved the festivals instituted in remembrance of Christ, and some in honor of the virgin Mary, the apostles, and a few of the other saints; but they added that, if any person was obliged to work on those days, either for their own subsistence, or in the service of their prince, they might do it without scruple. They permitted the celebration of the mass in latin, tho' they recommended the German language. This work displeased many, and especially Agricola, a minister of Illebe, who wrote on the occasion; maintaining that christians were under no obligation to the moral law. For particular care had been taken in this work to guard against the abuse of Luther's doctrine of justificati-

on by faith alone, as if good works were unnecessary. The seculars were dissatisfied with the work, because it left the clergy, as they thought, too much power; Luther and Melancthon having aimed at nothing more than to keep that power within what they thought proper bounds.

At the meeting of the diet held at Spire in A. D. 1529, tho' the prejudices of the catholics against the reformed appeared to be very strong, they, as well the rest, were offended at the haughtiness of the imperial mandates sent from Spain. Charles wrote, that being the chief in christendom, he would not suffer his orders to be despised, that he had forbidden all innovation, and proscribed the innovators in matters of religion; but that nevertheless their numbers increased every day on account of the decrees of the diet of Spire in A. D. 1526; but that he now informed the diet that, by virtue of the full power which belonged to him, he annulled those decrees, as contrary to his intentions and orders. But no person spake more openly than the elector of Saxony, who said to his son, that no former emperor had used such language, and that he ought to be informed that their rights were more antient than the elevation of his family.

Notwithstanding all that the prelates, in conformity to the wish of the emperor, could urge to enforce the edict of Worms, or at least to remind  
that

that of Spire, not only the reforming princes, but the bishop of Paderborn joined in opposing them; since the decrees complained of had been made in all the usual forms, and with the consent of the imperial ambassadors.

The Catholics, finding the Lutherans too powerful, very artfully endeavoured to turn the indignation of the diet against the disciples of Zuinglius, generally called *Sacramentarians*; against whom Luther had inveighed with more bitterness than even against the Catholics. Of this Faber bishop of Vienna and Eckius took advantage, speaking favourably of the sentiments of Luther, as proper to be tolerated till a general council; but representing the doctrine of the sacramentarians as, in the universal opinion, undeserving of any favour. And as the citizens of Strasburg were generally of that opinion, and had, notwithstanding the endeavours of the bishop to the contrary, abolished the mass, and reformed their church, an application was made by the bishop to this diet. But the deputies of the other cities, who in general inclined to the doctrine of Zuinglius, joining those of Strasburg, remonstrated with the Lutheran princes with respect to the artifice of the Catholics; and the insignificance of the difference between them; in such a manner that they agreed to make a common cause especially as the landgrave saw

in a very strong light the importance of it, and was perhaps at this time himself inclined to their opinion, as indeed were many others. This appears from a letter of Melancthon to Œcolampadius at this time, in which he said, “ I am not ignorant how  
“ many learned and great men are of your opinion.  
“ Your cause is defended by men of ability. You  
“ have the favour of the spectators, of whom some  
“ approve openly, and others privately, and I  
“ do not know which of the two are of the most ser-  
“ vice to you.”

Notwithstanding this union, the majority of voices was now for rescinding the decree of Spire, and the Lutheran princes and cities were strongly urged by Ferdinand to acquiesce in it. But they replied that this was not a business of policy or temporal interest, with respect to which they were ready to submit to the will of the majority; but it affected the interests of conscience, with respect to which every man ought to judge for himself. They, therefore, could not assent to a decree which affected its rights. They also alleged that it was contrary to the established usage, that a decree adopted unanimously should be annulled without the consent of all, and on the 19th of April they delivered a formal protest on the subject, tho' the other members of the diet would not receive it.

Luther

Luther being consulted by the elector of Saxony, who was wholly governed by him, could not conceal the ill will he bore to the Sacramentarians. He even gave it as his decided opinion that if they were put under the ban of the empire, his master ought to obey the decree, and execute whatever should be ordered against them. Happily, however, the opinion of divines of more moderation prevailed over that of Luther, and the princes were governed by them. Ferdinand, finding that he could not prevail upon the Lutherans to abandon the Sacramentarians, withdrew the promise he had made them; and they, in their turn, presented on the 20th of April a new protest, larger than the former; and this was the writing from which they obtained the name of *Protestants*. The cities joined the princes, and made a separate protest against the proceedings of the diet.

Notwithstanding the unrelenting rigour of the diet, the princes were more favourable to them in the recess, owing to Ferdinand wanting the assistance of the Protestant princes, both in the war with which he was threatened by the Turks, and in his endeavours to obtain the dignity of king of the Romans. The emperor was also engaged in a war with Francis, who endeavoured to make a league with the Protestant princes. Accordingly, in the decree that was drawn up, tho' the  
states

states that had observed the edict of Worms were ordered to continue to do so, the others were permitted to do as they had done, but were forbidden to make any more changes before the holding of a council. The Anabaptists, however, were condemned to suffer death, and another edict of the emperor against them was published of the same date with the recess.

Tho' Ferdinand endeavoured to prevent it, the Protestants published their protest. The commissaries of the emperor informed him of their proceedings, and urged him to call a council himself, if the pope would not do it. The Protestants, having been calumniated to the emperor, wrote to him in their justification, concluding with saying, that were they to carry the edict of Worms into execution, they must become the executioners of their own subjects, who would yield to nothing but violence; but that, excepting what depended upon God, they were ready to obey him as emperor, to contribute to the glory of the commonwealth, and to assist Ferdinand against the Turks. The emperor, however, received the messengers who were sent with the protest very ill, saying he insisted on the princes submitting to the decree of the diet of Spire, and that if they refused to do it, he would make an example of them. He added, that it was more necessary than ever that the republic

lic should be united, in order to repel the invasion of the Turks; and that he would soon be in Germany to oppose them with all his forces.

The Protestants, not expecting a favourable answer, entered into an alliance, in which they engaged to defend themselves against all who should attack them except the emperor. But Luther was utterly averse to making any league with the Sacramentarians, tho' the reasons he gave for this were weak in the extreme. Among other things he said that, as the confederacy was entered into for the defence of the gospel, they must first see whether the Sacramentarians were of the same faith with themselves; that it was impiety to enter into a league for the defence of religion, with those who erred in a capital article, alleging the example of the Israelites, who were defeated for the offence of Achan; that many of those who entered into this confederacy, depended more upon the arm of flesh, than on God. "Besides," he said, "We cannot make a lawful alliance with those who are not fully persuaded in their own minds, and that the Sacramentarians are not so is evident from their willingness to submit to an examination of their sentiments. They ought, therefore," he said, "to write to the emperor in justification of their conduct, by informing him that they had abolished all abuses, that they had suppressed

“ pressed the Anabaptists, the Sacramentarians, “ and all the heterodox in general, and among “ them he named Erasmus.” He added, however, more like a christian, “ There is no occasion for “ such treaties ; for that God who had protected “ them hitherto without any such an expedient, “ would continue to protect them.”

As the difference between the Lutherans and the Sacramentarians was the principal obstacle to the confederacy which the landgrave had at heart, he endeavoured to bring them to an agreement by means of an amicable conference, and at length he procured one to be held at Marpurg, where Luther and the divines of Wittenberg, met Zuinglius and those of Strasburg. The landgrave received and entertained them all in his castle. But notwithstanding many sensible precautions of the landgrave to dispose them to moderation and unanimity, he could not succeed. Luther, begining the conference, declared that nothing should make him give up the literal sense of the words *this is my body*. Accordingly, this conference, which lasted three days, produced no good effect.

As these divines could not agree in opinion, the landgrave proposed that they should agree to tolerate one another ; and to this the Sacramentarians readily consented. If difference of opinion be not allowed



allowed in things not essential, Bucer said there never can be peace in the church, and there will be as many churches as there are persons. But Luther would not agree to any toleration, and wondered, he said, that the Sacramentarians had so little regard to conscience as to admit of it. To shew the world, however, that the Protestants did not differ on any other subject than this of the eucharist, they signed articles of agreement; and perhaps their union might have been carried something farther, if they had not been obliged to leave the city on account of the sweating sickness which then broke out in that place.

In this conference Luther could not help acknowledging the gentleness and moderation of Zuinglius. It was also observed that he always quoted the New Testament in Greek; and Luther desiring him to do it in Latin, or German, he said that for the last twelve years, he had never read the New Testament but in the original Greek, and therefore was not able to quote it in any other language. In the issue of the conference it was pretty evident that, in the opinion of the landgrave and his court, Zuinglius had the advantage; since from that time he was inclined to his opinion, as were many others who attended the debate.

The elector not being gained, the princes met at Smalcald, joined by the deputies from the cities, could

could not effect the proposed union. Before the deliberations took place there were presented by the elector seventeen articles of faith, to be signed by all those who should enter into the confederacy, and that of the corporal presence was one of them. But it was thought that the true motive of the elector's hesitation was his conscientious objection to opposing the emperor by force. It appeared that Luther had written to him and his colleagues in the following christian like manner. "It is  
" our part to suffer as lambs brought to the  
" slaughter, and to leave vengeance to God. As  
" for the danger with which you are threatened, it  
" is easy to God to divert it. They are the threat-  
" nings of the devil, which are only fatal to those  
" from whom they come. If we be christians, we  
" should not promise ourselves better treatment  
" than that of Jesus Christ. We must bear his  
" cross. You have done so already on other occa-  
" sions, and you have experienced divine consolati-  
" on and assistance. If we persevere in faith and  
" prayer, the same assistance will not fail us. The  
" Lord will find means to defend us, more cer-  
" tain and more effectual than our own wisdom  
" and strength. Be full of hope and courage, and  
" keep your hands pure from violence and blood.  
" If the emperor orders me and my colleagues to  
appear

“ appear before him, we will obey with the help  
 “ of God, and you will run no risk on our account,  
 “ as I have always told your brother Frederick of  
 “ glorious memory. It is not your business to  
 “ defend our faith, or that of any other person. E-  
 “ very person must defend his own, and he must  
 “ believe or not at his own risk.”

Another meeting was appointed to be held at Nuremberg for the 6th of January, but this ended as the other had done; and they only agreed to wait for the arrival of the emperor before they came to any conclusion what steps to take. In the mean time the Strasburgers, who were most exposed to danger, entered into an alliance for fifteen years with the cantons of Zurich and Basil for their mutual defence, in case they should be attacked by the emperor, at which the imperial regency was much offended.

Charles having released the pope from his confinement, met him at Bologna, where they had much consultation about composing the differences with respect to religion; the emperor inclining to the calling of a council, and the pope urging the insignificance of it, and the necessity of having recourse to force. He represented to him how much more easy it would be to quell the sedition in Germany than to conquer Francis, and that the interest of all posterity depended upon his success.

“ If,” said he, “ the authority of the holy see is  
“ once abolished, the world will fall into anarchy,  
“ discipline will be ruined, mankind will relapse  
“ into savage manners, rash and bold spirits will  
“ every day invent new heresies, and that nothing  
“ was more dangerous than delay when a fire was  
“ lighted.”

The emperor, tho’ a young man, with great  
“ dignity and readiness replied, that, “ after con-  
“ sulting many persons of much experience and  
“ piety, he found them all of opinion that the  
“ church had need of a council, in which liberty  
“ might reign and truth preside, and that he should,  
“ therefore, never desist from his endeavours to pro-  
“ cure one.” He said that “ all the new opinions  
“ were not absurd ; for there was a kind of wor-  
“ ship introduced into the church dishonorable to  
“ God, and that impiety was public and known  
“ to all the world. It was necessary;” he also said,  
“ to form a body of doctrine which might be taught  
“ in all churches. You are not ignorant that there  
“ is much difference of opinion, and on subjects  
“ of importance among those who acknowledge  
“ your authority.”

The pope having said that there were doctrines  
in religion that could not be explained ; “ This,”  
said the emperor, “ must be false, and unworthy  
“ of the sovereign pontiff. For such a revelation  
“ would

“ would be ufeless and mischievous, ferving only  
 “ to divide the christian world. I am,” he faid,  
 “ of the opinion of Theodofius, who faid, we muft  
 “ go back to primitive antiquity to arrive at the ge-  
 “ nuine doctrine of Jefus Chrift.” He was there-  
 fore for a council which fhould decide not by au-  
 thority, but after hearing reason, and according to  
 to the fcriptures ; that to decide difputes about re-  
 ligion by arms without examination would be to  
 act blindly, and in that way he might deftroy what  
 was good as well as what was bad, which he never  
 would do. He concluded with expreffing his at-  
 tachment to the holy fee, which he faid he had  
 always fhewn, and would preferve on all occafions.

The pope made no reply at that time, faying  
 that he would confult about the bufinefs with his  
 cardinals ; but in more familiar converfation after-  
 wards, he ufed all his addrefs to diffuade the em-  
 peror from his fcheme of a council ; obferving a-  
 mong other things, that the demand for it by the  
 heretics was only an artifice to gain time, that if  
 that affembly did not decide in their favour, they  
 would find pretences for not obeying its decrees,  
 and that in general nothing was more dangerous  
 than to yield to the importunity of fubjects, as  
 they would always pafs from one demand to ano-  
 ther, till the prince muft either grant every thing,  
 or risk a revolt ; that fuch was the love of novelty,

of independence, and the eagerness to seize the estates of the church, that other states of the empire would be drawn into the same party, and the heretics would become so strong that he would be obliged to receive the law from them; and he might perhaps think himself happy if, after stripping him of all his authority as emperor, they did not send him back into Spain. As to his own authority, as pope, he said he had the promise of Christ, that it was founded on a rock, and would never fail; so that he had nothing to fear.

Tho' by these arguments the emperor was persuaded to desist from the demand of a general council, he could not be prevailed upon to declare war against the Lutherans before he had given them a hearing. He therefore wrote to the states of the empire to meet him at Augsberg, April 28, A. D. 1526. He said he convoked the diet in order to treat of matters of religion, that the parties should be heard, and their reasons examined; that the truth being known, and concord established, there might be no more than one faith, simple and pure; and as they were all disciples of one master Jesus Christ, their common head, they might compose but one church. No mention was made of Luther. After this the emperor was crowned. He then wrote again to put off the diet to the 1st of May, and this letter was written with the same moderation.

tion. The protestants, however, were not without suspicion of his designs from the long stay he made at Bologna, the secret interviews he had with the pope, and the oath which he took at his coronation, which was, that he would be the perpetual defender of the dignity of the church of Rome. *Sleidan*, p. 226. Besides, they knew that there was in the treaty made at Barcelona, the preceding year a secret article, by which he had engaged to destroy Lutheranism.

The Lutherans were so much alarmed at these appearances, that they would have formed an army, and met the emperor, had it not been for the persuasion of Luther; who strongly urged the unlawfulness of fighting for their religion, and who exhorted the elector to carry the cross of Christ, since he had embraced his doctrine, and shew the sincerity of his faith, by his patience and constancy.

It was, however, a serious question, whether the protestant princes, especially the elector, should attend the diet. The emperor, they knew, had been advised to adopt violent measures, and it might have been imagined that by seizing the heads of the party an end might be put to the disturbance. But it was thought that it became them, at whatever risk, to appear openly, without fear or shame, as the friends of the cause they had espoused, lest

the less powerful should be discouraged. Besides, they were not without hope that, as the emperor was a man of good understanding, a young man, and had given some attention to the subject, something might be gained, at least by the confidence they reposed in him, and the respect they shewed him. But tho' Luther rather wished to attend the diet, it was thought proper that he should not go, and in the capacity of divines the elector took Jonas Spalatin and Melancthon. They agreed, however, that their divines should preach openly till they were expressly forbidden. But tho' there were so many reasons for the union of the Zuinglians with the Lutherans, and the landgrave leaned to their opinion, he could not by any means bring Luther to make a common cause with them. He could not he said unite with them who were in an error, and his friends dreaded to bring upon themselves the odium under which the others lay.

## SECTION



## SECTION VI.

*From the Meeting of the Diet at Augsburg, A. D. 1526, to the death of Clement VII, A. D. 1534.*

**A**FTER this preparation, and the long stay of the emperor in Italy, he arrived at Augsburg, and it was contrived by the catholics that it should be on the 15th of June, the day before the procession of the sacrament, when he both insisted upon the attendance of the Protestant princes in the ceremony, and that the preaching of their ministers should be discontinued. However, tho' strongly urged, they resolutely refused to obey; the margrave of Brandenburg declaring that they would rather obey God than man, and were prepared even to die for their religion, if required. Accordingly, the procession was made without them, and it was observed that, tho' the city of Augsburg was very populous, not more than an hundred of the inhabitants attended. With respect to the preachers, it was at length agreed that the emperor should silence them all, and appoint others, men of moderate characters, who should preach the gospel without controversy. The elect-

or of Saxony attended the emperor at mass, but not without previously declaring that he did it only as obliged by his office ; and when the host was elevated, neither he, nor any of the Protestants, made the prostration.

When the diet was opened, it appeared by the speech of the emperor, in which he reproved the princes for not observing the edict of Worms, that the councils of the legate and of the catholics had made a change in his disposition with respect to the Protestants. After much debating they obtained leave to present their apology ; but the catholic party insisted that they should only deliver it in writing, lest the reading of it should make an impression upon those who never read any thing. But the Protestants declaring that they would withdraw it altogether if it might not be read, this was at length granted, but it was contrived that it should be read in a small room, where not more than two hundred persons could attend ; and for some time it was also insisted upon that it should be read only in latin. But the elector, knowing that many of the auditors did not understand Latin, at length obtained leave that it should be read in German, and a person was provided who read it in so loud a voice, that he was heard in the neighbouring rooms ; and he read so deliberately, that he was two hours in dispatching it.

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This famous confession of faith, which was drawn up by Melancthon, thus distinctly read, made a great impression on many persons who were present, as they did not find in it those monstrous opinions with which the Protestants had been charged. The bishop of Augsburg could not forbear crying out, "This is nothing but the naked truth. We cannot deny it." William of Bavaria was upon this more civil to the elector of Saxony than before, and walking home with him, he said he found the doctrine of the Protestants, very different from the account that he had received of it. Pontanus on delivering the confession into hands of the emperor, said in a loud voice, "This Confession, with the grace of God, who will defend his own cause, will triumph over the gates of hell." The emperor took the Latin copy, and said that he should consider it.

This celebrated composition was drawn up with much care and art, expressing in the first place all the capital articles in which the Protestants agreed with the Romanists, and also contained their reasons for correcting the abuses which had been introduced into the church. The article relating to the eucharist was so expressed as not to contradict the doctrine of transubstantiation. This was done on account of the emperor being reported to have said, that he was not surprized at the

Protestants condemning certain practices of the Romish church, but that as for the *mass*, that was *his heart*. Melancthon, therefore, passed over what would have given the most offence in their doctrine on that subject, as the sacrifice of the mass and the adoration of the host. Luther did not approve of this artful conduct, tho' he did not openly object to the confession. The landgrave received it, but with an explanation of what was said in it on that subject. The emperor forbade the printing of the Confession, but a great number of written copies were distributed, and sent into all parts of Europe, great curiosity having been excited with respect to it.

The friends of the pope at this dict, acting by his instructions, would have pushed the emperor to the most violent measures, or at least have made him insist on the Protestants reverting to the anti-ent worship till the calling of a council, which it was well known they would not do ; but the emperor persisted in his moderate maxims, and his whole conduct at this time was much praised by Melancthon. After much consultation, the Romanists prevailed to have the Protestant confession delivered to their divines, in order to its consultation, and Faber and his friends laboured at it six weeks.

In the mean time, no promises or menaces having been spared in order to gain the Protestant princes, so discouraged was Melancthon at the difficulties they met with, that Luther wrote him several excellent letters of consolation. “ You “ make no account,” he said, “ of your own life, “ but fear for the public cause ; whereas, I make “ myself perfectly easy about the cause, because I “ am persuaded it is a good one, that of God and “ of Christ.” Reproving him for his policy, he said, “ You cease not to torment yourself, without “ considering that this business is above your light, “ and your strength, and that it will be carried on “ without our care ; and as it were by itself. Jesus “ Christ will not have the success of it to depend “ on the councils or power of man. If we are not “ worthy to carry on the business, God will raise “ up others more worthy than we.”

After many delays and corrections, on account of the violence with which it was first written, and which displeased the emperor, the refutation of the protestant confession was produced and read in full diet on the 3d of August. But tho’ the Protestants, who thought it extremely weak, were refused a copy of it, they were on the 5th of that month required to renounce their doctrine, which they were told they had heard refuted. However, remonstrating strongly against this demand, with-  
out

out having had an opportunity of reading and considering the answer of their opponents, a copy was delivered to them, but with an injunction not to transcribe or publish it,

The landgrave, not liking the aspect of things, left Augsburg privately, on the pretence of his wife's illness; and this alarming the emperor, he took much pains to pacify the Protestants, and mediators were appointed to find some means of conciliation. But being chosen by the catholics, they only demanded of the Protestants a renunciation of their errors, and conformity to the catholic church; and some of them threatened the elector of Saxony with being put under the ban of the empire if he did not. The Protestants were so far gained, or intimidated, that at length they promised that, provided they were allowed the communion in both kinds, the marriage of their priests; and the celebration of the mass as they had reformed it, they would yield obedience in other respects. And Melancthon, writing to Campegio the legate on this occasion, after those proposals were rejected, said, "If our priests had obtained these articles, they would have submitted to the bishops, the church would have been reunited in one body, and the see of Rome would have preserved its authority."

But

But this compliance did not please Luther. He said that if he were in their place, he would yield nothing; and they had better come to extremity than consent to resume the smallest of the superstitions; but since they would amuse them with the illusory promise of a council, he advised them to oppose artifice to artifice, and endeavour to obtain a toleration by appealing to that chimera of a council which would never be held; that the emperor would think twice before he would engage in a doubtful war, and that it was impossible to come to an agreement without a sacrifice of the truth. "In short," he said, "all your projects of agreement displease me infinitely, because it is altogether impossible, unless the pope consent to abolish his authority."

The magistrates of the cities also remonstrated against those concessions. Even the protestant princes did not approve of the advice of the divines, and Pontanus wrote on the margin of that paper that he could not acknowledge the authority of the pope because he pretended it to be of divine right, when he was really the antichrist foretold by the apostle Paul.

The answer they at length returned was, that they would obey the bishops as far as the word of God would permit. They persisted in their demand of a council, and said that, in the mean time,  
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it would answer a good end if the emperor would name deputies of both parties to confer together. On which he named seven on each side, two princes, two lawyers, and three divines. But these commissaries not being able to agree, the emperor himself endeavoured to bring it about, and he proposed that a council should be called, and till that every thing should be restored to its former state. The Protestants replied that they were not the innovators, but had resumed the antient faith, that they wished for a free council, but that they could not restore the abuses which they had condemned in their confession, and their people were too much enlightened to receive them.

At this time the Protestants and catholics equally wished for a council. The abuses in ecclesiastical matters were so flagrant, that they could not be concealed; but the pope had good reasons to dread the assembling of one on his own account. He was a bastard, which was by many thought to be a sufficient disqualification, and his election was said to have been simoniacal, on account of a promise that he had made to the cardinal Colonna. He had also been the means of enslaving his country of Tuscany, and was properly the author of the bloody wars by which Italy had suffered. And the cardinals were as much afraid of a council as himself. He therefore alleged, that the time was

not



not convenient, as the peace was not yet established, that fresh commotions were expected from the Turks; but he said that he would yield to the requisition of the emperor, provided the council was held in Italy, and the Lutherans and other heretics would engage to submit to it. This, however, he well knew was not likely to be acceded to by them, since in such a council they were sure to be condemned.

The emperor, after considering the answer of the Protestants, replied in a manner that must have been far from pleasing them. He condemned their obstinacy in preferring their private sentiments to the doctrine of the universal church, but that he had the peace of the church so much at heart, that he required them to renew their conferences, at which he said he would assist in person; but if they were inflexible, he must, as protector of the church, treat them as schismatics; and he required their answer the next day.

The Protestants, however, without being terrified, replied that their confession of faith would shew that they preserved the catholic faith, that in an affair of conscience, a plurality of voices would avail nothing, and that the resumption of the conferences would answer no good purpose, as they had nothing farther to concede; but they said they would endeavour to preserve the peace of the  
state

state. This resolute answer offended the emperor; but being unwilling to give up all hopes of an union, various other attempts were made in which Melancthon was persuaded to concede more than his brethren were willing to do. In this, however, Erasmus, who was then at Augsburg, concurred with him. But the more zealous of the Protestants, especially the citizens of Nuremberg, were displeas'd with these timid councils; and Luther, writing to his friends, declared his fixed resolution to yield nothing farther than the confession. "I conjure you," said he, "to break off all farther negociation. They insult us because they are the stronger party; but let them do as they please. Whether war comes or not, we have offer'd peace, and that is enough."

The emperor seeing that nothing was likely to be effected, order'd the decree of the diet to be drawn up; but before this was done the Protestants presented fourteen articles as their *ultimatum*; and the imperial cities of Strasburg, Constance, Memingen, and Lindaw, presented their confession, differing from that of the Lutherans only in the article relating to the corporeal presence; and tho' all reasonable endeavours were us'd to engage the Lutherans not to break their union on account of

this

this article, even Melancthon, tho' he had been so compliant to the catholics, would not yield to them.

At length the decree of this famous diet was produced, to the following purpose, that "the confession of faith of the Protestants, having been read, had been refuted by proofs drawn from the scriptures ; but that not being admitted by them, they were allowed till the 15th of April in the year following to consider whether they would make profession of the doctrine of the pope and the Catholic states, at least till the meeting of a council ; that within that time they must signify their resolution to the emperor. In the mean time, they were forbidden to print any thing relating to their religion, make any farther innovations ; draw any person to their faith, or disturb the monks in their possessions. They were also ordered to repress the Anabaptists, and the Sacramentarians. On the other hand, the emperor promised to engage the pope to call a council within six months, to be opened within a year after the convocation."

To this decree the Protestants made many objections ; and after several attempts to gain them, they gave it as their final answer, that on any other subject than that of *religion*, they were ready to convince the emperor that no princes had more

respect to his orders and authority; that events were in the hands of God, in whom they placed their hopes of safety; and that they awaited his orders with that tranquility which is inseparable from a good conscience. When the elector of Saxony, after this, took his leave of the emperor, he said aloud, that he was convinced that the doctrine contained in their confession was supported by such strong proofs from the scriptures, that all the efforts of the devil could not overturn it. The emperor giving him his hand only replied, "My cousin, I should not have expected this of you."

After the departure of the elector, some farther proposals for an accommodation were made; but no attention was paid to them. The Protestants also refused to contribute any thing to the war with the Turks whilst their own estates were threatened, and consequently whilst their troops and finances were wanted for their own defence, unless they were assured of the peaceable possession of the reformation till the holding of a council and many of the Catholics thought this resolution to be very reasonable. In consequence of this, some clauses were inserted in the decree in their favour, but not sufficiently definite to give satisfaction; and the ministers of the elector of Saxony had orders to require positively of the emperor, whether they were to have peace or war. As

As to the Sacramentarians, they were treated with much more haughtiness, after a pretended refutation of their arguments by Faber and Eckius, of which they were not allowed to have a copy. Since, said the emperor, they approved of the frightful doctrine which denies the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, since they had removed the images from their churches, abolished the mass, and driven the monks from their monasteries, they should be treated as they deserved.

At length the recess of the diet was published the 19th of November A. D. 1530. It absolutely proscribed the Sacramentarians, ordered the restoration of the antient ceremonies, the degradation of the married priests, the invocation of the saints, the restoration of the monasteries, and directed that the decree should be executed by force of arms. In conclusion, the emperor promised the convocation of a council in six months. But the imperial cities refused to subscribe the decree, and the magistrates of Augsburg, where the diet was assembled, would not affix their seal to it, as had always been the custom in the cities in which the diet met. After the publication of this decree, the emperor left the place the 24th of November.

The conduct of the Protestants appeared to so much advantage during the sitting of this diet, resisting alike the threats and the caresses of their

enemies, that their cause gained much in consequence of it, especially after the publication of their confession of faith. Presently after this there declared for them Herman archbishop of Cologn, Frederic count Palatine, the first minister of the empire, and afterwards elector, Eric duke of Brunswick, the dukes of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, Joachim prince elector of Brandenburg, who soon succeeded his father George, Ernest son of prince William of Henneberg, and a great number of counts, barons, gentlemen, and free cities. \*

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\* About the time of this diet at Augsburg the following symbolical representation, Le Clerc says, was exhibited before the emperor and his brother Ferdinand.

As the princes were at table a number of persons offered to act a small comedy for the entertainment of the company. They were ordered to begin; and first entered a man in the dress of a doctor, who brought a large quantity of small wood, of straight and crooked billets; and having laid them on the middle of the hearth, retired. On his back was written REUCHLIN.

When this actor was gone off another entered, habited also like a doctor, who attempted to make faggots of the wood, and to fit the crooked to the straight; but having laboured long to no purpose, he went away out of humour, shaking his head. On his back appeared the name of ERASMUS.

A third, dressed like an Augustinian monk, came in with a chafing dish full of fire, gathered up the crooked

In this critical state of things with the Protestants, the obstinacy of Luther, which prevented him and his friends from uniting with Zuinglius and his friends, appeared to be particularly unfortunate.

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tunate.

wood, put it upon the fire, and blew till he made it burn, then went away, having upon his frock the name of LUTHER.

A fourth entered dressed like an emperor, who seeing the crooked wood all on fire, seemed much concerned; and to put it out drew his sword, and poked the fire with it, which only made it burn the brisker. On his back was written CHARLES V.

Lastly, a fifth entered in his pontifical habit and with a triple crown, who seemed extremely surprized to see the crooked billets on fire, and by his countenance and attitude shewed excessive grief. Then looking about on every side to see if he could find any water to extinguish the flame, cast his eyes on two bottles in a corner of the room, one of which was full of oil and the other of water, and in his hurry he unfortunately seized on the oil and poured it upon the fire, which made it blaze so violently, that he was forced to walk off. On his back was written LEO X.

This little farce Jortin (from whose *Life of Erasmus* p. 584 I copy it) adds wants no commentary; but if the merry actors had taken it into their heads to represent the whole conduct of Erasmus, they should have introduced him a second time, and have represented him as constrained by the menaces of Leo X to take up the straight wood, and burn it along with the crooked.

tunate. On this account Bucer made another attempt at a reconciliation, and at length he in some measure succeeded. With the consent of the elector of Saxony, and the citizens of Strasburgh, he went from Augsburg to visit him, and found him much more favourably disposed than before. How far he succeeded does not appear; but Bucer was encouraged by it to go from him to Zuinglius, and the reformed Switzers; and the consequence was the forming of a league for six years with the landgrave and the cities of Zurich, Basil, and Strasburgh, that if any violence should be offered to any of them on account of their religion, they should assist one another. This was made in November.

The elector of Saxony being summoned to meet the emperor at Cologne about the creation of a king of the Romans, he requested a meeting of the landgrave, and the other Protestant princes at Smalcald the 28th of November, when they all entered into a league, but purely for their own defence; and the other Protestant princes, cities, and states, were invited to accede to it. *Slidan*, p. 142. From this meeting letters were addressed to the kings of France and of England, in which they endeavoured to answer several calumnies which had been propagated concerning them; they gave an account of the proceedings at Augsburgh



burgh, and requested their interference to procure a general and impartial council. To these letters favourable answers were in due time returned.

On the 29th of March A. D. 1531, the Protestant princes had another meeting at Smalcald, and then, with the consent of Luther himself, who on farther reflection had been led to approve of defensive war, in a cause in which both civil and religious rights were alike involved, they settled every thing relating to their league, as the sums that each should contribute, the command of the armies, and the terms on which others should be admitted to join the confederacy, &c. The elector of Saxony would not, however, consent to the admission of the Sacramentarians into the league. He was sensible, he said, of the great accession which it would bring to their strength; but we ought not for that reason have recourse to unlawful assistance, but leave the event to God.

When they were at Smalcald, they received the emperor's requisition to contribute to the war against the Turks; but they replied that, till they could be assured that they should not be harrassed by the imperial chamber with actions on account of religion, which would necessarily lead them to stand on their own defence, they could not so far disarm themselves; and there being an immediate necessity to oppose the Turks, the emperor, then

holding another diet at Ratifbon, found himself obliged to promise that till the meeting of a general council no person should be molested on account of his religion ; on which the Protestants, then seven princes, and twenty four cities, promised their assistance against the Turks. This agreement was ratified August 2d A. D. 1532. In the mean time a better agreement had been made between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, the latter having so explained their doctrine that the former accepted of it. On the 6th of August the elector of Saxony died, and was succeeded by his son John Frederic, justly surnamed *the Magnanimous*.

Presently after this, the pope and the emperor sent ambassadors to the elector, to signify their agreement to hold a general council in the usual manner, and desiring his concurrence with it ; the pope giving the choice of Placentia, Bologna, or Mantua, for the holding of it, and requiring his promise to abide by its decrees. He declined giving any answer without the concurrence of his friends ; and the Protestant princes meeting at Smalcald January 30 A. D. 1533, gave their joint answer ; saying, that the council of which they had now received notice was by no means such as had been promised in the imperial decree, and was not likely to answer any good end.

For

For if it was held according to the usual custom, the pope would preside, and all the decrees would be in his own favour. But they said that if the council was held, they would either attend, or send their ambassadors, provided they saw any prospect of its answering a good end: but that if the proceedings in that council should resemble those of the later ones, they would leave the affair to Almighty God, who would undoubtedly vindicate his own cause, and that of true religion.

Thus, in a favourable concurrence of circumstances, a toleration was procured for the Protestants for an indefinite time, there being no probability that any council would be held during the pontificate of Clement, whose aversion to the measure was well known; and no great interest of the whole empire, such as a war with the Turks, could be carried on without the hearty concurrence of the Protestant as well as the Catholic princes. Besides an open war with the Protestants, on account of their *religion only*, was a measure that the emperor did not chuse to hazard.

When the emperor left Germany he went to Italy; and again conferring with the pope on the subject of the council which he had much at heart, they agreed to send ambassadors jointly to the Protestant princes, giving them the choice of three cities in Italy for the holding of it, on condition

that it should be held in the antient manner, and that all parties should be bound by its decrees.

To this they answered, that such a council could not possibly answer the end proposed, since the pope would have it in his power to conduct every thing just as he pleased, and that it was contrary to the laws of the empire that the council should be held any where but in Germany. They said, however, that if they saw any prospect of a good end being answered by their attendance, and questions were decided according to the scriptures, they would attend; and they concluded with intreating the emperor, whose province it was, to see that justice was done to them and to all parties, to consider the importance of the case, and see that the business was conducted in a proper manner. They then appointed a committee of divines and lawyers to draw up a scheme of articles on which they were to insist, with respect to the form of the council. It was evident, however, that the pope was far from wishing that any council should be held, and in his private instructions to his ambassador, he bade him take care that, tho' pressed by Ferdinand himself, he should not lay him under the necessity of holding any council at all.

In the mean time the Protestants, seeing that it was the intention of their enemies to crush them  
by

by any means, made a league for their security with the king of France ; and the landgrave, who was always ready to have recourse to arms, raised an army, and meeting with ten thousand of the troops of Ferdinand on the 13th of May A. D. 1534, defeated them, and took several towns of importance. But the archbishop of Mentz and the elector of Saxony interposing their good offices, peace was made on the terms that no violence should be done to any person, and no law suits commenced on the account of religion. (*Sleidan. p. 173*) but without comprehending the Anabaptists or Sacramentarians ; and that the elector of Saxony should acknowledge Ferdinand king of the Romans.

The pope was greatly offended at this pacification, but Ferdinand apologized for it as the only means of preventing greater troubles. Presently after this the pope died, and was succeeded by Paul III of the house of Farnese.

## SECTION

## SECTION VII.

*From the death of Clement VII, in A. D. 1554, to the Establishment of the Toleration in Germany, A. D. 1559.*

PAUL III, not having the apprehensions of Clement, proposed to the Protestants the holding of the council for which they had so often called; but as he proposed that it should be held in Mantua, and was not explicit about the mode of proceeding in it, they declined giving their assent. They, also insisted that the pope, who was a party, should not be the judge, and that the decisions should be according to the scriptures. And being still harrassed by the proceedings of the chamber of Spire, notwithstanding the promise of relief from the emperor and Ferdinand, they on the 12th of December A. D. 1535, renewed their league of Smalcald, which was near expiring, for ten years more. They had received ambassadors from the king of France, who was at variance with the emperor, and also from the king of Eng-

land

land, who had quarrelled with the pope, but no active measures were entered into by them.

The emperor, being at Rome in April A. D. 1536, insisted so much on the necessity of a council, that the pope appointed nine persons to draw up a bull for the convocation of one to meet at Mantua the 23d of the following May; and it was subscribed by twenty-six cardinals. At the same time a committee was formed for the reformation of abuses in his own court. Afterwards, on the duke of Mantua's insisting on a garrison for the security of the town, the council was prorogued to the first of November.

It was in vain that the emperor endeavoured to reconcile the Protestants to a council convened by the pope, as they clearly foresaw that no justice would be done to them in it. The king of England also protested against it, alleging the avowed hostility of the pope to him; and indeed the pope had promoted a peace between the emperor and the king of France with a view to crush both the king of England and the Protestants. The latter also complained again, but to no purpose, of the conduct of the chamber of Spire, which, tho' ordered not to meddle with any causes relating to religion, yet decided many against them on the pretence of their being civil causes, or of a mixed

nature.

nature. The Protestants also wished to have the emperor's approbation for admitting into their league several princes and cities who had joined them after it was first formed, but in vain.

The pope at this time, unable to resist the incessant calls for reformation, appointed twelve persons, among whom were four cardinals, to examine into the abuses complained of, and to make a report concerning them; and they seem to have done it with fidelity, as may be concluded from a view of the articles themselves. They complained that bishopricks were often given to persons destitute of learning or probity, and sometimes to boys. They, therefore, advised that persons should be appointed to examine the candidates for bishopricks, and also that natives of one country should not have preferments in another. They said that bishops made resignations of their benefices with the reservation of a great proportion of the revenues to themselves, that they contrived to dispose of them by will, that the children of priests enjoyed the benefices of their fathers, that persons were appointed to bishopricks before the death of the incumbents, that several were enjoyed by the same persons, that bishopricks were given to cardinals who could not reside; whereas, according to the antient canons, no bishop should be absent from

his



his church more than three weeks, that too many of the cardinals resided at a distance from Rome; where they ought to be present to advise and assist the pope.

They farther complained that church discipline was much relaxed, and that penalties and censures were bought off. They said there were many bad examples among the monks, and that there was much open and notorious lewdness in nunneries, and therefore advised that no monks should be confessors to nuns.

Much mischief, they said, had arisen from public disputations and controversial sermons, and from the unrestrained publication of books, especially from the *Colloquies of Erasmus* being taught in schools. Priests, they said, were often permitted to marry, and that dispensations to marry within the prohibited degrees were too often given, that simony was so common that no person was ashamed of it, that every person was allowed to have divine service in his own house, and to chuse priests to perform it.

They also complained of the abuse of indulgences which they said should not be distributed more than once a year, and only in the greater towns. They said that divine service was often performed in an indecent manner at Rome, and even in the church of St Peter, the priests being  
both

both ignorant and slovenly. Common prostitutes, they said, appeared in public, riding on mules, and living in magnificent houses, where they were visited even by cardinals, that there were no where to be seen such marks of dissoluteness and debauchery as in that city, which ought to be the pattern of virtue and decency to every other.

They conclude with earnestly exhorting the pope to apply a remedy to all these public disorders, and thereby avert the wrath of God, which they said hung over them for their sins.

This scheme of a reformation was not published, nor was it ever reduced to practice. Nicolas the cardinal and archbishop of Capua, who was supposed to speak the real sentiments of the pope, was violently against all reformation; alleging that the Lutherans would boast that they had compelled them to it. It was supposed however, that it was by means of this cardinal that the scheme was divulged, and Luther, coming to the knowledge of it, wrote to expose it. The pope prorogued the council to the first of May, and not being able to prevail upon the emperor and the king of France to attend at that time, he again prorogued it to the Easter following to meet at Vicenza.

In A. D. 1538, the king of Denmark, and in A. D. 1542, Otho the prince Palatine, joined the Protestants. The elector of Brandenburg, tho'  
of

of the Lutheran religion, refused to join this league, and was in all other respects devoted to the emperor.

In order to counteract the league of the Protestants, the Catholic princes, among whom was George duke of Saxony, Lewis duke of Bavaria, and Henry duke of Brunswick, who was particularly eager to make war on the Protestants, were induced by the emperor to enter into a league which they called the *holy league*, and which was to continue eleven years. However, at the diet of Frankfort, in A. D. 1539, the emperor granted the confederates a truce for fifteen months, that there might be a conference of learned men on the subject of religion, but the Anabaptists were not comprehended in it.

In this year George duke of Saxony died, and was succeeded by his brother Henry, a zealous Protestant, who immediately invited Luther to preach at Leipfic, in order to promote the reformation, which was a great acquisition to the Protestant cause. In March A. D. 1540 the Protestants met at Smalcald, and by a letter to the emperor made every representation to procure peace; but at the same time they concerted proper measures for their defence, if he should not be influenced by them.

After much preparation in preceding meetings, the conference which had been proposed between the opposite parties was opened at Ratisbon, but it had no more effect than the former ones; and an invasion of the Turks being at that time apprehended, the emperor thought proper to make such concessions as induced the Protestant princes to join their forces to repel them. The principal of these concessions was a reformation in the imperial chamber, by which a number of Protestants were to be admitted as judges in it. But this being afterwards evaded, the Protestants refused to abide by the awards of this court, and at the diet of Nuremberg in A. D. 1542, they declined contributing to the Turkish war on that account.

In the mean time the pope was doing every thing in his power to promote a war against the Protestants, and in A. D. 1545 he prepared an army of twelve thousand men to assist in it; but things were not then ripe for the measure. A Franciscan friar preaching before the emperor, exhorted him to an immediate war; saying that many thousand souls were daily in danger of eternal damnation, and that if he did not apply a remedy God would require them at his hands. The king of England at this time informed the Protestants that they were threatened with a dreadful war. On the other hand they were accused to the emperor

peror of conspiring against his authority. Another conference, however, was held on the subject of religion at Ratibon ; but after some progress it was broke up in consequence of some directions of the emperor concerning it, to which the Protestants refused to accede.

It was in this state of things, when every thing was tending to an open rupture, that Luther, who had always been an advocate for peace and forbearance, died. On the 17th of February A. D. 1556 having been requested to act the part of an umpire between two counts of Mansfield, in which was Illeben the place of his nativity, he went thither ; and having dispatched that business, he was seized with some disorder in his stomach, and after some discourse about knowing one another in a future state, of which he said he had no doubt, he desired his friends to pray to God for the preservation of the pure doctrine of the gospel ; for that the pope and the council, which was just then assembled at Trent, were hatching mischief. Then, he earnestly prayed that God, who he said, had revealed to him his son Jesus, whom he had loved and preached, while the pope and others had persecuted and dishonoured him, would receive his soul ; adding, “ O heavenly father, tho’ I be snatched out of this life, tho’ I must now lay down this body, yet know I assuredly that I shall abide with thee

“ forever, and that no man shall pluck me out of thy hands.” Presently after this, without any appearance of pain or agony, he expired on the 18th of February at the age of sixty three, and five days after he was honourably buried at Wittemberg. In this pious and exemplary manner died this extraordinary man, who had been raised up by God to be a principal instrument in promoting the great and necessary work of reformation ; and contrary to the expectation of many, he died in peace, and not a violent death, as thousands who preceded and followed him in the same cause did.

While the emperor was taking his measures for the suppression of the Protestants by force, he took great pains to deceive them. The landgrave waiting upon him at Spire freely mentioned to him the circumstances which led them to suspect that he had made peace with the king of France, and a truce with the Turks, with a design to fall upon them. But he assured them that he had no such intention, and that the suspicions he had been led to entertain of them were also removed ; that it was not his intention that any violence should be offered to them on account of any decrees of the council of Trent, and after a long conference they parted seemingly well disposed to each other.

With all these professions of peace the emperor was fully determined on war, and from Ratisbon,

bon, where the diet was held, he sent the cardinal of Trent to Rome, to require of the pope the succours he had promised, and made other preparations. Alarmed at this, the Protestants desired to be informed concerning the object of them, but he returned only an evasive answer; saying that his design was to establish peace and justice, that those who should assist him in this would find favour, but that the forces he was raising would reduce those who should oppose him in it. His letters to the free cities of the empire made his real designs still more apparent.

The deputies of the Protestant states finding this left Ratisbon, and the cities of Upper Germany, immediately raised forces, and writing to the landgrave and the elector of Saxony, promised them all the assistance in their power. These two princes raised their forces, but before they commenced hostilities they wrote to the emperor, remonstrating against his conduct, as contrary to all his professions, when it was now evident that he was undertaking a war for the suppression of the gospel, and the liberties of Germany, and for no other cause whatever. They then wrote to the kings of England and France, and other states, to solicit succours; alleging that it was a war of religion, and that it was the emperor's intention, un-

der colour of punishing a few, to divide them, and destroy them all one after another.

Whilst the emperor was proceeding with as much secrecy as he could, and really aimed at enlarging his power in Germany, the pope acted without any disguise, proclaiming to all the world that the object of the war was the suppression of heresy; and on the 13th of July A. D. 1546 he published a bull, in which, after complaining of the obstinacy of the heretics, who, he said, flighted and rejected the council which was then sitting at Trent, he exhorted all persons to fast and pray that God would give success to the war, which the emperor and himself were obliged to undertake for the rooting out of heresy, and restoring peace to the church.

This open conduct of the pope was more than sufficient to open the eyes of the Protestant confederates to see their real situation, and accordingly the landgrave took the field the 16th of the same month, and Scheitellini, one of the Protestant generals, soon made himself master of Erenberg, an important pass in the Alps leading to Italy, in order to prevent the arrival of the forces of the pope.

The emperor finding his dissimulation of no farther use, proclaimed the elector of Saxony and the landgrave outlawed, and declared war against them



them in the usual forms. However, the measures of the Protestants were so well laid, and their force so great, that they would certainly have been an overmatch for the emperor, if Maurice, the son and heir of Henry duke of Saxony, had not adhered to him. This prince, tho' a Protestant, was desirous of supplanting his relation in the electorate, and to him and his brother Augustus the emperor committed the execution of the ban of the empire, requiring him to take possession of the elector's estates, and also those of the landgrave. The better to succeed in this, Maurice continued with the Protestants.

After a formal declaration of war, in answer to that of the emperor, the Protestants marched to Ratisbon, and had they been governed by the landgrave, who was for immediately attacking the emperor, there can be no doubt but they would have had him in their power ; but his advice was overruled. And presently after Maurice having called a council of his states, in which he assured them that their religion was in no danger, declared that they were under obligation to obey the emperor in all temporal matters, and that as the states of his relation the elector were in danger of suffering from the invasion of foreigners, he persuaded them to take part with the emperor in this war, and seize upon the electorate ; and this, after some ne-

gociation, in which he pretended much friendship for his relation, he in a great measure did. And tho' the elector not only recovered what Maurice had taken from him, and gained other advantages, yet in a pitched battle fought the 22d of April A. D. 1547 at Mulberg on the Elbe, he was defeated, taken prisoner, and sentenced to die for rebellion. But on the intercession of the duke of Brandenburg, the emperor remitted the sentence, on condition of his renouncing the electorate.

He refused, however, to consent to what the emperor also proposed, viz. that he would approve of whatever the council of Trent or the emperor should decree concerning religion, tho' his life depended upon it; and in all respects he behaved with the greatest piety and magnanimity. Such conditions were proposed to the landgrave as he thought proper to accept; but waiting on the emperor at Hall, other conditions than those to which he had agreed were presented to him; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of Maurice, and the elector of Brandenburg, who had made themselves responsible for his safety, and the emperor's own word to the contrary, he was detained a prisoner.

The city of Magdeburg still held out against the emperor, and was therefore put under the ban of the empire, and both the emperor and Maurice  
having

having gained their principal objects, of which that of the former was an accession of power by suppressing his opponents, and that of the latter the supplanting of the elector, and getting himself appointed in his place, nothing was said on either side with respect to religion. Indeed, the pope, was so fully apprized of the real object of the emperor, and had such a dread of his success, that he had on various pretences, and especially his not having openly declared himself against the Protestants as heretics, withdrawn his troops:

Maurice, who had always professed great zeal for the Protestant cause, sent for Melancthon, and other divines of Wittemberg, treated them with great civility, made large professions of his zeal for religion, and committed to them the care of the church and of the university. On the other hand, the pope, who now dreaded the increased power of the emperor, having, on the pretence of an infectious distemper, removed the council from Trent to Bologna, with a view to having it more in his own power, the emperor was much offended, and ordered his bishops and divines to remain at Trent; and a diet being held at Augsburg July the 3d, he moved the princes to remonstrate with the pope on the subject. No satisfaction being obtained, and there being no prospect of promoting the union of the empire by means of the council,

with the concurrence of the states, commissioners were appointed to draw up heads of doctrine, and articles of reformation.

The persons appointed were Julius Pflug bishop of Nuremberg, Michael Sidonius, and Agricola, who eighteen years before had defended the Protestant doctrine in company with Melancthon and Brentius. Having drawn up these articles, they were presented to the emperor, and afterwards communicated to all the parties. This measure being intended to answer a temporary purpose, obtained the title of *the Interim*, but it gave satisfaction to few. It was received by the elector of Brandenburg in the Palatinate, and at Wittemberg, but it greatly displeased the pope and the Catholics, as not made by proper authority, and no less the more zealous Protestants, especially the late elector of Saxony, who tho' a prisoner, rejected very flattering offers that were made to him if he would accept it; and tho' he was treated with peculiar harshness for his refusal. His answer to the proposal discovers the greatest magnanimity, a mind deeply sensible to his situation, but unbroken by it, and preferring the things of another life to every thing in this. It was also rejected by the subjects of the landgrave. On the publication of this *Interim* one inconsiderable city, but it does not appear which, intreated the emperor  
to

to be content that their goods and their lives were at his service, but that he would permit them to reserve their consciences for God ; and least of all was it reasonable, they said, that he should force upon them a thing which he did not himself accept, or believe to be true. *F. Paul*, p. 479.

The citizens of Magdeburg added much to their offence by their rejection of the Interim. They also complained of encroachments on their civil liberties ; and tho some of their forces were defeated, they persisted with great magnanimity in their resistance. On this Maurice was appointed to command the force of the empire against them ; but when they were obliged to capitulate, good security was given them both with respect to their liberties and their religion.

By granting these favourable terms to the citizens of Magdeburg, and by various alliances with foreign powers, Maurice was continually strengthening himself ; while the emperor, intent on the war that he was carrying on in Italy, and on the proceedings of the council, had no suspicion of his designs, which were to gain the liberty of his father in law the landgrave, and the liberties of Germany in general, if not by fair means, by force of arms ; and the emperor giving only evasive answers to all his applications in favour of the landgrave, he, having secretly increased his forces, and made a league

league with the king of France, in the spring of A. D. 1552, published a declaration to the states of the empire, complaining, that after many promises nothing was done in favour of religion, or of his father in law, and that steps were taken to establish an arbitrary power in the empire, and expressing his resolution to take up arms for the common liberty. The declaration was also signed by Albert duke of Mecklenburg. Also Albert of Brandenburg published a declaration of a similar nature, and the king of France another.

These steps being taken, Maurice made such dispatch, that the emperor, who saw his danger, and began to levy troops when it was too late, very narrowly escaped being taken prisoner at Inspruck, from which he fled by night, together with his brother Ferdinand. At length a treaty was made at Passaw, in which it was agreed that the landgrave should be set at liberty, that within six months the emperor should hold a diet of the empire in order to compose the differences about religion, and that in the mean time all persons should live in peace, and not be molested on that account; also that persons of the Augustan confession should be admitted into the imperial chamber. The emperor moreover set at liberty the late elector of Saxony, and behaved to him with great kindness.

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The state of the empire not admitting of any farther measures with respect to the council, the Protestants were from that time permitted to enjoy their religious liberty with little interruption.

Maurice, who by his superior policy, had been the means of effecting this great event, and of establishing his family in the electorate, died in battle in A. D. 1553, fighting against Albert of Brandenburg, who had been joined with him against the emperor, but afterwards entered into hostilities with several princes and states of the empire. Augustus the brother of Maurice succeeded him in the electorate, and the magnanimous John Frederick, who died expressing sentiments of the most pious resignation in A. D. 1554, never recovered it, tho' by a treaty made a short time before his death, his heirs were to succeed in case Augustus should die without male issue. His wife Sibilla, a woman possessed of the piety and magnanimity of her husband, and strongly attached to him, died the year before.

During the interruption of the council of Trent in A. D. 1554, Ferdinand, then king of the Romans, published an edict, by which he ordered that no innovation should be made in matters of religion. He also procured a catechism to be composed by some divines of his appointment,

which

which he ordered to be used in public and in private. This gave equal offence to the Protestants and the court of Rome, which naturally took great umbrage at such an interference of the secular power in matters of religion.

At the diet in Augsburg February 5, A. D. 1554, he proposed another conference, or national council, to settle all differences. From this the Protestants augured nothing favourable to them, since in Bohemia he had published an edict by which more than two hundred ministers had been banished. Nor was it better received at Rome. A legate, however, attended on the part of the pope; but in this state of things he died, and was succeeded by Marcellus II, who shewed great zeal for the reformation, but died within the year, and had for a successor Paul IV. Both parties being equally obstinate, and some termination of their differences being absolutely necessary, it was finally agreed that all the Protestants should have full liberty with respect to the religion of their respective states, that if any ecclesiastical person should abandon his religion he should lose his benefice, but not suffer in any other respect.

This agreement gave great offence to the pope, and the more as he had just received the submission of the kingdom of England on the accession of queen Mary; and he threatened to excommunicate



cate both the emperor and Ferdinand if they did not revoke what they had granted; promising them the aid of his troops, and that he would order all the christian princes to join them with theirs if they would comply with his wishes. When among other reasons, they alleged the oath they had taken, he said he would absolve them from that, and even commanded them to pay no regard to it. But it was without any effect, and the agreement made at Passaw was finally confirmed at another diet held at Ratisbon in A. D. 1559. *F. Paul* vol. 2, p. 50. And thus the great object of the politic and powerful Charles was effectually defeated. Seeing his disappointment in this, and his other ambitious schemes, he renounced the empire, and all his dominions, and retired to a monastery in Spain, where he died in A. D. 1558.

## SECTION

## SECTION VIII.

*Of the Anabaptists in Germany.*

**I**T is to be lamented that, as there is no evil unaccompanied with some good, and so there is no good without some attendant evil. While some men are roused to think with freedom, energy, and justness, others will think, and often act, very extravagantly; and by this means the best of causes sometimes suffers. This was particularly the case at the time of the reformation in Germany.

Thomas Muncer, of whom some account has been given, as at the head of the revolted peasants, and who pretended to immediate inspiration, had many admirers and followers; and there cannot be a doubt but that, extravagant as their opinions and conduct were, they were at their outset sincere, and disinterested, and that the generality of them always were so. Some of their tenets are almost a proof of it; for they indicate the most passive and inoffensive disposition. Besides renouncing the baptism of infants, from which they had their name,

name, they held it to be unlawful for a christian to go to law, to bear any office of magistracy, to take an oath, or to have any property; but, like the primitive christians, they were to have all things in common. *Sleidan*, p. 190. Success, however, led them to depart from some of these principles. Other real enthusiasts have acted in a similar manner.

The reformers having got possession of some of the churches in Munster by an agreement with the Catholics in A. D. 1533, John Matthew, or Matyssen, and John of Leyden, violent Anabaptists, came thither, and tho' at first they were opposed by Bernard Rotman, who had introduced the reformation into that city, they were afterwards joined by him; and being very assiduous in preaching, especially by night, they made so many profelytes, that the magistrates, offended at the progress of the new opinions, banished them from the city. They found means, however, to return, and their numbers continued to increase; and one of them pretending to inspiration, ran about the streets, crying, "Repent and be baptized, or the wrath of God will overwhelm you."

The most active among them was Knipperdoling; and inviting their friends from other places, they were joined by many of the poorer sort, and many of the rich citizens leaving the

place, they chose magistrates out of their own body, and Knipperdoling was created consul. They then banished all who would not join them, and seizing their property, they brought it all into one common stock. They also ordered all books to be burned except the Bible, and demolished the churches, John of Leyden pretending to have a revelation for it. He then appointed twelve ministers to act under him, and published, as a new revelation, that a man might marry as many wives as he pleased, and he himself took three. This occasioned a revolt of many of the more sober citizens; but they were overpowered, and some of them put to death. After this the bishop assisted by the elector of Cologne, and the duke of Cleves, besieged the city, and Matthew being killed in a sally, at the motion of one of them who pretended to the gift of prophecy, John was made *king*, and it was said that he was to be the universal monarch, and to put down all other kings. On this he assumed all the ensigns of royalty, and sent missionaries to make converts in other places, who proclaimed that the time was come when the *meeke should inherit the earth*, and that Luther was worse than the pope. But they were generally seized and put to death.

In the mean time, the city was still besieged, and a meeting of the neighbouring princes being held,

held, the elector of Saxony joined the confederacy that was entered into against them, and notice was given them that unless they desisted from their purpose they would be besieged by all the forces of the empire. This was in December A. D. 1534; but having no effect, the city was besieged in due form, and after the people had suffered much by famine, it was taken the 22d of June A. D. 1535. The king and Knipperdoling were seized, while Rotman was killed fighting. The king and some others of the prisoners were carried about Germany, and being then taken back to Munster they were tortured, and put to death the 19th of January A. D. 1536, and afterwards exposed in iron cages at the top of the tower in the city. *Sleidan*, p. 202.

This severity had the best effect, all the Anabaptists on this giving up every idea of civil power, and becoming the most peaceable of citizens, and perhaps the more so for having received this check.

## SECTION IX.

*The History of the Council of Trent.*

HAVING given a pretty large account of all the former great councils, because the proceedings relating to them shew in a clear light the spirit of the times in which they were held, I think it no less useful with respect to this council of Trent, which is the last of them. No council whatever was considered at the time as more necessary to heal the wounds of the church, and of none of them were greater expectations formed, at least by some of the parties concerned, and none of them so little answered the purposes of those who were the most solicitous about it. In no council whatever was the policy and management of the court of Rome so conspicuous, or so successful, in turning to its own advantage what was intended to militate against it. And that human policy, and not the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, dictated all the decrees, will hardly be denied by any person who attends to the history of it, especially

cially as written by Father Paul, from whose account the following is principally taken.

The council being appointed to meet at Trent, the 15th of March A. D. 1545, the pope, Paul III, sent four cardinals as his legates, who were there at the time. There arrived also on the part of the emperor James Mendoza, a Spaniard. Nothing, however, was done till the 3d of May, when ten bishops being arrived, a congregation was held to regulate the ceremonials of the council, in which the greatest devotion to the pope was very manifest. The number of bishops being deemed sufficient for the opening of the council, the first session was held on the 13th of December; when, after the celebration of the mass, the cardinal legates read a speech, informing the Fathers that the council was called for three purposes, viz. the extinction of heresy, the restoration of discipline, and the peace of Europe. After this an oration was delivered, exhorting all persons to reform their lives, and to attend without prejudice to the business on which they were met.

The pope, having received advice of the opening of the council, appointed a congregation of cardinals and officers of his court to attend to every thing that passed in it, and direct its proceedings; when orders were given that it should have the following title prefixed to all the decrees, *The holy*

*œcumenical and general council of Trent, the legates of the apostolical see presiding in it; that the votes should not be by nations, as in the councils of Constance and Basil, but in the manner of that of Lateran, by which means the influence of the bishops of distant provinces, who could not attend in great numbers, would be inconsiderable, compared to that of those of Italy, who were more subject to the controul of the pope.*

When the title was proposed at Trent, the French prelates would have added the words *representing the universal church*, which had been used at the councils of Constance and Basil. But the legates opposed it, lest it should excite a recollection of those councils, and imply that it had a power superior to that of the pope; but what they alleged was, that it was too pompous, and would give an advantage to the heretics. Every other precaution that had ever been taken to secure the influence of the court of Rome was introduced, especially the holding of *separate congregations*, or *committees* of particular members, in which every thing should be discussed, and also *general congregations*, in which, after this, every person might be heard on the subject, before the *session*, which by this means was reduced to a mere ceremony, to publish what had been agreed upon in the congregations. Things being conducted in this manner, it was not possible



possible but that the influence of the court of Rome and its agents should be absolute.

The legates also advised the pope, that since the emperor would send some prelates from Spain, men of great learning, and ability, in whom he could place confidence, he also should send ten or twelve such persons on his part, that they might be able to reply to them ; as most of the prelates who were then assembled, tho' well disposed, had little knowledge or discretion, and that those who had much capacity were difficult to be governed.

There was for some time much debating about the order in which matters of doctrine and of reformation should be discussed, and the legates were very urgent to get instructions from Rome on the subject. But at that time the pope, being chiefly intent on promoting the war against the Protestants, neglected the business, and the emperor being also employed about the war, and satisfied that the council was opened, was very indifferent to its proceedings. The legates being thus left to themselves, they were unwilling to enter upon any thing of much importance ; but that they might be doing something, the second session was opened on the 4th of February A. D. 1546, in which they agreed upon a confession of their faith, and appointed the third session for the 8th of April ; as they

were informed that many more bishops were on their way to join them.

After much disputing in the congregations, on various articles relating to the canon of scripture, which they next entered upon, it was at length agreed, that in this third session it should be declared that, since every thing relating to truth or to morals was contained either in books, or in traditions, which the apostles had received from the mouth of Jesus Christ, and which, being dictated by the Holy Spirit, had been transmitted from hand to hand in the church, the council, after the example of the Fathers, received with the same respect all the books of the Old and New Testaments, and also the traditions which relate to faith or morals; as having come from the mouth of Jesus Christ. And after an enumeration of the sacred books, in which they include those of the Apocrypha, an anathema was pronounced against those who should deliberately despise the traditions. It was also ordered that an exact edition should be made of the Vulgate translation, which they declared to be *authentic*, and that no anonymous books treating of sacred things, that were not approved, and the approbation inserted in the book, should be printed, sold, or retained, under pain of excommunication, and the pecuniary penalty fixed by the council of Lateran.

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This first decree of the council, from which so much was expected, being made public, gave very little satisfaction. It was thought extraordinary that five cardinals and forty eight bishops should take upon them to determine articles of such importance. None of them, it was said, were distinguished for their knowledge; that there were, indeed, among them some able canonists, but none who had much knowledge of religion; that the theologians among them were men of little capacity; that a great proportion of the members were gentlemen and courtiers; that some of the bishops were only secular, that the rest represented fees so inconsiderable that altogether they could not represent the thousandth part of christendom; that there was not a single bishop or theologian from Germany, and only one of their bishops, viz. of Augsburg, who had a deputy there, and that he was a Savoyard. Afterwards it appeared that, by orders from the pope, nothing was ever done towards correcting the vulgate translation of the scriptures.

The pope, reflecting on this and other circumstances, saw that it was necessary to give more attention than he had hitherto done to the business of the council. He therefore increased the number of cardinals and prelates to whom he deputed the direction of it, advised them to use great cauti-

on with respect to the decrees, not to employ their time on any thing that was not disputed by the heretics, and least of all not to suffer any dispute about the authority of the papal see.

A circumstance occurred at this time which the Protestants considered as shewing the insignificance of the council. The electoral bishop of Cologne, who was inclined to the reformation, was excommunicated by the pope, without consulting the council ; and yet the emperor, whose interest it was that the bishop should not join the Protestants, then in open opposition to him, paid no regard to the excommunication, but treated him as still the bishop. The Protestants, therefore, represented to the emperor, that it was time to provide for the wants of Germany by a national council, or diet, in which the business of religion should be the principal object.

After much altercation between the legates of the pope and the ministers of the emperor, who wished that some articles of reformation should be entered upon before those of faith, it was determined to proceed to the discussion of the doctrine of *original sin*, and to join to it, as an article of reformation, the correction of the abuses which respected *preaching*.

A bishop from Spain complained much of the diminution of the original power of the bishops with

with respect to the instruction of their flocks, by the encroachment of the universities on the one hand, where alone theology was taught, and that of the monks on the other, who had engrossed the whole business of preaching, and yet made no good use of it for the solid instruction of the people, but only endeavoured to amuse them, and draw money from them. To this, he said, was owing all the mischief of the reformation, which could not have taken place if Luther had been confined to his cell. But to all this the generals of orders replied, that every thing he had mentioned had arisen from the incapacity, or the neglect, of the bishops, in consequence of which the people had long been without any instruction at all, that the monks had been invited to this duty by the chief pastor the pope, and therefore that their privileges ought to be respected.

The pope being informed of this dispute referred the matter to the congregation he had appointed for those purposes, and they considered that it had been for a long time the great policy of the popes to preserve their primacy by withdrawing the bishops from their subjection to the archbishops, and the monasteries from that to the bishops, by this means to have persons interested to defend their authority; that since the year A. D. 600 the primacy of the holy see had been maintained

tained by the Benedictines, and the congregations of Clugny and Citeaux, and several others till the rise of the Mendicants, who in their turn defended it to this day ; and therefore that to abolish their privileges was to attack not those orders only, but the papacy itself. But not to offend the bishops, it was thought advisable to give them the superintendance of the theological lectures, as *delegates of the holy see*, an expedient to which they had recourse on other similar occasions, and which gave satisfaction.

After much altercation among the divines about original sin, and also between the Dominicans and Franciscans about the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary, and many advices from Rome not to quarrel among themselves, but to confine their labours to the condemnation of the doctrines of the Protestants, a decree was made containing five anathemas, with many subtle distinctions, against some opinions of the Lutherans on the subject of original sin, but with a declaration that they did not include in it any thing respecting the virgin Mary, but on that subject abode by the constitution of Sixtus IV. On the subject of *preaching* several useful regulations were agreed upon, by which the bishops were required to give particular attention to it, both in their churches, and the monasteries subject to their jurisdiction.

None

None of the decrees of this session gave satisfaction to the Protestants, or even to the emperor, who was displeas'd that articles of reformation of so little consequence, and things not required by the Germans, should be treated of, and that the doctrine of original sin, which had been settled by divines on both sides at the conference at Ratisbon, should again become the subject of discussion. He wish'd them to defer all discussions of this kind till the arrival of the Protestants, or at least of the German prelates, who, he said, would attend as soon as the diet should be clos'd. It is very evident, therefore, that the emperor did not consider the proceedings of this council as directed by the Holy Spirit, any more than the Protestants. But the war now breaking out put an end to all consideration of the council. It was the force of arms, and not of argument, from which the greatest advantage was expected to be derived to the catholic cause.

After this, in order to come at the foundation of the Lutheran heresy, the members of the council proceeded to the discussion of the doctrine of *Grace*; and this giving room to many distinctions, the debate was purposely prolonged by the legates, who, in conformity to the wishes of the pope, endeavour'd to delay the decrees of the next session till the event of the war should be known. At length

length, however, the session was held the 13th of January A. D. 1547; and, contrary to the will of the emperor, who did not wish to offend the Protestants, and totally alienate them from the council, they passed the decrees concerning Grace, consisting of sixteen articles, and thirty three anathemas, against particular doctrines of the Protestants on the subject. To these decrees concerning doctrines they joined others, according to their general rule, respecting reformation, and these related to the residence of bishops, which they endeavoured to enforce by certain penalties. The decrees of this session, containing many subtleties, were much ridiculed by the learned Protestants, and it was said that the decrees to enforce residence could not have much effect.

It was remarkable that presently after the publication of the decrees of this session Sola a Dominican, and Catharin bishop of Minori, both of whom had assisted in drawing up the decrees, and gave their assent to them, wrote each of them treatises on the subject, dedicated to the council, in which they maintained different opinions; and the controversy was carried on with some warmth; so little prospect was there of those decrees, particular as they were, producing uniformity of opinion.

In the next place the members of the council proceeded to consider the doctrine of the *sacraments*,



*ments*, which they divided into a great number of articles, and, which occasioned as much discussion as those concerning the doctrine of grace. To this they joined the reformation of some abuses respecting *pluralities*, and the qualifications of bishops. On the 3d of March the session was held, when the decrees concerning the sacraments in general amounted to thirteen, those concerning baptism to eleven, and concerning confirmation to three. Those relating to the articles of reformation were fourteen.

As those decrees tended to the exaltation of the power of the bishops, in derogation of that of the popes, as the contest between the Dominicans and the Franciscans on these and other subjects began to be violent, and could not easily be kept within due bounds, as the Spanish prelates, supported, it was thought, by the emperor, took great liberties in proposing articles of reformation, and the success of the emperor's arms gave great umbrage to the pope, he began to be seriously alarmed; and wishing to get the council, which he could not decently dissolve, more into his power, he determined to remove it to Bologna; and on the pretence of a contagious distemper having broken out at Trent, the decree of the translation of the council to Bologna, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the emperor's prelates, was  
passed

passed on the 11th of March by thirty-five bishops, and three generals of orders, but opposed by one cardinal and seventeen other bishops, all subjects of the emperor, who by his orders still remained at Trent.

It appeared afterwards that the bull for this translation had been prepared long before, to be used on any emergency that might occur; and as the power of using it was delegated only to two of the three legates, it shewed how intirely the council was in the power of the pope. But that the pope paid little regard to the decrees of this council, tho' in fact dictated by himself, appeared by the treaty which about this time he entered into with Henry king of France; when he began to be alarmed at the accession of power acquired by the emperor, in consequence of his defeat of the Protestants. For he gave his legates ample powers to grant the king whatever he should demand with respect to beneficiary matters, without any regard to what had been decreed by the council.

The prelates who remained at Trent did not chuse to do any thing for fear of a schism, and those of Bologna contented themselves with pro-roguing their meetings in hope of being joined by those at Trent, or of inducing the emperor to approve of the translation; but this he could not be prevailed upon to do.

In

In this dormant state, things continued till the death of Paul III, who was succeeded by the cardinal del Monte, who had been legate to the council both at Trent and Bologna, and took the name of Julius III. Tho' he dreaded the emperor, yet, considering the difficulties with which he began to be pressed by the opposition that was made to him in Germany, he thought he might safely venture to resume the council, and even at Trent. Accordingly an order was issued to doing this the 11th of May A. D. 1551. The emperor concurred in this measure, thinking that by means of his residence near the place of the council, he could make it subservient to his political purposes, both with respect to Germany, and the pope. But the king of France, having a difference with the pope on the subject of Parma, refused to send any of his prelates, and threatened the pope with a national council. The Swiss cantons also refused to send any.

When the prelates were once more assembled at Trent, they agreed that their next session should be held the 1st of September; but the pope who was a man of pleasure, having given little attention to the affairs of the council, the number of prelates did not exceed sixty four, tho' the emperor now sent many from Germany, and more than before from Spain.

The emperor being much occupied with the business of the council, Maurice of Saxony, the most powerful of the Protestant princes, and who was with him, favoured his views, and gave orders for Melancthon and the other Protestant divines to assemble at Leipzig for that purpose ; but he required a safe conduct both from the council and the emperor.

On account of the small number of prelates, all that was done at the time that had been fixed for the session was to prorogue it to the 11th of October. The business designed for it related to the *eucharist*, with respect to doctrine, and the means of enforcing *residence* with respect to reformation. But the king of France entered a protest against the council, and likewise forbade the carrying any money from France to Rome.

In the congregations which followed this ten articles were drawn up, condemning the doctrine of the Protestants with respect to the eucharist, and others defining the genuine doctrine of the church on the subject. But the pope and the council were induced to defer the decision of the article relating to the communion in both kinds till the arrival of the Protestants, to whom it was agreed that a safe conduct should be given. When the manner in which Christ was present in the eucharist came to be discussed, there was a great dispute

pute between the Dominicans and the Franciscans, but it was compromised by agreeing to use such expressions as both parties might approve. After this the decrees were voted as before.

They then proceeded to the doctrines concerning *penance* and *extreme unction*, and the article of reformation related to *episcopal jurisdiction*. The decrees on these subjects were confirmed in the session of the 25th of November.

There arrived in the mean time the ambassadors of the duke of Wittemberg, requiring a safe conduct for the Protestant divines, with liberty to deliver a confession of their faith, and to discuss the articles of it. At the same time there arrived ambassadors from Strasburg, and other cities, and on the 7th of June one from prince Maurice, all requiring a safe conduct for their divines, the re-examination of the decrees which had been passed, and that the pope should not preside in the council. But to this the legates would not by any means consent, tho' it was to the great displeasure of the emperor. All that could be obtained was that the ambassadors should be heard in a general congregation on the 24th of June, and that the publication of the articles which had been agreed upon should be deferred till their divines had been heard. But tho' the ambassadors were heard, nothing satisfactory to them was gained, except

that a sufficiently satisfactory safe conduct was granted to the divines, which was declared in the session on the 25th of January A. D. 1553. After this four theologians arrived from the duke of Wittenberg, and two from Strasburg, but they could not obtain any conference on the subject of their demands, tho' it was much urged by the emperor. In the mean time, the war between the emperor and the Protestants, commanded by Maurice, breaking out, and the members of the council retiring, the pope gave orders for the suspension of the council, which was declared on the 28th of April to continue two years, or till the conclusion of the troubles.

The pope finding himself delivered from a great embarrassment by the suspension of the council, thought to avoid it for the future by pretending to do that at Rome which could not be done at Trent; and for that purpose he appointed a numerous congregation of cardinals and other prelates. But nothing was done by them, and the council continued suspended near ten years, not being resumed till the pontificate of Pius IV, in A. D. 1559.

Averse as this pope, like most of his predecessors, was to a council, he perceived that a wish for it was so general, that it was absolutely necessary for him to risk it, especially in order to avoid the calling of a national council in France; and after  
much

much consultation it was agreed, that it should be held at Trent, tho' the catholic princes objected to it, and the Protestants, to whom the pope sent nuncios, refused to submit to any council in which he should preside.

The prelates being once more assembled at Trent, it was agreed to open the council on the 18th of January, A. D. 1562, without declaring in express terms, but only by implication, that it was a continuation of the preceding council, both the emperor Ferdinand and the king of France having great objections to that, since no regard would then be had to it by the Protestants in their states. In the sermon delivered at this session the preacher said, that the authority of the church was not less than that of the word of God, that the changing of the sabbath, and the abolishing of circumcision, were not made by the preaching of Christ, but by the authority of the church; and he exhorted strenuously to combat the Protestants, and to be assured that, as the Holy Spirit could not err, so neither could they. It was easy to imagine of what nature would be the proceedings of a council which was opened in this manner. In the title of the council, also, the liberty of proposing questions was given exclusively to the legates, notwithstanding the remonstrances of some prelates from Spain.

In the session of the 26th of February, persons were appointed to draw up an *Index Expurgatorius*, or a list of such books as were prohibited to be read without an express licence, to be laid before the council. Then followed a long discussion of some articles of reformation, especially respecting *residence*, in which the Spanish prelates, instigated, it was thought, by the king (Philip II) appeared to be unfavourable to the power of the pope with respect to the divine right of residence. This so much alarmed the court of Rome, that the pope said if the princes abandoned him, he would have recourse to heaven, and God would take care of his church. He said, however, he had one million in gold, and knew where to find another; so that he did not wholly trust to divine aid. On this account the decision of this question of the right of residence was deferred to another session.

After this the ambassador of the emperor proposed twenty articles of reformation, but the legates declined the consideration of them at that time. And the pope found himself so much embarrassed with the affairs of the council, and so much dissatisfied with his legates, that he sent Charles Visconti, bishop of Ventimille, as his secret minister to Trent, with instructions to encourage the prelates who were friendly to him, and to gain others if possible.

After



After long debates on the subject of *communion* which had been long deferred, it was decreed that no divine law made communion in both kinds necessary, but that communion in one kind only was sufficient; also that it was not necessary for infants to communicate. They then decreed nine articles of reformation, respecting holy orders, the duty of bishops, &c. So little, however, was done in this session, from which so much had been expected, from the interest that the princes took in the questions, that when the result was known, the fable of the mountain bringing forth a mouse, was commonly applied to it.

In discussing the subject of the *mass*, to which the members of the council proceeded in the next place, it was agreed that it should be done by the theologians of the different countries; and there being none yet come from France, the ambassadors from that country intreated the members, that they would wait till their arrival, but they could not succeed; the persons to whom they applied always saying that it did not depend upon them. When the minister of France at Rome applied to the pope on the subject, he replied that he should leave it to the legates. On which it was said by the minister at Trent. “The pope refers  
“ us to his legates, the legates to the synod, and

“ the synod is not at liberty to hear any proposal.  
“ and thus both the king and the world are de-  
“ ceived.”

After much debate and intrigue of the friends of the pope against the ambassadors of the princes, who wished them to proceed to some articles of serious reformation, and not take up their time in disputing about things which no way respected the Protestants, on the 17th of September the session was held, in which several decrees were made respecting the sacrifice of the mass, and then some articles of reformation relating to the *qualification and conduct of bishops*. The question concerning giving the cup to the laity was also included in the articles of reformation, and not those of doctrines, and left to the discretion of the pope. It was not made an article of faith because, according to the rules they had laid down, an article of faith could not be decided but by a great majority of voices, which in this case was not expected, while all articles of reformation were decided by simple majorities.

The French were particularly dissatisfied with the proceedings of the council at this time, complaining that nothing to any purpose was done in the business of reformation, which all catholics wished for, or to satisfy the Protestants, who would never accede to the decrees of a council in which  
they

they had no voice. The pope, apprehensive of the arrival of the cardinal of Lorraine among the other prelates from France, endeavoured privately to prevent his coming; and at the same time by openly sending more of his own prelates, he showed him that his coming would not answer any purpose of opposition, as he was sure to be overruled.

No remonstrances from any of the catholic princes deterred the legates from proceeding as they had begun; and in the next place they proposed the discussion of some articles relating to *holy orders*. On this the ambaffador of the emperor observed, that when they entered upon this subject they had a good opportunity of correcting a great abuse in church discipline, by declaring the episcopal order to be of divine authority, and restoring to the bishops what had been taken from them by reservations, and other methods of the court of Rome, and by the incroachment of the cardinals on their authority. By this means, he said, the court of Rome had not only become corrupt itself, but had carried corruption into all other churches.

Alarmed at these observations, the pope now wished by any means, dissolution, prorogation, or suspension, to get rid of the council; but this was disagreeable to many of the prelates who

were friendly to him, as well as to the French. He endeavoured, however, to get the article concerning the obligation of residence to be dispatched before the arrival of the cardinal of Lorraine, and if possible by reference to himself, or by any means rather than by declaring it to be by divine right, as well as the institution of bishops. And as to the pontificate, and his court, he was determined at all events that no reformation should be made respecting them but by himself.

He was well aware that, had the episcopal order been declared to be of divine right, which was much urged in the council, it would follow that the keys were not given to Peter alone, that the council was above the pope, that bishops were his equals, and only gave him a certain pre-eminence over them, that the superiority of cardinals to bishops would be entirely overturned, and they would be reduced to the rank of simple presbyters or deacons. The obligation to residence would be a necessary consequence, the bishops would draw to themselves the collation to benefices, preventions and reservations would be destroyed, and the power of the court of Rome would be wholly annihilated. Among other methods to prevent this measure, Lainez, the general of the Jesuits was employed to make a long speech, in order to prove that the whole power of jurisdiction belonged

longed to the pope. Happily for the pope this excited no debate, and occasioned the legate no difficulty. Being pressed on all sides, he thought of relieving himself by proposing that residence should be enforced by rewards and punishments, without declaring any thing concerning the moral obligation.

In this state of things arrived the long expected cardinal of Lorraine, and he was received with all possible respect, all the legates meeting him at the gate of the city, and conducting him to his lodgings. He did not, on the whole, appear so hostile to the interests of the pope as had been apprehended, but he gave much umbrage by holding private congregations in his own house upon every subject of discussion, as it was feared this might divide the council, and even lead to an open schism. But the Roman prelates had a secret understanding with the Spaniards, by means of which they were apprized of all that passed in those congregations; and the king of Spain, tho' he wished for some reformation, was sufficiently favourable to the pope.

When the cardinal came to the great subject in debate, he spoke much at large, and in such a manner as not greatly to offend either party. The church, he said, had received its jurisdiction immediately from God, that when the keys were given

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en to Peter, it was not to his person, but as respecting the whole church; that the bishops received from God that part of their jurisdiction which is attached to their order, that councils also had their authority from God; but then they must be united to their head, and that nothing could preserve the union of the church, but the strengthening the pontifical authority; and he concluded with advising not to say absolutely that the authority of the bishops was of *divine right*, but to use some other expression, as that they were *instituted by Jesus Christ*.

This, however, did not satisfy the pope, who was much disturbed at the turn which he perceived things were taking; and in his letter to the legates insisted on their forming the canon in this manner; viz. that Jesus Christ had instituted bishops to be appointed by the pope, from whom they receive such portion of authority as he should judge proper to give them for the good of the church; and that with respect to residence, he should have the power of dispensing with it. The pope himself constantly assisted at the congregations that were held in Rome on the affairs of the council, and after much debate it was agreed, that the canon should express that bishops held the principal place in the church, but in dependance on the pope, who invited them to relieve him of part of his charge.

About

About this time the ambassadors from France presented to the council thirty-four articles of reformation, which they said were necessary for other churches, as well as theirs. When they were sent to Rome, the pope, on the first reading of them, cried out that they meant nothing less than abolishing the datary, the rota, and the lordships, and in short the whole of the apostolical authority. But he was given to understand that if they granted a few things only, such as the Protestants most wished for, as the communion in both kinds, the use of the vulgar tongue, and the marriage of the priests, the rest would be dispensed with.

At the same time the legates had no small difficulty with respect to the emperor, who was displeased that so little progress was made in the council, and had proposed for discussion by his own divines seventeen articles relating to the power of the emperor with respect to councils, and this gave the pope no less disturbance than the articles from France. But he had recourse to dissimulation to parry the blow, and perceiving that both the emperor and the king of France had no other views in the council than their own convenience with respect to their Protestant subjects, whereas the king of Spain had only catholic subjects, he determined to attach himself to him; and his ambassador assured him that he would maintain his authority. The

The legates finding much difficulty in conducting the council at this time, relieved themselves a little by proposing for condemnation eight articles maintained by the Protestants relating to marriage. They would also have put off the session, which had been fixed for the 22d of April, to the 3d of June, but they were over-ruled by the cardinal of Lorraine, at whose proposal they agreed to meet on the 20th of May, in order to fix the time of the session. But this deference to the cardinal displeased the pope, who remonstrated with the secular powers on their conduct with respect to the council; assuring them that they would gain nothing with their Protestant subjects, whose discontents arose chiefly from the abuses of the civil power; that the hindrances of the reformation did not arise from him, but from the princes, and the prelates of the council, who could not agree upon the articles.

In the mean time the king of France having made peace with his Protestant subjects, which gave great offence both to the pope and the king of Spain, took little interest in the affairs of the council; and the cardinal of Lorraine complained loudly that the council had no liberty, but that the decision of every thing came from Rome; and in the congregation on the abuse of holy orders he inveighed so vehemently against those which prevailed



vailed in France, that it was said he spoke like a Lutheran. He was, however, advised by the queen not to oppose the measures of the pope any farther than the interests of his own country, and his own honour might require. His presence, 'she said, was more necessary in France, than at Trent'; and on this it was observed that he studied to oblige the pope as much as he could.

The next session was fixed for the 15th of July, and in the mean time the debates about the power of the bishops, and the question about the sole power of the legates to propose questions in the council, led to no conclusion that could satisfy any party; what even the legates agreed to the pope rejecting. And at length the emperor, finding that he gained nothing by his neighbourhood to the council, left Inspruck the 25th of June and the decree was drawn up in such a manner as to avoid what was most offensive to all parties, declaring holy orders to be a real sacrament, imparting an indelible character, that bishops are superior to priests, and have the sole power of administering confirmation, ordination and other functions. The decree of reformation related to residence, and consisted of eighteen articles. Thus it appeared that, after ten months of dispute and negotiation, nothing of the least consequence was done; all the decrees on the much contested subject of residence amounting

amounting to no more than that it was a sin not to reside when there was no lawful cause to the contrary. This decision produced an open rupture between the Spaniards and the cardinal of Lorraine, who, they said, had broken his word with them, and had been gained by the pope.

The pope and his friends having found so much difficulty in the management of the council, were more than ever intent upon putting an end to it, and endeavoured to persuade the princes that all their attempts to gain the Protestants were in vain, that they ought rather to keep them at as great a distance as possible, that all fair means had been tried without producing any effect, and that it was only by extreme rigour that they had been suppressed in Spain. He added that he should think himself more obliged to them to assist him in putting an end to the council, than if, in some great distress, they had lent him the aid of their arms.

In order to avoid disputes on subjects of greater difficulty, the members of the council proceeded in the next place to consider the questions relating to *marriage*, when it was universally agreed to maintain the celibacy of the clergy, but they differed much on other points. Among the articles of reformation for this session, they had

proposed

proposed some relating to the *princes*, but they were persuaded to drop them. Their great difficulty was to satisfy the bishops, who wished to have more power in their dioceses, and yet to secure the revenues of the court of Rome ; and they succeeded in some measure by giving the bishops the appointment of the curés, on the pretence of examining their qualifications; but the bishops could not succeed in getting the monasteries to depend upon them as in former times.

At this time the cardinal of Lorraine paid a visit to the pope, by whom he was received with every mark of respect ; and finding his interest to be the same with that of the pope, who hinted to him that it was his wish that he should be his successor, he joined heartily with the pope in his endeavours to bring the council to a termination ; and he persuaded the pope that it would be better to do this by dissolution than by suspension. “ It is absolutely necessary,” said the pope, “ to close the council, and raise money. After that it will be as pleases God.”

The immunities of the clergy, and other articles of reformation which tended to abridge the power of the princes, being proposed for reformation, met with a violent opposition, especially from the ambassadors from France, who at length entered a protest against them, and left the council.

They maintained that the authority of the kings of France over the persons and goods of the clergy was not founded on the Pragmatic sanction, the Concordat, or the concessions of the popes, but on the law of nature, the scriptures, antient councils, and the laws of christian emperors. And, on the remonstrance of all the ambassadors, the articles for the reformation of princes were omitted.

From this time the views of all parties were united in a resolution to put an end to the council as speedily as possible ; and for this purpose the pope sent his instructions, directing his legates to consult with the cardinal of Lorraine, who, he said, was fully informed concerning his wishes. He also prescribed the form in which they should conclude. They were to confirm all that had been done in the council in the time of his predecessors, but with a saving of the authority of the holy see, and a reference to himself for the confirmation of the whole.

The next session was held the 11th of November, and in this some decrees were passed relating to marriage, when all clandestine marriages were declared to be annulled, tho' fifty six bishops expressed their dissent. Also twenty one articles of reformation about vacancies in churches, pluralities, provincial councils, and other subjects, concluding with an explanation of the phrase *proponentibus*

*nentibus legatis*, by which it was declared that it was not the intention of the council to depart from the antient forms, and the custom of other general councils. On this occasion the cardinal of Lorraine declared, in the name of the clergy of France, that he accepted the decrees of reformation as a step to a more complete reform, which he expected from the pope, either by his reviving the antient canons, or holding other general councils; and he had his protest entered in the public acts. This protest gave as much offence to the zealous catholics as those made by Luther. The decrees of this session were much censured, and the explanation of the clause *legatis proponentibus* was ridiculed, as being contrary to what was well known to be fact, an innovation having been actually made.

For the last session decrees were prepared concerning purgatory, indulgences, the invocation of saints, and the worship of relics, and of images; and for an article of reformation they chose some regulations concerning the monks and nuns. In some of the congregations they discussed the business of an *Index Expurgatorius*, the catechism, and the ritual. At this time the cardinal de Luna from Spain presented a memorial, complaining that nothing was done about the principal matters for

which the council had been called, and that every thing else had been precipitated ; but no regard was paid to his remonstrance.

Another circumstance which hastened the dissolution of the council was the sickness of the pope, the greater part of the prelates, as well as the pope himself, being desirous that another should be chosen in the usual manner without the intervention of the council ; while those from France declared that their master would acknowledge no pope who should not be chosen by it. In this state of things they anticipated the next session, fixing it for the 3d of December, and declared that it should be the last, and that it should continue two days. The decrees on the subjects proposed were numerous, but not of sufficient consequence to be recited here, and every thing relating to the Index expurgatorius, the catechism, and the breviary, were referred to the pope, as well as the confirmation of all that had been done. They also recited the decrees which had been passed in the pontificate of Paul III and Julius III, in order to preserve the unity of the council from the beginning.

When this was done, the president granted a plenary indulgence, and his benediction, to all who had assisted in that session, and dismissed them. Then the cardinal of Lorraine began the usual acclamation

clamations, expressive of their joy at the happy termination of the council ; wishing long life and glory to the pope, eternal happiness to Paul III, and Julius III, blessing the memory of Charles V, and the other princes who had favoured the council ; praising the faith of this council, as that of St. Peter, of the Fathers, &c. &c. and anathematizing all heretics in general. In the last place, all the members of the council signed the decrees with their own hands ; when there appeared to be four legates, two cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty five archbishops, one hundred and sixty eight bishops, seven abbots, thirty nine deputies of absent bishops, and seven generals of orders.

The pope, who was recovered from his illness, expressed his joy on the termination of the council by a solemn procession, and gave his confirmation to the decrees, reserving to himself the interpretation of them. This closing of the council gave little satisfaction to the king of Spain ; and the decrees of reformation were severely censured in France, as infringing on the rights of the crown, and the liberties of the Gallican church. Both the decrees themselves, and the manner in which the whole business had been conducted, were treated with much ridicule by the catholics in

Germany and other places, and the Protestants gave little attention to them.

Thus, at length, this great council, so earnestly called for to promote the unity of the church, and the reformation of abuses, was terminated, without producing any effect of the former kind, and but little of the latter; and by the dexterous management of the popes, it served to strengthen, rather than diminish, their authority. The manner in which the decrees were received even in Spain shows that, without the sanction of the royal authority they would not have been binding, which gave little satisfaction at Rome; and all the endeavours of that court could never procure the decrees of reformation to be received in France.

SECTION



## SECTION X.

*Of the Reformation in Switzerland.*

**I**T is not my intention to give so particular a history of the introduction of the reformation into the other states of Europe, and the progress that it made in them, as I have done with respect to Germany, where it originated; but I shall give a general idea of the most important circumstances with respect to them all.

It has been seen that the reformation in Switzerland was of as early a date as in Germany, Zuinglius having distinguished himself as a reformer as soon as Luther, tho' his history does not make so great a figure; and his ideas of the eucharist were certainly more just, and farther removed from those of the catholics, than those of Luther. In other respects it does not appear that their sentiments were materially different. His general history being given in that of Luther, it is only necessary to add a more particular account of his death, especially as the circumstances of it have been often represented to his disadvantage.

When the people of Zurich were so much offended at the insolence with which they were treated by the catholic cantons, that, unable to obtain any redress, they forbade all commerce with them, and were proceeding to other acts of hostility, Zuinglius remonstrated against such conduct, and earnestly exhorted them to bear every thing with patience, as became christians, but without effect (*Ruchat*, Vol. 3, p. 351) and at length mutual provocations brought on a war. Then by the order of the magistrates, who expected much from the influence that Zuinglius would have with the soldiers, he accompanied the army, as it was the custom for the clergy to do. They always wore armour on these occasions, but were not required to use it, except for necessary self defence, their business being to exhort the troops, and afford them all the spiritual assistance that their circumstances might require.

It was evident that Zuinglius, who disapproved of the war, expected a fatal termination of it, and during the march he spoke as a man destined to die. The battle, which was fought at Cappel in A. D. 1531, was ill conducted, and the Zurichers completely defeated. Zuinglius was found by the enemy wounded, but not mortally; and not being known was offered his life if he would recite some catholic prayers; but refusing  
to

to do this he was killed outright, and he died in as pious and edifying a manner, as the circumstances of his death would permit. The last words he uttered were, that "men might kill the body, but could not kill the soul." This was in the forty eighth year of his age. When his body was known, it was treated with the greatest indignity, being quartered, and burned together with a hog; that if any attempt should be made to gather his ashes, they might not be distinguished.

After a war destructive to both parties, but more particularly so to the reformed, peace was made on terms of the mutual toleration of religion, all their political relations remaining as before.

Next to the people of Zurich, those of Berne were the most zealous and active in promoting the reformation. The altars and images were removed from all the churches in the estates of Berne by order of the magistrates in A. D. 1536, and the exercise of the catholic religion was strictly forbidden under heavy penalties. Those who professed it were, however, allowed to sell their effects, and retire whither they pleased. While the Genevans were catholics, they entered very little into their interests, but espoused their cause with warmth when they discovered an inclination to adopt their religion.

In 1532, which was four years after they had

publicly embraced the reformation, reflecting on the difficulties they had met with, they held a solemn synod, at which two hundred and thirty ministers attended; and then they made many regulations which were drawn up in proper form by Capito, who attended from Strasburgh. But, unfortunately, they began with laying it down as a maxim, that nothing could be done effectually without the co-operation of the civil power, as the ministers of God for the preservation of doctrine and discipline in the church; and that it was part of their office to punish blasphemy, as well as open sins, as they would be answerable for their conduct at the tribunal of God.

“It is objected,” they say in their public act, “that it was erecting a new papacy for the magistrates to interfere in matters of faith”? To this they answer that “it would be true, if the magistrates should violate the rights of conscience, and take away christian liberty; but that this cannot be while their only care is that the truth be clearly preached, and men be exhorted to piety;” not considering that, in setting themselves up for judges of truth, and obliging others to conform to their standard, they necessarily infringed the rights of their consciences. The decrees of this synod were confirmed by the magistrates, who promised to enforce them by their authority

thority. At the same time, however, they professed their readiness to receive any proposals for improvement, as they said they wished to give free course to the Holy Spirit.

The Anabaptists gave them frequent opportunities to carry their persecuting maxims into execution. Several of this persuasion having returned from banishment, with which they first punished them, were drowned, according to another decree which they made for that purpose. In A. D. 1533, they made a new law only forbidding their preaching, but ordered that, in case of disobedience, they should be confined for life, and fed on bread and water. But this being thought too tolerant, they farther ordered that all Anabaptists should attend divine service, and have their children baptized; that in case of non attendance they should for the first offence be imprisoned a day and a night, for the second two days. They also ordered that any other persons who neglected to attend public worship and receiving the Lord's Supper should be punished in the same manner.

Two other great promoters of the reformation in Switzerland were Henry Bullinger, and William Farel. Bullinger was born at Bremgarte, in A. D. 1502, and studied at Cologne, where reading the books of Luther, he embraced the reformation

mation. He returned to his own country in A. D. 1525, and promoted the reformation in the freeballiages of Switzerland. He was six years a lecturer in theology in a monastery near the lake of Zurich, and preached in several churches in the country.

But no man after Zuinglius contributed so much to the reformation of many places in Switzerland as William Farel. He was born of wealthy parents at Gap in Dauphiné in A. D. 1489, and studied at Paris. Flying from the persecution in France, he came to Strasburg in A. D. 1523, where he became acquainted with Capito and Bucer. In A. D. 1524 he came to Bafil, where he published some theses in favour of the reformation; and tho' favoured by the magistrates, the clergy at length compelled him to leave that city. In A. D. 1526 he was at Montbelliard, and the greater part of A. D. 1522 at Aigle, and thence he went to Morat.

In A. D. 1532 Farel went to Geneva, but was soon obliged to leave that city. He was, however, succeeded by Froment, a man of equal zeal, and equally indefatigable; and by the labours of these two men (for Farel soon returned) joined with those of Viret, the reformation was publicly received in Geneva in A. D. 1535. In consequence of this the citizens were exposed to great difficulties

ties from the opposition and desertion of many of the citizens, and the open hostility of their bishop and the duke of Savoy. But they were effectually supported by the people of Berne. When their troubles were over, they carried their scheme of reformation into complete effect, but in such a manner as to bear hard on the conscientious catholics, chiefly at the instance of Farel.

When every thing relating to the reformation at Geneva was settled, John Calvin passing through that city was detained there by Farel. This eminent man was born July the 10th A. D. 1509, at Noyon in Picardy, of an honourable family, and in good circumstances. He was educated at Paris, and being, on account of his early piety, destined for the church, his father procured for him a benefice in the cathedral of Noyon, when he was only twelve years old, and five or six years after a curacy in the village from which the family sprung, and where he sometimes preached, tho' without having taken orders. Both the father and the son having embraced the reformation, Calvin applied to the study of the law at Orleans, and in this he distinguished himself, tho' his favourite study was theology, and with this view he learned both Greek and Hebrew.

On the death of his father in A. D. 1533, Calvin went to Paris, where becoming acquainted  
with

with some eminent reformers, he devoted himself wholly to the same object with them. Being obliged to leave Paris, he went to Nerac, but returned in A. D. 1534, tho' he kept himself concealed on account of the persecution of the reformed. There too he became acquainted with Servetus, whom he afterwards procured to be burned alive at Geneva. The violence of the persecution increasing, Calvin retired to Strasburg, after publishing at Orleans a treatise to prove that the soul does not sleep from the time of death to the resurrection.

At Strasburgh Calvin became acquainted with Grynæus and Capito, and there he published his *Institutions of the Christian Religion*, a work much admired to this day for the excellency of its language and method, and which he dedicated to Francis I. From Strasburgh he went to Italy, to see the dutchess of Ferrara, the daughter of Lewis XII, whom he confirmed in the principles of the reformation, and who always retained a particular respect for him. In A. D. 1536 he returned to France, and intending to settle at Strasburgh, or Basil, he came to Geneva, where he was persuaded by Farel to stay and labour with him and his companions there. He was presently made professor of theology, and afterwards pastor, being then twenty seven years of age. From this time he



he continued twenty eight years at Geneva, in all which time his labours in preaching, and writing, were incessant, tho' his constitution was weak; and his influence with the magistrates seems to have been very great.

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## SECTION XI.

### *Of the Reformation in the Low Countries.*

AS the people in Low countries distinguished themselves by their application to manufactures and commerce more than any other people in Europe, a long time before the reformation, we are not surprized to find many inquisitive persons among them. About the end of the fifteenth century some of the clergy, as Wessel of Groningen, John of Amsterdam, John Van Gooch, and some others, attacked various errors of the church of Rome. The last mentioned of these openly maintained that the writings of Thomas Aquinas, and the other schoolmen, were

fitter

fitter to darken the truth than to discover it, that the scriptures were the only rule of faith, and that the decrees of popes and of councils ought to be judged by that rule. *Brandt*, Vol. 1, p. 12.

The doctrine of Luther spread so early, and so much in the Low Countries, that in A. D. 1521, a placard was published by Charles V to stop its progress. In this it was said that Luther was not a human creature, but a devil in the shape of a man, and the habit of a monk, that he might the more easily occasion the death and destruction of mankind.

The year following, G. Grapheus, a man of learning, and a great friend of Erasmus, was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment for the freedom of his writings; and in the same year Henry Voes, and John Esh were burned alive at Antwerp, as was mentioned before; and from this time, says Erasmus, the doctrine of Luther began to be in vogue in that city. The nuns of Holland, he says, ran from their convents, and most of the inhabitants of Holland, Zealand, and Flanders embraced the doctrine of Luther; and notwithstanding the execution of Voes and Esh at Antwerp, the Lutherans continued to hold their assemblies without the walls of that city. In these circumstances Margaret daughter of the emperor Maximilian, governess of the Low Countries, very  
wiser

wisely exhorted the monks to admit none into their pulpits but learned and prudent persons, who would tell no idle stories ; and she particularly enjoined them not to make any mention of Luther in their sermons.

In A. D. 1527 the doctrine of the Anabaptists began to spread in the Low Countries, and John Waden and two other persons were the first of this sect who suffered death for it. They were burned with a slow fire at the Hague. Some of this denomination were afterwards guilty of great disorders, especially about the time that Muncer appeared in Germany.

In A. D. 1531 Margaret dying, Mary, the emperor's sister, was made governess of the Low Countries. She was a lover of learning, and disposed to moderation, but she could not prevent the persecution of the reformers. In A. D. 1533 the courts of judicature finding that the reformation spread in consequence of the public execution of those who were condemned to death, represented to her that it would be better to have the executions private, and she allowed them to act as they thought best. In A. D. 1536 William Tindal, who had translated the bible into English, was apprehended at Antwerp, and burned on that account.

The Anabaptists being every where more obnoxious than any other of the reformers, a man was put to death in A. D. 1539 for only harbouring Menno Simons, a leader of that sect, and from whom all of that persuasion in that country were afterwards called *Mennonites*. He was a man of learning, at first a Romish priest, and a great opposer of the Anabaptists, tho' he joined them afterwards. In A. D. 1543, a reward of one hundred florins was offered to any person who would apprehend Menno.

In A. D. 1540 the emperor, arriving in the Low Countries to suppress an insurrection at Ghent, published a violent placard against both the Lutherans and the Anabaptists, which was followed by a great persecution. One of the most distinguished of the martyrs in the Low Countries at this time was Angelus Merula, who had taken orders at Utrecht. Being old, and much esteemed for his learning, probity, charity, and eloquence, tho' the inquisitors were very desirous of having him burned, they for a long time did not venture to do it, for fear of the people. They therefore, continued to deceive him into a seeming abjuration of his opinions, when he meant no such thing. This losing him the affection of the people he was apprehended, and condemned to the flames; but

while

while he was kneeling down to pray before his execution, being extremely feeble, he fell down, and was taken up dead. He had been in a state of persecution five years, the greater part of which he had passed in prison, where he experienced the most cruel usage.

In A. D. 1559 Philip II left the Low Countries, and went to Spain, where the reformation had begun to make some progress, leaving his natural sister Margaret, dutchess of Parma, governess, with orders to extirpate all heresy. The same strict orders were given to the governors of all the provinces; and from this time the persecution raged with peculiar violence, and being accompanied with oppression in civil matters, did not end but with the loss of these provinces to Spain.

## SECTION XII.

*Of the Reformation in Spain.*

**T**HE overbearing power of the court of Spain, and the rigour of the inquisition, soon suppressed the reformation in that country ; but notwithstanding this Spain can boast of its Protestant martyrs, and many, no doubt, there were, whom we have not at present any means of discovering.

The first person that suffered martyrdom in Spain for being a Protestant was Nicolas Burton, an English factor. He was burned at Seville in the reign of queen Mary. All his goods and notes were seized, and the person sent to claim them was imprisoned on the suspicion of heresy. *Geddes's Tracts*, Vol. 1, p. 456.

In A. D. 1558 Augustin Cazala, who had been several years chaplain and preacher to Charles V in Germany, after undergoing the cruelties of the inquisition, in which his mother died, was burned together with three more, on account of his faith.

At the same time with Cazala was burned Herrezulo, who had been his convert. He was an eminent lawyer. A person who was present at his execution said, "I observed all his gestures (for he could not speak, having his mouth gagged) "but I could not discover the least sign of unca-  
"siness in him." After several years imprisonment his mother also was burned, and suffered, it is said, with as much fortitude as if she had been made of stone, and had not been flesh and blood. There also was burned Dr. Perez, a secular priest of great learning, and exemplary piety. Soon after don Carlos de Seso, a nobleman of an illustrious family, was burned with forty others, one of them, John Sancho, who had been a servant of Cazala. "These," says the writer of the *Pontifical*, "en-  
"dured burning alive with a courage that asto-  
"nished all that beheld them." Don John Egidio another favourite preacher of Charles V, and who had been nominated to the bishopric of Tortosa, died in the inquisition, and was afterwards burned as an impenitent heretic.

Constantio Pontio, chaplain, and as some say confessor, to Charles V, and appointed by him to attend his son to Flanders, as the most learned man, and the most eloquent preacher, in Spain, also died in the prison of the inquisition; and his body, together with several of his writings, were

burned at an act of faith. When Charles heard that Constantio was taken up as a heretic, he said that if he was one, he was not an ordinary one, alluding to his great learning and piety.

The monastery of St. Isidore was a great seminary of Protestantism in Spain. Five monks were taken from it and burned, and twelve made their escape from it to Geneva. D. Geddes gives an account of several more whose sufferings were well deserving of being recorded, and adds, that they were but a small part of the glorious army of Spanish martyrs, who were burned by the inquisition, and who for the exemplary piety of their lives, and their admirable patience and courage, triumphed over death in the most dreadful of all its forms, not inferior to the martyrs of any other nation, or any age. *Spanish Protestant Martyrology*, p. 473.

It is something remarkable that many of the great persecutors, both of Christians and Protestants, have either come to untimely end, or have suffered in some other exemplary manner. Philip II may be added to those that are enumerated by Lactantius in his treatise *De Mortibus Persecutorum*. He had been seized with a hectic fever, which reduced him very much, when he was attacked with a violent fit of the gout, on St. John's eve. The acrimony of the juices produced an abscess which  
first



first broke out at his knee, and then in several parts of his body ; and from these abscesses issued swarms of lice, which could not be removed. He was also diseased in several other ways. The purulent matter from his ulcers exhaled such a stench, that the servants who attended him were infected by it. He was insupportable to himself, and died in the most agonizing pain. *Laval*, Vol. 5, p. 318.

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### SECTION XIII.

*Of the Reformation in France.*

**T**HE disputes about indulgences in Germany did not pass unnoticed in France, especially after the censure of the writings of Luther by the Sorbonne ; and the reformation received much countenance from William Brissonet bishop of Meaux, who, tho' it was then unusual, preached himself ; and besides this, employed several learned men, and of excellent characters, to preach in his diocese. Of this number were James Faber, and William Farel, who so greatly promoted the reformation in Switzerland. By this means

the reformation spread in Meaux, tho' chiefly among the lower orders of the people. Of these John Le Clerc, a carder, was in A. D. 1523 sentenced to be whipped and branded in the forehead, and after this he was burned alive at Metz in A. D. 1524. Many others suffered in the same manner, and, terrified probably by these examples, the good bishop, tho' a friend to the reformation, proceeded no farther. This cruelty, however, did not put a stop to the progress of the reformation in other places. It was received by many in Orleans, Bourges, Thoulouse, and in every part of the kingdom.

The reformation was more particularly countenanced by Margaret queen of Navarre, sister to Francis I. She published a treatise entitled *The mirror of the sinner's soul*, the sentiments of which were entirely agreeable to those of the reformers. The king himself was at one time so well disposed, that he invited Melancthon to go to France, that he might hear him on the subject of the matters in dispute; but he was offended at the extreme zeal and violence of some of the reformers, who fixed their charges against the tenets of the church of Rome in the public places, and to the door of the king's own apartment. Also, his affairs requiring the aid of all his subjects, and that of the pope, he persecuted the reformed during

ing the whole of his reign more than he was naturally inclined to do; and tho' he at the same time wished for the assistance of the Protestants in Germany against Charles V. On the whole, however, the reformation made such progress in France in this reign, that there was hardly any city or town in which the reformed had not some assemblies. *Laval*, Vol. 1, p. 69.

Henry II, as an evidence of his zeal for the catholic religion, not only caused many of the reformed to be put to death, but in a more cruel manner than had been used in his father's time; having many of them drawn up by pulleys, and let down again into the fire, in order to prolong their torments. At these horrible executions the king himself was sometimes present; but he was so much affected at the shrieks of one of these martyrs, that it was said to have affected his mind all his life after. He did, not, however, change his conduct. These executions contributed much to the spread of the reformed religion; so that Mezerai says, there was at this time no province, no town, no trade in the kingdom, where the new opinions had not taken root. The learned, the lawyers, and even the ecclesiastics, tho' against their interest, embraced them.

In A. D. 1559 the reformed held a national synod at Paris, at which they drew up forty arti-

cles of faith, and as many of discipline. Still, however, the persecution went on, and the most illustrious martyr at this time was Anne Dubourg, a person of considerable note, who, after a long trial, was first strangled, and then reduced to ashes. At this time the reformed in France got the name of *Hugonots* as supposed from Hugo, who was said to have been a king, whose apparition rode in the night through uninhabited places; and as the reformed resorted to such places, and often in the night, they got that appellation.

At an assembly held at Fontainbleau to consult about restoring the peace of the kingdom, in A. D. 1560, admiral Coligni, who distinguished himself as one of the chiefs of the reformed, presented two petitions for liberty of conscience, which he said more than fifty thousand persons were ready to sign; and with a view to support it, he voted for a convocation of the states of the kingdom. This was agreed to, and in the mean time all capital punishments were suspended, except in case of a breach of the peace. But by the influence of the Guises this liberty was soon infringed, and it was resolved that a catholic confession of faith should be signed by every person, and that they who refused should forfeit their lives and estates. The measure, was however, frustrated by the death of Francis. II.

At

At the assembly of the states, which was held in A. D. 1561, the judges were enjoined to release all prisoners on account of religion, and to restore them to the possession of their estates; but at the same time it was enacted that for the future all persons should conform to the rites of the church, tho' it was made a capital crime to reproach any person on account of his religion. At this time also a conference was appointed between the catholic prelates and the reformed at Poissy, in which the chief speaker was Theodore Beza, a colleague of Calvin at Geneva, on the part of the reformed, and the cardinal of Lorraine for the catholics. The king and the court attended. But tho' they reformed conceded more than they ought to have done with respect to the doctrine of the eucharist, they broke up dissatisfied with each other; so that tho' great things had been expected from the conference, it did nothing towards an union of the parties. The next year, however, an edict was published, allowing the exercise of the reformed religion under certain restrictions; and in some places the catholics and the reformed made use of the same churches. But notwithstanding this the reformed suffered much in popular tumults, excited by the clergy and the monks.

Presently

Presently after this the civil war, in which religion and civil policy were about equally concerned, broke out, and kept the country in a disturbed state many years. The object of most of the leaders was too evidently their own aggrandizement, while their followers fought, as they imagined, for their religion. We must, however, except the admiral Coligni, a truly great character, who suffered at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, of which an account will be given in the next period. In this civil war it appeared, that the kingdom was so nearly equally divided, that it was often as probable that the reformed would prevail, and establish their religion as the Catholics.

## SECTION

## SECTION XIV.

*Of the Reformation in England.*

**I**N England a good foundation was laid for the introduction of the reformation by the labours of Wickliffe and the Lollards, as his disciples were generally called, in a preceding period, and also by the violence of the clergy in the persecution of them. In London the whole body of the clergy became exceedingly obnoxious to the laity in A. D. 1515 by the murder of Richard Hunn, a merchant, who prosecuted some of them in the temporal courts for suing him for a mortuary in the courts of the legate; he alleging that they had no right by the laws of the land to bring the kings subjects before a foreign tribunal. Provoked at this opposition, and finding that he had Wickliffe's bible in his possession, they had him apprehended as a heretic; and not being able by this means to make him desist from his suit, the bishop's chancellor Dr. Henry, with some assistants murdered him in prison, and afterwards, hav-

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ing procured his condemnation as a heretic, his body was burned.

This atrocious conduct being considered as the act of the whole body of the clergy, the rage against them proceeded so far, that the bishop of London complained that he was not safe in his own house. Hunn was supposed to have been encouraged in his prosecution of the clergy by an attack made by Dr. Standish, a Franciscan, on the pretended immunities of the clergy in cases of civil offence. After much debate the king declared against the clergy, but in order to give them some satisfaction, it was settled that when Dr. Henry was prosecuted for the murder of Hunn, no evidence should appear against him. This conduct gave no satisfaction to the common people. On the contrary it greatly increased their discontent, and disposed them to throw off the ecclesiastical tyranny. *Burnet*, Vol. 1, p. 19.

In this state of things the publications in Germany, being translated into English, made a great impression on many persons; and this irritating the clergy more than ever, they procured the death of six women, who were burned alive in Coventry, for only teaching their children the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments in English. \* At this time Henry VIII became the  
champion

\* In the beginning of the reign of Henry V an act



champion of the church by writing against Luther, and he was rendered more averse to the reformation in consequence of the asperity with which Luther treated him in his answer. Notwithstanding this, it was by means of this very king, the most arbitrary of any monarch of England, that divine providence was pleased to bring about a reformation.

Being dissatisfied with his wife, who had been the widow of his elder brother, and sister to Charles V, he in A. D. 1527 applied to the pope for a divorce; and for some time with a great prospect of success; but afterwards the pope, unwilling to disoblige the emperor, deferred the decision of the cause so long, that the king, impatient at the delay, took other measures. At the suggestion of Cranmer, then a student at Cambridge, he consulted the principal universities and divines in Europe, as their decision was sufficient to satisfy his conscience. They unanimously declaring against the marriage as unlawful, he was divorced from the queen, notwithstanding her appeal to the pope, and in A. D. 1553 was married to Ann Boleyn, who was favourable to the reformation. At the

same

passed which expressed that, whoever should read the scriptures in their mother tongue, then called *Wickliffe's language*, they should forfeit their lands, life, and goods to the king from their heirs for ever. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 7.

same time Cranmer, who was equally favourable to it, was made archbishop of Canterbury.

The pope, against his own inclination, but in compliance with the wishes of the emperor, declaring the former marriage valid, and requiring the king to live with the former queen as his wife, this haughty prince, notwithstanding his attachment to the doctrines of the church, formed the design of shaking off the yoke of the pope, and in that year all intercourse with the court of Rome, was by act of Parliament declared to cease. At the same time it was declared that there was no design to relinquish any of the articles of the catholic faith. The monasteries were also subjected to the king's visitation, and the clergy in convocation assented to these acts. The year following the king was by act of Parliament declared to be *supreme head of the church of England*, and power was given him to reform all heresies and abuses in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; also the first fruits and tenths of all church livings were given to him, as they had belonged to the pope. This was, in fact, setting up another ecclesiastical tyranny instead of that of the pope, attended with this absurdity, that the head of the church was a layman. In this state, however, the church of England has continued to this day.

Complaint being made of the severity of the ecclesiastical courts by the act of supremacy in the twenty sixth of Henry VIII, the act of the second of Henry IV was repealed, but those of Richard II and Henry V were left in full force \* with this qualification, that heretics should be proceeded against by two witnesses at least, and could not be put to death without the king's *writ de heretico comburendo*. Heretics were therefore now to be tried according to the forms of law. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 14.

In the mean time, it being thought that the pope would be more favourable to the king's di-

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\* By an act of Henry IV the bishops might take into custody any persons suspected of heresy, and if they refused to abjure their errors, or relapsed after abjuration, they were to be delivered over to the secular power, and burned to death before the people. This was without trial by jury, by the bishops in their spiritual courts. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 6.

The act of Richard II enacted that, "all who preached without licence against the catholic faith should be arrested, and kept in prison till they justified themselves according to the law and reason of holy church. This commitment was to be by act from the chancellor." In the beginning of the reign of Henry V it was enacted that "the Lollards, or Wickliffites, should forfeit all the lands they had in fee simple, and all their goods and chattels to the king."

voice by severe proceedings against the heretics, a proclamation was issued against their books and persons, and ordering all the laws that had been enacted against them to be put in execution. But Tindal's translation of the Bible, which was printed at Antwerp, did more to favour the reformation than all the temporal powers could do against it; and it being the king's interest to unite with the reforming princes of Germany, a stop was put to the persecution.

The monks being the chief opposers of the reformation, a general visitation was made of all the religious houses in the kingdom, and the visitors finding in them many disorders, and the account of them being printed, a great indignation was excited against the whole system. On this some of the monasteries voluntarily surrendered their revenues to the king, and by an act of parliament in A. D. 1536, all the monasteries whose revenues did not exceed two hundred pounds per annum, were suppressed. In A. D. 1537 the greater monasteries were in like manner given up. On this occasion the shrine of Thomas Becket was broken, and the gold belonging to it was so much, that it filled two chests, each of which took eight men to carry it out of the church.

That the monasteries in general were in a very disorderly state in this reign, may be safely concluded

ded from what we find concerning them in the reign immediately preceding; when the dissolute manners of the clergy, especially of the regulars, were much talked of, and gave great offence to the laity; who were provoked to see the immense possessions bestowed upon the church by the piety of their ancestors so shamefully abused.

The court of Rome becoming apprehensive that this discontent of the laity might have serious consequences, Pope Innocent VIII sent a bull to archbishop Morton in March A. D. 1490, in which he acquaints him, that “ he had heard with great  
 “ grief, from persons worthy of credit, that the  
 “ monks of all the different orders in England had  
 “ grievously degenerated, and that, giving them-  
 “ selves up to a degenerate sense, they led lewd and  
 “ dissolute lives, by which they brought ruin upon  
 “ their own souls, set a bad example to others,  
 “ and gave great offence and scandal to many.”

He then directed the primate to admonish the abbots and priors of all the convents in his province to reform themselves, and those under them; and if any of them did not obey the admonition, he gave him authority to visit and reform them by ecclesiastical censures, to cut off incurable members by deprivation, and to call the secular arm to his assistance when it was necessary.

In obedience to this bull the archbishop sent monitory letters to the superiors of all the convents and religious houses in his province, admonishing and commanding them by the authority he had received from the pope, to reform themselves and their subjects from certain vices, of which they were said to be guilty, and of which he accused them.

The monitory letter that was sent on this occasion to the abbot of St. Albans has been published. If that abbot and his monks were stained with all the odious vices of which the primate in his letter says they were notoriously guilty, they were, says Dr. Henry (from whose *History of England*, Vol. 12, p. 3, I quote this) a most execrable crew, and stood much in need of reformation. Some of these vices, he adds, are so detestable, that they cannot be so much as named in history.

“You are infamous,” says he, to the abbot, for simony, usury, and squandering the possessions of your monastery, besides other enormous crimes mentioned below.” One of these crimes was that he had turned all the modest women out of the two nunneries of Pray and Sapwell (over which he pretended to have a jurisdiction) and filled them with prostitutes; that they

were

were esteemed no better than brothels, and that he and his monks publickly frequented them as such.

The archbishop seemed to be well informed; for he names some of those infamous women and their gallants. The monks were at least as profligate as their abbot. For besides keeping concubines both within and without the monastery, he accuses them of stealing the church plate, and jewels out of the shrine of their patron St. Alban. He allows them sixty days to reform from all their vices, especially from cutting down the woods, and stealing the plate and jewels of the monastery; but if they did not reform in that time, and become very chaste, honest, and good monks, he threatens them with a visitation.

What effect this monitory letter had on the abbot and his monks we are not informed. It is probable, the historian adds, that it was not great. For we learn from the same letter that they had been several times admonished before to no purpose. When the monastics lived in idleness, wallowed in wealth and luxury, and were doomed to celibacy, the temptation to certain vices, he justly observes, was too strong to be overcome by monitory letters, which they probably considered as things of course.

Speaking of the monasteries after their dissolution he says, p. 357, The visitations that preceded their suppression discovered, if credit be due to the inspectors, crimes the most degrading to human nature. Hypocritical sanctity, and holy frauds, he says, are congenial to every monastic institution, and the counterfeit relicks imposed on the vulgar, or the artifices practised to support their credit, are to be regarded as the established trade of religious orders. Intemperance also is to be expected wherever ascetics have obtained a relaxation from rigid discipline. But the reports are replete with other crimes of a deeper complexion, the lewdness of the monks, the incontinence of the nuns, and the abortions forcibly procured by the latter, and the monstrous lusts which the former indulged. The particulars would stain and dishonour our page. Yet an historian, he says, anxious for the dignity of human nature, might wish to believe that the reports of the visitors were inflamed by zeal, and perverted by an interested and malignant policy. It is difficult to conceive that they would venture, unsupported by evidence, to accuse a community of crimes repugnant to human nature; and their veracity seems to be vindicated by their solicitude to preserve some convents whose conduct was exemplary. But these crimes were apparently notorious; nor is their existence doubtful, or the licentious



centious lives of the regulars disputable, when their debaucheries had already attracted the papal indignation, and their crimes incurred the censures and menaces of the archbishop. If at the commencement of this period the monks of St. Alban had begun, in different convents, to displace the nuns, and substitute prostitutes, it is not probable that their morals were afterwards improved, or their discipline re-established.

In this year the bible was printed in English, and a copy was ordered to be put into all the churches. But notwithstanding this, so zealous was the king for the doctrines of popery, that the next year Lambert, who had been associated with Tindal in this translation of the bible, was burned for denying the corporal presence, and six articles were enforced by act of parliament in A. D. 1538 to prevent diversity of opinion. They related to communion in one kind, the observance of the vows of chastity, private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and auricular confession. However, on the remonstrance of the ambassador from the German princes, the king said the act was necessary to repress the insolence of some persons, but that it should not be carried into execution except in cases of great provocation. \*

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\* Many complaints being made in this reign of those who had licences to preach, they, in order to justify

In A. D. 1547 the king died, and was succeeded by his son Edward VI, a young prince, but of great capacity, and much knowledge, and a sincere promoter of the reformation, in which he was warmly seconded by Cranmer, who had been exposed to much danger in the latter part of Henry's life. One of the first things that was done by the privy council (which had all the royal power till the king should be of age) was to procure the composition of certain homilies, or discourses, chiefly in favour of the reformation, ordering them to be read in churches, and to direct that an English translation of *Erasmus's Paraphrase of the New Testament*, together with a new translation of the Bible, should be lodged in them all.

A strict charge was also given for the due observance of the Lord's day, which was directed to be wholly employed in the duties of religion, or in acts of charity ; only in time of harvest persons were allowed to work, as well as on other festival days. A general visitation of all the churches was appointed, and in the mean time the jurisdiction themselves, began generally to write and read their sermons ; and this was the beginning to the preaching from notes. All preaching before this time was extempore, or from memory. *Burnet*, Vol.1, p. 270. England is the only country in which preaching is generally from notes, the discourses being carefully precomposed,

tion of the bishops was suspended. When the parliament met, an act was passed to repeal that of the six articles, enacted in the preceding reign, and also all the acts against the Lollards. Communion in both kinds was allowed, and a new liturgy was composed in English. In A. D. 1549 another act was passed permitting the marriage of the clergy.

Unhappily, the spirit of the reformation was not thought to be inconsistent with that of persecution, and in this year there arrived some Anabaptists from Germany, and among them some who "denying a trinity of persons in the god-head, "and maintaining that Christ was not God, and "did not take flesh of the virgin," were exposed to it. The most distinguished sufferer was Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the young king, was burned alive; Cranmer persuading him that, being God's lieutenant, he was bound in the first place to punish offences against God.

George Van Paris, a Dutchman, being convicted of saying that "God the Father was the "only God, and that Christ was not very God," was condemned in the same manner with Joan of Kent, and burned in Smithfield April 25th, A. D. 1551. He was a man of strict virtue and great piety, and he suffered with great constancy, kissing

the stake and the faggots that were to burn him. These cases were justly brought by the catholics against criminals in the time of queen Mary. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 50.

Strype says that arianism shewed itself so openly in the reign of Edward VI, and was in such danger of spreading, that it was thought necessary to suppress it by more rigid methods than seemed agreeable to the merciful principles of the profession of the gospel. *Lindsey's Historical View*, p. 84.

In A. D. 1550 farther progress was made in the reformation. Images were ordered to be defaced, all the prayers to the saints were struck out of the primmer published by the late king, a book of ordination was published, the book of common prayer was revised, altars were put down, and in A. D. 1551 forty two articles of religion (the same that were afterwards reduced to thirty nine) were agreed on. All these things were confirmed in the convocation of the clergy, who in general complied with the new regulations. Also a reformation of the ecclesiastical laws was prepared.

But while things were in this progress, the king died, and being succeeded by his sister Mary, who was a bigotted catholic, all the steps that had been taken to promote the reformation were reversed, and the favourers of it were exposed to a dreadful

dreadful persecution. Cranmer was presently imprisoned, and in the first parliament in this new reign all the late laws relating to religion were repealed. In A. D. 1554 the kingdom was solemnly reconciled to the holy see, and the year following many were publickly burned alive for heresy. Cranmer at first recanted, but afterwards suffered with great heroism.

The first who suffered in this reign was John Rogers, a reader of divinity in St. Paul's church; and it is something remarkable that he, as well as Cranmer, had approved of the burning of J. Bocher, in the preceding reign. When she was under sentence of death, a friend of Mr. Rogers earnestly requested him to use his interest with the archbishop that she might only be kept in prison, and not put to death. When he would not consent to this, his friend begged that he would plead for some easier kind of death than that of being burned alive. But to this Rogers replied, that burning alive was not a very cruel death, but easy enough. To this his friend, taking him by the hand, said with peculiar earnestness, "Well  
 " perhaps it may so happen that you yourselves  
 " may have your hands full of this mild burning." *Crosby's History of the English Baptists*, Vol. 1, p. 60. Whether Mr. Rogers ever changed his opinion on the subject of persecution, does not appear;

pear ; but, tho' a persecutor himself, no person could behave with more firmness, or more propriety in all respects, when it came to his turn to suffer, than Mr. Rogers did.

It was computed that in this reign two hundred and eighty four were burned alive, many more were imprisoned, and sixty died in prison, or of the tortures to which they were exposed. Many fled from this violent persecution, especially to Frankfort and other cities of Germany, where the reformation had been carried farther than in England. *Burnet*, Vol. 2, p. 304.

According to Mr. Neal the number that suffered death in the reign of queen Mary was not less than two hundred and seventy seven persons, of whom five were bishops, twenty one clergymen, eight gentlemen, eighty four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, labourers, and servants, fifty five women, and four children. Besides these there were fifty four under persecution, seven of whom were whipped. Sixteen perished in prison. The rest who were making ready for the fire, were preserved by the death of the queen. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 66.

The Lutherans would not receive those who fled from the persecution of queen Mary, because they were Sacramentarians. Melancthon inter-

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ferred for them, but without effect. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 101. The number of refugees was about eight hundred.

But in A. D. 1558 the queen died, and being succeeded by Elizabeth, the reformation was resumed. The next year the English liturgy was again used, and a new translation of the bible was made. Many of those who now returned to England were advocates for a more complete reformation, but the queen resolutely opposed them, and insisted on a strict conformity to every thing that she thought proper to fix, even with respect to the use of things allowed to be in themselves indifferent, as the popish vestments, &c. On this many persons refusing to comply were exposed to great hardships, as they continued to be in all that and the following reign of the Stuarts. Professing a purer religion than that which was established by law, they got the appellation of *Puritans*. Their history will be given in the next period.

## SECTION XV.

*Of the Reformation in Scotland and Ireland.*

SCOTLAND, in consequence of a long series of civil wars, which had almost desolated the country, had not in the time of Luther its natural proportion of learned men. But notwithstanding this disadvantage the reformation was introduced into this country at a very early period by several persons who had resided in Germany; and being embraced by some of the nobility, and other men of great power and influence, very few suffered in consequence of it. The only martyr of much note was Patrick Hamilton. He was nephew to the earl of Arran by his father, and to the duke of Albany by his mother, and an abbey was given to him for the prosecution of his studies. But on his travels he became acquainted with Luther and Melancthon, and adopting their opinions he openly preached them on his return to his own country. Being, in consequence of this, apprehended, and committed to prison, and afterwards

appearing



appearing before Beaton archbishop of St. Andrews, together with the archbishop of Glasgow, three bishops, and five abbots, he was condemned as an obstinate heretic, and ordered for execution on the afternoon of the same day. This was while the king was absent on a pilgrimage; for they were apprehensive of the friends of Mr. Hamilton making interest for him.

When he was fastened to the stake he expressed great joy, and the fire not taking effect immediately for want of gun-powder, the friars were very urgent with him to recant, and especially one Campbell, who had frequently been with him in prison. But he replied to them all with great energy, and particularly to Campbell, charging him to answer for his conduct before God. When the gun-powder was brought, and the fire rekindled, he died, frequently repeating *Lord Jesus receive my spirit*. It is remarkable that soon after Campbell became insane, and died within the year, and this, as well as the behaviour of Hamilton, made a great impression on the people.

After this a friar saying in his confession to another, that he thought Hamilton was a good man, and the confessor discovering it, this was received as evidence, and he was condemned and burned. Many others were brought before the bishop's

courts,

courts, and the greater part of them abjured, but two, of the names of Gourley and Smeaton were condemned and burned.

The king, who was very expensive both in his pleasures and his buildings, and consequently in great want of money, especially to provide for his many natural children, being told by the clergy that from the persecution of the heretics he might raise an hundred thousand crowns a year, and provide for his children in the abbies and priories, gave into their measures ; when a canon, regular, a secular priest, two friars, and a gentleman were burned.

The archbishop of Glasgow disliked these persecuting measures, and when Ruffel a friar, and Kennedy a young man of eighteen years of age were brought before him, and behaved with uncommon firmness and joy, he was flattered, and appeared unwilling to pass sentence, saying that these executions did more harm to the church than good ; but being urged by the clergy about him, saying that he must not act differently from the other bishops, he pronounced the sentence, and they were burned ; but they behaved with so much patience and joy, as made a great impression both on the spectators and those who heard of it. George Buchanan, a most excellent Latin poet and histo-

rian,

torian, and who at the king's instigation had written an admirable poem entitled *Franciscanus* against the monks, being now abandoned by the king, fled into France, and lived twenty years in foreign countries.

The most active promoter of the reformation by his preaching was John Knox, a disciple of Calvin, who came to Scotland in A. D. 1559, a man of great zeal, undaunted resolution, and popular eloquence; and being supported by a strong party who opposed the court, he was not exposed to much personal danger.

Ireland followed the fate of England in all its changes with respect to the reformation. There all the views of Henry VIII were carried into execution by G. Brown, a monk of the order of Austin, who had been made archbishop of Dublin in A. D. 1525. He was deprived of his dignity by queen Mary, but under Elizabeth the reformation was re-established in Ireland as well as in England.

## SECTION XVI.

*Of the Reformation in the Northern and Eastern Countries of Europe.*

*I. Of the Reformation in Sweden.*

**T**HE reformation was first preached in Sweden by Olaus Petri, a disciple of Luther, soon after his rupture with Rome, and he was powerfully seconded by Gustavus Erickson, who had been just raised to the throne in the place of Christian II king of Denmark, whose cruelty had made them revolt. He sent for learned divines from Germany, and procured the scriptures to be translated into the Swedish language. Much reputation was also gained to the side of the reformers by a public disputation, held by order of the king at Upsal, in A. D. 1526. The year following the assembly of the states established the reformation, and Gustavus was declared to be head of the church of Sweden.

*II. Of*

*II. Of the Reformation in Denmark.*

Christian II, tho' a tyrant, was a zealous promoter of the reformation in *Denmark*, and for this purpose in A. D. 1520, he sent for Martin Raynard out of Saxony, and made him professor of divinity at Copenhagen. After his death, which happened the year following, he procured Carolst at to succeed him; and he making but a short stay there, the king endeavoured to induce Luther himself to go thither. His views were probably similar to those of Henry VIII of England. He wished to make himself independent of the pope, and to appropriate to himself the great church livings in his dominions.

Tho' this king was deposed in A. D. 1523, his uncle Frederic, who succeeded him, was as much a friend to the reformation, and conducted himself with more prudence. At an assembly of the states in A. D. 1527, he procured an edict to be published, declaring all the subjects of Denmark free to profess either the catholic religion or that of Luther, on which the greater part of the people chose the latter. The reformation was completed by Christian III, a prince of exemplary prudence and piety. He reduced the authority of the bishops, and restored much of the possessions of the clergy to the heirs of the antient owners, both these having become exorbitant in all the northern

kingdoms. This prince sent for Bugenhagius from Wittemberg, to draw up a plan of religious doctrine, discipline, and worship, which was approved at an assembly of the states held at Odensee, in A. D. 1539. Instead of bishops, Christian appointed *superintendants* of the churches, without any temporal authority whatever.

### *III. Of the Reformation in Poland.*

The reformation soon spread into *Poland*, both by means of the Lutherans, the reformed in Switzerland, and the Bohemian brethren, all of whom were well received by many of the nobility of that country; nor was the king himself ill disposed towards them; and in A. D. 1555, the Protestants held their first general synod at Caminiee, when the confession of the Bohemian brethren was read, and approved, all parties giving each other the right hand of fellowship, and receiving the communion together. *Crantz.*

During the long reign of Sigismond, which was forty two years, the German reformers poured their disciples into Poland; and the Lutherans, assisted by the Bohemian brethren, taught with so much success, that popery was reduced to the lowest ebb. Several of the nobility became their patrons, and the senate itself was filled with friends of reformation. *Robinson, p. 560.*

*IV. Of*

*IV. Of the Reformation in Hungary and Transylvania.*

The reformation was introduced into these countries in the year A. D. 1518 (which was only one year after Luther began to preach against indulgences in Germany) by means of some merchants who brought books on the subject of religion into those countries; and they are among the very few in which it made a rapid progress with little opposition, or persecution of the friends of reformation. Not that the clergy were less violent than in other countries, or the sovereigns less disposed to favour them; but they were counteracted by the grandees, whose power was superior to that of any other order of men. In A. D. 1521 some merchants of Hermanstat (Cibinium) brought several of Luther's books from Leipsic into Transylvania, as on the subject of christian liberty, auricular confession, penance, monastic vows, communion in both kinds, and on the Babylonish captivity; by the reading of which the eyes of many, the historian says, were opened.

At Vihelyinum in upper Hungary the reformation was promoted by Michael Sicklosi, and in Transylvania the business was undertaken by two persons whose names are not certainly known, but

one of them was thought to have been Ambrose of Silesia, and the other George of the order of preaching friars. These preached with the greatest vehemence against the abuses of popery at Hermanstat. Complaint being made of this, they were called to appear before the bishop of Strigonia. How they were treated by him is not said, but soon after they left the country. The principal magistrate in this city at this time was Marcus Pesslinger, and a person of great experience and prudence. He not only read the works of Luther himself, but recommended the reading of them to others. He was opposed by Mathias Colman, but this person died soon after the contest began. A circumstance that greatly contributed to promote the reformation in this city was a contest, probably of some standing, between the inhabitants and their bishop. King Lewis endeavoured by an edict dated at Buda in A. D. 1522, to check the progress of the reformation by some violent measures; but owing to the intercession of Pesslinger, and the absence of the newly appointed bishop who was then at Rome, the persecution did not take place. Another severe edict was procured by the clergy in A. D. 1523, but nothing appears to have been done in consequence of it.

In A. D. 1724, several persons went from Hungary and Transilvania to study at Wittemberg, with



with a view to qualify themselves to promote the reformation with more effect. At the same time the new bishop sent commissaries with letters to the senate at Hermanstat, requiring them to execute the king's edict; and in consequence of this many of the writings of Luther were taken from the citizens, and publickly burned. Among these was a German psalter of Luther, which when in flames (probably by some accident in stirring the fire, and the direction of the wind) fell upon the head of one of the commissaries; and whether in consequence of the injury he received from the fire, or being, as some thought, struck with terror, he soon after died. However, the only effect of this measure of the bishop was that the principles of the reformation were from this time more generally and more publickly avowed than they had been before; and this, notwithstanding another order of the bishop, under pain of greater excommunication, to prohibit the reading of the books, and burning all that could be found of them.

In A. D. 1525 an order was procured for the banishment of all the Lutherans out of the kingdom, or to apprehend and burn them, but no regard was paid to it; and the same year the reformation was preached at Buda, where the court resided, by Simon Grynœus, and Vitus Weir-

hemius, the presidents of the public schools in that city. But being obliged to fly, Grynæus went to Basil, where he was made professor of philosophy, and Vitus went to Wittemberg, where he was made professor of the Greek language. Their places were supplied by other persons sent by Luther and Melancthon, and among them was John Honter, who was followed by Leonard Stokell, both of whom, however, went to Transilvania.

In the year following the archbishop of Buda, seconded by the clamours of the inferior clergy, endeavoured to persuade the king to destroy Pefflinger, and all the other favourers of the doctrine of Luther; but he was prevented by a formidable invasion of the Turks whom he marched to oppose. He however, wrote to this count, promising him his favour if from that time he would do his duty in exterminating the Lutherans. He, however, deferred doing any thing till after a journey which he undertook to meet the king. But they never did meet, the king being defeated and killed in the fatal battle of Mohacs.

Many of the bishops who accompanied the king in this expedition having perished with him, their revenues were administered by laymen, who were the greatest promoters of the reformation; and the return of count Pefflinger soon put an end to the proceedings of the monks in the execution  
of

the edicts. As they had proscribed George of Silesia, and his companions, the count took them to his own house, and encouraged them to preach in the most public manner; and from this time all the inhabitants of Hermanstat, and by degrees those of the neighbouring towns, embraced the reformation. Indeed, after the battle of Mohacs, most of the counts and barons of Hungary joined the reformers, and protected their preachers.

King John being defeated by Ferdinand, and flying to Poland, left the administration in the hands of Alexius Bethlen, a person of great moderation, who was urged in vain by the catholics to adopt violent measures; and in A. D. 1529, on a report that the forces of Ferdinand had been defeated, the magistrates of Hermanstat published an edict, ordering the monks either to abjure popery, or leave the city on pain of death.

In A. D. 1530, five of the free cities of Upper Hungary sent a confession of their Protestant faith to Ferdinand, and many persons of the highest rank and the greatest power in Hungary, openly defended the reformation.

At the return of king John to Buda in A. D. 1533, the clergy left nothing unattempted to induce him to suppress the reformation by the most violent methods; and the archbishop sent to prison a priest who had preached against the faults of

the church of Rome; and after having him scourged he exposed him in the streets, with hares, geese, and fowls fastened to him, and then had him pursued by dogs; in consequence of which he died; but within a few days after this, being struck, it was supposed, with remorse for what he had done, the hishop became insane, and died.

In A. D. 1535 Matthias Devai distinguished himself so much by his zeal in promoting the reformation, that he was commonly called the Hungarian Luther; but he did not adopt the sentiments of Luther on the subject of the eucharist, but leaned to those of Zuinglius; and their difference of opinion was the occasion of a division among the reformers in this part of the world, that was prejudicial to the common cause here, as it was in Germany and other places.

This Devai was not only the cause of the conversion of Gaspar Draghius, a person of high rank, who became a patron of the reformers, but he brought over to his party the noble city of Veheli, and its neighbourhood. He also preached with much success in Buda, the capital of the kingdom, and converted many in the court of king John, the rival of Ferdinand, Being, however, apprehended and imprisoned at Buda, he was examined by John Faber, the bishop of Constance; and when he was going to prison his conductor saying,

“ If you were a christian, I would blefs you ;” he replied, “ I do not want your benediction. It is God that will blefs me, and have mercy on me.” How he was delivered from his imprisonment does not appear. He was again apprehended at Vienna, but by some means or other he escaped a second time. He had a public disputation with Szegedinus a Franciscan, the particulars of which he published.

The reformation in Hungary was also greatly promoted by John Honter abovementioned. He was a philosopher and mathematician, and studied first at Cracow, and then at Basil, drawn by the great reputation of Reuchlin; and returning to his native country in A. D. 1533, he set up a printing office, and first published a work of Luther’s on auricular confession, and other works which had before been brought from Germany, and which sold for great prices.

In A. D. 1542 the senate of Corona were induced by his zeal to appoint him their preacher, in order to establish the reformation in that city; and he succeeded in bringing the whole province of Barcia into the reformation. So industrious was he and his coadjutors in this work, that before the end of the year A. D. 1545 it had taken place in all that province of Transilvania in which is the city of Media, called Media Saxonum, and there

there was published a confession of the Protestant faith. The same was done at Erdod, when twenty three ministers of the reformation drew up twelve articles of faith, and likewise professed their assent to the articles of that confession which had been presented to the states of the empire at Augsburgh.

This was a great mortification to the archbishop Martinucius; who had always been an advocate for violent measures, and who had some time before procured one of the Protestants to be burned alive. This person, however, had in some measure provoked his fate; having struck a woman who was worshipping before an image, when this prelate was attending the queen at her entrance into Waradin. In A. D. 1552 mention is made of another martyr to the Protestant cause in Basilius Radon, but there is no account of the circumstances of his martyrdom; and these are the only examples of Protestant martyrs, that I can find in this country.

The principal of the grandees who opposed the violent proceedings of this ecclesiastic, was Urban Batjani, whom he procured to be poisoned in A. D. 1546; and even when he had been honourably buried, he had his body taken out of the grave, and exposed on a dunghill.

Under Ferdinand the Protestants had better treatment ; for tho' he favoured the catholics, in some articles which were drawn up for composing the differences of religion, in A. D. 1548 ; yet by the opposition and influence of the grandees, especially of Alexius Turzo, and his two sons, equally zealous with himself in the cause of reformation, the preachers were protected.

In A. D. 1549 there was a numerous synod of the Protestants at Temeswar, when they made thirteen canons concerning the duty of pastors. In the same year died John Honter, famous for his writings and other services in the cause of the reformation, and of general literature. At this time, however, flourished Stephen Szegedinus, who after Mr. Devai distinguished himself the most in the same cause. He also followed Devai in adhering to the doctrine of Zuinglius on the subject of the eucharist.

In A. D. 1554 the dispute about the eucharist occasioned much disturbance in the Protestant churches of these countries ; and in the same year another difference arose among them occasioned by the opinion of Francis Stancarus concerning the mediatorial office of Christ, which he said depended upon his human nature only, and not at all on his divine nature ; and for this opinion he suffered something like a persecution from the great majority

majority, who dissented from him. And yet this same Stancarus urged it upon queen Isabella, and the grandees of Transilvania, to punish heretics with death; and among them he mentioned Francis David, an unitarian, as deserving to be put to death, for declaring war, as he had said, against Jesus Christ; saying it was of divine right that they and their works should be committed to the flames.

In A. D. 1555 the emperor Ferdinand found it necessary to allow the free exercise of religion to five free cities of Upper Hungary. But the Anabaptists were persecuted in these countries as well as in all other places. This year they were ordered to leave the kingdom in one month, and tho' for some time the nobles detained some of them who were artificans, they could not do it long.

In A. D. 1559 there was a public disputation between the Lutherans and the Sacramentarians, which the Lutheran reporter said ended in favour of his party; and in the year following after another conference the Sacramentarians were absolutely excluded from communion with the Lutherans. But it appears that in A. D. 1562, a great number of the Lutherans embraced their opinion.

The last article that I have to mention relating to this period is that in A. D. 1563, in an assembly  
of



of the states at Temeswar, it was decreed that all persons should be at full liberty to follow whatever mode of religion they pleased without disturbing one another, and in A. D. 1564 Maximilian II granted the same liberty to a district in Hungary inhabited chiefly by miners.

From that time to the present even Unitarians are not only exempt from persecution, but enjoy every civil privilege, at least in Transilvania, of which they occupy a large district, which was once pointed out to me on the map of that country by a person who came from Presburg.

This account of the reformation in Hungary and Transilvania is abridged from *Lampe's History of it in Quarto*, printed at Utrecht in A. D. 1728.

## SECTION

## SECTION XVII.

*A more particular Account of some of the English Martyrs.*

**T**HO' I have undertaken to write nothing more than a *general history* of the christian church, I think it right to give occasionally particular accounts of transactions, especially when they seem to be necessary to give a just idea of the manners and spirit of the times to which they relate, which succinct and general accounts can never do ; and yet this is always considered as one principal object in writing history. Now nothing can contribute more to give a just idea of the spirit of the different parties, viz. the Catholics and Protestants, at the time of the reformation, than the history of the persecution of the latter by the former, where we see the temper and behaviour of both.

I also chuse to be more particular in this case, because such narratives tend in an eminent manner to inspire the true spirit of christianity, which is my principal object in writing this history ; and in peaceable times this spirit is too apt to  
be

be lost in that of the world, there being nothing in these circumstances to draw our attention to it, and excite it. In such times as these there are but few, I fear, who interest themselves in books of *martyrology*, and therefore they must be ignorant of some of the most interesting and instructive articles in ecclesiastical history. For such general histories as that of Mosheim and others, tho' valuable on several accounts, contain nothing of this kind. If this subject be thought irksome or disgusting, tho' it ought not to be so to any christian, the sections relating to it will have their separate titles, so that they may be passed over without any prejudice to the rest of the work.

In perusing these accounts readers of the present more civilized age will be shocked at the unnecessary cruelties with which persons, and persons of the most respectable characters, were then treated. But it was the object of those who were in power to bear down all that opposed them by any methods, however barbarous and illegal. For the sake of the English reader I shall select accounts of a few of the martyrs in the time of queen Mary, abridged from the much larger accounts in that most valuable, tho' now too much neglected, work of Mr. Fox, intitled *The Acts and Monuments of the Church*, but more commonly known by the title of *The Book of Martyrs*, beginning with John Rogers,

who was the first that was executed in this reign for his adherence to the principles of Protestantism.

Mr. Rogers was educated at Cambridge, where he distinguished himself by his application to literature, and his good conduct. After this he was chosen by the society of Merchant Adventurers to be their chaplain at Antwerp in the reign of Henry VIII; and in this situation he gave great satisfaction to his employers. Here it was that he became acquainted with William Tindal and Miles Coverdale, who had left England on account of their religion, which by their means he was led to embrace, and he assisted them in their translation of the scriptures into English. Here he married; and going to Wittemberg he made farther progress in theology; and being a great proficient in the German language, the charge of a congregation was committed to him.

On the accession of king Edward he left his establishment at Wittemberg, and returned to his native country, without any other prospect than that of promoting the reformation. But Ridley, then bishop of London, knowing his worth, made him a prebendary of St. Paul's church, and the dean and chapter chose him to be their reader of divinity; and this duty he discharged till the accession of queen Mary.

When

When she came to the tower, it being the duty of Mr. Rogers to preach at Paul's cross, he so earnestly exhorted the people against the doctrines of popery, that he was summoned before the council to give an account of his sermon; and this he did with so much firmness, and yet with prudence, that at this time he was dismissed. But after the proclamation concerning preaching he was called before the council a second time; and tho' he clearly foresaw his danger, and had a wife and ten children to provide for (which he could easily have done in Germany) he did not chuse to flee, when it was in his power.

Not giving satisfaction to the council, he was at first made a prisoner in his own house, but after about half a year he was, at the procurement of bishop Bonner, sent to Newgate, and there confined with the worst criminals; and all that is known of him, and his examinations, &c. from this time we learn from an account drawn up by himself, left in his cell after his death, and so concealed that his enemies had not found it. Otherwise it certainly would never have seen the light.

After having been kept a close prisoner in these circumstances till the 22d of January A. D. 1555, which was nearly a year and an half; he was brought before bishop Gardiner the chancellor, and the rest of the privy council; when being ask-

ed if he would conform to the catholic church, as the nation in general had done, and receive a pardon, he answered in the negative with great firmness ; and after a long altercation about the supreme head of the church, the service in Latin, and the marriage of priests, to which his own marriage had given occasion, he was remanded to prison.

In the night between the 28th and 29th of the same month he was brought out again, when he remonstrated with his judges on the subject of his imprisonment, which had been contrary to the law as it then stood, and the unreasonableness of maintaining himself and his large family, when his salary, the means of his subsistence, had been taken from him. But not answering to satisfaction with respect to the doctrine of the eucharist, he was informed that with the hope of his recanting, they would forbear to proceed any farther till the next day, when about nine o'clock he was brought up again ; but beginning to charge his judges with temporizing, as they had done in the former reigns, he was not allowed to speak any more, but was sentenced to be degraded and ordered for execution, together with bishop Hooper; and then the sheriff conducted them both to Newgate.

The only request that Mr. Rogers made, was that his wife might be permitted to have access to him the short time that he had to live, but this was denied

denied him, Gardiner laying that she was not his wife. He replied that she had been so eighteen years, and farther said that, tho' they were offended with the marriage of priests, they made no objection to their open whoredom. For that in Wales every priest had his whore living without disguise with him, and that the priests in France and Germany did the same. To this no reply was made.

On Monday the 4th of February, early in the morning, he was informed that he must prepare for execution that very day. He was, however, first carried before bishop Bonner, who degraded him in due form, first dressing him like a priest, and then, with certain ceremonies, taking those garments off. At this time he again requested that he might be permitted to speak to his wife, who being a stranger in the country, and with a large family, might want some advice; but he was again peremptorily refused.

As he was on his way to Smithfield, the place destined for his execution, he was met in the crowd by his wife, who had the youngest child in her arms, and was accompanied by two others; but this affecting sight did not move him from his purpose; and when he had an offer of a pardon at the stake, he would not accept of it on the condition of his recanting. Not being permitted to ad-

dress the people, who attended in great crouds, he only sung as he went along the psalm which begins with the word *miserere*, and he suffered with the greatest constancy. It is conjectured that he particularly wished to speak to his wife to inform her of the MS. which he had written in the prison, and which was found by one of his sons, when they went to the place, after it had, no doubt, been examined by the keeper.

With the same constancy died many others in these times, who, like Mr, Rogers, had themselves been advocates for the doctrine of burning heretics. But this opinion, abhorrent as it is now acknowledged to be to reason and christianity, was then nearly, if not wholly, universal; so that the holding of it argues no particular disposition to cruelty. Protestants of all descriptions, when in power, as well as the catholics, acted upon it.

Bishop Hooper, as I have observed, was confined in Newgate at the same time with Mr. Rogers, and his history and martyrdom is the next that I shall give an account of.

He was educated at Oxford, and there he was equally noted for his love of literature, and his zeal for religion; but the six articles of Henry VIII being then published, and he not approving of them, some divines of Oxford gave him so much trouble that he left the university, and was received



ed in the capacity of steward by sir Thomas Arundel, who, tho' a zealous catholic, was much pleased with his behaviour ; and with the friendly view of reclaiming him, he sent him on a message to the bishop of Winchester, with a letter informing him of his design. By the bishop he was detained four or five days, in which his lordship endeavoured to convince him of his errors ; but not succeeding he sent him back with much commendation of his ability and learning ; but from this time he conceived a rooted aversion to him on account of his opinions, and, as he would naturally think, his obstinacy.

Being warned by a friend of his danger in continuing in the family of Mr. Arundel, he fled to France, but soon returned, and was received by a Mr. Sentlow till, a snare being laid for him, he went to Germany, where he formed a connection with several learned Protestants, and especially at Basil and Zurich, where he formed a strict friendship with Mr. Bullenger. There he applied himself to the study of Hebrew, and also married.

On the accession of king Edward he took an affectionate leave of Mr. Bullenger and his other friends at Zurich, and returned to England ; and arriving in London he never failed to preach once, and often twice, every day ; and being very eloquent, he always had crowded audiences. Being

called to preach before the king, he was soon advanced to the bishoprick of Gloucester, and after two years that of Worcester was added to it. The duties of this high office he discharged with singular assiduity and success. As he had always objected to the popish vestments, he was by the king's authority excused from using them at his installation, which gave much offence to the other bishops. To comply therefore with his brethren as far as he could, he consented to be habited as they were when he preached before the king.

On the accession of queen Mary this excellent bishop was one of the first that was sent for to appear before Gardiner and the rest of the privy council in London; and tho' he was fully apprized of his danger, he refused to leave the kingdom any more; saying that, tho' he had fled before, he was now determined to live or die with his flock.

His appearance before the council was on the first of September A. D. 1553, when, after being insulted by Gardiner, he was sent to the Fleet prison, where he was subjected to the harshest treatment, not being allowed to leave his room except just to take his meals, and for this he paid an unreasonable sum. The keeper being a creature of Gardiner's, he was by his means more strictly confined, and put into a place where nothing was given him but a bed of straw with a rotten coverlet, a tick,

tick, and a few feathers ; but afterwards some charitable person sent him a bed. One side of this place was the sink and filth of the house, and on the other side the town ditch, so that with the stench of the place he contracted several diseases. When in this situation he was sometimes near dying, and called for help, the warden, who heard him, ordered the door to be kept closed, and suffered no servant to go near him ; saying that if he died there would be a good riddance of him, so that he expected to die before he should be brought to his trial.

The year following, on the 19th of March, he was again brought before his judges, and without being allowed to speak for himself he was sentenced, on account of his marriage, to be deprived of his preferment. Being also questioned on the subject of the eucharist, and not giving satisfaction, he was by the bishop of Chichester called a hypocrite, and by Tonsil and others, a beast.

On the 22nd of January A. D. 1555 he was brought before the commissioners at the house of bishop Gardener, but giving them no more satisfaction than he had done before, he was remanded to prison. On the 28th of the same month he was brought before them again, when both he and Mr. Rogers were informed that they would be heard again the next day ; and then, as they could

not be persuaded to recant, they were sentenced to be degraded and delivered to the secular power to be executed, after which they were conducted to Newgate. On their way thither great crowds pressed to see them, praising God for their constancy in the doctrine which they had preached.

In Newgate they were kept six days without any person being permitted to see or converse with them. Bonner, however, and other catholics visited them in order to induce them, if possible, to recant, but this was without any effect. There was, however, a report circulated that the bishop had recanted, and it gave him some disturbance. But this did not continue long. For on Monday, the 2d of February, the bishop of London came and performed the ceremony of their degradation; and the same night the bishop was informed that he was to be carried to Gloucester, and suffer there; at which he was much rejoiced, since he should then die in the midst of his flock.

When they were on their journey his conductors always took care to avoid the inns that he had been used to frequent, and at Cirencester they took him to the house of a woman who had been used to revile him; but, contrary to their expectation, she shewed him every mark of kindness, lamenting his case with tears. When they came near to Gloucester, they were met by so great a  
crowd

crowd of his friends, that the aid of the mayor and his officers was thought necessary for his guard. He was, however, perfectly composed, ate a hearty supper, and slept soundly as usual; but the remainder of the night, and all the next day, he passed in acts of devotion.

When the sheriff, who was to see him executed, waited upon him the next morning, he said he had only one request to make, which was that they would make a quick fire, and dispatch him as soon as possible. At five o'clock that night he went to bed, and slept soundly as before, but employed the remainder of the night, as he had done the preceding day, and at nine he was conducted to the place of his execution, attended by a prodigious crowd, but he was not permitted to make any address to them. After a solemn prayer he undressed himself, and was bound with an iron hoop to the stake, tho' he assured them that it was not necessary, for that he should be quiet, and give them no trouble. They allowed him to put a bag of gunpowder between his legs, and with great calmness he shewed them how to place the faggots. Bundles of reeds being given him, he kissed them, and placed one under each arm.

When the fire was lighted, the faggots were found to be so green, that the heat only scorched him, and after some time drier faggots were brought,  
but

but still the wind blew the flame in such a manner that his lower parts only were affected. In this state of extreme torture he was heard to pray, saying, "Jesus, thou son of David, have mercy on me, and receive my soul." Then, wiping his eyes, he called for more fire. With the third fire the gunpowder exploded, but so as to be of little service to him. He kept praying as long as he was able to speak, striking on his breast with one of his hands till it fell off, and then with the other, till, on its touching the hot iron hoop, it stuck fast to it, and presently after this falling forwards, he expired. Tho' owing to the unfavourable circumstances above mentioned, he was for three quarters of an hour in extreme torture, he continued, the historian says, quiet as a lamb, never moving his body, tho' his lower parts were so burned, that before he died his bowels fell out.

Willing to complete this section by a third example of those noble martyrs, I was a long time undetermined which to select, from so great a number that presented themselves in Mr. Fox's book; all the cases having in them something particularly deserving notice. Having given the preceding account of bishop Hooper, I pass over the cases of the bishops Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, especially as the lives of two of them have been excellently written, and in a popular manner,

ner, by Mr. Gilpin, and on the whole I have thought it most eligible to take that of *Mr. Bradford*, tho' for a long time I hesitated between his case and that of Mr. Taylor of Hadley in Suffolk; especially as I had been upon the spot where he suffered, and witnessed the veneration with which his memory is still cherished in that town, so that tho' he has been so long *dead he yet speaketh*.

Mr John Bradford was born at Manchester in Lancashire, and was not originally designed for any of the learned professions, but entered into the service of Sir John Harrington, who had great employments under Henry VIII and Edward VI; and by his skill in writing and accompts, as well as by his general behaviour, he gained his entire confidence. Tho' it was probable that in this situation he might have acquired a decent fortune, he quitted this employment, and appears for some time to have applied to the study of the law in the Temple; but afterwards he went to the university of Cambridge, with a view to qualify himself for the christian ministry, and there he gained so much favour by his diligence and proficiency in his studies, that after one year he was admitted to the degree of master of arts, and soon after was chosen fellow of Pembroke college. Here he particularly recommended himself to Martin Bucer, one of the most eminent of the reformers, who greatly encouraged

couraged him to undertake the office of preacher. In consequence of this he was ordained by Ridley the bishop of London, and was made a prebendary of St. Paul's Church.

In the faithful and laborious discharge of his duty in this situation he continued three years; but on the accession of queen Mary he was apprehended, and sent to the Tower on a charge of sedition, tho' his behaviour entitled him to the thanks of the clergy and the court. For when the bishop of Bath preached at St Paul's cross, with a view to reconcile the people to the change of measures that was to take place, and was so much insulted by the people, that he was in danger of his life, Mr. Bradford, who was a great favourite with them, protected him; and preaching at Bow church the Sunday following he sharply reprov'd the people for their disorderly behaviour, at the same time that he exhorted them to adhere to their principles of protestantism.

From the Tower he was removed to the king's bench prison, and there the keeper had so much confidence in him, that he permitted him to go out whenever he pleased, and he always returned at the time that he promised, tho' he might have made his escape.

On the 22d, and again on the 29th of January, 1555, he was brought before the council, and af-

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ter such an examination, and such insults, as Mr. Rogers and bishop Hooper had experienced before him, he was sentenced as they were, to be degraded and burned, and then was sent to the Counter prison in the Poultry. This was after he had been a year and a half in the king's bench; and wherever he was confined he exerted himself so much in exhorting his fellow prisoners, and preaching to them, and to others who came to the prison to hear him, that he was of eminent use, and he was held in the highest esteem on that account.

When he was in the Counter he had notice given him that he was to be removed to Newgate, and executed the day following; and on hearing this he took off his cap, and said, "I thank God for it. The Lord make me worthy of it." The prayer which he made on that occasion was highly edifying to many who were present; and when he left the place all the prisoners, as well as the jailer's family, bid him farewell with many tears.

His removal to Newgate had been in the night, between eleven and twelve o'clock, it being thought that at that time nobody would be in the streets; but they were crowded with people, who were loud in their expressions of esteem, and exhortations to constancy. On the day of his remo-

val from Newgate all Smithfield was crowded by four o'clock in the morning, because it was supposed that, in order to avoid a crowd, his execution would be at that early hour, but it was nine before he was actually brought.

As he went along a brother in law taking him affectionately by the hand, one of the sheriff's officers broke his head with his staff. Being come to the place of execution, he first prostrated himself on the ground in silent prayer ; and then, having stripped himself to his shirt, he calmly went to the stake, and suffered without any other indication than that of joy, together with a young man, an apprentice, of the name of John Leaf. At this time many persons in the ordinary ranks of life professed the principles of the reformation, and suffered for them, with as much firmness as those who had had a liberal education ; and women shewed as much fortitude as men.

Harsh as the treatment of these excellent persons will appear to be in these days of greater humanity and justice, it will be seen to have been mild when compared with that of the French Protestants in the next period, some examples of which I shall there exhibit, with the same view with which I have produced these. I wish the reading of such accounts was so general, as to make these sections in my work unnecessary.

There

There is a circumstance deserving of particular notice in the history of martyrdoms, which is that strong mental feelings overpower, and in some measure counteract, those of the bodily senses; so that the pain of torture is less sensibly felt.

This was exemplified in the case of Thomas Tomkins. The cruel Bonner, thinking to overcome his constancy by the sense of pain, had a lighted candle held under his hand in his own presence till, as the historian says, “the sinews shrunk, and the veins burst;” and yet he afterwards told a friend of his, that “his spirit was so wrapt that he felt no pain.” Soon after this he was burned at Smithfield, but nothing farther is said of him. *Fox*, p. 154.

I shall recite another instance of a similar nature. Thomas Hawkes being sentenced to be burned alive, some of his friends, who expected the same fate, desired him to give them a token when he was in the fire, whether the pain was such as to be in any degree tolerable; so that, as they said, “a man might keep his mind quiet and patient.” If it was so tolerable, they desired him to shew it by lifting up his hands. Accordingly when, as the historian says, “he had continued long in the fire, so that his speech was taken away by the violence of the flame, his skin almost drawn together, and his fingers consumed in the fire; so

“that now all men thought certainly he had been gone, he reached his hands over his head, and with marks of joy clapped them three times.” At this there was great joy expressed by the spectators, but especially by those who knew the meaning of it. After this he soon sunk down into the fire and died. *Ib.* p. 220.

I hardly need to observe that, on these trying occasions, women have shewn as much firmness in bearing torture and death as men. Thus, in the account of the martyrdom of Mrs. Joice Lewes, p. 704, it is said that when she was fastened to the stake with a chain, she shewed so much cheerfulness, that “it passed man’s reason, being so patient;” which greatly affected all who were present. And when the fire was lighted, “she neither struggled nor stirred,” but only lifted up one of her hands to heaven.

Cicely Ormes, who was burned at Norwich, had at first recanted; but repenting of it she was brought to the stake; when she kissed it, saying, “Welcome the cross of Christ.” When the fire was kindled, she said, “My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoices in God my Saviour.” Then looking upwards, she raised her arms, and held them in that posture “till the fi-

“ news broke alunder, and she died as quietly as  
 “ if she had felt no pain. p. 717.

It is by no means my object to recite all the affecting circumstances that occur in the narrative of these murders. For, considering the spirit with which they were conducted, they deserve no other name; but I shall just mention the case of a blind man, and another that was lame, who were burned at the same stake, p. 587; of a blind boy, p. 589, and of a woman who was delivered of a child when she was in the fire, and which the inhuman sheriff threw back into the fire, to be burned along with her, p. 627. Surely there will be a time of recompence for these things.

## SECTION XVIII.

*Of the Unitarians in this Period.*

WHEN the amazingly complex system of errors and abuses which had been introduced into the catholic church began to be examined, it could not be expected that all the reformers should agree in the same principles, but that some would go farther than others, and of course give offence to the rest, who would wish to preserve some character for orthodoxy with those from whom they had separated. And as no question in the whole compass of theology had undergone so much discussion as that concerning the person of Christ, and the prevailing opinion had been established by power and not by argument, we cannot be surprized that many persons should entertain doubts concerning the doctrine of the perfect equality of the Son to the Father, or of his divinity in any proper sense of the word. Indeed, we find traces of such persons in every period, and especially among

mong the Albigenses. It was, therefore, natural to expect that when the minds of men were more than ever awakened to every thing that could be suspected to be an abuse in this period, some should revive the opinion of the antient Unitarians, and other modifications of antitrinitarian sentiments.

Accordingly it appears, says Mosheim, that so early as the year A. D. 1524, Lewis Hetzer, an Anabaptist, openly denied the divinity of Christ; and about three years afterwards he was put to death at Constance. He was a man of considerable learning. He wrote against the use of images in churches, and translated the prophets of the Old Testament into German. *Robinson*, p. 519. His treatise against the trinity was suppressed by Zuinglius. *Beausobre*, Vol. 4, p. 145.

John Campanus, a native of Juliers, taught at Wittemberg and other places, that the Son was inferior to the Father, and one Claudius propagated an opinion of a similar nature in A. D. 1530 in Switzerland, and excited no small commotion by this means, tho' no regular sect was formed by any of these persons. Pope Clement in his speech to Charles V said, there were some who had lately revived the error of Paul of Samosata, which makes christianity a pure Mahometanism. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 242.

The person who in this period distinguished himself the most by tenets which in the opinion of the majority tended to degrade the person of Christ, was Michael Servetus, who was born in A. D. 1509 at Villa Nova in Arragon, and studied the civil law at Thoulouse. The reformation making much noise at this time, he there applied himself to the study of the scriptures; and conceiving that the doctrine of the trinity was one of the articles that required to be reformed, he wrote a treatise on the subject, intitled *De trinitatis erroribus*, which he published at Strasburgh and Frankfort in A. D. 1531, when he was not more than twenty one years of age.

This book gave great offence to the principal reformers. Œcolampadius at Basil was required by the magistrates to examine the book, and finding in it, as he thought, erroneous and blasphemous propositions, he published them, and had a conference with the author on the subject. On this occasion Servetus complained that his antagonist, who was in general of a mild disposition, was very rough with him; saying, “I will be mild in other things, but not when I hear Jesus Christ blasphemed.” *Ruchat*, Vol. 3, p. 108. Œcolampadius writing to Bucer, on the subject of Servetus’s book, says, “Our churches will be very ill spoken of unless our divines make it their business to cry it down. I beseech you in particular  
“ to



“ to keep a watchful eye upon it, and to make  
 “ an apology to our churches, at least in your  
 “ confutation infcribed to the emperor. We know  
 “ not how this beaft came to creep in among us.  
 “ He wrefts all the paffages of fcripture to prove  
 “ that the Son is not coeternal and confubftantial  
 “ with the Father, and that the man Chrift is the  
 “ fon of God.” This clearly fhews how defirous  
 thefe reformers were to keep fome meafures with  
 the church of Rome, and to avoid the charge of  
 herefy. *Impartial History of M. Servetus*, p. 35.

The year following, A. D. 1532, Servetus pub-  
 lifhed another treatife on the fame fubject. This,  
 no doubt, added to the alarm of thefe reformers.  
 Melancthon, writing to Joachim Camerarius, fays,  
 “ You know that I was always afraid that thefe  
 “ difputes about the trinity would break out fome  
 “ time or other. Good God, what tragedies will  
 “ this queftion excite among our pofterity, whether  
 “ the logos be a fubfiftence or a perfon, and whe-  
 “ ther the Holy Spirit be a fubfiftence or a perfon.  
 “ I have recourfe to thofe words of fcripture  
 “ which command me to worfhip Chrift, that is, to  
 “ afcribe to him the honours of divinity, which is  
 “ full of confolation; but it is by no means expe-  
 “ dient to examine accurately into the ideas of  
 “ *fubfiftence* or *perfon*.” Thus were thefe reform-  
 ers afraid of free inquiry, when they apprehended

that it might lead men farther than they had gone themselves.

After this Servetus passed two or three years at Lyons, and then went to Paris to study medicine, which he afterwards practised; and he published some treatises on medical subjects. It was at Paris that Calvin became acquainted with him. From Paris Servetus retired to Vienne in Duphiné, where he practised physic ten or twelve years. In this time his books were much read, especially in Italy; and it is thought that Lælius Socinus and others were led by them to reject the doctrine of the trinity. In all this time he corresponded with Calvin, who says that for the space of sixteen years he endeavoured to reclaim him from his errors. It appears that in the course of this correspondence they were both much irritated. Calvin in his Commentaries calls Servetus "a profligate fellow, a man full of pride, the proudest of the Spanish nation, a dog, and an obscene dog." However, during this correspondence, he sent Calvin a manuscript which, tho' it never was printed, he ungenerously produced against him at his trial.

Servetus not convinced of any error, and continuing to think the opinion he had advanced of much importance, published in A. D. 1533 another book, but without his name, against the trinity, and some other doctrines. This was intitled

tled *Christianismi Restitutio*, and it was in this treatise that he introduced his opinion of the circulation of the blood. It was for writing this book that Calvin, by his letters, procured Servetus to be apprehended, and tho' he escaped out of prison, he was sentenced, if he could be caught, to be burned alive with a slow fire. His books and his effigy were burned. In order to procure his condemnation Calvin sent to Vienne above twenty letters which he had received from him.'

Flying from France, it was the intention of Servetus to go to Naples, and practice physic there; but going thro' Geneva, Calvin, on being informed that he was in the town, had him apprehended, and procured thirty eight articles of accusation to be exhibited against him. After this he was detained in prison about five months, and his trial commenced August 14. The principal accusations against him related to the doctrine of the trinity. Tho' he was a foreigner, he was not allowed an advocate to plead for him; and tho' he suffered exceedingly from cold and vermin, he was unable to obtain any relief. He also pleaded in vain the rights of conscience, and the innocence of free inquiry, not attended with any breach of the peace.

Calvin writing at this time to Farel, says, " I hope Servetus will be condemned to death, but

“ I wish the severity of his punishment may be softened ;” the very language always used by the popish inquisitors on similar occasions. Farel, who had himself suffered persecution, replied that Servetus deserved to die a thousand deaths, and intimated that the judges would be very cruel, and enemies to Christ and his church, if they did not proceed and make an example of him. Bucer said he deserved to have his entrails plucked out, and to be torn in pieces. Bullenger said the magistrates acted nobly, and that punishing such obstinate heretics was for the glory of God. How does this justify the proceedings of the catholics against themselves.

On the 26th of October Servetus was sentenced to be burned alive the day following, together with all his books, printed and manuscript, and Beza says, it was according to the opinion of all the Helvetian churches. Servetus would have appealed to the council of two hundred, who it was thought, would have acquitted him, but Calvin prevented it. Before his execution he desired to see Calvin, and when they met, he begged his pardon for the harsh language he had sometimes used towards him; but Calvin, who had offended at least as much in the same way, did not ask his. He only exhorted him to repent of his heresy. But Servetus continued steady, and died calling upon God.

In this period we find Valentine Gentilis, a Neapolitan, who suffered at Bern in A. D. 1566. He adopted the Arian hypothesis. He left the place of his nativity, which was Cosenza, on account of religion, and retired to Geneva, where several Italian families had already formed a church, and one of the principal of them was George Blandrata, a physician, who afterwards went to Poland. Gentilis, having given great offence by his writings, and especially to Calvin, fled from Geneva, and after various adventures was apprehended at Bern the 11th of June A. D. 1566. He was sentenced to be beheaded, and at the place of execution said, "Many had suffered for the glory of the Son," meaning probably for their christian faith, "but none that he knew of before himself had died for the glory and superiority of the Father." *Bayle*. Servetus, however, had suffered before him.

Calvin, and other foreign divines, had many friends in Poland; and by their means sent letters and tracts into that country, justifying the murder of Servetus and Gentilis, and asserting the necessity of employing secular power to rid the world of such monsters as denied the trinity and infant baptism. *Robinson*, p. 584.

Andrew Dudith, a most accomplished person, who was sent to the council of Trent, and had great preferment in the church of Rome, joined the

the reformers, and settled at Cracow. Writing on this subject to Wolf, a divine at Zurich, he says, “ Tell them, my learned friend, now that the Calvinists have burned Servetus, beheaded Gentilis, and murdered many others ; now that they have banished Bernard Ochin with his wife and children from your city in the depth of winter. Now that the Lutherans have expelled Lasco, with a congregation of foreigners that came out of England with him, in an extremely rigorous season of the year, and have done many other such exploits contrary to the genius of christianity, how shall we meet the Papists ? With what face can we tax them with cruelty ? How dare we say, “ *Our weapons are not carnal* ” ? How can we any longer urge, “ *Let both grow together till the harvest* ” ? Let us cease to boast that “ *faith cannot be compelled*, and that conscience ought to be free. Robinson, p. 592.

Other persons are also mentioned who held similar opinions, tho’ with many variations. But the proper origin of the *Unitarians*, as a separate body of christians, is with some degree of probability ascribed to some private assemblies of Italians, especially in A. D. 1546, at Vicenza, in the territory of Venice. They met for the discussion of religious subjects, and among them it is said, but not with certainty, was Lælius Socinus, born in  
in

SEC. XVIII. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, 461

in A. D. 1524 at Sienna, designed for the profession of the law, and greatly distinguished for his learning and piety. He certainly travelled much in search of truth. He was, however, of a timid disposition; for tho' it is evident that he was no trinitarian, he lived and died a member of the Helvetic church of Zurich in A. D. 1562.

It was his nephew Faustus Socinus, a man of perhaps less learning, but of greater ability, and more zeal, who gave celebrity to the sect, and from him the Unitarians were long called *Socinians*; but his history falls within the next period. About this time, however, many persons who entertained these sentiments, as well as those of the Anabaptists, being persecuted by all the other denominations of christians, took refuge in Poland, where, behaving with much moderation, they were at first received into the churches of the reformed, and did not separate from them till the year A. D. 1565.

Lælius Socinus, it is said, instilled sentiments contrary to the prevailing ones, into the mind of Francis Lismaninus, who was preacher and confessor to Bona Sfortia the wife of Sigismund king of Poland. This Lismaninus published several treatises to prove the supremacy of the Father, as the origin and fountain of divinity to the Son; and this encouraged Gregory Paul, a minister of the Protestant church at Cracow, openly to assert the same opinions.

About

About this time also a person from the Low Countries, whose name was Spiritus, arrived in Poland; who having proposed the question, whether there were three Gods, doubts on the subject of the trinity arose in the mind of Andreas Fricius Mordrevious, secretary to the king; and at the desire of this prince, who was of an inquisitive disposition, he studied questions of this kind, and wrote some treatises in favour of the Unitarian doctrine, which he entitled *Silvæ*.

In A. D. 1556, Peter Gonesius, a Pole, after his return from his travels, avowed his rejection of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, and in A. D. 1558, there came to Pinczow George Blandrata, a physician of considerable eminence, whom, Sigismund invited to his court, and who brought with him Francis David an Unitarian minister; and then it is said, Blandrata embraced the doctrine of the supremacy of the Father. He here met with Gonesius and Stancarus, an Italian, who held the same opinion. These persons entering into a dispute on the subject, a synod was called for the purpose of composing the controversy, at which were present many ministers, and also nobles; and tho' nothing was agreed on, it contributed much to the overthrow of the doctrine of the trinity. The same controversy was carried into other synods, all of which terminated in the increase of Unitarians.



unitarians. In other synods, however, their doctrine was opposed; and at one held at Cracow, in A. D. 1561, letters were produced from Calvin, exhorting them to be on their guard against Blandrata. *Toulmin's Life of Socinus*, p. 2, &c.

However, by the endeavours of Blandrata and Francis David the king and a great part of the nobility were induced to favour the Unitarians, so that they had liberty to profess their opinions in the most public manner. This gave them so firm a footing in Transilvania, that tho' Bathori, who afterwards succeeded to the kingdom, wished to suppress the new sect, he found it prudent not to make the attempt; and in this country they have ever since remained unmolested, having seminaries of learning, and holding their religious assemblies, tho' exposed to much danger from their many enemies. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 190.

In this period the Unitarians endeavoured, but without success, to establish themselves in Hungary and Austria, being effectually opposed both by the catholics and Protestants.

## SECTION

## SECTION XIX.

*Of the Jesuits.*

**I**T was peculiarly fortunate for the catholic cause, that when the bishops became discredited, by their neglect of learning, and adopting the free manners of the nobility, the *monks* arose for the support of it ; and that when they fell into discredit the *mendicants* took their place. In this period, when the mendicant orders were in no higher credit than the monks, another order of learned men made their appearance, and by their ability and zeal were of more service to the same cause than the monks or the mendicants had ever been. These were the *Jesuits*, a society founded by Ignatius Loyola, a gentleman of Navarre in Spain, himself a man of no learning, and a wild enthusiast.

He was born in A. D. 1491. At first he was a page to king Ferdinand, and then served in the army, but was a man of pleasure to the age of twenty nine ; when being dangerously wounded at the siege of Pampeluna, he read for his amusement  
the

the lives of the faints; and by their example he was so fired, that from that time he gave himself wholly to such a life as he found most recommended there.

His first resolution was to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, going barefooted, and clothed in sackcloth; but being prevented in this, he went to Notredame de Montferrat, near Barcelona; and there, watching in the church all night, he solemnly hung up his arms, by way of renouncing the profession of a soldier, and devoted himself to the service of the Virgin Mary. Thence he went to the hospital at Manrese, where he lived on bread and water, except on Sundays, when he ate some boiled vegetables. At the same time he wore an iron chain on his loins, and a rough hair cloth under his other clothes. He also whipped himself three times a day, lay on the bare ground, begged his bread from door to door, and made so dirty and hideous an appearance, that the boys hooted at and pelted him as he went along; and thence he retired to a cavern in the neighbourhood, where he was found almost dead with his excessive mortifications, and carried back to the hospital.

Being much perplexed with doubts about his salvation, in consequence of the free life he had formerly led, he went to the Dominicans at Manrese, where he fasted seven whole days, without

eating or drinking, or relaxing of his other austerities in any respect. He went thence to Rome, where he arrived in the time of pope Adrian; and after this he performed his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, whence he returned to Barcelona in A. D. 1524; and finding the want of learning which was necessary for his undertaking, he applied himself to the study of Grammar, but made little progress. After this he went to study philosophy and theology at Alcalá, and there he got four disciples. But finding much confusion in his ideas on the subjects of his studies, he and his disciples applied themselves to the conversion of sinners.

From Alcalá Ignatius went to Salamanca, but there he and his four disciples were imprisoned, and shut up in a dungeon, for teaching without proper qualifications. Being released on his examination, he went to France, without his companions, to study in the university at Paris, and there he formed a design of establishing a new society for the conversion of infidels, and proposed to take the members of it out of that university. Among the first who engaged with him was Francis Xavier, who then taught philosophy in the college of Beauvois, and who afterwards distinguished himself by his mission to the Indies. Another was James Lainez, both Spaniards. These and five others he took to the church of Montmar-

tre near Paris in A. D. 1534, and after a solemn communion they took a vow, that, abandoning every thing in the world, they would go to Jerusalem for the conversion of the infidels; and if that should be impracticable, that they would throw themselves at the feet of the pope, and devote themselves to his service, without requiring any thing for their labours. In the mean time he prescribed to them certain religious exercises, having composed a treatise on that subject some time before. Being then advised to return to Spain for the recovery of his health, which was much injured by his exercises, he engaged his disciples to meet him at Venice in A. D. 1537.

When Ignatius was there he became acquainted with J. P. Caraffa, who was afterwards Paul IV, and who endeavoured in vain to persuade him to join the order of Theatins, which he had instituted. Finding the times unfavourable to their intended voyage to Palestine, Ignatius, Le Fevre, and Lainez, went to Rome to offer their services to the pope, while the rest dispersed themselves in the universities of Italy, in order to gain proselytes. But before this they agreed upon the following rules, “to lodge in hospitals, to beg their bread, “that when any number of them were together, “they should be superiors in their turn, that they “should preach in the streets, and wherever they

“ could, that they should catechize the children, and take no money for their services.” *Histoire de la compagnie de Jesus*, Vol. 1, p. 36.

When Ignatius and the two others came to Rome, which was in A. D. 1538, Paul IV, at the solicitation of a Spanish doctor Peter Ortiz, who knew Ignatius at Paris, accepted the offer of their service, and there Lainez became professor of scholastic theology. On this all the disciples, some of whom had been preaching with much success, assembled at Rome; and then Ignatius laid before them his great scheme of forming a fixed society, who to the vows of poverty and chastity, which they had taken before, should add one of perpetual and absolute obedience to the chief whom they should chuse, and another of obedience to the pope, to go wherever he should send them, without any allowance for their expences. At the same time it was agreed that the *professed* Jesuits (for they called themselves *the company of Jesus*) should have no property either in private or in common, but that they might have colleges, with revenues for the maintenance of students.

After some difficulty the pope gave his sanction to this new order September the 27th, A. D. 1540; but he fixed the number of professed Jesuits to sixty. At this time Ignatius had no more than ten disciples, and they chose himself for their superior

rior or General. The year following Ignatius settled the particular constitutions of his order, by which it appears that his design was that his disciples should divide their time between a contemplative and an active life. He appointed no habit but that of the common clergy of the times, and he excluded particular mortifications, and also long prayers and meditations. They were not even to perform divine service, but rather apply themselves to study. *Histoire*, Vol 1, p. 59.

By this constitution the General was to reside at Rome, and have four assistants, one in Italy, another in Spain, a third in France, and a fourth in Germany, to be appointed at the general assembly. Besides these, there were to be *Provincials* appointed by the General, as also superiors of particular houses, and of the probationers, called *Noviciates*, and rectors of colleges. That the General might have a more perfect knowledge of the persons he employed, the Provincials in all parts of Europe were obliged to write to him once a month, and those in the Indies every opportunity. Besides this, every three years there was to be sent to him an account of every person in the society, in which their ages and their qualifications in all respects, were noted, and every thing else relating to the society.

Ignatius also divided his subjects into four classes, the *professed*, the *coadjutors*, the *scholars*, and the *novices*, who were to remain in that state two years. The professed were of two kinds, some of all the four vows, and others of three only, the fourth vow being that of obedience to the pope, over whom the General had no power. The *coadjutors* were either spiritual or temporal, the former of whom did not take the fourth vow.

There being very soon a great demand for Jesuits, especially for the education of youth, Ignatius obtained leave of the pope to make as many of the order of *professed* as he pleased, and in a short space of time there were foundations of Jesuits in all parts of Europe, and in all the European colonies in the East and West Indies. Ignatius also procured two of his disciples, Lainez and Salmeron, to be sent as the pope's theologians to the council of Trent. There they found another member of their society, Le Jay, who was theologian to the cardinal of Augsburg, and by their ingenuity, humility, and charity, they gained universal esteem.

The first person who founded a college for the use of the Jesuits was Francis de Borgia, duke of Gandia, where they taught philosophy, theology, and polite literature; and in this line they so much distinguished themselves, that in a short space of  
time



time their colleges were numerous in all parts of Europe, and the education of the opulent youths was almost wholly in their hands. They also recommended themselves so much to the great, that the confessors of catholic princes were almost all Jesuits. At the same time they never lost sight of their original object, which was the conversion of infidels, and they were more indefatigable in that respect than the mendicants had been before them; and for some time their success seemed to correspond to their labours.

Ignatius, foreseeing the inconvenience that would arise to his society from the members of it aspiring to ecclesiastical dignities, made a new regulation in his society, by which he forbade their accepting of any church preferment, as a mortal sin. But by not being bishops, the Jesuits gave less umbrage, and in fact had more power, and served the papal interest more effectually, than if they had been possessed of the highest stations in the church.

Soon after the establishment of his order, Ignatius admitted some women to take the same vows, and to come under the government of his disciples; but presently perceiving the inconvenience of this, he not only got his society discharged from this incumbrance, but he procured an order from the pope, that there should never be any

order of Jesuiteſſes ; or that women ſhould in any form have a connection with his ſociety.

The reputation of this new ſociety was not univerſal. It had many enemies. Melchior Cano, a theologian of the order of Dominicans at Salamanca, repreſented them as the forerunners of anti-chriſt, and the falſe apoſtles who were to ariſe in the laſt times, and who by their addreſs in inſinuating themſelves into houſes, their aſſiduity to the great, their intrigues in courts, their ſeeming zeal for the ſalvation of their neighbours, and the inſtruction of youth, and other peculiarities, were calculated to do much miſchief. His oppoſition prevented their eſtabliſhment in Salamanca where he lived till they contrived to have him ſent as a theologian to the council of Trent, when, in his abſence, they ſecured their eſtabliſhment. They found ſtill greater oppoſition in France ; but in Portugal they were encouraged for the purpoſe of ſending miſſionaries to diſtant colonies. Above all others Francis Xavier diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his labours in the Eaſt Indies. After preaching with more or leſs ſucceſs in ſeveral other places, he went to Japan.

Julius III was no leſs a favourer of the Jeſuits than Paul III. He publiſhed a bull in their favour, recommending the ſociety in the ſtrongeſt terms ; ſaying that, having learned of his predeceſſors

cessors the great advantage which that society had been of to the holy see, by their intire devotion to the successors of St. Peter, he confirmed their institute. “Tho,” he says, “all the faithful ought to be subject to the sovereign pontiff, as the head of the church, and the vicar of Jesus Christ, yet to render the devotion of these fathers to the apostolic see the more entire, and the renouncing of their own will the more perfect, in suffering themselves to be guided by the holy spirit, we have thought proper that they who compose this society, besides the three ordinary vows, take a fourth, of intire submission to the sovereign pontiff, who can send them into any country, even among Turks and infidels, into the Indies, or the countries of heretics, without their being able to refuse, or make any excuse whatever. *Ib.* 128. In this bull the pope gave the disposal of the property of the houses to the General, the professed Jesuits having no property at all in them.

All the endeavours of the Jesuits to get an establishment in France were in vain. The parliament made the strongest remonstrances against it; saying that the institution was superfluous, and contrary to the canons, which forbade the establishment of new religious societies, that by their institute they were exempt from paying tythes, by

which the curés would be deprived of their rights, that they might leave the kingdom without the leave of the parliament, and that they were not subject to the jurisdiction of the bishops, which was contrary to the liberties of the Gallican church.

Some of the disciples of Ignatius entering more than he wished into the professed humble spirit of their order, and declining to be confessors to princes and great men, by means of which they afterwards obtained their great wealth and power, he reproached them for it ; saying “ The humility of  
 “ apostolical men like you, is more generous than  
 “ you imagine. You ought not to despise the  
 “ lowest functions, but neither ought you to dread  
 “ the highest, for you are not monks, confined to  
 “ cloisters. It is true you ought to exercise your  
 “ zeal in hospitals, galleys, and prisons, but you  
 “ are not to fly from the palaces of princes. Being  
 “ bound by your institute to labour for the salvati-  
 “ on of all, you ought to make no distinction of  
 “ persons, especially not to refuse to labour for  
 “ kings, to whom you owe so much the more of  
 “ your attention, as they are farther from the king-  
 “ dom of heaven than other men.” *Ibid.* p. 136.

By this time there was awakened in Ignatius an ambition which had not appeared before : for at his outset no man could avoid what is called the world, and especially the great world, with more care than

than he did. His followers soon shewed that they had no objection to the new admonition of their founder.

It must be acknowledged that the Jesuits were indefatigable in their attempts to introduce the catholic religion, and exalt the power of the pope, in many foreign countries, as China, and Japan in Asia, Ethiopia, and Congo in Africa, and for some time their success was very promising. But, contrary to the practice of the apostles, they always applied themselves in the first instance to the princes, and having by much address gained *them*, introduced their religion among the common people in a manner independent of any rational conviction; and having too generally aimed at civil power, so as to bring the people into subjection to the see of Rome, they every where at length gave umbrage to the governing powers, and were finally expelled, leaving the people more prejudiced against the catholic religion, and christianity in general, than they found them. It may however, be clearly seen from the perusal of the *Lettres edificantes et curieuses*, that whatever might be views of their superiors and employers, no men ever shewed more of a truly christian spirit, more zeal, disinterestedness, humility, patience, and perseverance, in acting or suffering, than many, I believe than most, of the missionaries did. At the same time it is evident

vident that they were men of extraordinary talents, qualified to rise in the world, if that had been their object. I have read these letters with singular satisfaction. This I observe in this place in general, as it is not my design to relate the particulars either of their reception in, or their expulsion from, foreign countries.

The Jesuits did not succeed in their endeavour to establish themselves in England on the accession of queen Mary; their exorbitant demand of the revenues of all the suppressed monasteries being rejected with indignation by cardinal Pole, and the bishops; from whose jurisdiction they were to have been exempt. They also failed with respect to Flanders, the council rejecting all their proposals, tho' favoured by Philip II, on account of the disturbances which they had occasioned in other countries.

On the accession of Paul IV, the founder of the Theatins, the Jesuits were much alarmed; as having given him offence by their not entering into his order. But finding how useful they were to the advancement of the papal power, he was reconciled to them, and only prevailed upon them to change one of their constitutions, which forbade their celebration of divine service; and after some time mass and vespers were performed every Sunday, and on all holy days, at their house in Rome.

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In A. D. 1556 Ignatius, exhausted by his labours, died at the age of sixty five, when he had the satisfaction to see his society established in most parts of the world. They then had an hundred colleges, without reckoning the noviciates, the professed houses, and missions, which in all composed thirteen provinces, administered and filled by more than a million of Jesuits. *Ibid*, p. 197. After much cabal and disputation he was succeeded by Lainez, a man much superior to himself in every respect.

Under him leave was given to study, and to give lectures from other theological works besides those of Thomas Aquinas, which the historian says opened a door to new opinions, and all the scandalous excesses which the Jesuits introduced into morality. *Ibid*, p. 231. Pius IV shewed them more favour than his predecessor, granting them a confirmation and extension of their privileges, with respect both to their universities, and their exemption from foreign jurisdiction.

## SECTION

## SECTION XX.

*Of the Waldenses in this Period.*

**T**HE antient Waldenses were far from being suffered to pass unnoticed in this period, notwithstanding the rise of new and more interesting objects of attention. Having suffered much in various and long continued persecutions, in consequence of which their learned pastors had been dispersed, and much ignorance had prevailed among them, they had been generally induced to attend mass, and to have their children baptized by the popish priests. But in A. D. 1530, hearing of the progress of the reformation in Switzerland and Germany, they sent two of their ministers, G. Morel and P. Masson to Basil to confer with Œcolampadius, others to Strasburg to confer with Bucer and Capito, and two to Farel at Newchastel. To Œcolampadius they presented a large writing in latin, containing an account of their church discipline and doctrine, *Ruchat*, Vol. 3, p. 253.  
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in which their opinions on the subject of grace and predestination appeared to be unfavourable to what had been advanced by Luther, at which they seem to have been somewhat disturbed. They thought that it was in the power of man to do the will of God, that he willed all men to be saved, and that no man perished but through his own fault. *Æcolampadius* blamed them for yielding so far as they had done to avoid persecution, but on the subject of grace and predestination he seemed to agree with them; saying, that men's destruction came of themselves, and salvation from God only. *Ibid*, p. 269.

On the return of the deputies from their mission they suffered greatly. *P. Masson* was imprisoned at *Dijon*. *Mr. Gonin* who was sent to *Farel* was arrested at *Grenoble* and thrown into the river in a sack, but the rest arrived safe at *Merindol*, where they gave an account of their mission; and a synod was called for the year following, at which some foreign ministers were requested to attend.

In A. D. 1534, *Charles duke of Savoy* was so much importuned by the archbishop and inquisitor of *Turin*, to persecute the *Waldenses*, who were then very numerous, that he sent about five hundred of his troops against them, and they plundered and destroyed all that came in their way. But these

these poor people when they were recovered from the panic with which they were first seized, returned upon their enemies, and repulsed them with great slaughter. After this ambushes were laid for small parties of them, and many were cut off in this way; but this was far from extirpating them. G. Morel in his memoirs, written a little before this time, says then there were about eight hundred thousand persons who professed this religion.

In A. D. 1536 Francis I having conquered Piedmont, Paul III persuaded him to proceed against the Waldenses, and many of them were apprehended and executed in consequence of his orders for that purpose.

In A. D. 1545, some troops under the command of D'Oppeda were sent against them, and they set fire to several villages, when the poor inhabitants were slain without resistance, and every kind of enormity to which soldiers are accustomed, were committed. At the same time all persons were forbidden under pain of death to give them any food or succours. At Cabrieres, where they offered to surrender the place, and leave the country, provided they might be permitted to do it unmolested, this general taking possession of it, put to death all the men, and shutting up the women in a barn full of straw, set fire to it, and destroyed them

them all. More than four thousand persons were slaughtered on this occasion, and twelve towns and villages reduced to ashes.

The king was exceedingly offended at this cruelty ; but when, in the next reign, an inquiry was instituted, in order to bring the criminals to justice, D'Oppeda escaped punishment by the interest of the duke of Guise. However, in A. D. 1552 Guerin, an advocate, who issued the commission, and had been peculiarly active in promoting the persecution, was beheaded, and soon after D'Oppeda himself died, as is related by Thuanus, of a dreadful disease in his bowels, receiving, as he says, from God the punishment from which his judges had saved them.

In A. D. 1559 Philibert Emanuel, being restored to his estates, was persuaded to attempt the reduction of these poor people, and their most earnest entreaties had no effect to divert him from his purpose ; but the troops sent against them were defeated, and at length in A. D. 1561, at the intercession of the dutchess, who was supposed to favour their doctrines, he entered into a treaty with them, by which they were allowed the exercise of their religion. *Moreland*, p. 238.

## SECTION XXI.

*Of the Bohemian Brethren.*

**T**HE Bohemian Brethren had several conferences with Luther, as has been observed in his history, and tho' at one time he had conceived a great prejudice against them, he was afterwards reconciled to them, and did not disapprove their church discipline. He always lamented the want of it in his own churches, but had not fixed on any plan. At their last conference in A. D. 1549, he seems to have thought it best that the two churches should preserve their peculiar discipline in brotherly love, using these words, "Be ye apostles of the Bohemians, I and mine will be apostles of the Germans." He also wrote to John Augusta, one of their deputies to him, saying, "I exhort you in the Lord to persevere with us unto the end in the fellowship of the spirit, and of doctrine." *Crantz.*

The Bohemian Brethren had also in this period some intercourse with the Waldenses, who sent a deputation to them to renew their fellowship with them, and also with the reformed at Strasburgh, where Bucer was so much pleased with them, that  
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he wrote to them as follows, " I believe you are  
 " the only people at this day who, together with a  
 " pure doctrine, exercise a genuine and well a-  
 " dapted discipline, which is not grievous but pro-  
 " fitable." *Ibid*, p. 45. Calvin also kept up a  
 constant correspondence with them, and is said to  
 have introduced some part of their discipline into  
 the church of Geneva.

Not being willing to support the emperor  
 Charles V against the Protestants, these Brethren  
 were exposed to a grievous persecution. John  
 Augusta and others were put in prison, and other-  
 wise cruelly used, and he was not released till the  
 death of Ferdinand, sixteen years after. Being  
 ordered to join either the Catholics or the Calix-  
 tins, many of the brethren, under the conduct of  
 their bishop Matthias Lyon, went into Poland;  
 and being driven thence they went to Prussia, where  
 duke Albert, having had their doctrine and disci-  
 pline examined, granted them, by a diploma dated  
 March 19th, A. D. 1519, the same civil privileges  
 with his other subjects. Most of them settled at  
 Marianworder.

These Bohemian brethren constantly refused to  
 take any part in the controversy between the Lu-  
 therans and the reformed in Switzerland about the  
 eucharist, contenting themselves with the use of  
 scripture expressions on the subject, and in A. D.

1560 those who were of this branch of the reformed in Poland united with them at the synod of Xians, when the discipline of the brethren was accepted by a majority of votes, with some alteration respecting the division of the churches into districts, and the appointment of an ecclesiastical and civil senior over each district; the business of the latter being to attend to the outward concerns of the church, and all the provincial synods, which were to be held every year to hear differences and adjust them. *Ib.* p. 55 This union of the brethren with the Swiss made them suspected by the Lutherans, who in many places were never wholly reconciled to them, and frequently did them ill offices, notwithstanding the friendship which had been shewn them by Luther.

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## SECTION XXII.

### *Miscellaneous Articles.*

1. **B**Y this time the learned Catholics began to be sensible of the advantage which the Protestants derived from their skill in the languages in which the scriptures were written, being able to quote the original instead of translations; but they took a very absurd and impolitic method  
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to deprive them of it. The faculty of theology at Paris which had been distinguished for the ability, learning, and even the liberality, of its members, in all the dark ages, now acted a part very unworthy of them. For, dreading the very shadow of heresy, they censured every thing that seemed to lead to it, and in A. D. 1530 they passed a censure on the two following propositions, viz. 1. "The Holy Scriptures cannot be well understood without a knowledge of the Greek, Hebrew, and other languages. 2. A preacher cannot truly explain the gospels and epistles without a knowledge of those languages."

In the same year they ordered the professors of Greek and Hebrew in the Royal College founded by Francis I, viz. P. Danez, Fr. Vatablus, P. Paradis, and A. Gierdacier, to appear before the parliament, and procured them to be forbidden to explain the scriptures according to the Greek and Hebrew, without the permission of the university. It was, however, acknowledged, that the study of those languages was commendable in those divines who were not suspected of the errors of Luther, and who were always disposed to maintain inviolate the authority of the Vulgate translation. *Cont. Fleury*, Vol. 27, p. 224. So much use was made of the Greek and Hebrew by the Protestant divines, that the bare knowledge of those languages

was sufficient to render a man suspected of heresy. The magistrates of Lucerne finding, in A. D. 1523 some Greek books in the possession of Collinus, then a canon of Munster in Argaw, but afterwards professor of Greek at Zurich, said, "This man is a Lutheran. Every thing Greek is heretical." *Ruchat Prelim Disc.* p 9.

In this period the Florentine academy was established by the celebrated Lorenzo de Medicis for the cultivation of the Platonic philosophy with great credit. It was the first institution in Europe for the pursuit of science detached from the scholastic method then universally adopted. The doctrines of Plato were as remote from the purposes of common life, and general utility, as those of Aristotle; but their introduction was of essential service to the cause of free enquiry and substantial knowledge. By dividing the attention of the learned they deprived the doctrines of Aristotle of that fervile respect and veneration which had been so long paid to them, and by introducing the discussion of new subjects, they prepared the way for the pursuit of truths more within the sphere of the human intellect. *Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo*, p. 36.

2. The Catholics were more united among themselves in consequence of having a common and formidable enemy to oppose. This put a stop to many disputes which otherwise might have occasioned dangerous divisions. Before



Before the reformation there were ten or twelve different opinions about the question "in what manner the body of Christ is present in the eucharist," and antagonisms could not have been carried farther than they were by those who maintained them; but after the reformation these differences subsided, and all united against the common enemy. *Laval*, Vol. 4, p. 372.

3. Clement Marot, a valet to Francis I of France, turned the first fifty psalms of David into metre, and to sing them became fashionable at the court. The rest were translated in a similar manner by Beza, and they were adopted by the French Protestants. *Williams*, p. 50.

Oratories had their origin in the time of Philip Neri, who in A. D. 1540 founded the *priests of the oratory* in Rome. To draw a congregation, he had hymns and psalms performed, sometimes by one voice, and sometimes in chorus. Afterwards he had some sacred story versified and set to music; and he engaged the best performers vocal and instrumental. From the place of their exhibition they had their name.

The first performance of this kind that was certainly sung throughout was *L'anima et di Corpo*, in which the principal dramatic persons were *time*, *pleasure*, the *body*, the *world*, and *human life*, dressed

in character. Dances were also introduced. This Drama exhibited the first instance of modern recitative. *Ib.* p. 43.

Luther was a great admirer of music, and is said to be the author of some of the best melodies used in the German and other Protestant churches, particularly that of the hundredth psalm. It is said that he paraphrased, and set to music the forty sixth psalm on his way to the diet at Worms. *Ib.* p. 49.

4 There are some traces of unbelievers in this period, tho' not many. They were generally called *Libertines*, but they naturally complied with the times, and joined the prevailing party. The church of Rome, it is said, abounded with such men, and they were, says Mr. Brandt, the greatest enemies of those who suffered martyrdom. Balthazar, prior of the Dominicans at Antwerp, was said to be one of them, p. 79; and Tapper, the grand inquisitor in the Low Countries, a violent persecutor, was suspected to be an atheist, p. 90. Calvin, Beza, and P. Viret, make frequent mention of these Libertines.

*The end of Volume the third of the Second Part, or  
Volume the fifth of the whole Work.*







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