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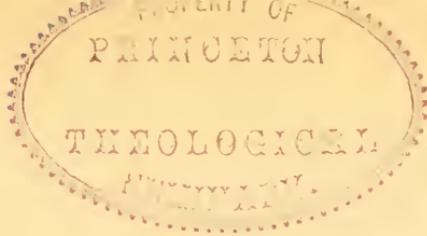
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EDITOR'S PREFACE

TO THE

THIRD VOLUME.

THE fifteenth century unfolded all those elements of opposition to Rome which several preceding ages had prepared, but especially the last age. The pressure of a feudal aristocracy in unshaken power, long made the bulk of men anxious to support its only effectual counterpoise, the church; and the obvious expedience of rendering this a compact body, directed by one independent head, engendered a prevailing disposition to maintain the papacy. Popes, however, with such as most profited by their position, like other sharers of human infirmity, fell under the temptations to which they had been exposed by a concurrence of events, all favourable to their own aggrandisement. They became intoxicated by their despotic influence over the west, and its more intelligent population generally felt, by degrees, an imperious call to question their pretensions. Thus Boniface VIII. had no sooner pushed papal arrogance to its giddiest height, than a recoil was immediately provoked which Rome never could recover. Her efforts, also, to regain former advantages, were paralyzed within the century after that aspiring pontiff's death, by the removal of his successors to Avignon, and the discreditable, embarrassing schism that ensued. When the fifteenth century opened, Europe was debating as to the individual who could really claim the popedom, and nothing but an authority above that of the Roman see, gave any hope of deciding the question. Hence arose those

arguments as to the superiority of general councils over popes, which struck a new and fatal blow to the pontifical supremacy over western Europe.

While the ecclesiastical empire of Rome was thus gradually sinking, even her influence as the centre of civilisation grew weaker. The various regions of the west were long in a very disjointed, barbarous condition, being all of them parcelled out among turbulent aristocracies, which not only paid a very limited and precarious obedience to their several crowns, but also acted very unfavourably upon capacities for improvement in lower life. Hence Rome was long not only the sole depository of an authority which all respected, but likewise the chief asylum for that information, and that lingering refinement, which had survived the assaults of northern barbarism. By degrees, however, the energies of middle life, aiding the efforts of kings to aggrandise themselves, became too powerful for the engrossing spirit of that military class by which most of the external advantages of society had been appropriated. In time, national executives of considerable strength were consolidated, and as each advanced towards maturity, a compact people, with a centre, interests, and feelings of its own, was formed around it. Concurrently with this alteration was the growth of a vernacular literature. As the western nations took the form of distinctly-marked, separate communities, their intellectual classes made such use of their native idioms as eventually produced the diversified and illustrious family of cultivated European tongues. Thus the ancient capital lost another hold, and one of great importance, upon nations beyond the Alps.

Her pretensions to intellectual superiority were seriously affected likewise, by two events of the fifteenth century, nearly contemporaneous, the Turkish capture of Constantinople, and the invention of printing. The former made western scholars acquainted with classical authors of the highest eminence, and with teachers of them whose religious prepossessions were adverse to Rome. The latter event gave such facilities for intellectual communications as gained at once an immeasurable

superiority over former ages, bound down by mere transcription. Henceforth no striking light, whether true or false, could flash from any quarter of Europe, without winging a speedy way into every neighbouring region. Not only, however, was an abundance of stirring questions upon the papal supremacy ready for the press: Wickliffe had also provided, in the preceding century, a similar store, in his attacks upon the theology of Rome. Thus the fifteenth century was one of incessant preparation for that great religious revolution, which has rendered the next age conspicuous and important above most ages in the annals of mankind.

When, indeed, the sixteenth century opened, Rome had apparently regained much of the ground that she had lost at a former period. But this appearance was delusive. A temporary calm had come over the religious world, leaving all the materials for a mighty storm in full, though concealed activity. By that very calm was the explosion hastened. Had Rome been trembling, as she was a hundred years before, under discussions upon the limits between papal and conciliar authority, grand conceptions for her improvement as the Christian capital never would have been entertained, and bold experiments to realise them upon popular fears of purgatory, would have been discouraged. While the west, however, save a pertinacious few cowering under persecution, seemed all blind submission, the lofty spirit of Julius II. was easily tempted into such an enterprise as rearing the majestic dome of St. Peter's, and could see no danger in meeting so vast a drain upon the papal exchequer, by abusing the credulity of mankind. Yet this very abuse roused Luther from his cell, and thus drove a mind once superstitiously favourable to the papacy, into such a merciless examination of its pretensions, as nearly overthrew it at the time, and has threatened its existence ever since.

The explosion, however, proved eventually favourable to Romanism as a religious system. Hitherto, the peculiarities which it had engrafted on the catholic faith could neither appeal to any satisfactory authority, nor to any polemical works, at once

complete and elaborate, but such as the schoolmen had supplied. Papal belief wanted more effectual aid, when it was questioned by numerous adverse theologians of great learning and ability, who had full protection from the civil power. The battle was no longer with Waldenses or Wickliffites, who, though embarrassing and annoying, might be despised, because they found palaces inaccessible, and in every government an enemy. Whole nations now came forward with pungent objections to the papal system, and in some of them the court was foremost in demanding the ascendancy of principles that Scripture made unquestionable. Nor even in such countries as eventually settled down under old religious prepossessions, did it seem certain, for a considerable time, which way the current of events would permanently turn. France long showed indications of following the conterminous examples of Germany and England. Spain became largely pervaded by that disposition to receive articles of faith only from the Bible and catholic antiquity, which Romish divines tax with heresy. She was also bent upon resistance to the papal court. Italy herself was overspread with inquiring spirits that would undoubtedly have rendered all the country protestant, if Inquisitors had not been actively at work. Thus Rome found it impossible to retain any hold whatever upon Europe, without providing an authentic standard of her peculiar creed, and unless polemics of first-rate ability should help the operation of that creed upon mankind, by undertaking to defend it systematically. To such necessities Romanism owed the council of Trent, the labours of Baronius and Bellarmine, and others of those masterly defences which have hitherto shielded papal doctrines from extinction. From the formidable opposition also which shook her to the very centre, in the sixteenth century, Rome owed that external decency, without which she could not permanently have maintained her ground. During the whole of that age, the illegitimate families, with other glaring infamies, which had been so common among popes, and all ecclesiastics downwards, were gradually wearing out. The Roman church became sensible that competition with rival religious com-

munities must prove impracticable, unless her priesthood kept abreast of them in every decency of life. Thus the sixteenth century is really of as much importance to the Romish student as to the protestant. It shows the steps by which the former, no less than the latter, attained his actual position in the religious world. It was the age in which Romanism was renovated, and rendered a consistent, defensible system; no less than the age in which protestantism emerged from the menaced custody of depressed Waldenses and Wickliffites, into the full vigour of political and intellectual strength.

In looking thus at the religious history of the sixteenth century, in all its bearings, an answer is at once supplied to that hackneyed question, by which a Romish disputant seeks to confound an uninformed protestant opponent, "Where was your religion before Luther?" This may be sufficiently and smartly answered, as it has often been, by saying, "In the Bible, where yours never was." But a competent knowledge of ecclesiastical history will supply a better mode of meeting this current Romish objection. He who knows any thing of religious affairs in the sixteenth century, will be disposed to ask the Romanist a counter question, "Where was your religion before the council of Trent?" If it were answered, as it may safely be, "In the church," it may be added on the other side, "And our religion was in certain bodies dissenting from the church as then established: some of them so dissenting from time immemorial." Nor did the sixteenth century open upon these bodies under any sufficient means of condemning their dissent. It is true, that former ages had passed general sentences of condemnation upon their opinions, and had legalised persecution upon the parties themselves. None of these decisions, however, were of sufficient antiquity to bear effectually upon the main question, nor were they sufficiently particular to meet mere questions of theology. The truth really is, that the sixteenth century opened upon the same division as to religious questions that has prevailed in Europe ever since, only under circumstances of much greater

importance on one side, and of much less on the other. The main difference as to such matters between that age and later times consists in a knowledge of the ground on which the parties severally stand. One party appealed to Scripture backed by immemorial tradition. As Bibles became known, the other party found its peculiarities cut off from any confident appeal to Scripture; seeing not a hope of their defence, without implicit reliance upon tradition: but this was a standard which preceding ages had provided no sufficient means of authenticating. It was the sixteenth century which examined these appeals for both parties, coming to opposite conclusions according to the opposite views with which the several judges entered into the inquiry, but equally in both cases drawing a broad line of demarcation. On one side it was solemnly affirmed that articles of faith uncontained in Scripture, either expressly or by necessary implication, are not binding on the conscience: on the other side, articles of faith under these disadvantages were treated as integral members of catholicity. Independent and competent judges decided in both cases, and although Romanists would brand the independence claimed and exercised by their opponents as an act of rebellion against an authority divinely constituted, yet this is in reality a begging of the question. The very existence of any such authority was denied by the other party, and upon such grounds as every scholar must respect.

Nor is there any weight in the current objection of Romanists to the motley aspect of that body which the sixteenth century ranged in well-defined, uncompromising opposition to them. The adverse decision was really uniform, although those who have stood by it ever since, have not formed a compact, harmonious whole. The entire protestant world agrees in the great principle of repudiating unwritten tradition as a sufficient authority for articles of faith. Upon one principle too, namely, the converse of this, hangs all the Romish system. Auxiliary to this latter system is, indeed, an acknowledgment of the papal supremacy, and by this means it is, that the traditionists retain

one uniform face. But history affords a sufficient clue to the papal supremacy. Rome was the capital of the west, and hence the importance of her bishop. History, too, explains why no such advantage was accessible to any community discarding papal unity, at the Reformation. There was no new central point which ages had regarded with respect. Societies, independent of each other, judged for themselves as to the propriety of separating from Rome; but although they agreed in laying down one great principle of religious belief, they were not likely to agree in conferring upon any one of their body an authority over the rest. Such an agreement may, indeed, fairly be considered as impossible in the sixteenth century, and its absence detracts from the unity of the protestant body rather in appearance than in reality.

In one respect the history of the sixteenth century has been often thought, even by protestants, unfavourable to the protestant cause. It brings forward a great mass of mere human motives in active operation against Rome. Sovereigns incited by personal feelings, nobles eager for church plunder, statesmen guided by politics, ecclesiastics evidently pleased with a release from celibacy, undoubtedly detract from the dignity of a great religious movement. But more weight, probably, has been given to these objections than the truth warrants. The parties might have been moved by these inferior and unworthy considerations. It is most likely that they were so: but it by no means follows, that such considerations principally operated upon them, far less that they operated exclusively. An individual's conviction may be honest, although it should require something of a lower kind to render it active. In fact, without motives of a lower kind, the indolence of man can rarely be so far overcome as to let him make any efforts of much importance. It is, however, very desirable to search the history of the Reformation, in order to guard against an over facility in imputing unworthy motives to those who carried through that great religious revolution. It may be true, as it is undoubtedly, that great principles demand reception or rejection upon their own intrinsic

merits, but men are prone to mingle the consideration of them very largely with certain memorable names. Nor if obloquy can be securely fastened on the latter, will it be easy to shield the principles themselves from adverse prejudice. Intelligent persons who value the Reformation especially are therefore called upon to look its leading agents fully but fairly in the face. They will find their gaze, however searching, far from unsatisfactory. The parties of most importance will generally stand forth with less than an average share of human infirmity; and parties prominent, but really of secondary importance, will often display motives obviously capable of a more favourable construction than is commonly put upon them. A consideration of the whole history will also extort allowances for things left undone. It will be seen that many objects which now seem desirable, and perhaps were so, really were unattainable, or nearly so; and that, accordingly, men who did and hazarded so much, are not lightly to be blamed, because a distant posterity, imperfectly aware of their difficulties, thinks that more might have been desired and expected from them.

The ecclesiastical history of the sixteenth century likewise demands attentive consideration from those who would understand the causes that gave to modern protestant churches the forms that they respectively bear. It is naturally most agreeable to their several members to place existing religious politics upon the footing exclusively of a deep and scholarly conviction. And it would be gross injustice to deny that the learned and excellent men who laid the foundations of particular churches, and elaborately defended their several works, were profoundly impressed with the soundness of their principles. But it is perfectly obvious, that external circumstances were very largely, if not principally, concerned in giving to protestantism its actual diversity of appearance. The careful student of ecclesiastical history will clearly see, that where executives adopted reform, unless they were petty town republics, innovation was guided, not by theory, but necessity. Men were not left at liberty to regulate everything connected with religion by nar-

row views of their own as to the sense of Scripture, and hence to treat all the ecclesiastical wealth unrequired by such views as the lawful prize of laical selfishness. They were taught a degree of respect, varying according to circumstances, for all those religious principles and usages which came recommended by the undoubted stamp of catholic antiquity. Little fell, accordingly, in these instances, under the axe of innovation, that could plead a sufficient title to continuance. The reforming leaders felt obliged to repudiate alien interference in their national affairs, and all such additions to recorded revelation as were satisfactorily sanctioned neither by itself, nor by unquestionable monuments of an antiquity nearly approaching its own. They by no means felt themselves at liberty to proscribe existing forms of ecclesiastical polity, and the great bulk of those religious usages, unobnoxious to scriptural objections, which Christians had immemorially practised. It is true, indeed, that such as took an opposite view of these questions, maintained their opinions by reference to Scripture. But then the texts to which they pointed did no more than prescribe a regard to expediency and edification; leaving room, therefore, to each of the contending parties for maintaining that its own line of policy was really the one that Scripture prescribed. The party that assumed from recorded revelation the wider measure of discretion, justified its conduct by the policy and propriety of respecting prejudices that did not bear upon the vitals of religion, and of continuing an ecclesiastical constitution that confessedly mounts upwards to the most venerable antiquity, and has many other obvious claims upon the confidence of mankind. The adverse party laboured to bring every thing under the ban of Scripture that had served the cause, and undergone the defilement of popery. It is interesting, no less than useful, to watch the progress of this strife, however lamentable it was in itself, and candid observation will extort an avowal, even where partialities lie the other way, that the moderate party took the more long-sighted view. A disposition to suffer nothing in the church that Scripture does not expressly sanction, has engen-

dered a system boundlessly prolific in divisions, and incapable either of grappling successfully with Romanism, or of maintaining permanently an equal competition with such forms of protestantism as seek assistance from antiquity.

Another advantage to be gained from studying the characters of those divines who carried through the Reformation, is a due knowledge of their pretensions to direct a great religious movement. Could immorality, or ignorance, or fanaticism be securely fixed upon them, their principles would obviously labour under a considerable disadvantage. It will be found, however, that the leading reformers were universally such men as their great work required. A superiority to human infirmity there is no occasion to claim for them; but in reality, their morals were unblemished, their scholarship was deep, and their judgments were cool. With Luther and our own Cranmer, indeed, the process of conviction was extremely slow, so far was either of these great men from the delusions of a heated imagination. Luther, too, even to the end of life, never overcame that superstitious reverence for the eucharistic elements, in which his religious mind had grown to maturity. That some or all of the reformers might be, to a considerable extent, interested in the success of their labours, need not be disputed. The same may be said of their opponents. Popes and cardinals, with all the other members of those opulent Romish establishments who trembled for their preferments when Luther sounded the trumpet of revolt, were deeply interested in putting him down. The politics and private interests which acted upon the council of Trent have been elaborately exposed from the first, and the exposure is undoubtedly founded in justice. If decisions, therefore, on one side are to be impugned, as attributable to interested motives, impartial justice must make the same objection to those on the other side. It is an objection, too, which attaches much more obviously and completely to the Romanists than to the protestants. Romish dignitaries had a great stake, inferior beneficiaries one of some account. Their opponents could rarely gain any end from the Reformation merely personal, beyond a release from certain

canonical restraints; and such of them as had attained any eminence, but were without a desire for this release, could easily have made advantageous bargains by deserting the protestant party.

The religious transactions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also bear importantly upon the civil history of modern Europe. The disputes, amid which the former century opened, upon the limits between conciliar and papal authority, some of the dangerous speculations upon establishments current among the followers of Wickliffe, and the dawn of a general intellectual activity awakened by the invention of printing, were all favourable to the growth of political discussion. In the next age this was much further developed by popular tendencies towards protestantism in countries which had a Romish executive, and by democratic forms of religious polity, fitted to the civic prejudices of petty town republics, or, as in Scotland, forced upon a reluctant government. Thus the crown no sooner gained a decided advantage over the peerage, than it became provided with a new rival, only requiring maturity to make its mortifications greater than ever. This maturity was undoubtedly much hastened by the Reformation. In England, Henry's defection from Rome prepared the way for that puritanism which embarrassed Elizabeth, and this latter sowed the seed which ripened in the civil wars under Charles the First. In continental Europe the process of political fermentation consequent upon the religious movements of the sixteenth century was much less rapid. In many of them were established arbitrary governments resolute in maintaining Romanism, and aided, on this account, by an artful, able, and unscrupulous confederacy of Jesuits. But the Reformation really let loose an appetite for change, and faculties to accomplish it in every European country. By canvassing religion, men learnt to canvass politics, and a spirit of independence got abroad, which has shown itself an over-match for any arts of statesmanship, or stretch of power.

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INSTITUTES
OF
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
UNDER THE
NEW TESTAMENT.

BOOK III.

EMBRACING
EVENTS FROM THE TIMES OF CHARLEMAGNE
TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF
THE REFORMATION BY LUTHER.



CENTURY FIFTEENTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. The Moors and Jews. — § 2. The Samogetæ and Indians converted.

§ 1. THE new subjects added to the kingdom of Christ were altogether unworthy the name of Christians, unless we apply the appellation to all that make any kind of profession of Christianity. *Ferdinand* the Catholic, king of Spain, by the conquest of Granada, in 1492¹, entirely subverted the dominion of the Moors or Saracens in Spain. Not long after he ordered an immense multitude of Jews into banishment; and to escape this evil, a great number of them made an insincere profession of Christianity.² It is generally known, that to this present time

¹ [The terms on which Granada capitulated, were definitively settled and ratified on the 25th of November, 1491. Uncasiness within the city rather expedited the actual surrender; which took place on the 2nd of January, 1492. Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, Lond. 1839, ii. 84, 86. *Ed.*]

² Jo. de Ferreras, *Histoire Générale d'Espagne*, tom. viii. p. 123, &c. p. 132, *et alibi*. [The edict for expelling the Jews was signed by Ferdinand and Isabella, at Granada, on the 30th of March,

1492. It orders all unbaptized Jews to leave the kingdom by the end of July next following, under pain of death and confiscation. They were, however, to be allowed to dispose of their effects, and to take the proceeds with them in bills of exchange, or merchandise not prohibited. This exception rendered the seeming indulgence of little value. Purchasers were not to be found upon any thing like fair terms, for the enormous mass of property suddenly forced into the market, and bills of exchange to meet

Spain and Portugal are full of Jews, who pretend to be Christians. The Saracens, who remained in vast numbers, were at first solicited by exhortations and discourses to embrace the Christian religion. But as few would yield to these efforts, the great *Ximenes*, archbishop of Toledo, and prime minister of the kingdom, deemed it necessary to employ civil penalties. But even this severity induced only a small part of the nation to renounce Mahumed.³

§ 2. The light of Christianity was also carried among the inhabitants of Samogitia, and the neighbouring provinces, but with very little success.⁴ Near the end of the century, the

such an unforeseen emergency were hopeless, to any adequate extent, in an age but imperfectly commercial. As usual, therefore, dishonesty was linked with cruelty. The numbers who suffered under the combined operations of these odious vices, have been estimated at eight hundred thousand. They seem really to have been about one hundred and sixty thousand. Prescott, ii. 126. 129. 135. *Ed.*]

³ Esprit Flechier, *Histoire du Cardinal Ximenes*, p. 89, &c. Mich. Geddes, *History of the expulsion of the Moriscoes*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 8, &c. [This last assertion is erroneous, if it mean an outward renunciation. After the conquest of Granada, Ferdinand de Talavera, confessor to both Ferdinand and Isabella, was translated from the see of Avila to the archiepiscopate of Granada. He was a mild, liberal, and zealous prelate, whose sterling qualities proved an over-match for the Mahumedan prejudices of many among his new flock. The great majority, however, merely respected the man; pitying and abhorring, no less heartily than ever, the priest and his opinions. The fiery zeal of Ximenes de Cisneros, the famous archbishop of Toledo, who followed the court to Granada, in the autumn of 1499, was violently excited by this unpromising aspect of missionary affairs, and remaining behind, when the court removed to Seville, in November, he tried every expedient for the extirpation of Mahumedanism. Among his endeavours was a liberality so profuse, as materially to cripple his ample resources for several years, and this policy was, of course, found irresistible in many cases. The bulk remained immovable, and even

regarded the archbishop's proceedings as a virtual infringement of that article in the capitulation which guaranteed full liberty of conscience to the people of Granada. At length, two of his servants were killed in the Moorish quarter of the city, and a tumult following, advantage of it was readily taken to force the alternative of receiving baptism, or leaving the country. About fifty thousand seem to have been baptized in consequence, and their former appellation of Moors was changed into that of Moriscoes; an unhappy class of persons, whose secret Mahumedanism was continually discovered by the Inquisition, until their final expulsion from the loved soil of Spain. Prescott, ii. 372. 376. 388. *Ed.*]

⁴ John Henry Hottinger's *Historia Ecclesiast.* sæcul. xv. p. 856. [In these countries the *Teutonic knights* distinguished themselves by their zeal to convert pagans: but their zeal was neither so pure, nor so disinterested, as it should be to deserve commendation. We have in Von der Hardt's *Acta Concil. Constant.* tom. iii. p. 9, &c. Pauli Voladimiri, de Cracovia, academ. Cracov. Rectoris, legati regis ad conecilium, Demonstratio, *Cruciferis de Prusia oppositu: infideles armis et bello non esse ad Christianam fidem convertendos, nec eorum bona invadenda*; in Constant. Concil. 1415, die 6 Julii proposita. In the first chapter of this paper is a confutation of the opinion, that, since the advent of Christ, the unbelieving have no rights, no honours, and no legitimate dominion over their lands. The second chapter treats of the *devices and pretreats of the Teutonic order, for subjecting to themselves various countries, under the plea of religion.* And the writer

Portuguese navigators penetrated to India and Ethiopia; and soon after, A. D. 1492, *Christopher Columbus* opened a passage to America, and discovered the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and some others.⁵ *Americus Vespuccius*, a citizen of Florence, now reached the [American] continent.⁶ These new Argonauts thought it their duty to impart the light of Christian truth to the inhabitants of these regions, which were before unknown to the Europeans. The first attempt of the kind was made by the Portuguese among the Africans of the kingdom of Congo, whose king, with all his subjects, instantly received the Romish religion.⁷ But all good and considerate men must necessarily smile, or rather be grieved, at this so sudden an abandonment of long-established errors. Afterwards, when the sovereign pontiff, *Alexander VI.*, divided America between the Spaniards and the Portuguese, he strongly exhorted both nations not to suffer the inhabitants of the islands and the continent to continue longer in ignorance of the true religion.⁸ And many of the Franciscans and Dominicans were sent to those countries to convert the natives to Christ. With what degree of zeal and success they performed the service is very generally known.⁹

says: "The pagans have now ceased to invade us: but these, twice a year, invade the territories of the infidels, whom they call *Reisas* (giants).—The most powerful of the pagan princes have received baptism through the ministry of the Poles, and a great multitude are still receiving it: yet the Crossbearers invade still the new converts, lest the object of their inroads should fail." *Schl.*]

⁵ See Charlevoix, *Histoire de l'Isle de St. Domingo*, tom. i. p. 64, &c. [Hispaniola, or St. Domingo, was not the first American land seen by Columbus. He sailed from Palos, in Andalusia, August 3. 1492, and descried *San Salvador*, or St. Saviour, as he piously called it, one of the Bahamas, Oct. 12, next following. He discovered Hispaniola in December. He did not discover the

main land of America until his third voyage, on which, Aug. 1st 1498, he reached *Terra Firma*. Prescott, ii. 119. 428. *Ed.*]

⁶ See Angeli Maria Bandini's *Life of Americus Vespuccius*; written in Italian, but translated into German.

⁷ Jo. Bapt. Labat's *Relatione de l'Ethiophe Occidentale*, tom. ii. p. 366. Jo. Franc. Lafitau's *Histoire des Découvertes et Conquêtes des Portugais dans le Nouveau Monde*, tom. i. p. 71, &c.

⁸ See the Bull. in the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. i. p. 466.

⁹ See Thom. Maria Mamachi, *Originum et Antiquit. Christianar.* tom. ii. p. 326, &c. where the gradual introduction of Christianity into America is described. Luc. Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. xv. p. 1. 10, &c.

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Sinking of Christianity in the East.—§ 2. Constantinople taken.

§ 1. IN the countries of the East, Christianity daily suffered a diminution of its glory and prevalence by the inroads of the Mahumedans, both the Turks, and likewise the Tartars who had embraced the Koran. In Asiatic Tartary, among the Moguls, the inhabitants of Tangut and the adjacent nations, the ground, which had long been occupied by the religion of Christ, was now the seat of the vilest superstitions. Nor were even the vestiges of Christianity any where visible in those vast countries, except in China, where some feeble remains of the Nestorians glimmered faintly amidst the thick surrounding darkness. For it appears, that so late as this century the Nestorian patriarch in Chaldea sent certain men to Cathai and China, to preside as bishops over the churches existing, or rather lying concealed, in the remoter provinces.¹ Yet even this little handful of Christians must have become wholly extinct in the course of the century.

§ 2. The lamentable overthrow of the Greek empire brought incalculable evils upon the Christian religion in a large part of both Asia and Europe. For after the Turks under *Mahumed II.* (a great prince, religion only excepted,) had captured Constantinople, in the year 1453, the glory of the Greek church was at an end; nor had the Christians any protection against the daily oppressions and wrongs of the victors, or any means of resisting the torrent of ignorance and barbarism that rushed in upon them. One part of the city of Constantinople the Turks took by storm; but another part of it surrendered upon terms of capitulation.² Hence, in the former, all public profession of

¹ This is from the letters of Theoph. Sigfr. Bayer, which he addressed to me.

² [“ In this account Dr. Mosheim has

followed the Turkish writers. And indeed, their account is much more probable than that of the Latin and Greek historians, who suppose that the whole

Christianity was at once suppressed; but in the latter, during the whole century, the Christians retained all their temples, and freely worshipped in them according to their usages. This liberty, however, was taken away in the times of *Selim I.*, and Christian worship was confined within very narrow limits.³ The outward form and organization of the Christian church was indeed left untouched by the Turks, but in every thing else the Greek church was gradually so straitened, that from that time onward, it lost pretty completely its vigour and efficiency. The Roman pontiff, *Pius II.*, addressed a letter to *Mahumed II.*, exhorting him to embrace Christianity, but in a strain of little piety and prudence.⁴

city was taken by force, and not by capitulation. The Turkish relation diminishes the glory of their conquest, and therefore probably would not have been adopted, had it not been true." *Macl.*]

³ Demetr. Cantemir, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. i. p. 11. 46. 54, 55.

⁴ Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. iii. p. 1872. [Article *Mahomet II.* The letter is the 396th of the printed letters

of Pius II.; and occasioned a debate between the French protestants and French catholics, as to its piety and discretion. The pope promised to confirm the dominion of the sultan over the Greek empire, and assured him of the respect and esteem of the Christian world, by which he would become the greatest prince on earth, if he would only be baptized, and make a profession of Christianity. *Tr.*]

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

§ 1. Learning flourishes among the Latins.—§ 2. The Greeks aid its progress in the West.—§ 3. Elegant literature and languages.—§ 4. Philosophy, the Aristotelian and the Platonic.—§ 5. The Platonic Syncretists.—§ 6. The Aristotelian has still the preponderance.—§ 7. The contests of the Nominalists and Realists continue.

§ 1. THE tyranny of the Mahumedans well nigh imposed silence on the Grecian and Oriental muses. Among the Latins, on the contrary, literature and the liberal arts returned under most favourable auspices to their long lost lustre and glory. Some of the pontiffs themselves encouraged them, among whom *Nicolaus V.* stands prominent: also many of the kings and princes aided literary men, by their protection and by extraordinary munificence; among whom the illustrious family of *Medici*, in Italy¹, *Alphonsus VI.*, king of Naples, and the other Neapolitan sovereigns of the house of Aragon², acquired permanent fame by their liberality and their attachment to learning. Hence universities were erected in Germany, France, and Italy; libraries were collected at great expense, and young men were excited to study by proffered rewards and honours. To all these means was added the incomparable advantage resulting from the art of printing, first with wooden blocks, and then with metal types,

¹ A direct treatise on the great merits of the house of Medici, in regard to all the liberal arts and sciences, is given us by Joseph Bianchini del Prato, *Dei Granduchi di Toscana della reale Casa de Medici, Protettori delle lettere et delle belle*

arti, Ragionamenti Historici. Venice, 1741, fol.

² See Gianone, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iii. p. 500. 628. &c. Anton. Panormitanus, *Dicta et Facta Memorabilia Alphonsi I.* second ed. by

which was invented at Mentz, about the year 1440, by *John Guttemberg*. For in consequence of this, the best Greek and Latin authors, which before had lain concealed in the libraries of the monks, were now put into the hands of the people, and awakened in very many a laudable desire of emulating their excellences, and purified the taste of innumerable individuals of a literary turn.³

§ 2. The fall of the Greek empire likewise contributed much to the promotion of learning in the West. For the most learned men of that nation, after the capture of Constantinople, emigrated to Italy; and thence a part of them dispersed into the other countries of Europe. These men faithfully taught the Greek language and Grecian learning every where for their own support; and they diffused a taste for literature and science over nearly the whole Latin world. Hence there was no considerable city, or university, in this age in which some one or more of the Greeks were not employed as teachers of the liberal arts.⁴ But they were no where more numerous than in Italy, where they were encouraged and honoured by the munificence and ardent zeal for useful learning, as well of the Medicean family, as of several cities: which occasioned a great resort from other countries, of those who thirsted for knowledge, into the Italian peninsula.⁵

Jo. Gerh. Meuschen, *Vite Eruditor. Viror.* tom. ii. p. 1, &c.

³ Mich. Maittaire's *Annales Typographicæ*. Prosper Marchand's *Histoire de l'Imprimerie*, à la Haye, 1740, 4to, &c. [Jo. Dan. Schöpfung's *Vindiciæ Typographicæ*, Hagæ Comit. 1763, 2 vols. 4to. Breitkopf, *über der Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst*, Lips. 1779, 4to. There has been much debate, *where*, and *by whom*, printing was first performed. Haerlem, Mentz, and Strasburg, each claims the honour of being the first seat of the art; and Laurence Coster, John Gensfleisch, or Guttenberg, and John Faust, besides others, have been honoured as inventors of the art. The probability is, that Coster first printed at Haerlem with carved wooden blocks (much in the Chinese manner), on or before the year 1430: that Guttenberg invented forged metal types at Strasburg, A. D. 1436, or later; and that afterwards, forming a partnership with Faust and others, at Mentz, Faust invented the cast types, one Peter Schoeffer having devised the

iron matrixes and punches to facilitate the casting of the types; and the company began to print in 1450; and in 1459, printed Durant's *Rationale Divinor. Officior.* at Mentz. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxx. p. 175, and Rees's *Cyclopaedia*, art. *Printing*. Tr.—Laurent Coster is evidently the inventor of printing; the others only rendered the art more perfect. *Macl.*]

⁴ Jo. Henr. Maius, *Vita Reuchlini*, p. 11. 13. 19. 28. 152. 153. 165, &c. Casper Barth, on *Statius*, tom. ii. p. 1008. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. v. p. 691.

⁵ Happily illustrative of these facts is Humphrey Hody's *Liber de Græcis illustribus Litterarum Instauratoribus*, edited by Sam. Jebb, Lond. 1742, 8vo. Very interesting and accurate is Christ. Fred. Boerner, *de Doctis Hominiibus Græcis Litterarum Græcarum in Italia Instauratoribus*, Lips. 1750, 8vo. Sam. Battier, *Oratio de Instauratoribus Græcar. Litterarum*, in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. iv. p. 163, &c.

§ 3. The greater part of the learned men in Italy, which was the chief seat of learning, were engaged in publishing, correcting, and elucidating the Greek and Latin authors, in forming both a prose and poetic style after their model, and in illustrating antiquities. And in these departments many attained such eminence, that it is very difficult to come up to their standard. Nor were the other languages and sciences neglected. In the university of Paris, a public teacher of the Greek and Hebrew languages was now established.⁶ In Spain and Italy there were many who were distinguished for their knowledge of Hebrew and oriental literature.⁷ Germany was renowned for *John Reuchlin*, or *Capnio*, *John Trithemius*, and others, eminent both in those languages, and in other branches of learning.⁸ Latin poetry was revived, especially by *Anthony* of Palermo, who had many followers.⁹ The principal collector of ancient monuments, coins, gems, and inscriptions, among the Italians, was *Cyriacus* of Ancona, whose example prompted others to do the same.¹

§ 4. It is not necessary here to be particular respecting the other departments of erudition, but the state of philosophy deserves to be briefly noticed. Before the Greeks came into Italy, *Aristotle* alone was the admiration of all: he was extolled immoderately, and many were not ashamed to compare him, foolishly, with the precursor of Jesus Christ.² But about the time of the council of Florence some of the Greeks, and especially the celebrated *Gemistius Pletho*, recommended to certain great men of Italy, instead of the contentious philosophy of the Peripatetics, what they called the divine and mild wisdom of *Plato*. And these Italians being charmed with it, took pains to have a number of noble youths imbued with it. The most distinguished among them was *Cosmo de Medicis*, who, after hearing *Pletho*, formed the design of establishing a Platonic school

⁶ Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique*, par M. du Pin, tom. i. p. 502. 512, &c. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris*, tom. v. p. 852, &c.

⁷ Paul Colomesius, *Italia Orientalis*, p. 4, &c., and *Hispania Orientalis*, p. 212.

⁸ Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. i. p. 262; tom. iv. p. 131, &c. p. 140, and in other passages.

⁹ Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Pa-normitanus*, tom. iii. p. 2162.

¹ See the *Itinerarium* of Cyriacus Anconitanus, published from a manuscript, with a preface, notes, and the epistles of this first antiquary, by Laur. Mehus, Florence, 1742, 8vo. Add Leonard Aretin's *Epistles*, tom. ii. lib. ix. p. 149, recent edition, Florence.

² See Christ. August. Heumann's *Acta Philosophorum*, in German, tom. iii. p. 345.

at Florence. For this purpose, he caused *Marcilius Ficinus*, the son of his physician, to be carefully educated and instructed in order to translate the works of Plato from the Greek into Latin. He therefore first published a Latin version of *Hermes Trismegistus*, and then of *Plotinus*, and finally of *Plato*. This same *Cosmo* prompted other learned men, as *Ambroso* of Camalduli, *Leonard Bruno*, *Poggio*, and others, to engage in similar labours; that is, to translate Greek authors into Latin. In consequence of these efforts, there soon appeared two schools of philosophy in Italy, which for a long time contended zealously with each other whether *Plato* or *Aristotle* ought to hold the pre-eminence in philosophy.³

§ 5. A middle course between the two parties was taken by certain eminent men among both the Greeks and the Latins, such as *John Francis Picus*, *Bessarion*, *Hermolaus Barbarus*, and others, who indeed honoured *Plato* as a kind of oracle in philosophy, yet did not wish to see *Aristotle* trodden under foot and despised, but contemplated a union of the two. These followed, both in their manner of teaching and in their doctrines or principles, the later Platonic school, which originated with *Ammonius*.⁴ This kind of philosophy was for a long time held in high estimation, and was especially prized by the mystic theologians; but the scholastic and disputatious divines were better pleased with the Peripatetic school. Yet these Platonists were not truly wise; they were not only infected with anile superstitions, but they likewise abandoned themselves wholly to the guidance of a wanton fancy.

§ 6. These Platonists, however, were not so bad as their adversaries, the Aristotelians, who had the upper hand in Italy, and instructed the youth in all the universities. For these, and es-

³ John Boivin, in the *Histoire de l'Acad. des Inscript. et des Belles Lettres*, tom. iv. p. 381. Jo. Lannoï, de *Varia Fortuna Aristotelis*, p. 255. Leo Allatius, de *Georgiis*, p. 391. Matur. Veiss. la Croze *Entretiens sur Divers Sujets*, p. 384, &c. Joseph Bianchini, in his Italian work above quoted, On the merits of the house of Medici in regard to learning, the Preface. Jac. Brucker's *Historia Critica Philos.* tom. iv. p. 62, &c.—[“It was not only the respective merits of these two philosophers that was debated in this controversy: the principal question was,

which of their systems was most conformable to the doctrines of Christianity; and here the Platonic most certainly deserved the preference, as was abundantly proved by Pletho and others. It is well known, that many of the opinions of Aristotle lead directly to atheism.” *Macl.*]

⁴ See Bessarion's Letter, in the *Histoire de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. v. p. 456. Jac. Thomasius, de *Syncretismo Peripatetico*, in his *Orationes*, p. 340.

pecially the followers of *Averroes*, who maintained (according to the opinion of that philosopher) that all men have one common soul, cunningly subverted the foundations of all religion, both natural and revealed, and approximated very near to the impious tenets of the pantheists, who hold that the universe, as consisting of *infinite matter* and *infinite power of thought*, is the deity. The most noted among this class was *Peter Pomponatius*, a philosopher of Mantua, a crafty and arrogant man, who has left us many writings prejudicial to religion⁵: yet nearly all the professors of philosophy in the Italian universities coincided with him in sentiment. When pressed by the Inquisitors, these philosophers craftily discriminated between philosophical truth and theological; and said that their doctrines were only philosophically true, that is, accordant with sound reason; but that nevertheless they considered them liable, when viewed theologically, to be accounted false. On this impudent subterfuge, *Leo X.*, in the Lateran council held in the following century, at length laid restrictions.

§ 7. In France and Germany the philosophical sects of *Realists* and *Nominalists* every where had fierce contests with each other; in which they employed not only ratiocination and argument, but also accusations, penal laws, and the force of arms. There was scarcely a university that was undisturbed by this war. In most places, however, the *Realists* were more powerful than the *Nominalists*, or the *Terminists*, as they were also called.⁶ In the university of Paris, so long as *John Gerson* lived, and his immediate pupils, the *Nominalists* were in high authority; but when these were dead, A. D. 1473, *Lewis XI.*, the king of France, at the instigation of the bishop of Avranches, who was his confessor, prohibited the doctrine of the *Nominalists* by a severe edict, and ordered all books composed by men of that sect to be seized and locked up from the public.⁷ But he mitigated his decree in the year 1474, and allowed *some* books of the *Nominalists* to be let out of prison.⁸ And in the year 1431 he

⁵ See Jae. Brücker's *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. p. 158, &c.

⁶ See Jae. Brücker's *Historia Crit. Philos.* tom. v. p. 904. Jo. Salabert's *Philosophia Nominalium Vindicata*, cap. i. Steph. Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 531, &c. Argentre, *Collectio Documentor. de Novis Erroribus*, tom. i. p. 220, &c.

⁷ Gabr. Naudé, *Additions à l'Histoire de Louis XI.* p. 203. Cæs. Egasse de Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. v. p. 678. 705. 708, &c. John Lannoï, *Historia Gymnasii Navarr. Opp.* tom. iv. pt. i. p. 201. 378.

⁸ Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. v. p. 710.

restored *all* the books of the Nominalists to liberty, and reinstated the sect in its former privileges and honours in the university.⁹

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Vices of the clergy.—§ 2. Continuance of the schism of the West.—§ 3. The council of Constance called by the emperor Sigismund.—§ 4. Its proceedings and issue.—§ 5. John Huss.—§ 6. Causes of hatred against him.—§ 7. John Huss is burnt. Jerome of Prague.—§ 8. Decree of the council against the books and the ashes of Wickliffe.—§ 9. Sentence against John Petit.—§ 10. The Reformation of the church.—§ 11. Council of Basil. Reformation of the Church again attempted in vain.—§ 12. Deerecs and acts of this council.—§ 13. Council of Ferrara under Eugene IV.—§ 14. Schism of the Church renewed.—§ 15. Schism terminates under Nicolaus V.—§ 16. Pius II.—§ 17. Paul II.—§ 18. Alexander VI.—§ 19. The monks.—§ 20. The mendicants.—§ 21. Condition of the *Fratricelli*.—§ 22. New orders. Brethren and Clerks of the common life.—§ 23. Greek writers.—§ 24. Latin writers.

§ 1. No teacher or writer of any eminence can be named in that age, who does not plainly and greatly lament the miserable state of the Christian church, and anticipate its ruin unless God should interpose for its rescue. The disorders both of the pontiffs, and of others in holy orders were so manifest, that no one dared to censure such complaints. And even prelates of the highest rank, who spent their lives in idleness and vice of every kind, were obliged to hear with a placid countenance, and even to commend, those bold orators who publicly maintained that there was nothing sound in either the head or the members of the church, and who called for the amputation of the infected parts. And indeed he only was accounted an honest and useful

⁹ The documents are published by Jo. Salabert, *Philosophia Nominal. Vincitata*, cap. i. p. 104. Add Boulay, l. c. tom. v. p. 739. 747.

man who, fearlessly and vehemently, declaimed against the court of Rome, the pontiff, and all his train.¹

§ 2. At the commencement of the century, the Latin church was two-headed, or had two pontiffs, *Boniface IX.*, at Rome, and *Benedict XIII.*, resident at Avignon. On the death of *Boniface*, the cardinals of his party elected, A. D. 1404, *Cosmat de Meliorati*, who took the name of *Innocent VII.*² And he dying after two years, or A. D. 1406, his place was filled by *Angelo Corrari*, a Venetian, who assumed the name of *Gregory XII.* Both of them promised, under oath, that they would voluntarily resign the pontificate if the interests of the church should require it; and each of them violated his pledge. *Benedict XIII.*, being besieged at Avignon by the king of France, A. D. 1408, fled into Catalonia, his native province, and thence removed to Perpignan. Hence eight or nine cardinals of his party, finding themselves deserted by their pontiff, joined the cardinals of the party of *Gregory XII.*, and in conjunction with them, for the purpose of ending at last the protracted schism, appointed a council of the whole church to be held at Pisa, on the 25th of March, A. D. 1409. But this council, which was designed to heal the wounds of the divided church, unexpectedly inflicted upon her a new wound. On the 5th of June, it passed a heavy sentence on each of the pontiffs; for it declared them both to be heretical, perjured, contumacious, unworthy of any honour,

¹ [Flacius, (Matthias Flacius Illyricus, or Matthias Francowitz,) in his *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, has collected many such testimonies. Still more may be found in Peter de Alliaco's tract, *de Reformatione Ecclesie*; and in the tract of Matthew of Cracovia, bishop of Worms, *de Squaloribus Romanæ Curie*; both of which tracts were published by Wolfgang Weissenburg, at Basil, 1551: likewise in the same Weissenburg's *Antilogia Romana*, Basil, 1555, 8vo, in John Wolf's *Lectiones Memorabiles*, tom. i. and especially in the *Monumenti Medii Ævi*, by Dr. Walch, of Göttingen, where we have, tom. i. fascic. i. p. 1. the tracts *de Squaloribus Curie Romanæ*; and p. 101, the *Gravamina Nationis German. adversus Curiam Romanam*, Joanni Cardinali S. Angeli, Nicolai V. Pontificis Rom. Legato, exhibita; and, p. 156, James Junterberg's tract, *de Negligentia Prælatorum*; besides many of the

speeches made in the council of Constance, which are in the *second fasciculus*, and are of a similar import. Even at the council of Constance itself, which assembled to reform the church, and in which so many testimonies were exhibited of the corrupt state of the church, there were present a great number of *buffoons, prostitutes, and public girls*, (joculatores, meretrices, and virgines publicæ.) See the *Diarium Belli Hussitici*, in Ludwig's *Reliquie Manuserip.* tom. iv. p. 127. *Schl.*]

² Besides the common writers, see especially, in regard to Innocent VII. Leonh. Aretinus, *Epistolar.* lib. i. ep. 4, 5. p. 6. 19. 21, lib. ii. ep. 2, p. 30, and Calluecius Salutatus, *Epistolar.* lib. ii. ep. i. p. 1, or p. 18, ed Florence: in regard to Gregory, the same Aretinus, *Epistolar.* lib. ii. ep. 3, p. 32, ep. 7, p. 39. 41. 51, lib. ii. ep. 17, p. 54. 56. 59. John Lamy, *Delicie Eruditor.* tom. x. p. 494.

and no longer members of the church. As the next step, the council created *Peter de Candia* sovereign pontiff, in their place, on the 26th of June; and he assumed the name of *Alexander V.*³ But the two pontiffs spurned the decrees of this council; and continued still to perform their functions. *Benedict* held a council at Perpignan; and *Gregory* assembled another at Austria⁴, near Aquileia; but fearing the resentments of the Venetians, he went first to Gaeta, where he threw himself upon the protection of *Ladislaus*, king of Naples; and then fled, A. D. 1412, to Rimini.

§ 3. The church was thus divided between three pontiffs; who fiercely assailed each other with reciprocal excommunications, reproaches, and maledictions. *Alexander V.*, who was elected in the council of Pisa, died at Bologna, A. D. 1410.⁵ The sixteen cardinals, who were present in the city, immediately filled his place with *Balthasar Cossa*, a Neapolitan, who took the name of *John XXIII.* a man destitute of principle and of piety.⁶ From this war of the pontiffs, vast evils arose, which afflicted both the church and the state. Hence the emperor *Sigismund*, the king of France, and other kings and princes of Europe, spared no pains or expense to restore harmony, and bring the church again under one head. From the pontiffs, it was found quite impossible to obtain any personal sacrifice for

³ See Jac. Lenfant's *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, Amsterd. 1724. 4to. Franc. Pagi, *Breviarium Pontiff. Romanor.* tom. iv. p. 350. Jac. Benign. Bossuet, *Defensio Decreti Cleri Gallicani de Potestate Ecclcs.* tom. ii. p. 17, &c. and elsewhere.

⁴ [Città di Friuli. Lenfant (*Histoire du Concile de Pise*, tom. i. p. 295.) says, the place of this council was Cividat di Frioul et Udine, towns two miles apart, in the diocese of Aquileia, in the Venetian states. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Alexander committed two faults, which very much injured his cause. He published a bull for the advantage of the mendicants, in regard to hearing confessions, which was so offensive to the secular clergy, and particularly to the university of Paris, that under the countenance of the king, they set themselves against it; and his successor, John XXIII., found it necessary to re-

peal it. In the next place, by the advice of the cardinal legate of Bologna, Balthasar of Cossa, he ventured to go to Rome, which prepared the way for Lewis, king of Naples, to gain the victory over his enemy, king Ladislaus. Under him, likewise, a cardinal was allowed to hold many benefices, three or four deaneries, as many presbyterships, besides several bishoprics. *Schl.*]

⁶ [History represents him as a great villain; and, in the council of Constance, he was accused, among other crimes, of procuring the death of his predecessor with poison. His persecution of Ladislaus, whom he very unseasonably excommunicated, and offended still more by proclaiming a crusade against him, obliged him to court the friendship of the emperor Sigismund, who, by a masterpiece of policy, induced him to call the council of Constance. *Schl.*]

the peace of the church: so that no course remained, but to assemble a general council of the whole church, to take cognizance of this great controversy. Such an assembly, *John XXIII.* being prevailed on by the intreaties of *Sigismund*, and hoping that it would favour his cause, appointed to be held at Constance, A. D. 1414. In this council, were present, the pontiff *John*, the emperor *Sigismund*, many princes of Germany, and ambassadors from the absent kings and princes of Europe, and from the republics.⁷

§ 4. The principal object of this great council was to extinguish the discord between the pontiffs; and this business was accomplished successfully. For having established by two solemn decrees, in the fourth and fifth sessions, that a pontiff is subject to a council of the whole church; and having most carefully substantiated the authority of councils⁸, the fathers, on the 29th of May, A. D. 1415, removed *John XXIII.* from the

⁷ The Acts of this celebrated council were published, in six volumes, fol. by Herrn. von der Hardt, Frankfort, 1700; an elaborate work, yet imperfect; for very many Acts are wanting in it; while many Acts are inserted which might have been omitted. James Lenfant composed an elegant history of this council in French, which was printed, 2nd ed. Amsterd. 1728, 4to. [also in English, 2 vols. 4to. *Tr.*] A Supplement to it, composed, however, with little judgment, was added by Bourgeois du Chastenot, an advocate of Paris, entitled *Nouvelle Histoire du Concile de Constance, où l'on fait voir combien la France a contribué à l'Extinction du Schisme.* Paris, 1718, 4to.

⁸ Concerning these two celebrated decrees, which are extremely hateful to the pontiffs, see Natalis Alexander's *Historia Eccles.* sæc. xv. diss. iv. Jac. Benign. Bossuet's *Defensio Sententiæ Cleri Gallicani de Potestate Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 2, 23, &c. and Jac. Lenfant's *Diss. Historique et Apologétique pour Jean Gerson et le Concile de Constance*, annexed to his History of that council. [The second decree, of the 6th of April, repeats the most essential parts of the first, or that of the 30th of March, and is as follows: "Hæc sancta synodus Constantiensis generale concilium faciens, pro extirpatione ipsius schismatis, et unione et reformatione ecclesie

Dei in capite et in membris, &c. ordinat, definit, decernit, et declarat, ut sequitur.

"Et primo declarat, quod ipsa in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata, concilium generale faciens, et ecclesiam catholicam representans, potestatem a Christo immediate habet, cui quilibet cujuscunque status vel dignitatis, etiam si papalis existat, obedire tenetur in his quæ pertinent ad fidem et extirpationem dicti schismatis, et reformationem dietæ ecclesiæ in capite et in membris.

"Item declarat, quod quicumque cujuscunque conditionis, status, dignitatis, etiam si papalis, qui mandatis, statutis seu ordinationibus, aut præceptis hujus sacræ synodi et cujuscunque alterius concilii generalis legitime congregati, super præmissis, seu ad ea pertinentibus, factis, vel faciendis, obedire contumaciter contempserit, nisi resipuerit, condignæ pœnitentiæ subjiciatur, et debite puniatur, etiam ad alia juris subsidia (si opus fuerit) recurrendo."—The decree then goes on to forbid pope John from dissolving or removing the council to any other place without its consent; or from withdrawing any of his officers and servants from attending on the council so long as it shall remain at Constance. It further declares null and void all censures, deprivations of office, &c. passed, or that might be passed by the said pope, upon any per-

pontificate, on account of various offences and crimes⁹: for he had pledged himself to the council, to resign the pontificate; and yet withdrew himself by flight. *Gregory XII.* voluntarily resigned his pontificate, on the 4th of July, in the same year, through *Charles de Malatesta*. And *Benedict XIII.*, on the 26th of July, 1417, was deprived of his rank as a pontiff, by a solemn decree of the council. After these transactions, on the 11th of November, A. D. 1417, *Otto de Colonna* was elected pontiff by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals, and assumed the name of *Martin V.* *Benedict XIII.*, who resided at Perpignan, resisted indeed, and claimed the rights and the dignity of a pontiff, till his death, A. D. 1423: and after the death of this obstinate man, under the auspices of *Alphonsus*, king of Sicily, *Giles Muñoz*, a Spaniard, was appointed to succeed him, by only two cardinals. He assumed the name of *Clement VIII.*, and wished to be regarded as the legitimate pontiff; but in the year 1429, he was persuaded to resign the government of the church entirely to *Martin V.*

§ 5. The things done in this council for the repression and extirpation of *Heretics*, are not equally commendable; some of them, indeed, are quite inexcusable. Before the council sate, great religious commotions had arisen in several countries, but especially in Bohemia. There lived and taught at Prague, with much applause, an eloquent and learned man, by name *John Huss*, who acted as a professor of theology in the university, and as a minister of holy things in the church. Vehemently did he declaim against priestly vices of every kind; which was generally done in that age, and no good man disapproved it. He likewise endeavoured, after the year 1408, to detach the university from acknowledging as pontiff *Gregory XII.*, whom Bohemia had hitherto obeyed. This gave great offence to the archbishop of Prague, and to the rest of the clergy, who were devoted partizans of *Gregory*. Hence arose great hostility between *Huss* and the archbishop; which the former kept up and increased, by his discourses against the Romish court and the vices of the clergy.

sons whatever, to the prejudice of the council. See Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. viii. p. 258, 259. *Tr.*]

⁹ [The crimes of this pope are laid down in certain articles, in Herm. von der Hardt's *Actu Concilii Constant.* tom. iv. p. 196, among which are the follow-

ing: Simony, extortion, poisoning, adultery, incest, the sale of ecclesiastical offices and bulls, &c. *Schl.* See the articles at large in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. viii. p. 343, &c. and the judgment of the council upon them; *ibid.* p. 376. *Tr.*]

§ 6. To these first causes of hatred against *Huss*, which might easily have been surmounted, others were added of greater magnitude. First, he took the side of the *Realists* in philosophy, and, therefore, according to the usage of the age, goaded and pressed the *Nominalists* to the utmost of his power: yet their number was very considerable in the university of Prague, and their influence was not small.¹ Afterwards, in the year 1408, he brought it about, that in a controversy between the Germans and the Bohemians, respecting the number of votes², the decision was in favour of the Bohemians. By the laws of the university, it was ordained, that in academic discussions, the Bohemians should have *three* votes, and the other three nations but *one*. The university was then divided into four nations, but the Bavarian, Polish, and Saxon, were comprehended under the general name of the *German nation*. The usage had been, that the Germans, who far exceeded the Bohemians in numbers, gave three votes, and the Bohemians but one. *Huss*, therefore, either from partiality to his country, or from hatred of the *Nominalists*, whom the greatest part of the Germans preferred to the *Realists*, obtained, by means of the vast influence at court, which his eloquence gave him, a decree that the Germans should be deprived of the three votes, and should be bidden to content themselves with one. This result of a long contest so offended the Germans, that a great multitude of them, with the rector of the university, *John Hofmann*, at their head, left the university of Prague, and retired to Leipsic; where *Frederic* the Wise, elector of Saxony³, founded a university on their account,

¹ There is a letter of the Nominalists to Lewis VI., king of France, in Steph. Baluze's *Miscellanca*, tom. iv. p. 534, which says, "Legimus Nominales expulsos de Bohemia eo tempore, quo hæretici voluerunt Bohemicum regnum suis hæresibus inficere.—Quum dicti hæretici non possent disputando superare, impetraverunt ab Abbisselao (Wenceslao) principe Bohemiæ, ut gubernarentur studia Pragensia ritu Parisiensium. Quo edicto coacti sunt supradicti Nominales Pragam civitatem relinquere, et se transtulerunt ad Lipzicam civitatem, et ibidem universitatem exerunt solemnissimam."

² [Each was to have in the university, *Tr.*]

³ [Mosheim says, that *Fredericus Sapiens*, *Saxoniæ Septemvir*, established the

university of Leipsic in the year 1409. This was certainly a slip of memory in the venerable old man. It was not *Frederic* the Wise, but *Frederic* the Warlike, that established the university of Leipsic; and when he instituted it, he was only Margrave of Meissen and Landgrave of Thuringia; not Elector, to which dignity he did not attain till the death of *Albrecht III.*, duke of *Wittemberg*, without issue, A. D. 1423. *Schl.* "Historians differ much in their accounts of the number of Germans that retired from the university of Prague upon this occasion. *Æneas Sylvius* reckons 5000, *Trithemius* and others 2000, *Dubravius* 24,000, *Lupacius* 44,000, *Lauda*, a contemporary writer, 36,000." *Macl.*]

in the year 1409. This event contributed much to increase the odium against *Huss*, and to work his ruin. The Germans being ejected from Prague, *Huss* inveighed more freely than before against the vices of the clergy, and also publicly preached and recommended the opinions and the books of *John Wickliffe*, the Englishman. Being accused before *John XXIII.*, in the year 1410, he was excommunicated by that pontiff. Spurning this thunderbolt he continued, with general applause, first by word of mouth, afterwards in various writings, to lash the sores of the Roman church, and of the priests of every degree.⁴

§ 7. This good man, who was in love with real piety, but perhaps had sometimes too much warmth, and not sufficient prudence, being summoned to the council of Constance, went thither on the faith of a safe-conduct, given by the emperor *Sigismund*, with a view to demonstrate his innocence, and prove them liars, who talked of him as an apostate from the Roman church. And certainly he had not departed in things of any moment from the religion of his times; but had only inveighed severely against the pontiffs, the court of Rome, the more considerable clergy, and the monks; which, in fact, had the sanction of his times, and was daily done in the council of Constance itself. Yet his enemies, who were numerous both in Bohemia and in the council, managed the procedure against him so artfully and successfully, that, in violation of the public faith, he was cast into prison; and when he would not, according to the council's order, confess himself guilty, he was adjudged a heretic, and burnt alive, on the 6th day of July, A. D. 1415. Full of faith and the love of God, he sustained this punishment with admirable constancy.⁵ The same unhappy fate was borne, with

⁴ See Laur. Byzinius, *Diarium Belli Hussitici*; in Jo. Pet. de Ludwig's *Religieuse Manuscriptorum*, tom. vi. p. 427, &c.

⁵ Learned men have searched for the causes of so cruel a sentence being passed upon John Huss, and his companion; nor do they find them either in his opinions or in his life and conduct. Hence they conclude that he was unrighteously oppressed by his enemies. And the conclusion of these excellent men is most just; for it is not difficult to show whence arose the readiness of the Fathers assembled at Constance to inflict the punishment of a heretic on

this good man, who by no means merited it. I. By his discourses and his writings, Huss had produced very great commotion in Bohemia, and had excited vast odium against the whole sacred order among the people. And the bishops, the priests, and the monks could readily see, that if this man should return to his country, and should go on to write and to teach, they must lose their honours, influence, and emoluments. And therefore they strove to the utmost, and spared neither money nor pains and labour with his judges, to persuade them to destroy so dangerous an enemy. Laur.

with the same pious fortitude and constancy, by *Jerome of Prague*, the companion of *John Huss*, who had come to Con-

Byzinius, in his *Diarium Hussiticum*, (in Ludwig's *Reliquie*, tom. vi. p. 435,) says: "Clerus perversus præcipue in regno Boëmiae et marchionatu Moraviae condemnationem ipsius (Hussi) *contributione pecuniarum* et modis aliis diversis procuravit, et ad ipsius consensit interitum." And in page 450 he says: "Clerus perversus regni Bohemiae et marchionatus Moraviae, et præcipue Episcopi, Abbates, Canonici, plebani et religiosi, ipsius fideles ac salutaris admonitiones, adhortationes, ipsorum pompam, symoniam, avaritiam, fornicationem, vitæque detestandæ abominationem detegentes, ferre non valendo, *pecuniarum contributiones* ad ipsius extinctionem faciendo procurarunt." II. In the council itself there were many individuals of influence and power, who thought themselves greatly injured by Huss; and who were willing to avenge those injuries by the death of the good man. Huss, being a *Realist*, had rendered himself extremely odious to the *Nominalists*. And, unfortunately for him, his principal judges were *Nominalists*; and especially the oracle of the council, John Gerson, was the great champion of the *Nominalists*, and an enemy of Huss. These rejoiced to have, in the person of Huss, a man on whom they could take revenge, more sweet than life itself. The *Nominalists*, in their letter to Lewis, king of France, (in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 534.) do not disguise the fact, that Huss fell by the hand and efforts of their sect. "Suscitavit Deus doctores Catholicos, Petrum de Allyaco, Johannem de Gersonno, et alios quamplures doctissimos viros *Nominales*, qui convocati ad concilium Constantiense, ad quod citati fuerant hæretici, et nominatim, *Hieronymus* et *Johannes*, — dictos hæreticos per quadraginta dies disputando superaverunt." That it was really so, the history of the council of Constance shows. The hostility at that time, between the *Realists* and the *Nominalists*, was deadly. Each sect, on every occasion that offered, accused the other of heresy and impiety, and inflicted punishment accordingly. The *Nominalists* at Constance condemned Huss a *Realist*; and, on the other hand, the *Realists* condemned John de Wesalia a *Nominalist*, in the year 1479. See the *Examen magistræ ac theologice Mag. Joh. de Wesalia*,

in Ortvin Gratius, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*. Colon. 1535, p. clxiii. I will transcribe from this *Examen* a memorable passage, illustrative of the deadly feud between the *Nominalists* and the *Realists*, p. clxvi. b. "Quis nisi ipse diabolus seminavit illam zizaniam inter philosophos et inter theologos, ut tanta sit dissensio, etiam animorum, inter diversa opinantes? Adeo ut si universalia *quisquam realia negaverit*, existimetur in Spiritum Sanctum peccavisse, immo summo et maximo peccato plenus creditur contra Deum, contra religionem, contra justitiam, contra omnem politiam graviter deliquisse. Unde hæc cæcitas mentis, nisi a diabolo, qui phantasias nostras illudit?" III. These, in other respects excellent and devout men, Huss and Jerome, burned with hatred against the Germans. This hatred they publicly confessed at Prague: this accompanied them to Constance: and they did not disguise it before the council. Theod. de Niem, *Invectiva in Johan. XXIII.* (in Hardt's *Acta Concilii Constant.* tom. ii. p. 450.) "Improperabat etiam in publico Alemannis dicendo, quod essent presumptuosi et vellent ubique per orbem dominari.—Sicque factum fuisset sæpe in Boëmia, ubi volentes etiam dominari Alemanni, *Violenter exinde repulsi et male tractati fuissent.*" On the other hand, the Germans, mindful of the injuries they had received at Prague, conceived the most violent hatred against these men. Yet the influence of the Germans was very great in the council. And who can doubt that they exerted that influence against their adversaries? IV. Finally, the very rector of the university of Prague, John Hofmann, who, together with the German nation, had been driven from Prague by Huss, and who was the principal enemy of Huss, was made bishop of Misnia, 1413, and held a high place among the representatives of the German church in this council; and undoubtedly he was an unlucky star to Huss in it.

Although these were the real causes of the condemnation of Huss, yet it must be confessed, there appeared *one mark* of a heretic in him; for which, in the judgment of that age, he might with some colour of justice be condemned. I refer to his inflexible obstinacy; which

stance to support and aid his friend. He yielded at first, through fear of death, to the mandates of the council, and renounced those opinions which the council had condemned in him: but being retained still in prison, he resumed courage, again avowed those opinions, and was, therefore, committed to the flames on the 30th of May, A. D. 1416.⁶

§ 8. Before *Huss* and *Jerome* were condemned by the council, *John Wickliffe*, who was considered, and not altogether without reason, as their teacher, had been pronounced infamous, and condemned by a decree of the fathers. For on the 4th day of May, A. D. 1415, the council declared a number of opinions extracted from his writings to be abominable; and ordered all his books to be destroyed, and his bones to be burnt.⁷ Not long after, on the 14th of June, they passed the famous decree, that the sacred supper should be administered *to the laity under*

the Romish church usually regards, even in those who err very little, as the most grievous heresy. *Huss* was commanded by this council, which was supposed to represent the whole church, to confess his faults, and to abjure his errors. He most pertinaciously refused to do this, unless first convinced of error. Thus he resisted the *Catholic church*: he wished the church to show a reason for the sentence passed upon him: and he not obscurely signified that the church might be in an error. This indeed was a great crime and intolerable heresy. For a true son of the church ought to subject his own judgment and pleasure, without reserve, to the will of his mother; and to believe firmly, that she could not possibly err. The Romish church, indeed, had for many ages followed *Pliny's* principle: *Epist.* lib. x. 97, p. 495, where he says: "Perseverantes, ducei jussi. Neque enim dubitabam, qualemcumque esset, quod faterentur, perviciaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri." [Those who persevered, I ordered to execution. For I had no doubt, whatever it might be they professed, such perverse and inflexible obstinacy ought certainly to be punished.—For the Life of *Huss*, see *Wil. Gilpin's Lives of the Reformers*, vol. i. *Middleton's Biographia Evangelica*, vol. i. p. 29, &c. *Tr.*—A Bohemian Jesuit, who was far from being favourable to *John Huss*, and who had the best opportunity of being acquainted

with his real character, describes him thus: "He was more subtle than eloquent, but the gravity and austerity of his manners, his frugal and exemplary life, his pale and meagre countenance, his sweetness of temper, and his uncommon affability towards persons of all ranks and conditions, from the highest to the lowest, were much more persuasive than any eloquence could be." See *Bohus. Bilbinus, Epitom. Rer. Bohem.* lib. iv. cap. v. p. 431. *Maclaine.*]

⁶ [For the history of *Jerome* of Prague, see *Gilpin's Lives of the Reformers*, vol. i. and *Middleton's Biographia Evangelica*, vol. i. p. 47, &c. *Tr.*]

⁷ [The forty-five articles extracted from *Wickliffe's* writings, and condemned by the council, may be seen in all the collections of councils; e. g. *Harduin's*, tom. viii. p. 299, &c. *Tr.*—*Wickliffe's* "opinions were not only maintained in England by the *Lollards*, but spread very much in Bohemia. The reason of their reaching thus far was occasioned by a Bohemian gentleman's studying at Oxford in *Wickliffe's* time. This foreigner being one of his proselytes, carried his books with him at his return, and propagated his opinions in his own country. Not long after, one *Peter Payne*, an Englishman, and one of *Wickliffe's* disciples, travelled into Bohemia, and brought over a great many people to that persuasion." *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* i. 586. *Ed.*]

the kind of bread only, forbidding communion under both kinds.⁸ For in the preceding year, 1414, *Jacobellus de Misa*, incumbent of St. Michael's church, at Prague, by the instigation of a Parisian doctor, *Peter* of Dresden, had begun to celebrate the communion under both kinds, at Prague; which example many other churches followed.⁹ The subject being brought before the council by one of the Bohemian bishops, it considered a remedy to be required even for this heresy. By this decree at Constance, the communion of the laity under one kind, obtained the force and authority of law in the Roman church.

§ 9. In the same year, the council placed among execrable errors, or heresies, an opinion of *John Petit*, a Parisian theologian, that tyrants might be lawfully slain by any private person. The party, however, from whom this opinion came, was not named, because he was supported by very powerful patrons. *John*, duke of Burgundy, employed assassins, in the year 1407, to murder *Lewis*, duke of Orleans. A great contest now arose, and *Petit*, an eloquent and ingenious man, pleaded the cause of *John* of Burgundy at Paris; and in order to justify his conduct, he maintained that it is no sin to destroy a tyrant, without a trial of his cause, by force, or fraud, or in any other manner, and even if the persons doing it are bound to him by an oath or covenant. By a tyrant, however, *Petit* did not understand the sovereign of a nation, but a powerful citizen, who abused his resources to the ruin of his king and country.¹⁰ The university of Paris passed a stern and severe sentence upon the author of so dangerous an opinion. The council, after several consultations, struck at the opinion, without naming its author. The new pontiff, however, *Martin V.*, from fear of

⁸ *Laicis sacram cœnam tantummodo sub specie panis administrandam esse seiscit, et communionem sub utraque vetat. Orig.*

⁹ *Byzinius, Diarium Hussiticum*, p. 124. [*Peter* of Dresden had studied at Prague, and had been driven from thence with the other Germans. He was afterwards driven from Saxony, on account of his embracing and disseminating Waldensian doctrines; and now returned again to Prague. He acted the part of a schoolmaster there, and was the friend of Huss and Jerome. The proper name of *Jacobellus* was *Jacobus*, the first being a nickname. The opposition made to his administering the

communion in both elements only rendered him more zealous; so that his party increased and had numerous adherents, not only at Prague, but throughout Bohemia. Yet he was more fortunate than Huss and Jerome; and lived till A. D. 1429. His writings are in *Herm. Von der Hardt's Acta Concilii Constant.* tom. iii. See *Schlegel's* Note, here, *Tr.*]

¹⁰ This is manifest from the oration of *Petit*, which *Jac. Lenfant* has subjoined to his *Histoire du Concile de Pisa*, tom. ii. p. 303, &c. See *August. Lyserus, Dissert. qua Memoriam Joh. Burgundi et Doctrinam Joh. Parvi de Cade Perduellium Vindical.* Wittemb. 1735, 4to.

the Burgundian power, would not ratify even this mild sentence.¹

§ 10. After these and some other transactions, the council proceeded avowedly to the subject of a *reformation of the church, in its head and members*, as the language of that age was. For all Europe saw the need of such a reformation, and most ardently wished for it. Nor did the council deny that chiefly for this important object it had been called together. But the cardinals and principal men of the Romish court, for whose interest it was, especially, that the disorders of the church should remain untouched, craftily urged, and brought the majority to believe, that a business of such magnitude could not be managed advantageously, until after the election of a new pontiff. The new head of the church, however, *Martin V.*, abused his power, to elude the design of *reformation*; and manifested by his commands and edicts, that he did not wish the church to be purged and restored to a sound state. The council, accordingly, after deliberating three years and six months, broke up, on the 22nd of April, A. D. 1418, leaving the matter unaccomplished, and putting off that *reformation*, which all good men devoutly wished, to a council which should be called five years afterwards.

§ 11. *Martin V.* being admonished on the subject, after a long delay, appointed this other council to be held at Pavia; and afterwards removed it to Siena, and lastly to Bâle. But at its very commencement, on the 21st of Feb. 1431, he died; and was succeeded, in the month of March, by *Gabriel Condolmeri*, a Venetian, and bishop of Siena, who took the name of *Eugene IV.* He sanctioned all that *Martin* had decreed about holding the council at Bâle: and accordingly, it commenced, on the 23rd of July, 1431, under the presidency of cardinal *Julian*, as representative of the pontiff. Two objects especially were assigned to this celebrated council: first, a union between the Greeks and the Latins; and secondly, the *reformation of the church, both in its head and its members*, according to the resolution adopted in the council of Constance. Now, that the *head*,

¹ See Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* Du Pin, tom. v. Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. iii. p. 2268, &c. [Article Petit.] and nearly all the historians of France: [e.g. Jo. Gifford's *Hist. of France*, vol. ii. p. 377. *Tr.*]

namely, the sovereign pontiffs, and all the *members* of the church, that is, the bishops, priests, and monks, were in a very unsound state, no one doubted. But when the fathers, by the very form of the council², by its mode and order of proceeding, and by its first decrees, showed an intention of performing in earnest what was expected of them, *Eugene IV.* became uneasy for a corrupt church under such physicians, and twice attempted to dissolve the council. This the fathers most firmly resisted; and they showed by the decrees of the council of Constance, and by other arguments, that the council was superior in authority to a pontiff. This first contest, between the pontiff and the council, was brought to a close in the month of November, A. D. 1433: for the pontiff silently gave up the point; and in the month of December, by letters sent from Rome, gave the council his approbation.³

§ 12. After this, the council prosecuted with energy the business upon which it had entered. The legates of the Roman pontiff were now admitted; but not until they had promised, under oath, to obey the decrees of the council, and particularly the decrees of the council of Constance, asserting the dominion and jurisdiction of councils over the pontiffs. These very decrees

² [“By the *form* of the council, Dr. Mosheim undoubtedly means the division of the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. into four equal classes, without any regard to the nation or province by which they were sent. This prudent arrangement prevented the cabals and intrigues of the Italians, whose bishops were much more numerous than those of other nations, and who, by their number, might have had it in their power to retard or defeat the laudable purpose the council had in view, had things been otherwise ordered.” *Mael.*]

³ A history of this great council, which is so worthy of everlasting remembrance, is wanting. One was contemplated by Stephen Baluze. See the *Histoire de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. vi. p. 544. After him, by James Lenfant also. But neither of them fulfilled his promise. Its acts were collected by Herm. Von der Hardt, with vast labour, at the expense of Rudolph Augustus, duke of Brunswiek, out of various archives and libraries, and put into many volumes; and they are said still to exist in the Wolfenbuttle library,

and to be most worthy of publication. Till they appear, the more brief *Acta Concilii* may be consulted, which were published in various places, and among others, Paris, 1512, 8vo, (which is the edition I have used in this history,) also Æneas Sylvius, *Libri Duo de Concilio Basiliensi*; Edm. Richer's *Historia Concilior. Generalium*, lib. iii. c. i. Henry Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 447, and others. [We have indeed Lenfant's *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites et du Concile de Basle*, in two vols. 4to, Amsterd. 1713. But the larger work expected from him has not appeared. It is also known, that the entire acts of this council still lie concealed in various libraries; e. g. in that of the college of Navarre, at Paris. See Schöpfung's *Comment. Hist. et Crit.* p. 541. Imperfect Acts may be found in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. viii. p. 1103, &c. and in Mansi, *Supplem. Concil.* tom. iv. p. 159, &c. to tom. v. p. 192, and tom. vi. p. 573. Extracts from these Acts are given in Semler's *Selecta Hist. Eccl. Capita*, tom. iii. sæc. xv. p. 101—140. *Schl.*]

of Constance, so odious to the pontiffs, were renewed in a public meeting of the fathers, on the 26th of June, 1434. And on the 9th of June, 1435, *Annats*, as they were called, were abolished, the pontifical legates in vain opposing it. On the 25th of March, 1436, a profession of faith was read, intended for the pope himself on the day of his election; the number of cardinals was reduced to twenty-four; and *expectatives*, *reservations*, and *provisions* were abolished. As other things were coming on little agreeable to the pontiff, *Eugene* concluded that this very audacious and troublesome council must either be removed into Italy, or be curbed by another council in opposition to it. Therefore, when these fathers decreed, May 7, 1437, that on account of the Greeks, the council should be held either at Bâle, or Avignon, or in some city of Savoy; the pontiff, on the contrary, by his legates, decided that the council should be held in Italy. Neither party would revoke its decision. Hence a violent conflict, from this time onward, existed between the pontiff and the council. On the 26th of July, 1437, the council ordered the pontiff to appear before them at Bâle, and give account of his conduct. The pontiff, on the other hand, dissolved the council, and appointed another at Ferrara. But the fathers, with the approbation of the emperor, the king of France, and other princes, continued their deliberations at Bâle; and on the 28th of September, of the same year, pronounced the pontiff contumacious, for not obeying the decree of a council.

§ 13. On the 10th of January, of the next year, A. D. 1438, *Eugene IV.*, in person, opened the council which he had summoned to meet at Ferrara; and in the second session of it, excommunicated the fathers assembled at Bâle. The chief business of this council was to negotiate a union between the Greeks and Latins. The Greek emperor himself, *John Palæologus*, the patriarch of Constantinople, *Joseph*, and the principal theologians and bishops of the nation, had come personally to Italy, in order to facilitate the success of this important negotiation. For the Greeks, now reduced to extremities by the Turks, indulged the hope, that if their disagreements with the Roman pontiff were removed, the Latins would afford them succour. The business proceeded tardily, and with little success at Ferrara; but afterwards rather better at Florence. For *Eugene*, in the beginning of the year 1439, on account of the

pestilence at Ferrara, had ordered the council to remove to Florence. The fathers at Bâle, provoked by these and other acts of *Eugene*, proceeded on the 25th of June, 1439, to deprive him of the pontificate; but this bold procedure of theirs was not approved by the kings and princes of Europe. *Eugene*, on the 4th of September, by a very severe bull, anathematized the Basilian fathers, and rescinded all their acts. Despising these thunders, on the 17th of September, 1439, they elected a new pontiff, *Amadeus*, duke of Savoy, who then led a retired life at Ripailles on the Lemane lake. He assumed the name of *Felix V.*

§ 14. Thus the lamentable schism, which had been extinguished after so much labour and toil at Constance, returned with new and greater misfortunes. For there were not only two pontiffs mutually condemning each other, but likewise, what was worse, two opposing councils, that of Bâle, and that of Florence. The greater part of the church indeed, adhered to *Eugene*; but most of the universities, and particularly the first among them, that of Paris, as well as some kingdoms and provinces, chose to follow *Felix V.* The council of Bâle continued to deliberate and to pass laws and decrees till the year 1443, notwithstanding all the opposition of *Eugene* and his adherents. And although the fathers separated in that year, they nevertheless publicly declared, that the council was not at an end, but would assemble again at a proper time, either at Bâle, or Lyons, or Lausanne. The council of Florence was chiefly occupied in settling the disputes between the Latins and the Greeks. This great business was committed to selected individuals of both parties. The principal one, on the part of the Greeks, was *Bessarion*, a very learned man, who was afterwards admitted into the order of cardinals in the Roman church. This man being gained by the favours bestowed on him by the pontiff, exerted his influence, and the pontiff employed rewards, threats, and promises, to induce the other Greeks to accede to the proposed terms of accommodation, and to acknowledge that the Holy Spirit proceeded also from the Son, that departed souls undergo a purgation by fire before they are admitted to the vision of God, that bread which is without leaven may be used in the sacred supper, and lastly, what was most important of all, that the Roman pontiff is the head and the judge of the church universal. One of the Greeks, *Mark* of Ephesus, could

not be persuaded, by entreaties or by bribes, to give his assent. After all, this peace, which was extorted by various artifices, was not stable. For the Greeks, on returning to Constantinople, stated to their fellow-citizens, that every thing had been carried at Florence by fraud, and they resumed their hostility. The council of Florence itself put an end to its deliberations on the 26th of April, A. D. 1442.⁴ There were also negotiations in this council for bringing the Armenians, and the Jacobites, but especially the Abyssinians, into union with the Romish church; which were attended with the same result as those respecting the Greeks.

§ 15. The author of this new pontifical schism, *Eugene IV.*, died in the month of February, 1447, and was succeeded, in the month of March, by *Nicolaus V.*, who was previously *Thomas de Sarzano*, bishop of Bologna, a man of learning himself, and a great patron of learning, and likewise moderate in temper, and disposed for peace.⁵ Under him, by means of the persevering labours and efforts of the kings and princes of Europe, especially of the king of France, tranquillity was restored to the Latin church. For *Felix V.*, on the 9th of April, 1449, resigned himself the supremacy of the Church, and retired to his former quiet at Ripailles; and the Basilian fathers, being assembled on the 16th of April, at Lausanne, ratified his voluntary abdication, and by a solemn decree directed the whole church to obey *Nicolaus* only. On the 18th of June, *Nicolaus*

⁴ A history of this council and of its base artifices, was composed by a Greek, Sylvester Sgyropulus, and was published, with a Latin version, apparatus, and notes, by Robert Creighton, an Englishman, at the Hague, 1660, fol. In opposition to this, Leo Allatius wrote his *Exercitationes in Creightoni Apparatum, Versionem, et Notas ad Historiam Concilii Florentini scriptam a Sgyropulo*, Rome, 1674, 4to. See also his lib. iii. cap. i. *de Perpetua Consensione Ecclesie Orientalis et Occidentalis*, p. 875, &c. And compare Jo. Mabillon's *Museum Italicum*, tom. i. p. 243. Fred. Spanheim, *de Perpetua Dissensione Ecclesie Orientalis et Occidentalis*, Opp. tom. ii. p. 491, &c. Jo. Gottfr. Hermann's *Historia Concertat. de Payne Azyzo*. pt. ii. c. v. p. 124, &c. [The acts of the council are in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 533, &c. and in Mansi's *Concilia*, tom. v. p. 197, &c. The most essential things in these acts

are stated in a condensed form in Semler's *Selecta Hist. Eccles. Capita*, tom. iii. secul. xv. p. 140—163. *Schl.*]

⁵ [Peace-loving as this pope may have been, he did what the chancery style of those times required, and issued a bull to all the faithful, in the year 1447 (Harduin, tom. ix. p. 1313), in which he calls *Felix iniquitatis alumnus*, transfers the duchy of Savoy to the French king, exhorts that monarch or his dauphin to a crusade against his rival pontiff, and denies forgiveness and eternal salvation to all who co-operate with him. Notwithstanding this, he created this same Felix, in the year 1449, bishop of Sabina, cardinal and vicar of the apostolic see in Savoy, and confirmed all the judicial sentences and acts of grace passed by him; nay, he revoked all that he had angrily written or spoken against Felix and the council of Bale. *Schl.*]

promulged this pacification; and, at the same time, confirmed by his sanction the acts and decrees of the council of Bâle. This *Nicolaus* was particularly distinguished for his love of literature and the arts, which he laudably exerted himself to advance and encourage in Italy, especially by means of the Greeks that came from Constantinople.⁶ He died on the 24th of March, 1455, principally from grief, occasioned by the capture of Constantinople by the Turks.

§ 16. His successor, *Alphonsus Borgia*, (*Borja*), a Spaniard, whose pontifical name was *Calixtus III.*, performed nothing great or splendid, if no account be taken of his anxiety to urge Christian princes upon a war against the Turks. He died in the year 1458. Much more celebrated was his successor, *Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini*, bishop of Siena, who ascended the papal throne A. D. 1458, and took the name of *Pius II.*, a man of superior genius, and renowned both for his achievements and for his various writings and publications. Yet posterity would have accounted him a much greater man, if he had not been guilty of gross inconsistency. For after strenuously maintaining the rights of councils against the pontiffs, and boldly defending the cause of the council of Bâle against *Eugene IV.*, upon being made pontiff, he apostatized from himself; and, January 18th, 1460, denied that a council is superior to a pontiff, and severely prohibited appeals to councils; and in the year 1461 obtained from *Lewis XI.*, king of France, the abrogation of the *pragmatic sanction*, which was favourable to councils⁷; and finally, April

⁶ See Domin. Georgius *Vita Nicolai V. ad fidem veterum monumentorum*: to which is annexed, *Disquisitio de Nicolai V. erga litteras et litteratos viros patrocinio*. Rome, 1742, 4to.

⁷ [Lewis IX., or Saint Lewis, A. D. 1268, published the first *Pragmatic Sanction*, for securing the liberties of the Gallican church against the pontiffs, in six articles. But the Pragmatic Sanction here referred to was enacted by Charles VII. with the concurrence of the greater prelates and the nobles of his kingdom, assembled at Bourges, A. D. 1438, and during the session of the council of Bâle. The king reported 38 decrees of that council, and proposed to adopt the substance of them in 23 articles, which were readily agreed to. The 38 decrees of the council, as reported by the king, are in Harduin's *Con-*

cilia, tom. viii. p. 1949. The 23 articles were afterwards prohibited to be published, or to be kept any where, by authority of the popes. This Pragmatic Sanction, Pius II. prevailed on Lewis XI. to abrogate entirely. But the parliament of Paris refused to register his decree: and the king soon found he had been duped by the pope, and therefore allowed the Pragmatic Sanction to stand. It was accordingly observed in France till the year 1517, when Julius II. persuaded Francis I. to substitute in its place the *Concordat*, which was approved by the council of the Lateran then sitting. This *Concordat*, which may be seen at large in Harduin, vol. ix. p. 1867, &c. was a sort of compromise between the pontiff and the Gallican church, in which the latter yielded up a part of their rights as secured by the Pragmatic

26th, 1463, he expressed a public disapproval of all that he had himself written in favour of the council of Bâle, and decreed that *Pius II.*, was to be heard and obeyed, but that *Æneas Sylvius* was to be condemned. After making this declaration, he died in the month of July, A. D. 1464.⁸

§ 17. *Paul II.*, previously *Peter Barbo*, a Venetian, who was raised to the chair of St. Peter in 1464, and died in 1471, performed some acts not unworthy of commendation, at least, according to the views of that age; but he also did many things that are scarcely excusable, if they are so at all, among the least important of which is that he made a jubilee year come once in every twenty-five years, in 1470. Hence his reputation with posterity is equivocal.⁹ The two subsequent pontiffs, *Sixtus IV.*, previously *Francis de Albescola*, who died in 1484, and *Innocent VIII.*, previously *John Baptist Cibò*, a Genoese, who died A. D. 1492, were of the middle kind, being distinguished as popes neither for great virtues nor for great faults. Each, fearing for Italy, and for all Europe, from the power of the Turks, both prepared himself for a war upon them, and very earnestly urged one on the kings of Europe. But each met with such obstacles as disappointed an object so dear to his heart. Nothing else was done by them with much pretension to true greatness.¹

Sanction, and had the rest secured to them. The parliament of Paris, however, resolutely refused to register it; and when at length compelled to do it, they expressed, that it was solely by command of the king, that they disapproved of it, and remonstrated against it. The Pragmatic Sanction of 1438 secured in France the freedom of election to bishoprics and abbaies, the installation by the ordinaries, the abolition of reservations, annats, &c. The Concordat invested the king with the right of nominating bishops and abbots, yet under restrictions, and the pope was to confirm the election. Expectatives and reservations were prohibited. Appealed causes were to be tried where they originated. No mention was made of annats. In other respects the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction were followed in the Concordate. Such has ever since been for substance the ecclesiastical law of France. See Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. pt. i. p. 3, &c. *Tr.*]

⁸ Besides the common writers, see

the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, tom. ii. art. *Euçe Sylveius*, p. 26.

⁹ Paul II. obtained in our times a great and learned patron, in the celebrated Angelo Maria, cardinal Quirinus, distinguished for his numerous writings and achievements. He has written *Pauli II. Vita ex codice Anglica Bibliotheca desumpta, praxissis ipsius vindiciis adversus Platinam, aliosque obtrectatores*. Rome, 1740, 4to. [Platina, who wrote a history of the popes, was put out of office, and twice imprisoned, by this pope; and these personal collisions may have affected his impartiality. Yet Paul does not seem to have been a very estimable character, take him all in all. He had little regard for learning, was fond of innovations, partial to his friends, persecuted the Hussites, deposed the king of Bohemia, violated sworn compacts, encouraged carnivals, &c. *Tr.*]

¹ [Sixtus IV. carried *nepotism* [bestowment of honours and riches on his *nephews* and other relatives] to the highest pitch; and thus provoked the

§ 18. The pontifical series of this century is closed by *Alexander VI.*, a Spaniard, whose true name was *Roderic Borgia*. He may not improperly be called the *Nero* of pontiffs. For the villainies, crimes, and enormities, recorded of this man, are so many and so great, as to make it seem clear that he was destitute I will not say, of all religion, but even of decency and shame. Among the things charged upon him, though some may be false, and others overstated by his enemies, yet so many remain which are placed beyond all dispute, as are sufficient to render the memory of *Alexander* execrable in the view of all who have even a moderate share of virtue. A large part of his crimes, however, originated from his excessive partiality for his children; for he had four sons by a concubine, among whom was the notorious *Cæsar Borgia*, infamous for his enormous vices, and likewise one daughter named *Lucretia*; and he was intent solely on bringing forward and enriching these, without regarding honesty, reason, or religion.² *Alexander* died in the year 1503 of poison, which he and his son *Cæsar* had intended for others.³

§ 19. That most of the monastic orders were herds of ignorant, lazy, dishonest, and debauched people, appears from nume-

hatred of the family of Pazzo in Venice, against that of the Medici; which was the source of oppression, robbery, assassinations, and destructive insurrections; which commenced at Florence, and involved all Italy in a bloody war, in which the pope himself engaged, for the benefit of his nephews, and both laid Florence under an interdict, and himself besieged it. See Muratori, ad ann. 1478.—Innocent VIII. had lived so shamefully before he mounted the Romish throne, that he had sixteen illegitimate children to make provision for. Yet on the papal throne he played the zealot against the Germans, whom he accused of magic, in his bull *Summis desiderantes affectibus*, &c., and also against the Hussites, whom he well-nigh exterminated. *Schl.*]

² The life of this most abominable tyrant has been written by Alexander Gordon, an Englishman [a Scotchman. 1729, fol. *Tr.*] which appeared in a French translation, Amsterd. 1732, 2 vols. 8vo, but with far more moderation, by the learned and ingenious author of the *Histoire du Droit Public Ecclés. François*; to which work are annexed,

Lives of Alexander VI. and Leo X. Lond. 1737, 8vo, and 1751, 4to. [The reader should also consult, especially, Jo. Burchard's *Diarium*; in Ecard's *Corpus Hist. Mediæ Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 2017, &c. *Schl.*—Summary biographies of these monsters, Alexander and his son Cæsar, may be seen in most of the biographical dictionaries. Debauchery, incest, murder, profligacy, faithlessness, &c. are charged upon them. *Tr.*]

³ Thus state all the historians of the highest credibility; but Voltaire, not long since, attempted to show that Alexander died a natural death: [in his *Annales de l'Empire*, tom. ii. The common, and the probable, statement is, that Alexander and his son, in order to get the wealth of certain cardinals, determined to poison them; and therefore invited them to dine. Before the arrival of the guests, they, by mistake of the servant, drank the poisoned cup themselves. Alexander died almost immediately: but Cæsar recovered in great measure, and lived to perpetrate other crimes. *Tr.*]

rous documents, and from all the best writers. The opulent monks, as the Benedictines of every sort, and the Augustinians, abused their wealth for the gratification of their lusts; and by the great licentiousness of their lives, in disregard to their rules, rendered themselves extremely odious.⁴ Some good and honest men, particularly in France and Germany, perceiving this, formed the purpose of reforming them.⁵ Among the Germans, besides others who were solicitous to effect a reformation in particular monasteries, were *Nicolaus de Mazen*, abbot of Moelk in Austria, and *Nicolaus Dünkelspühl*, a professor at Vienna, who with great earnestness attempted a reformation of the Benedictines throughout Germany: and they did in fact, reduce many of the convents in Suabia, Franconia, and Bavaria to some appearance of decency and order.⁶ In France, there were several individuals intent upon reforming the Benedictine order, among whom *Guido Juvenal*, a man of erudition, gained a name by writing.⁷ But most members of that body, as well there, as elsewhere, would hear of no remedies, and did the physicians all the harm they could.

§ 20. The mendicant monks, particularly the Dominicans and Franciscans, were just as offensive from their arrogance, their quarrelsome temper, their invasion of the rights of others, their propagation of superstition⁸, and their vain and futile disputes

⁴ See Martin Senging's *Tuiones Ordinis S. Benedicti*, or Oration delivered in the council of Bâle, A. D. 1433, against the vices of the Benedictines; in Bernh. Pez. *Biblioth. Asectica*, tom. viii. p. 517, &c.

⁵ See Leibnitz's *Prefatio ad tom. ii. Scriptor. Brunsv.* p. 40.

⁶ See respecting these men, Martin Kropf, in the *Bibliotheca Mellicensi seu de Vitis et Scriptis Benedictinor.* Mellicensium, p. 143, &c. 163, &c. also, p. 203. 206. [Here also may be mentioned John Burch, a regular Augustinian canon, and provost of the cloister of Novum Opus, near Halle, in Saxony, who undertook, by command of the famous cardinal and papal legate in Germany, Nicolaus de Cusa, the reformation of the Saxon monasteries, and wrote a history of the matter in 4 Books, *De Reformationibus et Visitationibus diversorum utriusque Sexus Monasteriorum*; an extract from which, is in Leibnitz's *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicens.* tom. ii. p. 476, &c.

and the work entire, p. 806, &c. Extracts from it are given by Semler, *Selecta Eccl. Hist. Capita*, tom. iii. secul. xv. p. 42, &c. *Schl.*]

⁷ See Gabr. Liron's *Singularités Historiques et Littéraires*, tom. iii. p. 49, &c. [In the 5th volume of the *Histoire de Languedoc*, we are informed that, in the year 1411, the French parliament sent commissioners into the province of Languedoc, to inquire into the shameful conduct of the Benedictines there; and that the archbishops of Narbonne and Toulouse in vain assembled a synod to excommunicate these commissioners. *Schl.*]

⁸ [The Franciscans, for example, preached up, in the city of Lubeck, that whoever died clad in the Franciscan garb, would certainly be saved; and that St. Francis, every year, descended from heaven, in order to deliver his followers from purgatory, just as Christ descended into hell, to bring up thence the souls of the patriarchs. See Eccard's

about religion, as the opulent monks were from their luxury, their laziness, their hatred of learning and science, and their other vices. Hence the old contests of the bishops and priests with the mendicants, and the complaints of the theologians in most of the universities and provinces, respecting the errors of these orders, and their dangerous opinions on religious subjects, were scarcely ever at rest, and found constant occupation for the pontifical court. All the pontiffs of this century were not equally well disposed towards these friars; hence the fight occasioned by them, varied in its aspects.⁹ The odium that fastened on the mendicants was not a little increased by the persecution of the *Beghards*, which continued raging throughout this century. For the *Beghards* and *Lolhards*, being cruelly harassed by their enemies, the priests and others, frequently betook themselves to the *third order* of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, hoping to find security under the protection of these powerful fraternities. Nor were their hopes entirely frustrated. But their persecutors now attacked also their protectors, that is, the *mendicants*; and often caused the latter great trouble, involving them in very arduous contests.¹

§ 21. The rebellious and more rigid Franciscans, who had revolted from the pontiff and the Romish church, that is the *Fratricelli*, as they were commonly called, with their *Tertiaries* or *Beghards*, continued openly at war with the pontiffs. Their principal seat was Italy, and particularly Picenum, or the marquisate of Ancona, and the neighbouring regions; for here the president of the sect resided. They were violently persecuted, about the middle of the century, by *Nicolaus V.*, who employed against them the Franciscan monks, soldiers, and judges, and inflicted upon many of them, whose obstinacy could not be overcome, the punishment of burning.² Succeeding pontiffs continued the persecution; and none of them more fiercely and resolutely than *Paul II.*, who, however, is said to

Corpus Scriptor. Medii Ævi, tom. ii. p. 1101. *Schl.*]

⁹ See Jo. Lannoi's tract, *De Canone, Omnis Utriusque Sexus*; in his *Opp.* tom. i. pt. i. p. 287, &c. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. v. p. 189. 196. 204. 522. 558. 601. 617. 752. Ant. Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 210. 212. 224, &c.

¹ See the preceding century. [Vol. ii. p. 636—639.]

² Maurus Sarti, *De Antiqua Picentium Civitate Cupromontana*, in Angelo Calogera's *Raccolta di Opuscoli Scientifici*, tom. xxxix. p. 39. 81. 97. where are some extracts from the manuscript dialogue of Jac. de Marchia, against the *Fratricelli*.

have taken vengeance upon their audacity more by imprisonment and exile than by fire and fagot.³ Yet the *Fratricelli*, whose great appearance of piety procured them supporters of much eminence, frequently repelled force by force; they also slew some Inquisitors; and, among others, *Angelo*, a Camaldulensian.⁴ No less commotions were raised by this sect, which made conformity with Christ to consist in mendicity, in Bohemia, and in the adjoining Silesia.⁵ Even the king of Bohemia himself favoured them; whence *Paul II.* excommunicated him.⁶ In France, the Inquisitors condemned to the flames all whom they could lay hands on⁷: for in the parts about Toulouse, many of these people lay concealed. Some also migrated to England and Ireland.⁸ This party continued to exist, amidst numberless troubles and calamities, till the times of the reformation in Germany, when such as remained espoused the cause of *Luther*.

§ 22. Of the religious fraternities that were founded in this century, none is more worthy of notice, and none was more useful to the Christian cause, than that of the *Brethren and Clerks of the common life*, living under the rule of *St. Augustine*. This society, indeed, was instituted in the preceding century by the pious, learned, and good *Gerhard Groote* or *Great*, of Deventer⁹; but it was first approved in this century at the council of Constance; and was now propagated throughout Holland, Lower Germany, and other provinces. This sect was divided into the *literary Brethren*, or the *Clerks*, and the *unlearned Brethren*; who lived in different houses, but in the bonds of the greatest friendship. The *Clerks* devoted themselves to the transcription of books, the cultivation of polite learning, and the instruction of youth; and erected schools wherever they went. The [*unlearned*] *Brethren* laboured with their hands, and pursued various mechanic trades. Neither were under the restraint

³ Angel Mar. Quirini, *Vita Pauli II.* p. 78, &c. Jo. Torginous, Preface to the *Claror. Venetorum Epistolæ ad Magliabechium*, tom. i. p. 43, &c. where there is notice of the writings of Nicolaus Palmerius, and others, against the *Fratricelli*, in the reign of Paul II. which have never been published.

⁴ See the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Maii, p. 356, &c.

⁵ Jo. Geo. Schelhorn's *Acta Historiæ Eccles.* pt. i. p. 66. 283, &c.

⁶ Quirini, *Vita Pauli II.* p. 73.

⁷ I have in MS. the *Acta Inquisitionis contra Jo. Gudulchi de Castellione et Franc. de Archata, Fratricellos*; who were burnt in France, A. D. 1454.

⁸ Wood's *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 232, &c.

⁹ The life of this famous Dutchman, Gerhard Groote, was written by Thomas à Kempis, and is published in the works of Kempis, being the first of the lives of eleven of his contemporaries.

of religious vows; but they ate at a common table, and had a general community of goods. The sisters lived in nearly the same manner; and what time was not employed in prayer and reading, they devoted to the education of female children, and to such labours as were suitable for their sex. The *schools* of these *Clerks of the common life* were very celebrated in this century; and in them were trained nearly all the restorers of polite learning in Germany and Holland; and, among others, the great *Erasmus*, of Rotterdam, *Alexander Hegius*, *John Murnelius*, and others.¹ On the rise of the Jesuits, these schools, previously so very useful, ceased to flourish; and at this day only a few of them exist. These brethren were often designated by the appellations of *Beghards*, and *Lollhards*, which were common to so many sects; and they endured great hatred from all the priests and monks, who had a violent prejudice against education and literature.²

§ 23. Of the Greeks who acquired reputation as writers, the most worthy of notice were the following; *Simeon* of Thessalonica, several of whose tracts, besides a book against *Heresies*, and some writings against the Latins, have been published.³ *Joseph Bryennius*, who wrote on the Trinity, and against the Latins.⁴ *Macarius Macres*, who likewise greatly hated the Latins.⁵ *George Phranza*, noted for his History, which is

¹ This order is treated of by Aub. Mirens, in his *Chronicon*, ad an. 1384; by Helyot, in his *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. iii. and by others. But I have here added some things, from monuments, never printed. For I possess some papers and records, which give a clearer account of the institution and history of the *Clerks of the common life*, than are to be found in the printed works.

² In the records of this century, we frequently read that the *Lollhards*, and sometimes that the *Beghards*, opened schools at Deventer, Brunswick, Königsberg, Munster, and various other places. These *Lollhards* were *Clerks of the common life*, who, being good, industrious, and useful schoolmasters, were often invited and sent for by the magistrates of cities, for the sake of the public good.

³ Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, tom. xiv. p. 49. Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique*, par M. du Pin, tom. i. p. 400. [Simeon, Archbp. of

Thessalonica, died A. D. 1429, while Thessalonica was besieged the second time by the Turks. His principal works are a large treatise on the church, its ceremonies, ministers, &c. a dialogue against all heresies; and Answers to 85 Questions of Gabriel, metropolitan of Pentapolis. Extracts, and imperfect copies of parts of these, were published by Allatius, Morin, and Goar; and his whole works much better, at Jassi, in Moldavia, 1683, small folio. He was one of the greatest men, among the Greeks, of his age. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Joseph Bryennius was a Constantinopolitan monk, and a distinguished preacher. He flourished A. D. 1420, and died between 1431 and 1438. His works were printed, Leips. 1768, in two vols. 8vo, and consist of various Discourses and Dialogues against the Latins. Those on the Trinity respect the procession of the Holy Spirit. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Macarius Macres was a monk of mount Athos, prior of a monastery at

printed among the Byzantine writers.⁶ *Marcus*, of Ephesus, a strenuous opponent of the council of Florence.⁷ *Bessarion*, a cardinal, the distinguished supporter of the moderate Platonic school; renowned for his genius and erudition, but odious to the Greeks, because he favoured the cause of the Latins, and planned the union of the two nations, to the detriment of the Greeks.⁸ *George Scholarius*, who was also called *Gennadius*; he contended more learnedly and more lucidly than the rest of his countrymen against the Latins, and especially against the council of Florence.⁹ *George Gemistius Pletho*, a learned man,

Constantinople, and *protosyncellus*. His hostility to the Latins exposed him to vexations. The emperor, John Palaeologus, sent him on an embassy to Rome; and he died on his return, A. D. 1431. He wrote a tract on the procession of the Holy Spirit, in 10 chapters; mentioned by Leo Allatius, *de Consensu*, &c. lib. ii. c. 18. § 10. *Tr.*]

⁶ [George Phranza was nobly born, A. D. 1401; was admitted to court, A. D. 1418; and filled various offices, civil, military, and diplomatic, till the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, when he was made a prisoner. Recovering his liberty, he fought and served his country in the Morca, till that was conquered by the Turks in 1466. He now retired to Italy, and thence to Coreyra, where he became a monk, assumed the name of Gregory, and spent his life in writing the history of his country. He died A. D. 1477. His history of Byzantine affairs, from A. D. 1260 to 1476, in four books, is brief, till he comes to his own times, and then full and minute. With some abridgement, and in a Latin translation, it was published by Jac. Pontanus, Ingolst. 1604, 4to, subjoined to Theophilus Simocatta. *Tr.*]

⁷ Rich. Simon. *Critique de la Biblioth. Ecclés par M. du Pin*, tom. i. p. 431. [Marcus Eugenicus was a learned school-master at Constantinople, bishop of Ephesus, A. D. 1436, and imperial ambassador to the council of Ferrara, A. D. 1438. There he strenuously opposed the doctrines of the Latins, and was the only one of the Greeks that persevered in rejecting the terms of union between the two churches. For this conduct the emperor was displeased with him, and the pope demanded his punishment; but the nation applauded him, and he lived in honour, employing the rest of his life in exposing the corrupt proceedings at Fer-

rara, and confuting the dogmas of the Latin church. His works, consisting of letters and tracts, are partly contained in the Acts of the council of Ferrara, partly in Leo. Allat. *De Consensu*, &c. in the *Orthodoxographia*, and partly in manuscript. *Tr.*]

⁸ Concerning this celebrated man, and others here mentioned, see Christ. Fred. Boerner and Humphrey Hody, in their books *De Græcis Erud. Præstantibus*, also Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*. [Bessarion was a native of Trebizond, a monk of the order of St. Basil, bishop of Nice, A. D. 1436, and imperial envoy to the council of Ferrara in 1438. Here he learnedly defended the doctrines of the Greek church for a time; but at length gave up to the Latins, and was the principal cause of the union agreed on. Returning to Constantinople, his popularity declined; and he was obliged to refuse the patriarchate, offered him by the emperor. He now retired to Italy, was made a cardinal, bishop of Tusculum, papal legate at Bologna, patron of the Dominican and Franciscan orders; was near being made pope in 1455, and again in 1471. He laboured to rouse the Europeans to war against the Turks, in 1458; was frequently papal legate; and died on his return from France, A. D. 1472, aged 77. His works consist of orations, epistles, and tracts, chiefly in relation to the controversies between the Greeks and Latins (most of which are in the Collections of Councils), and a Defence of the Platonic Philosophy, a correction of Plato *de Legibus*, and a translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*; which were published, Venice, 1503, 1506. His private library, which was very valuable, he gave to the city of Venice. *Tr.*]

⁹ Rich. Simon. *Croyance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la Transubstant.* p. 87, and

who awakened in many of the Italians an ardour for the Platonic philosophy, and for all the Grecian learning.¹ *Gregory Trapezuntius*, who translated some of the best Greek authors into Latin, and also wrote some tracts in favour of the Latins, against the Greeks.² *George Codinus*, who has left us various contributions to the Byzantine history.³

Critique de M. du Pin, tom. i. p. 438, &c. [This George Scholarius was one of the Greek envoys at the council of Ferrara, in 1438, where he delivered three orations in favour of union with the Latins, extant in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 446. Some other speeches and tracts of a similar tenour are ascribed to him. But afterwards he changed sides, and wrote against the council of Ferrara, in eight books; published, Gr. Lond. 4to. When the Turks captured Constantinople, A. D. 1453, he was made patriarch by the Sultan, assumed the name of Gemadius, reigned five years, and then retired to a monastery. As patriarch he was treated with attention by the Sultan Mahomet, and delivered before him an apologetic discourse, which was translated into Turkish, and has been frequently printed, Gr., Turkish, and Latin. This work, with a dialogue on the way of Salvation, a tract on Predestination, and an oration on the Trinity, may be found in Latin in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxvi. But the learned have not all agreed that Gemadius the patriarch and George Scholarius were the same person; and some have made two Georges instead of one. *Tr.*]

¹ [George Gemistius, surnamed Pletho, was born at Constantinople, but spent most of his life in the Peloponnesus. He was an acute and learned Platonist, and a decided opposer of the Latins. He was employed by the Greeks in the council of Ferrara to unravel the subtleties of the Latin metaphysicians; was preceptor in philosophy to cardinal Bessarion, and to the Medici of Florence; and lived, it is said, to the age of one hundred years. His works are, *de Differentia Philosophiæ Aristotelis et Platonis*; *de Virtutibus Libellus*; *Scholia in Zoroastris Oracula*; *de Rebus Peloponnesiacis Constituendis Orationes II.*; *de Gestis Græc. post Pugnam ad Mantinæam Lib. II.* and two tracts on the procession of the Holy Spirit. *Tr.*]

² [George Trapezuntius, whose parents were from Trebizond, was born in

Crete, A. D. 1396. After obtaining a good education among the Greeks, he removed to Italy, where he spent his life as a teacher and writer. Pope Eugene employed him as a Greek secretary; and after the death of Eugene, Alphonso, king of Naples, was his patron. In 1465, he made a voyage to Crete and Constantinople. He returned, sunk into idiocy, and died at the age of 90, at Rome, A. D. 1486. He wrote on the procession of the Holy Spirit, in favour of the Latins; the martyrdom of Andrew of Chios, A. D. 1465; on the eight parts of speech; a concise logic; a comparison of Plato and Aristotle; five books on rhetoric; on the deceptions of astrology; expositions of some of Cicero's orations; and Latin translations of the works of St. Cyril, St. Chrysostom, Gregory Nyssen, St. Basil, also of Eusebius' *Præparat. Evang.*, Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, and Ptolemy's *Almagest. Tr.*]

³ [George Codinus, surnamed Curopalates, was a Greek, whose age and history are little known. He probably lived and wrote soon after the capture of Constantinople, A. D. 1453. He wrote on the offices and officers of the court and church of Constantinople, (Paris, 1648, fol. by Goar,) on the antiquities of Constantinople, a description of Constantinople; on the statues and curiosities of Constantinople; on the edifices of Constantinople; on the church of St. Sophia, in that city; and a history of the Constantinopolitan emperors, from Constantine the Great to Constantine Palæologus, and the capture of the city by the Turks. All these, except the first, were published by Lambecius, 1655, fol.

The following Greek writers are passed over by Dr. Mosheim.

Joseph, archbishop of Ephesus, and patriarch of Constantinople, A. D. 1416—1439. He was long averse from a union with the Latins, but at length yielded the point, went to the council of Florence, argued for a union, signed the articles of it on a sick bed, repented of it, and died eight days after signing the instru-

§ 24. The Latin writers form a host almost innumerable. We shall name only the principal of those who attempted by

ment. He has left us two epistles, addressed to the council of Basil, and an address to a synod at Constantinople when about to go to Italy and Florence.

John Cananus wrote a history of the siege of Constantinople by the Turks, in the year 1422, (at which time he flourished,) extant, Gr. and Lat. subjoined to the history of George Acropolita; Paris, 1651, fol.

Demetrius Chrysoloras, an eminent philosopher and astronomer, A. D. 1430, much esteemed by the emperor Emmanuel Palæologus. He wrote an oration and two dialogues against the Latins, which are in the Vatican Library.

Esaias of Cyprus, a Greek who espoused the cause of the Latins, about A. D. 1430, in a long epistle; extant, Gr. and Lat. in Leo Allat. *de Consensu*, &c. lib. ii. c. 18. § 16. and in the *Græca Orthodox.* tom. i. p. 396.

John Anagnosta, of Thessalonica, who witnessed the siege and capture of that city in 1430, and again in 1432; of which he wrote a narrative and monody; published by Leo Allat. *Symnica*, pt. ii. p. 317, &c.

Andreas de Petra, born and educated among the Greeks, and by them made a bishop; he afterwards joined the Latins; and, as papal legate, argued against his countrymen, in the council of Basil, A. D. 1432, and in that of Ferrara, 1438. Both his speeches are in Bzovius' *Annales Ecclês.* ad ann. 1432. § 37., and 1438, § 8.

John Eugenius, *nomophylax* of the patriarchal church of Constantinople, and brother to Marcus of Ephesus, whom he accompanied to the council of Ferrara, A. D. 1438. He wrote against that council; and Leo Allatius has given extracts from the work *de Purgatorio*, p. 61. 220. 241. 265.

Isidorus Ruthensis, or of Russia, born at Thessalonica, a Basilian monk, abbot of St. Demetrius at Constantinople; sent to the council of Basil in 1435, returned, and was made metropolitan of Kiow, and primate of all Russia; attended the council of Florence, 1438; there opposed the Latins; then changed sides, and signed the articles of union; remained in Italy; was made a cardinal in 1439; soon after went to Russia, where he was arrested and imprisoned for betraying the cause

of the Greeks; escaped with difficulty and fled; was, by the pope, made titular patriarch of Constantinople, and papal legate in the East; witnessed the capture of that city in 1453; escaped to Italy, became dean of the college of cardinals, and died at Rome A. D. 1463. He wrote an epistle describing the siege and capture of Constantinople, which was published in Reusner's *Epistole Turcica*, lib. iv. p. 100.

Silvester Sguropulus, or, as he writes it, Syropulus, a deacon, *dicæophylax*, and one of the select council of the patriarch, at Constantinople. He attended his patriarch to the council of Ferrara in 1438, was concerned in all that related to the Greeks, and decidedly and perseveringly opposed the union, but was compelled by authority to subscribe the articles of union. On his return, he found himself odious to the people for having yielded so far; resigned his office; and wrote a particular history of the transactions at Ferrara, which was published, Gr. and Lat., by Robert Creighton, (afterwards bp. of Bath and Wells,) at the Hague, 1660, fol.

Joseph, bishop of Modon in Greece, A. D. 1436. He wrote an apology for the council of Florence against Marcus of Ephesus; extant, Gr. and Lat., in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 549, &c.

John the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria, A. D. 1440. He wrote an adulatory epistle to pope Eugene IV., a Latin version of which is in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 1018, &c.

Nicodemus, an Ethiopian, and abbot of the Ethiopian monks resident at Jerusalem, A. D. 1440, wrote a similar epistle to the pope, which we have in Latin in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 1031, &c.

Gregory Melissenus, called Mammas, a monk, penitentiary of the church of Constantinople, and confessor to the emperor. He attended the council of Ferrara, was at first violent against the Latins, but being bribed, he turned about, and urged the union. In 1440, he was made patriarch of Constantinople, but a few years after, found it expedient to resign that dignity. He wrote an Apology for the council of Florence against Marcus of Ephesus; extant, Gr. and Lat., in Harduin's *Con-*

their pens to deserve well of religion. The greatest of these, by the acknowledgment of all, was *John Gerson*, chancellor of the university of Paris, a man of immense influence, the oracle of the council of Constance, and still in high estimation among such of the French as would maintain their liberties against the Roman pontiffs.⁴ He wrote and did much that was very useful to

elia, tom. ix. p. 601, &c., also an epistle to the emperor Alexius Comnenus, on the procession of the Holy Spirit; printed, Gr. and Lat., in Leo Allatius, *Græc. Orthod.* tom. i. p. 419.

John Argyropulus, of Constantinople. When that city was taken in 1453, he retired to Italy. Cosmo de Medicis made him preceptor to his son Peter and his nephew Laurence. After residing some time at Florence, the plague caused him to remove to Rome, where he lectured on Aristotle. He died near the close of the century. He was very learned, very vain, very rich, and a very great eater. Besides translations and expositions of the works of Aristotle, often printed, he wrote on the procession of the Holy Spirit and the council of Florence; extant, Gr. and Lat., in Allatius, *Græc. Orthod.* tom. i. p. 400.

Matthæus Camariota, a distinguished philosopher and rhetorician of Constantinople, who witnessed the capture of that city in 1453, and described the scene in a long epistle; a considerable part of which, Gr. and Lat., is in Crucius, *Turcogræcia*, lib. i. p. 76. Many other writings of his exist in MS.

Ducas, nephew to Michael Ducas, of Constantinople. On the capture of that city, 1453, he retired to Lesbos, and entered the service of the tributary Christian prince, in whose service he performed several embassies to the Turkish sovereigns, till the capture of Lesbos in 1562. He wrote *Historia Byzantina*, from A. D. 1341 to 1462, preceded by a brief chronicle from the creation; published, Gr. and Lat., Paris, 1649, fol.

George, or Gregory, Hermonymns or Charitonymns, a native of Sparta, who, on the capture of Constantinople, 1453, fled to France, and taught Greek in the university of Paris. In 1476, pope Sixtus IV. sent him as his legate into England. He translated into Latin Gemadius's tract, *de Vita Salutis Hominum*; the life of Mahumed; and some other things; and wrote a demonstration, that Christ is the Son of God, and himself God;

printed, Gr. and Lat., Angsburg, 1608, 8vo.

Laonicus Chalcocondylas, or Chalcondylas, a native of Athens; flourished A. D. 1468, and wrote a History of the Turks, in ten books, from A. D. 1300 to 1463; published, Gr. and Lat., Geneva, 1615, fol. and Paris, 1650, fol.

Manuel, a native of Greece, pupil of Matthæus Camariota and orator of the great church of Constantinople, A. D. 1500. He wrote a confutation of Friar Francis, the Dominican, respecting the procession of the Holy Spirit, unleavened bread, purgatory, the primacy of the pope, &c. published, Gr. and Lat., by Steph. le Moyné, *Varia Sacra*, p. 270. *Tr.*]

⁴ Lewis Ellies du Pin, *Gersonianorum Libri* iv. prefixed to his edition of Gerson's Works, Antwerp, 1706, 5 vols. fol. and inserted by Jo. Launoï, in his *Historia Gymnasii Regii Navarreni*, pt. iii. lib. ii. cap. i. in his *Opp.* tom. iv. pt. i. p. 514. Herm. von der Hardt, *Acta Concilii Constant.* tom. i. pt. iv. p. 26, &c.—[John Charlier de Gerson was born, A. D. 1363, at Gerson, in the diocese of Rheims, educated in the college of Navarre, at Paris, succeeded to the chancellorship of the university about A. D. 1395; was active in condemning John Petit and his doctrine in 1407; and subsequently laboured much to heal the divisions and correct the abuses of the church of Rome. He was at the councils of Rheims, Pisa, and Constance. When the last of these councils broke up, in 1418, he could not safely return to Paris, where the duke of Burgundy was in power, and he travelled through Germany and Switzerland, and settled at Lyons, where he died in 1429. He composed no large work, but left a vast number of tracts, speeches, sermons, letters, and poems, which are dogmatical, polemic, exegetic, mystic, opinions on questions of public interest at that day, projects for reforming abuses, &c. The most valuable are said to be those occasioned by the council of Constance. *Tr.*]

purify the religion, to excite the piety, and to cure the disorders of the church; but in some things, he showed little acuteness in comprehending even the more obvious points of Christian discipline. *Nicolaus de Clemangis*⁵, a man in love with truth and rectitude, eloquently deplored the calamities of his day, and the miserable state of the Christian world.⁶ *Alphonsus Tostatus*, of Avila, loaded the sacred Scripture with a ponderous commentary, and wrote some other things, in which there is a mixture of good and bad.⁷ *Ambrose* of Camalduli acquired great fame by an accurate knowledge of the Greek language and literature, and by various efforts for establishing harmony between the Greeks and the Latins.⁸ *Nicolaus Cusanus*, a man of various learning, and no contemptible genius, but not of a judgment proportionably vigorous and solid; as appears from his *Conjectures concerning the last day*.⁹ *John Nieder*

⁵ [Of Clamenge. *Tr.*]

⁶ See Launoi's *Historia Gymnasii Navarræ*, pt. iii. lib. ii. c. iii. p. 555, &c. Longueval's *Histoire de l'Église Gallicaine*, tom. xiv. p. 436. His works, though not entire, were published, with a glossary, by John Lydins, Leyden, 1613, 4to. [Nicolaus de Clemangis was born at Clamenge, near Chalons, and educated in the college of Navarre, where he became rector of the university of Paris in 1393. He so distinguished himself for the elegance of his Latin epistles, that Benedict XIII. called him to Avignon, and made him his private secretary. But, in 1408, being suspected of composing the papal bull which laid France under an interdiction, he endured violent persecution. He retired into the Alpine country; and though afterwards proved innocent, and invited back to France, he chose to spend his days in retirement. He died about A. D. 1440, an honest and pious man. His works, besides about 150 letters, consist of about a dozen tracts and poems; the most important of which are, *de Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu*; *Deploratio Calamitatis Ecclesiæ, per Schisma Nefandissimum*, in heroic verse; *de Fructu Eremi*; *de Noris Festivitatibus non Instituentis*; *de Antichristo*; *de Studio Theologia*, &c. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Alphonsus Tostatus, a voluminous Spanish writer, who studied at Salamanca, attended the council of Basil in 1434, became bishop of Avila, and was advanced to the highest offices in the

kingdom. He died in 1454, aged, some say, 40 years; others say 55 years. He was a man of immense reading, excellent memory, respectable judgment, and famed for his ascetic piety. His works, repeatedly printed, and first under cardinal Ximenes, fill 27 volumes, folio. Of these, 24 are commentaries on the whole bible. His style is crude. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Ambrosius Camaldulensis was born at Portico, not far from Florence; became a Camaldulensian monk at the age of 14; acquired a thorough knowledge of Greek under Emmanuel Chrysoloras; was made general of his order about the year 1440; was repeatedly nominated a cardinal; served the popes faithfully, and with great ability, in the councils of Basil, Ferrara, and Florence; and became almoner to the pope. He died in his monastery, at an advanced age, in high repute for sanctity. His life was written, at great length, by Augustine of Florence, in an Appendix to his *Historia Camaldulensium*. Besides numerous translations from the Greek fathers, and many letters, he has left a *Hodoepoporicon*, or Journal of his travels to inspect the monasteries of his order, and some of the public documents for uniting the Greek and Latin churches. *Tr.*]

⁹ Peter Bayle, *Répons aux Questions d'un Provincial*, tom. ii. cap. 117, 118, 517, &c. His works are published in one volume [three volumes. *Tr.*] fol. Basil, 1565. [Nicolaus Cusanus was born of indigent parents at Cusa, in the

distinguished himself by various writings, useful for learning the state of those times, by his travels also and achievements.¹ *John Capistranus* was thought a great man by the Roman court, because he contended manfully for the majesty of the pontiffs against opponents of every sort.² *John Wesselius* and *Jerome Savonarola* are to be ranked among the best and wisest men of that age. The former was of Gröningen, and his great penetration made people call him *the Light of the world*. The doctrines which *Luther* afterwards taught more clearly, he advanced to some extent; and he censured in a candid manner the defects of the Romish religion.³ The latter was a Dominican of Ferrara,

diocese of Treves, A. D. 1403, educated by count de Manderscheidt, made doctor of theology and of canon law; was dean of Coblenz, and archdeacon of Liege. In the council of Basil, he at first opposed the papal pretensions, and wrote three books on the subject, entitled *de Catholica Concordantia*. But he afterwards changed sides, became bishop of Brixen, fell out with the emperor Sigismund, was made a cardinal, and repeatedly papal legate. He died A. D. 1464, aged 63. He was very learned, understood Greek and Hebrew, and excelled in philosophy and mathematics. He wrote *de Docta Ignorantia*, lib. iii.; *de Filiatione Dei*; *Idiota*, lib. v.; *de Visione Dei*; *de Ludo Globi*, lib. ii.; *Exercitationum* lib. x.; *Epistolarum Liber*; *Cribrationum Alcorani* lib. iii.; on arithmetical and geometrical complements; on the quadrature of the circle; on sines and chords; on correcting the Kalendar, &c. &c. His works were printed, Paris, 1514, and Basil, 1650, in 3 vols. fol. The first volume is chiefly on theology; the second on controversial subjects; and the third on mathematics, astronomy, &c. *Tr.*]

¹ [See vol. ii. p. 655, note*. *Tr.*]

² See Jac. Lenfant's *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*, tom. ii. p. 254, &c. Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. ix. p. 67. [John Capistranus was born in the village of Capistro, in Abruzzo, Italy, A. D. 1385; became a Franciscan monk of the regular observance, was repeatedly Cisalpine general of his order; was an inquisitor and papal legate, and, as such, preached up and commanded crusades against the Fratricelli in Italy, the Hussites in Bohemia, and the Turks in Hungary with dreadful effect. He died in 1456, aged 71. His writings are chiefly on different points of canon law,

and are contained mostly in the *Tractatus Juris*. *Tr.*]

³ Jo. Hen. Maïus, *Vita Reuchlini*. [John Wessel, called also Basilius, and Hermann Gesvort, Goesvort, or Gansvort, was born at Gröningen, A. D. 1400, or rather 1419. He studied long in the school of the *Clerks of the common life*, at Zwol, and then at Cologne; became very learned, understood Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; was a Platonist, and a Nominalist; and a contemner of the reigning scholastic theology. He was very pious; studied the Scriptures much and in the original languages, and based his faith upon them, in utter disregard for human authorities, doctors, traditions, popes and councils, or fathers. He was invited to Heidelberg; but not allowed to teach theology there, because he had not taken the degree of D. D., nor would they give him that degree, because he was not in orders. He returned to Cologne; and thence went to Louvain, and thence to Paris, where he resided many years, and acquired great reputation as a learned, independent, honest, and truly Christian man. He once visited Rome; was never persecuted; and died A. D. 1489, aged, some say, 89, and others, 70. His works are several theological tracts, chiefly on what he deemed the erroneous views in theology then prevailing. They are entitled, on the Providence of God; why Christ became incarnate, and the greatness of his sufferings; on Penance, or the clerical power of binding and loosing; on the Communion of saints; on the Treasury of merits in the Church; on Fraternities; on Purgatory; on papal Indulgences; several epistles; on the Eucharist and the Mass; on Indulgences; on Prayer. These were published, Wittemb. 1522, and Basil, 1523, folio, and 1525, 4to, under the title of

a pious, eloquent, and learned man. Having probed the Romish ulcers too freely, he suffered for his rashness, being burnt at the stake, in 1498, at Florence. He died with constancy and cheerfulness.⁴ *Alphonsus Spina* composed a book against

Farrago Rerum Theologicarum; with a preface by Martin Luther: also at Amsterdam, 1617, 4to. In his preface Luther says: "Wessel appeared (who was called Basil), a Frisian of Gröningen, a man of admirable talents, of great and rare genius, who was manifestly taught of God, as Isaiah prophesied that Christians should be; for he cannot be supposed to have followed men, even as I have not. If I had previously read Wessel, my enemies might have thought, *Luther derived all his views from Wessel, so perfectly accordant are the two in spirit.* and it increases my joy and confidence, and I now have no doubt of the correctness of my doctrines, since with such uniform agreement, and nearly in the same words, though at a different period, in another clime and country, and with other results, he so harmonizes with me throughout." See Seckendorf's *Historia Lutheranismi*, lib. i. sec. 54, § 133, p. 226, &c. Bayle, *Dictionnaire Hist. et Critique*, art. *Wessel*.—John Wessel is too often confounded with his contemporary and friend John de Vesalia, or of Wesel, a doctor of theology, and a celebrated preacher at Erfurth and Worms; who held nearly the same sentiments with Wessel, and was at length condemned by an assembly at Mentz, A. D. 1479, and cast into prison, where he soon after died. His theological opinions were condemned; yet a Roman Catholic, who witnessed the whole trial, says, he advanced nothing but what might be defended, except in regard to the procession of the Holy Spirit, in which he agreed with the Greeks. His condemnation is attributed, by this writer, to his being a Nominalist, while his judges, all but one, were Realists. See Bayle, *Dictionnaire Hist. et Critique*, art. *Wesalia, Jean de*; and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* tom. xxxiii. p. 295, &c. *Tr.*]

⁴ Jo. Franc. Buddeus, *Parerga Historico-Theolog.* p. 279. The life of Savonarola, written by Jo. Franc. Picus, was published with notes, documents, and letters, by Jac. Quetif, Paris, 1674, 2 vols. 8vo. In the same year, Quetif published, at Paris, the spiritual and ascetic Epistles of Savonarola, translated

from Italian into Latin. See also Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Ord. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 884, &c. [Jerome Savonarola was born at Ferrara, Oct. 12. 1452; religiously educated, and early distinguished for genius and learning. His father intended him for his own profession, that of physic, but he disliked it; and, unknown to his parents, became a Dominican monk, A. D. 1474. For a time, he taught philosophy and metaphysics; and then was made a preacher and confessor. He soon laid aside the hearing of confessions, and devoting himself wholly to preaching, in which he was remarkably interesting and successful. In 1489, he went to Florence, where his preaching produced quite a reformation of morals. He attacked vice, infidelity, and false religion, with the utmost freedom, sparing no age or sex, and no condition of men, monks, priests, popes, princes, or common citizens. His influence was almost boundless. But Florence was split into political factions, and Savonarola did not avoid the danger. He was ardent, eloquent, and so enthusiastic as almost to believe, and actually to represent what he taught as being communicated to him by revelation. The adverse faction accused him to the pope; who summoned him to Rome. Savonarola would not go; and was ordered to cease preaching. A Franciscan inquisitor was sent to confront him. The people protected him. But at length, vacillating about putting his cause to the test of a fire ordeal, he lost his popularity in a measure. His enemies seized him by force, put him to the rack, and extorted from him some concessions, which they interpreted as confessions of guilt, and then strangled him, burned his body, and threw the ashes into the river. Thus he died, May 23. 1498. His character has been assailed and defended, most elaborately, and by numerous persons, both Roman Catholics and Protestants. His writings were almost all in Italian. They consist of more than 300 sermons, about 50 tracts and treatises, and a considerable number of letters; all displaying genius and piety, and some of them superior intellect. See especially Picus and Buddeus, *ubi*

the Jews and the Saracens, which he called *Fortalitium Fidei*.⁵ Conspicuous in the long list of those called *Scholastics*, were *John Capreolus*⁶, *John de Turrecremata*⁷, *Antoninus* of Florence⁸, *Dionysius a Ryckel*¹, *Henry Gorcomius*², *Gabriel*

supra. C. F. Ammon's *Geschichte der Homiletik*, vol. i. p. 169—198. Gotting. 1804, 8vo. Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, art. *Savonarole*; and Schroeckh's *Kirchen-gesch.* vol. xxxiii. p. 543, &c. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Alphonsus Spina was a Spanish Jew, converted to Christianity, who became a Franciscan monk, rector of the university of Salamanca, an inquisitor, and at last a bishop. He flourished about A. D. 1459. His book defends the Romish religion against the arguments then used by Jews, Saracens, heretics, and infidels. It is a weak performance; first published, anonymously, Nuremberg, 1494, 4to. then at Lyons, A. D. 1511. *Tr.*]

⁶ [John Capreolus was a French Dominican monk, of Languedoc, professor of theology at Toulouse; flourished A. D. 1415, and is said to have attended the council of Basil, 1431. He wrote Commentaries on Lombard's Four Books of Sentences; published, Venice, 1484, 1514, 1588. fol. *Tr.*]

⁷ [John de Turrecremata, a Spaniard, born at Torquemada, A. D. 1388; a Dominican monk, sent to the university of Paris, where he studied and taught many years. From about the year 1431, he served the popes, first as master of the palace; then (1437) as legate to the council of Basil, and afterwards to that of Florence; then as a cardinal and legate in France, and on various other embassies. From 1450 till his death in 1468 he held various bishoprics in Spain and Italy. He wrote commentaries on the *Decretum* of Gratian, on Paul's Epistles, on the Psalms; various tracts on scholastic theology, and disputed points of canon law and church government; against the Mahomedans; a series of Sermons; and a number of ascetic pieces. His works were first printed, Augsburg, 1472, in 8 vols. folio. *Tr.*]

⁸ [His true name was Antonius; but on account of his diminutive stature he acquired that of Antoninus. He was born at Florence in 1389, early studied canon law, became a Dominican monk at 16; afterwards presided over several different monasteries, was made vicar-general of his order, and in 1446 archbishop of Florence. He was repeatedly

envoy of his city to the court of Rome; and died May 2. 1459, aged 70; greatly esteemed for his piety and erudition. He was canonized A. D. 1523. His piety was generally admitted; but his judgment as a writer has been questioned, and his works are said to be stuffed with silly stories collected from all quarters. He wrote *Summa Historialis*, or a universal history, from the creation to his own times; Lyons, 1586, 3 vols. folio. *Summa Theologica*, Strasburg, 1496, 4 vols. folio. *Summa Confessionalis*, Lyons, 1564, 8vo. Notes on the donation of Constantine the Great; several law tracts; and one on the virtues. *Tr.*]

¹ [Dionysius a Ryckel, or de Leewis, or Carthusianus. He was born at Ryckel, a village in the diocese of Liege; educated at Cologne; and became a Carthusian monk at the age of twenty-one; and died March 12th, 1471, aged 69, or, as some say, 77. He was a most voluminous writer; and chiefly as an expositor, and a practical theologian. His commentary on the whole Bible was printed, Cologne, 1533, in 7 vols. folio; his commentary on *Dionysius Areopagita*, *ibid.* 1536, fol. He also wrote eight books *De Fide Catholica*; two books on a Christian life, a treatise on the four last things, death, judgment, heaven, and hell; another on a particular judgment of souls; expositions of some works of John Cassian, and of the *Climax* of John Scholasticus; seven tracts on practical religion, printed at Louvain, 1577; and a work in five books, against the Alcoran and the Mahomedans: with tracts on war with the Turks, holding a general council, and the vices of superstition; printed, Cologne, 1538, 8vo. *Tr.*]

² [Henry Gorcomius was a native of Gorcum, in Holland, became distinguished as a theologian and philosopher, was vice-chancellor of the university of Cologne, and died in 1495. He wrote *De Superstitiosis Quibusdam Casibus seu Ceremoniis Ecclesiasticis*; *De Celebritate Festorum*; *Conclusiones et Concordantie Bibliorum ac Canonum in Libros Magistri Sententiarum*; a Commentary on Aristotle *de Celo* and *de Mundo*; *Questiones Metaphysicæ de Ente et Essentia*. *Tr.*]

*Biel*³, *Stephen Brulifer*⁴, and others. Among the most respectable *Mystics*, were *Vincentius Ferrerius*⁵, *Henry Harphius*⁶, *Laurentius Justinianus*⁷, *Bernhardinus Senensis*⁸, and more famous than all the rest, *Thomas a Kempis*, the reputed author of the well-known treatise on the *Imitation of Christ*.⁹

³ [Gabriel Biel, D.D., a native of Spire, one of the first professors of theology and philosophy of Tübingen, founded A. D. 1477. He died in 1495, leaving a commentary on the four Books of Sentences, Brixen, 1574, 3 vols. 4to.; an Exposition of the Canon of the Mass; a series of Sermons; *Defensorium Obedientie Pontificis*; *Historia Dominice Passionis*; *De Monetaria Potestate et Utilitate*; and an Epitome of the work of William Occam on the Sentences. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Stephen Brulifer, born at St. Malo, a Franciscan, a doctor of Paris, a Scotist, professor of theology at Mayence and Metz, flourished A. D. 1480, and died after A. D. 1500. He wrote on Lombard's Sentences; on the Trinity; Sermons on the Poverty of Christ; and some other tracts; all published, Paris, 1499 and 1500, 8vo. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Vincentius Ferrerius was a Spanish Dominican of Valencia, renowned as a preacher, who travelled over Spain, France, and Italy, doing wonders, and converting multitudes from vice and error, (if we may believe the Romanists,) was made confessor, and master of the palace to pope Benedict XIII. He was very metaphysical, poor in thought, and low in language; yet was esteemed a great saint; and was canonized in 1455. He died A. D. 1419. He wrote *De Vita Spirituali*; *Tractatus Consolatorius*; and several epistles (published, Valencia, 1591); and a volume of sermons, with several small pieces annexed, often published. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Henry Harphius was a Franciscan, born in the village of Le Herp, in Brabant, a theologian, provincial of his order, and guardian of the convent of Mechlin. He flourished A. D. 1468, and died in 1478. He wrote *de Theologia Mystica, tum Speculativa, tum Affectiva*, libri iii. Cologne, 1611, 4to. *Speculum Aureum in X. Præcepta Decalogi*; *Speculum Perfectionis*; and many Sermons. He wrote generally in Dutch; others translated him into Latin. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Laurentius Justinian was of patrician birth at Venice, a regular canon of St. Augustine for thirty years; then bishop of Venice A. D. 1431, and promoted to the rank of a patriarch, A. D.

1450; and died Jan. 8. 1455, aged 74, and was canonized A. D. 1524. He was a man of sincere piety, very zealous in religion, and very liberal to the poor. His works, consisting of sermons, letters, and a number of tracts on metaphysical divinity and practical religion, were printed, Basil, 1560, fol. Lyons, 1568, fol. and Venice, 1606, fol. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Bernardine Senensis, or of Siena, was nobly born at Messano, in the territory of Florence, Sept. 8th, 1380; religiously educated in monkish austerities, yet instructed by distinguished masters; became a Franciscan monk in 1404; commenced preaching, and became very famous; was sent legate of his order to Palestine; travelled extensively there; returned, and travelled over Italy, a most renowned preacher. He flourished A. D. 1426; repeatedly refused bishoprics, and died A. D. 1444, aged 64; and was canonized in 1450. His works are chiefly Sermons; but embrace a few mystic tracts, and a commentary on the Apocalypse. He appears to have been devout, and possessed of considerable genius. His works were printed, Paris, 1636, in 5 vols. fol. *Tr.*]

⁹ Langlet de Fresnoy promised to show that this celebrated book, concerning the author of which there has been so much literary war, was first written in French, by one John Gersen, or John Gerson, and then translated into Latin by Thomas a Kempis. See Granet, in *Lauvoiana*, pt. ii. *Opp.* tom. iv. pt. ii. p. 414, 415. A history of the disputes concerning this book was drawn up by Vincent Thuillier, in the *Opera Posthuma* of Mabillon and Ruinart, tom. iii. p. 54, &c. [His real name was Thomas Hanmerliën; in Latin, Malleolus. He was born at Kempis, or Campis, in the diocese of Cologne, A. D. 1380; was sent to the school established by Gerhard Groot at Deventer, at the age of 13; and seven years after, to the Augustinian convent at mount St. Agnes, near Zwol; where he assumed the habit of a monk, A. D. 1406; was afterwards proctor and superior of the convent. He died A. D. 1471, aged 92. He was a very religious man. His writings are all on practical and experimental

religion, and consist of numerous sermons, several letters, religious biography, and tracts; collected and printed often, in folio, quarto, and octavo: *e. g.* Cologne, 1728, 4to. The four books of *Contemptu Mundi*, (or *De Imitatione Christi*—on the Imitation of Christ—from the subject of the first book,) have been translated into English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Bohemian, Hungarian, Greek, Arabic, and Turkish; and passed through innumerable editions. The general opinion is, that Kempis was the author. Yet there are substantial reasons for doubt and uncertainty. See Wharton's Appendix to Cave's *Historia Litter.* and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxxiv. p. 312, &c.

The following Latin writers are omitted in the preceding list by Dr. Mosheim:

John Huss, born at Hussinetz, in Bohemia, educated at Prague, where he commenced A. B. in 1393, A. M. in 1395; became preacher in the Bethlehem church in 1400; read the works of Wickliffe, began to attack the prevailing views of religion in 1408; was silenced by the archbishop of Prague, Sabineo Lupus; was accused before the pope, who summoned him to Rome. He sent his proctor, who was not heard; and Huss was condemned as an obstinate heretic. In 1413, being driven from the city of Prague, he preached in the vicinity till the tumult in the city subsided. In 1414, he set out for the council of Constance, protected by a safe conduct from the emperor; but was seized, imprisoned, condemned, and burnt at the stake, May 29. 1416. His works contain numerous theological, polemical, and devotional tracts; many letters and sermons, a Harmony of the Gospels, commentaries on some of the Epistles and Psalms, and on the Apocalypse; and were printed, Norimb. 1558, 2 vols. fol.

Paulus Anglicus, an English doctor of canon law, A. D. 1404, wrote *Aurcum Speculum*, or a Dialogue between Peter and Paul, on the abuses of clerical power; extant in Goldast, *Monarchia*, tom. ii. p. 1527.

John Laterburinus, an English Franciscan monk, educated at Oxford. He wrote, A. D. 1406, *Moralia super Threnos Jeremie*; printed A. D. 1482, fol.

Richard Ullertone (Ulverstone), of Lancashire, and a professor of theology at Oxford, A. D. 1408. His *Petition for a Reformation of the Church* exists in manuscript at Cambridge, England. The

Preface and considerable extracts are published by Wharton, Appendix to Cave's *Historia Litteraria*. Some other works of his exist in manuscript.

Theodoric de Niem, or *Niemus*, a German, scrivener to the pope A. D. 1372, bishop of Verdun, and of Cambray; flourished A. D. 1408. He wrote a history of the papal schism in his own times, in four books; printed, Strasburg, 1608 and 1629, 8vo; also, the Life of Pope John XIII., and some other pieces, respecting the state of his times.

Thomas Netter, called *Waldensis*, because born at Walden, in Essex; an English Carmelite monk of London, who was educated at Oxford, confessor to Henry IV., and his envoy to the council of Pisa; provincial prior of his order in 1414; a strenuous opposer of the *Wickliffites*; sent by the king to the council of Constance in 1415; and to the court of Poland, in 1419. He attended Henry V. in his French war, A. D. 1423; and Henry VI. in 1430; and died at Rouen, Nov. 3rd, 1430. He wrote much; the only work of his printed is his *Doctrinale Antiquitatum Fidei Ecclesie Catholicae*, a very prolix work against the followers of Wickliffe and Huss; Venice, 1751, fol. and elsewhere.

Petrus Ancharanus, a celebrated canonist of Bologna, A. D. 1410, who has left three large works on canon law; frequently printed.

Bostonus Buriensis, a Benedictine monk of St. Edmundsbury, England, A. D. 1410. He visited all the monasteries in England, to make out a complete catalogue of all the works of the ecclesiastical writers. This manuscript catalogue was in the hands of archbishop Ussher, Thomas Gale, &c.

John Grossius, or Grossus, a French Carmelite monk of Toulouse, elected general of his order in 1411, attended the council of Pisa, and died in 1424 at an advanced age. He wrote *Viridarium Ordinis Carmelitani*, in three books; describing the origin, progress, and distinguished men of his order; published with other similar works, Antwerp, 1680, 4 vols. fol.

Hieronymus à S. Fide, a converted Spanish Jew, physician to Benedict XIII. A. D. 1412. He wrote *De Refellendis Judaeorum Erroribus*; and *Adversus Talmuth Judaeorum*; published Francf. 1602, 8vo, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxvi. p. 528.

Hermann de Lerbecke, a German Dominican monk of Minden, who wrote a History or *Chronicon* of the counts of

Schauenburg, from A. D. 1006 to 1414, published by H. Meibomius, Francf. 1620. Svo.

Paulus Carthagensis à S. Maria, a converted Spanish Jew, bishop of Carthage and of Burgos, high chancellor of Castile and Leon, and patriarch of Aquileia; died A. D. 1435. He wrote additions to N. Lyra's commentary on the Scriptures; *Scrutinium Scripturarum libri ii.* and *Questiones XII. de Nomine Tetragrammato.*

Gobelinus Persona, born in Westphalia A. D. 1358, travelled over Italy, and resided some time at the Romish court; and in 1389 became rector of Trinity chapel, at Paderborn; retired to Bilefield, and was made dean. He flourished A. D. 1418, and died about 1428. Between the years 1404 and 1418, he composed his *Cosmodromium*, or chronicle of the world from the creation to A. D. 1418; published with notes and an appendix, by H. Meibomius, Francf. 1599, fol.

Leonard Brunus Aretinus, born at Arezzo, Florence; and one of the best Latin and Greek scholars of his age; epistolary secretary to the popes, from A. D. 1404; retired to Florence, to literary ease, and there died in 1443, aged 74. He wrote *Contra Hypocritas Libellus*; History of Adversus in xii. books; *De Bello Italico adversus Gothos*, lib. iv. (which is a mere plagiarism from Procopius), *De Bello Panico*, libri iii. (taken from Polybius, and intended to supply the loss of Livy's second Decade); *Epistolarum libri viii.*; a tract on Morals; Translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*; a history of his own times (or of the papal schism); and several other things. His Latin is very fine.

John Francis Poggius Braeciolinus, born near Arezzo, Tuscany, A. D. 1364; a fine Latin and Greek scholar, secretary to eight successive popes, from A. D. 1415 to 1455; then counsellor at Florence, till his death in 1459. He wrote numerous small works, descriptive, facetious, (or rather obscene,) funeral orations, letters, &c. besides a History of Florence, in eight books. He was active in the council of Constance; and quarrelled with Laurentius Valla; yet he promoted literature. His works are published, Strasburg, 1511 and 1513, fol. and Basil, 1538, fol.

Nicolaus Dinkelspilius, a Swabian, rector of the gymnasium of Vienna, A. D. 1420; and its representative in the council of Basil, A. D. 1431. He wrote

sermons on the Decalogue; on the Lord's prayer; on penitence; on the eight Beatitudes; on the seven mortal sins; a confessional; and on the five senses; printed, Strasburg, 1516, fol.

Theodoric Engelhusius, a canon of the church of Hildesheim, A. D. 1420. He wrote *Cronicon Chronicorum*, or a universal history, civil and ecclesiastical, from the creation to A. D. 1420, published by Joach. Jo. Maderus, Helmst. 1671.

William Lindwood, LL.D., a learned English jurist, educated at Cambridge and Oxford; dean of the Arches to Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury; lord privy seal to Henry V., and his ambassador, 1422, to Spain and Portugal; bishop of St. David's in 1432; died 1446. He wrote *Provinciale, seu Constitutiones Angliæ libri v.*, being the constitutions of 14 archbishops of Canterbury, from Stephen Langton to Henry Chicheley, with notes and comments; Oxford, 1679, fol.

John de Imola, a learned commentator on canon law, who died at Bologna A. D. 1436. His comments were published, Venice, 1575, 2 vols. fol.

Julianus Cæsarinus, LL.D., professor of law in several Italian universities; then filled various offices in the court of Rome; and became a cardinal A. D. 1426. He was papal legate in the Hussite war, in which he was unsuccessful; and then legate to the council of Basil in 1431; presided there; refused to dissolve the council at the command of the pope, but in 1438 he again sided with the pope; attended the council of Florence; was sent legate to the king of Poland in 1444; advised him to violate his treaty with the Turks, and was himself slain leading the troops to battle. He died aged 46. His two letters to pope Eugene IV. written from Basil, with a long oration he delivered there, have been printed.

Nicolaus Tudeschus, called *Panormitanus*, a Benedictine monk of Sicily, an abbot, and archbishop of Palermo; a very able canonist; who taught in Italy, and filled offices at Rome. In 1431, the king of Aragon sent him to the council of Basil; where he defended the supremacy of councils with great ability. He was made a cardinal in 1440, and died in 1445. Except his defence of the rights of councils, his works are all upon canon law. They were repeatedly published; e. g. Venice, 1617, 9 vols. fol.

Raymundus Sabunde, a learned Spaniard, rector of the gymnasium of Tou-

louse. He wrote (A. D. 1434—1436) *Theologia Naturalis, de Homine et Creaturis, seu Thesaurus Divinarum Considerationum*; often printed, e. g. Venice, 1581, 8vo.

Petrus Jeremiæ, a Dominican monk, and a celebrated preacher, born at Palermo, lived at Bologna, and died there, A. D. 1452. His sermons, with expositions of the Lord's prayer, the decalogue, and tracts on faith, and Christ's sufferings, were printed, Hagenoe, 1514.

Nicolaus Auximannus Picens, an Italian Franciscan monk, vicar of his order in Palestine; a pious man, and not destitute of learning, A. D. 1430. He wrote *Summa Casuum Conscientiæ*; *Supplementum ad Summam Pisanellem*; and *Interrogatorium Confessorum*; besides some things never printed.

Ægidius Carlerius, born at Cambray, fellow and professor of theology in the college of Navarre, Paris; dean of Cambray in 1431; opposer of the Hussites in the council of Basil, 1433. He died very aged, Nov. 23, 1473. His *Sporta Fragmentorum*, and his *Sportula Fragmentorum* (two collections of tracts defending the Romish religion), were printed, Brussels, 1478, 2 vols. folio. His long argument at Basil against the Hussites is in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. viii. p. 1759, &c.

Catharina Bononiensis, an Italian Franciscan abbess at Bologna; who thought she had many divine revelations. She flourished A. D. 1438, and died March 9th, 1463. Her *Liber de Revelationibus sibi factis* was printed Venice, 1583.

John de Lydgate, an English Benedictine monk, and teacher of youth, at St. Edmundsbury. He was the imitator of Chaucer, and accounted a good poet; born A. D. 1380, and lived till after 1460.

Thomas Walsingham, an English Benedictine monk of St. Alban's, where he was precentor, A. D. 1440. He wrote two Histories of England; the more concise, from A. D. 1273 to 1422; the larger, entitled *Hypodigma Neustria*, relates the history of Normandy from A. D. 1066 to 1417. Both are esteemed, and were printed, Lond. 1574, fol. He also continued the *Polychronicon* of Ranulph Higden, from 1342 to 1417.

John de Anania, a celebrated canonist of Bologna, who died A. D. 1455, leaving several large works on canon law, which have been printed.

Laurentius Valla, of patrician rank, born at Rome, A. D. 1415, doctor of theo-

logy, and canon of St. John de Lateran; a finished scholar, but extremely sarcastic, and a severe critic upon authors. He made himself many enemies: among whom was Poggius, with whom he had long and severe quarrels. In 1443, he left Rome and went to Naples, where Alphonsus V. patronized him. The Inquisitors would have burned him at the stake, had not that king protected him. He was at length permitted to return to Rome, and teach there till his death, A. D. 1465. He wrote *Elegantiarum Lingvæ Latinæ libri vi.* on the use of *Sui* and *Suus*; three works in controversy with Poggius; several other personal attacks; three books on Logic; on the spurious donation of Constantine the Great; Annotations on the New Testament; on Man's Supreme Good, three books; and a tract on Free-will. These works were printed at Basil, 1540, fol. He also wrote the history of Ferdinand of Aragon and Castile, from A. D. 1410 to 1415; besides notes on Sallust, Livy, Quintilian, and translations of the *Iliad*, Herodotus, Thucydides, &c.

Flavius Blondus, or Blondus Flavius, born in Italy A. D. 1388, a good classical scholar, secretary to various popes, died June 4th, 1463, aged 75. He wrote much, but so hastily, that his works are of little value. They are *Historiarum Decades III.*, or a general history of the western empire, from A. D. 410 to 1440; *Romæ Instauratæ libri iii.* (a description of Rome in his day); *Italiæ Illustratæ libri viii.* (description of Italy in the middle ages); *de Venetorum Origine et Gestis* (from A. D. 456 to 1291); *Romæ Triumphantis libri x.* (a description of the Roman republic in its best days); all these were printed, Basil, 1559, folio.

Meffrethus, a presbyter of the church of Meissen, A. D. 1443, who wrote *Hortum Regiæ* (sermons for the year), printed Norimb. 1487, fol. Basil, 1488, 2 vols. fol.

Reginaldus Pavo (in English, Peacock), born in Wales, educated at Oxford, bishop of St. Asaph A. D. 1444, and of Chichester A. D. 1450, accused of heresy, and compelled to retract in 1457, and died not long after. He laboured much to convince and convert the Wickliffites, Hussites, Lolhards, and Waldenses; but disapproved all persecution. He acknowledged the corruptions of the church; held the Scriptures to be the only rule of faith, yet allowed a place for natural religion; denied the

infallibility of popes and councils, yet admitted their right to legislate on points left undecided in the Scriptures. He wrote, in English, two books on the faith, published, with abridgment, Lond. 1688, 4to; also a prolix work against the assailants of the clergy, the Wickliffites and others, written in 1449, and still preserved in the public library at Cambridge. See Wharton's Appendix to Cave's *Historia Litterar.* [Bp. Peacock was deprived of his bishopric notwithstanding his recantation, and died a close prisoner in Thorney abbey, Cambridgeshire. See his life by Lewis, reprinted in 1820 by the university of Oxford. *Ed.*]

Leonard de Utino, Bellunensis, or Micensis, an Italian Dominican, rector of a gymnasium at Bologna, chaplain to Eugene IV., provincial of his order for Lombardy; flourished A. D. 1444. He has left us two series of sermons, which are elaborate, learned, and ingenious, but infected with the bad taste of the times (see Ammon's *Gesch. der Homiletik.* Gotting. 1804, p. 91, &c.); also a treatise *de Locis Communibus Prædicatorum*; and another, *de Legibus.*

Petrus de Piliendorf, a German professor of theology, about A. D. 1444, who wrote *Contra Sectam Waldensium Liber*; in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxv.

Matthæus Vegius, an Italian poet and man of letters, datary to Martin V., and a canon of Rome, died 1458. He wrote *de Perseverantia in Religione libri vii.*; *de Educatione Liberorum libri vi.*; *Disputatio Terre, Solis, et Auræ, de Præstantia*; *Dialogus de Miseria et Felicitate*; *Veritas invisita et exulans*; a poetic life of St. Anthony, the monk, in four books; on the Four Last Things; Paraphrases on the seven penitential Psalms. The preceding are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxvi.; also *de Significatione Verborum in Jure Civili*; and a thirteenth book of Virgil's *Æneid.*

Matthæus Palmerius, a poet, orator, and historian of Florence A. D. 1449; condemned to the flames for some expressions savouring of Arianism, in his Italian poem respecting the angels. He wrote a *Chronicon* from the creation to A. D. 1449; usually printed with those of Eusebius and Prosper.

John Capgrave, an English Augustinian monk of Canterbury, D. D., at Oxford, and provincial of his order, A. D. 1450. He died in 1464, or, as others say, 1484; was an eminent theologian, and a severe reprover of the dissolute clergy. He wrote a Catalogue, or Le-

gend, of all the English Saints; printed, London, 1516, fol. and many other works yet in manuscript.

Antonius de Rosellis, a Tuscan, professor of civil and canon law at Pavia, papal legate to the council of Basil, and privy councillor to the emperor, Frederic III.; died, at an advanced age, at Pavia, 1467. In his famous work, entitled *Monarchia*, he proves, from Scripture, the fathers, reason, and both civil and canon law, that the pope is not supreme in temporal things, and that he has no more power than any other bishop. He wrote some other law tracts.

Jahn Canales, D. D., an Italian Franciscan, much esteemed by the duke of Ferrara, A. D. 1450. He was a good scholar and divine; and wrote several tracts on practical religion; printed, Venice, 1494, fol.

Gulielmus Vorilongus, a French Dominican, called to Rome by Pius II. to defend his order against the Franciscans, relative to the blood of Christ; where he died A. D. 1464; leaving a commentary on the four books of Sentences, (printed, Lyons, 1484, &c.) and a Collection of passages from the Sentences that are against Scotus.

Nicolaus de Orbellis, or Dorbellus, a Franciscan professor of theology and scholastic philosophy at Poitiers, A. D. 1456; a strenuous defender of the opinions of Scotus, in a series of works, on the Sentences, logic, commentaries on Aristotle, &c.

Gulielmus Houpeland, a French theologian, archpresbyter of Paris, and dean of the theological faculty there, died Aug. 2. 1492. His book *de Immortalitate Animæ, et Statu ejus post mortem*, full of quotations from the ancients, was printed, Paris, 1499, 8vo.

Jacobus de Paradiso, a Carthusian monk, and doctor at Erfurth, A. D. 1457, wrote a number of tracts on ecclesiastical and religious subjects.

Pius II., better known as Æneas Sylvius of the noble Italian family of Piccolomini, born 1405; went to Siena in 1423, where he studied the poets and orators, and then the civil law; in 1431 he went to the council of Basil, where, for ten years, he was one of the most active and efficient in restricting the papal power, and urging a reform of the church. In 1439 he became a counsellor to pope Felix V., and in 1442 privy councillor and secretary of state to the emperor Frederic III. Here he slowly turned with the emperor to the side of Eugene IV., and was made a bishop in

1447; yet continued to serve the emperor in public business. In 1452 he was made legate for Bohemia and the Austrian dominions; was honoured with a cardinal's hat in 1456; and in 1458 was created pope; reigned nearly seven years, and died at Aucona, when ready to embark on an expedition against the Turks, Aug. 14th, 1464. His works are numerous, and written with much ability (for he was, perhaps, the best scholar that ever wore the triple crown); but those written before he was pope are contradictory to those written afterwards, and are marked in the *Index Expurgatorius*. He wrote *Bulla Retractationis Omnium ab eo olim contra Eugenium Papam in concilio Basiliensi gestorum*; *de Gestis Concilii Basiliensis libri ii.*; *de Coronatione Felicis V.*; *de Ortu, Regione, ac Gestis Bohemorum* (a history of the Bohemians, from their origin to A. D. 1458; often printed, e. g. Amberg, 1593, 4to); an Abridgment of Flav. Blondus' Roman history; *Cosmographia liber primus* (on Asia Minor); *Cosmographia liber secundus* (on Europe, in his age); a commentary on the history of Alphonsus king of Aragon, in four books; 432 epistles; and several other tracts. All the above were published, Basil, 1551, and Helmst. 1700, fol.

John Gobelinus, counsellor to pope Pius II., A. D. 1458. His name is annexed to the *Commentariorum de Rebus Gestis Pii II. Papæ libri xii.* which it is supposed Pius himself composed, and left with his secretary to correct and publish; printed, Francf. 1614, fol.

Jacobus Piccolominæus, counsellor to Callistus III. and Pius II., a cardinal in 1462, died in 1487, aged 57. He wrote *Commentariorum de Rebus toto orbe per Quinquennium Gestis libri vii.* (from A. D. 1464 to 1469); also 782 epistles; both printed, Francf. 1614, fol.

Andreas Barbatas, or Barbatias, a celebrated jurist of Sicily, A. D. 1460, who taught and died at Bologna. He commented on the canon law, and wrote on the offices of cardinal and legate à latere; and on some other parts of ecclesiastical law.

Gregory de Heimburg, a learned German jurist, active in the council of Basil, and much esteemed by Æneas Sylvius; a decided and firm opposer of the papal pretensions. His friend Sylvius, when pope, persecuted him for his adherence to the views that they had both held. His tracts against papal usurpations were printed, Francf. 1608, 4to.

Roderic Sincius de Arevalo, a Spanish

jurist, bishop, counsellor to the king of Castile, &c. flourished 1466. He wrote a History of Spain, in four books, from the earliest times to A. D. 1469; some law tracts; and *Speculum Humanæ Vitæ* (on the duties of all classes of people as immortal beings).

Alexander de Imola, called Tartagnus, a famous Italian jurist, who lectured on both civil and canon law, with vast applause for 30 years, at Pavia, Ferrara, and Bologna; and died A. D. 1487, aged 54; leaving much-esteemed commentaries on civil and canon law.

Jacobus Perezinus, a Spanish Augustinian monk and bishop, who died in 1491. He wrote allegorical commentaries on the Psalms, the Canticles, and the *Cantica Officialia*, and a tract against the Jews; most of them printed together, Venice, 1568, 4to.

Petrus Natalis, or de Natalibus, a Venetian, and bishop, in that territory, A. D. 1470. He wrote *Historia, sive Catalogus Martyrum et Sanctorum*; often printed.

Gabriel Barletta, an Italian Dominican monk, and distinguished preacher, A. D. 1470. His two volumes of sermons were printed 1470, Venice, 1585, 8vo.

Martin, surnamed Magister, rector of the college of St. Barbara at Paris, and a celebrated teacher of moral philosophy there, who died in 1482, aged 50. He wrote *Questiones Morales de Fortitudine* (Paris, 1489, fol.); *de Temperantia, &c.*

Rudolphus Agricola, born 1442, near Gröningen; studied at Gröningen, Paris and in Italy; became an elegant scholar; learned in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; a sound theologian, and a good philosopher. He taught a few years at Gröningen, and then at Worms, and Heidelberg where he died, Oct. 1485, aged 42. He wrote on Logical Invention; several orations and epistles; translations from the Greek, and comments on the Latin classics. Most of his works were printed, Cologne, 1539, fol. He opposed the corruptions of Rome.

Bartholomew Platina, an Italian; a soldier in his youth, then a man of letters, employed by cardinal Bessarion, and by pope Pius II., who gave him valuable benefices. Paul II. discarded him, imprisoned him, put him to the rack, and left him in poverty and disgrace. Sixtus IV. raised him again to honour and affluence, and made him keeper of the Vatican library. He died A. D. 1481; aged 60. He wrote *Historia de Vitis Pontificum* (from the Christian era to A. D. 1471; continued by Onu-

plinius Panvinus to A. D. 1565; frequently printed, e. g. Cologne, 1611, 4to); *de Honesta Voluptate et Valetudine libri x.*; *de Falso et Vero Bono dialogi iii.*; *de Optimo Cive dialogi ii.*; *de Naturis Rerum*; *de Vera Nobilitate*; a Panegyric on Besarion; a number of letters, and other tracts; all collected, Cologne, 1574, fol. besides several pieces published separately.

Robert Flemyng, an Englishman, educated at Oxford, resided some time at Rome, became dean of Lincoln, where he died. While in Italy, A. D. 1477, he wrote a fulsome, poetic Eulogy on Sixtus IV., in two books, entitled *Lucubrationes Tiburtine*; printed, Rome, 1477, 8vo.

John Raulin, educated at Paris, president of the college of Navarre, A. D. 1481; became a Cluniacensian monk in 1497; was learned and pious; died at Paris A. D. 1501, aged 71; leaving many sermons and addresses, and 55 letters; published, Antwerp, 1612, 6 vols. 4to.

Augustinus Patricius, a canon of the church of Siena, and secretary to cardinal Francis Piccolomini; by whose direction he composed, A. D. 1480, a History of the Councils of Basil and Florence; published in the Collections of Councils.

Matthæus Mareschalcus de Bappenheim, a German jurist, and canon of Augsburg; flourished A. D. 1480. He wrote *Chronicon Australe* (of Europe, from A. D. 852 to 1327); *Chronicon Augustanum* (of Augsburg, from A. D. 973 to 1104); and *Chronicon Elwangense* (from A. D. 1095 to 1477); published by Freher, *Scriptores German.* tom. i.

Hermolaus Barbarus, a Venetian patrician, born A. D. 1454, an elegant Greek and Latin scholar; envoy to the pope in 1491, who created him patriarch of Aquileia, without the consent of the senate of Venice. This involved him and his whole family in trouble, in banishment, and confiscation of property. He died at Rome A. D. 1494, aged 59. He corrected several of the Greek and Latin classics; translated some, and wrote a number of orations, poems, and tracts.

Baptista Salvis, or de Salis, an Italian Franciscan, A. D. 1480. He wrote *Summa Cusuum Conscientie*, usually called *Baptistiana*; printed, Paris, 1499.

Angelus de Clavasio, an Italian Franciscan, vicar general of the Observants; a distinguished theologian and jurist; died 1495. He wrote *Summa Casuum Conscientie* (Norimb. 1588, fol.), and *De*

Restitutionibus; and *Arca Fidei* (Complutum, 1562, 4to.).

Baptista Trovamala, an Italian Franciscan, resident at Louvain, A. D. 1480. He wrote *Summa Casuum Conscientie*; Paris, 1515, 8vo.

Bernardinus Aquilinus, an Italian Franciscan, a learned jurist, and court preacher at Rome, A. D. 1480. He wrote, besides sermons, several tracts on practical subjects, and on points of canon law.

Antonius de Balocho, or de Vercellis, an Italian regular Observant Franciscan, and an eloquent preacher, A. D. 1480. He left several sermons and religious tracts.

Bernardinus Tomitanus, surnamed Parvus, from his diminutive stature; an Italian Franciscan, in high repute at Rome, eminent for piety and eloquence. He died at Pavia, Sept. 28. 1494; leaving several Italian sermons, and a tract *De Modo Confitendi*.

Bernardinus de Bustis, an Italian Franciscan preacher, learned and superstitious. He died after A. D. 1500, leaving several series of sermons, and offices for the festivals of the conception of Mary, and the name of Jesus.

Robert Caracciolus, de Licio, an Italian Franciscan preacher, of very moving address. He died A. D. 1495, having preached fifty years; and left numerous sermons; printed, Venice, 1490, 3 vols. folio.

Michael de Mediolano (or de Carcano; according to Wadding), a celebrated Italian Franciscan preacher, A. D. 1480; who has left numerous printed sermons.

Andreas, a Dominican, and a cardinal; eminent for sanctity, eloquence, and zeal for reformation. Finding the pope and cardinals opposed to a reformation of morals, he in 1482 applied to the emperor Frederic III., went to Bale, endeavoured to assemble a general council there; was anathematized by the pope, seized, imprisoned, and strangled. Several of his letters and tracts on this subject are annexed to J. H. Hottinger's *Historia Ecclesiast. Sacul.* xv.

Marsilius Ficinus, a Florentine, patronized by Laurence de Medicis. He was a good classic scholar, the great reviver of Platonic philosophy; a good theologian, and (after hearing Savonarola) a pious man, and good preacher. He died A. D. 1499; leaving numerous works illustrative of the classic authors, the Platonic philosophy, and the prin-

ciples of sound piety. His Epistles, in twelve books, contain many sound and devout essays. His collected works have been often printed, *c. g.* Paris, 1641, in two vols. folio.

Wernerus Rollwinck de Laer, a Westphalian, and Carthusian monk, at Cologne; died A. D. 1502, aged 77. He wrote *Fasciculus Temporum*, embracing all the ancient Chronicles, and coming down (in different copies) to A. D. 1470. 1474. 1480; and continued, by John Linturius, to A. D. 1514; in Pistorius, *Rerum Germanicarum*, tom. ii. *De Westphaliae Situ et Laudibus*; *Questiones xii. pro Sacrae Theologiae Studiosis*; and some other things.

Jacobus Gruytrudins, a Carthusian monk, and a prior near Liege, A. D. 1483. He wrote *Speculum Quintuplex Prælatorum, Subditorum, Sacerdotum, Secularium Hominum, et Senum* (on the duties of each).

John Picus, a prince of Mirandula and Concordia, born 1463, became a very finished scholar, a great linguist and philosopher, a great disputant, and then a sober theologian, and at last a humble and zealous Christian; resigned his office, retired from the world, and was cut off prematurely, A. D. 1494, aged 32. Besides his early disputations, he wrote Precepts for a Holy Life; on the 15th Psalm; on the Kingdom of Christ, and the vanity of the world; on the Lord's Prayer; epistles, &c. all published, Basil, 1601, fol.

John Trithemius, or de Tritenheim, near Treves, born in 1462; educated at Treves and Heidelberg; became a Benedictine monk, A. D. 1484, presided over the monastery of Spanheim, A. D. 1485—1505; and over that at Würzburg from 1506 till his death, A. D. 1518. He was a man of vast reading, and a very voluminous writer. He wrote *Chronologia Mystica*; *De Origine Gentis et Regum Francorum* (from the year 433 B. C. to A. D. 1514); *Chronicon Ducum et Comitum Palatinorum*; *Catalogus Scriptorum Germanicorum*; *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum* (a work of much labour, embracing 970 articles); *Chronicon Canobii Hirsaugiensis*; *Chronicon Monasterii Sti Martini Spanheimensis*; *Epistole Familiares*, 140. The preceding were published, Francf. 1601, 2 vols. fol. Some other Chronicons, sermons, tracts, and letters compose another folio, printed at Mayence, 1604. Other pieces appeared, Cologne, 1624, 8vo. He also wrote *Polygraphia libri vi.*; *Steganographia*; *De Providentia Dei*; *Historia*

Belli Bavarici anno 1504 gesti; and *Tractatus Chymicus*.

Carolus Fernandus, of Bruges, a professor at Paris, 1486, and a Benedictine monk. He wrote *De Animi Tranquillitate libri ii.*; *De Immaculata B. Virginis Conceptione libri ii.*; *Collationum Monasticarum libri iv.*; *Speculum Disciplinae Monasticae*; *De Observat. Regule Benedictinae*.

Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis (Anthony de Lebrija, an Andalusian), a Spaniard, born in 1444, travelled in Italy, became a finished scholar, did much for the cause of polite learning in Spain; aided cardinal Ximenes in his literary labours; wrote much; and died at Alcalá, A. D. 1522, aged 77. He was a learned editor of classical and religious works; wrote the history of Ferdinand and Isabella, to A. D. 1509; on the war of Navarre, A. D. 1512; a Lexicon of Civil Law; a Medical Lexicon; a Latin-Spanish, and Spanish-Latin Lexicon; a Latin Grammar; and several other things.

Aurelius Brandolinus, of Florence, a distinguished theologian, poet, and preacher, and at last an Augustinian hermit; died at Rome A. D. 1498.

Henry Bebelius, a German, an elegant scholar, poet-laureat, teacher of *Belles Lettres* at Tübingen A. D. 1497. He wrote much, chiefly on rhetoric and poetry. His collected works were published, Strasb. 1513, fol.

Gaufridus Bonusardus, D. D., educated at Paris, chancellor there, travelled in Italy, bishop of Le Mans A. D. 1518: died there A. D. 1520, aged 81. He wrote on Marriage of the Clergy; on the Mass; and on the vii. Penitential Psalms.

Donatus Bossius, of Milan, flourished A. D. 1489. His *Chronicon* (or universal history, from the creation to his own times), and *Chronicon de Episcopis et Archiepiscopis Mediolanensibus* (to A. D. 1489) were both printed, Milan, 1492, fol.

Marens Antonius Coccius Sabellius, a schoolmaster at Rome and Utino, historiographer to the state of Venice; died of the venereal disease, A. D. 1506, aged 70. He wrote *Rhapsodia Historiarum* (from the creation to A. D. 1504); *De Rebus Gestis Venetorum* (from the founding of the city to A. D. 1487, in thirty-three books); *Exemplorum libri x.*; *De Aquileie Antiquitate libri vi.*; *De Venetæ urbis Situ libri iii.*; *De Venetis Magistratibus Liber*; *De Prætoris Officio Liber*; *De Officio Scribæ Liber*; *Epistolarum libri xii.* besides orations and poems: collected, Basil, 1560, 4 vols. fol.

Bonifacius Simoneta, of Milan, a Cistercian monk, and abbot of Placentia, A. D. 1490. He wrote on the persecutions of the Christians, and the history of the pontiffs, from St. Peter to Innocent VIII. in 279 letters; divided into six books, Basil, 1509.

Petrus Apollonius Collatius, a presbyter of Novara, in Italy, probably lived about A. D. 1490. He wrote *De Excidio Hierosolymorum (a Tito) libri* iv. in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xii. Some refer him to the seventh century.

Robert Guaguinus, of Belgium, educated at Paris, a monk of the order of the Holy Trinity for the redemption of captives, general of his order in 1473, and envoy of Lewis XII. of France to Italy, Germany, and France; died at Paris, A. D. 1501. He wrote *Annales Rerum Gallicarum*, in twelve books; on the immaculate conception; *De Arte Metrorum libri* iii., orations, poems, &c.

Felinus Sandeus, LL. D., of Ferrara, professor of canon law at Pisa, A. D. 1464—1481, then prefect of the Rota, at Rome, and bishop of Lucca in 1499; died 1503. He wrote largely on canon law; and an abridged history of Sicily. His works, in several folios, were printed, Venice, 1570.

John Geiler, of Kaysersburg, born A. D. 1445, educated at Friburg and Basil; an eminent preacher, and religious man. He preached at Friburg, Würzburg, and for 30 years at Strasburg, where he died in 1510. His numerous sermons are excellent, for the day, and have been frequently printed. See a critique upon them, with his biography, in Ammon's *Geschichte der Homiletik*, Götting. 1804, p. 217—268.

John Reuchlin, in Latin Capnio, [or rather, in Greek,] born in Suabia, Jan. 1st, 1454, educated at Baden, Paris, Basil, and Orleans; and retired to Germany in 1481, a finished scholar. He next accompanied the count of Wirtemberg to Rome, and returning, was sent envoy to the imperial court. Here he studied Hebrew under a Jew, but perfected himself in that language at Rome. He was an elegant Latin and Greek scholar, and a great promoter of the fine arts in Germany; likewise learned in the Hebrew, and a great promoter of Hebrew learning. His censures of the ignorance and stupidity of the clergy drew on him their persecution. They attacked him, as being inclined to Judaism, and also as one poisoned by the

Greek and Latin poets. He opposed them with ridicule and sarcasm; particularly in his two books of Letters to Obscure Men. The quarrel became serious, but at length was merged in that greater contest between the Romanists and Protestants. He wrote *De Arte Cabbalistica libri* iii. *De Verbo Mirifico libri* iii. (on the absurdities of Greek, Hebrew, and Christian philosophy); a Version of the eight penitential Psalms, from the Hebrew; *De Arte Concionandi Libellus; an Judaeorum Talmud sit Supprimendum? Breviloquium* (a concise Latin dictionary); a Hebrew Lexicon and Grammar (Basil, 1554, fol.); Rudiments of the Hebrew language; on the accents and orthography of Hebrew; *Obscurorum Virorum ad Ortunum Gratium Epistoliarum libri* ii.; and a few other things.

Jacobus Wimphelingius, born in Alsace, A. D. 1449, studied theology at Friburg, Basil, Erfurth, and Heidelberg; became an eloquent preacher; settled at Spire A. D. 1494; and after several years removed to Heidelberg, where he wrote and instructed youth. He died A. D. 1528, aged 80. He was a pious man, and laboured for a reformation of morals, but shuddered at the concussions produced by the reformers. He wrote many historical, devotional, and literary pieces, which were published separately.

Oliver Maillard, of Paris, a Franciscan, general of his order, and a noted preacher; died A. D. 1502. He published his sermons and tracts, Lyons, 1499, fol.

Antonius Bonfinius, an Italian, a fine Latin and Greek scholar, highly esteemed by Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, by whose suggestion he wrote *Rerum Hungaricarum libri* xlv. (a history of Hungary, from the earliest times to A. D. 1495,) repeatedly printed; *c. g.* Hanover, 1606, fol.

John Jovian Pontanus, born in Umbria, spent his life at the court of Naples, where he became epistolary secretary to the king; and died 1503, aged 78. He was a fine Latin scholar, and a poet, orator, and historian; but exceedingly sarcastic, and rather a pagan than Christian moralist. He wrote largely on particular virtues and vices; *De Sermone libri* vi. *De Bello Neapolitano* (between Ferdinand of Naples and John, Duke of Anjou) *libri* vi., some dialogues, and numerous poems; all collected, Basil, 1556, in 4 vols. 8vo.

Nicolaus Simonis, a Carmelite monk of Haerlem, who died, at an advanced age, A. D. 1511. He wrote sermons on Canon Law, and on the power of the popes and councils.

James Sprenger, a Dominican monk of Cologne, provincial of his order, A. D. 1495, inquisitor-general for Germany. He wrote *Malleus Maleficarum* (against witchcraft) in three books; Franef. 1580, 8vo.

John Nauclerus, LL. D. professor of canon law at Tübingen, flourished A. D. 1500. He wrote *Chronicon Universale*, (from the creation to A. D. 1500.) enlarged and revised by Melancthon; often published.

The preceding writers belong to the 15th century. The following, of the 16th century, and before Luther, are inserted to make the list reach to the time of the reformation.

John Ludovicus Vives, born in Spain, studied there, and at Paris and Louvain. In the latter place, he became an elegant Latin and Greek scholar, and a teacher of the liberal arts. He aided Erasmus in editing the fathers, and commented on Augustine's *Civitas Dei*; went to England to be tutor to Mary, daughter of Henry VIII.; returned, and lived at Bruges till his death, A. D. 1537. He wrote much on education, on the classics, and on devotional subjects; collected, Basil, 1555, 2 vols. fol.

John Ludovicus Vivaldus, a Dominican, born in Piedmont, bishop of Dalmatia, A. D. 1519. He wrote several tracts on experimental religion, printed, Lyons, 1558.

Baptista Mantuanus, of Spanish extraction, born in Mantua, Italy, A. D. 1448, became a Carmelite; general of his order, A. D. 1513; died in 1516, aged 68; a prolific poet, biographer of saints, and religious writers. His works were printed, Antwerp, 1576, 4 vols. 8vo.

Peter Martyr Anglerius, born at Milan, went to Spain A. D. 1487, served the king in various offices; was sent envoy to the Sultan of Egypt A. D. 1501; and died after A. D. 1525. He wrote *de Navigatione Oceani libri xxx.* (describing Columbus's recent discoveries, written A. D. 1502,) Paris, 1587, 8vo. *De Legatione sua Babylonica libri iii.* (printed with the preceding); *Epistolarum libri xxxviii.* (nearly a complete history of Europe, from 1488 to 1526, in 813 letters,) Amsterd. 1670, fol.

Pelbartus Oswaldus, a Hungarian Franciscan, flourished A. D. 1501. He wrote *Aurum S. Theologicæ Rosarium*,

juxta iv. Sententiarum Libros (Hagenoæ, 1508, 2 vols. fol.) and many sermons, printed at different times.

John Meder, a German Franciscan; preacher at Basil A. D. 1501. He wrote sermons for the year, on the parable of the prodigal son; Paris, 1511, 8vo.

Mauritius de Portu Fildaus, of Irish birth; his Irish name was Ophillila. From his early childhood he lived about 40 years in Italy; was a Franciscan, and taught theology at Pavia; flourished A. D. 1505. Pope Julius II. made him archbishop of Tuam. He was at the Lateran council in 1513; and died A. D. 1514, not quite 50 years old. He was a distinguished theologian of the school of Scotus; whose principles he illustrated in a series of works.

Nicolaus Dionysii, or de Nyse, a French Franciscan, prior of the convent of Rouen, and provincial of his order, A. D. 1501; died at Rouen A. D. 1509; wrote *Resolutio Theologorum*, or comments on the four Books of Sentences; and many sermons.

James Almain, a French scholastic divine of Paris, a Scotist, and defender of the superiority of councils over popes; a lecturer on dialectics, philosophy, and theology, in the college of Navarre; flourished in 1502, and died in 1515. His lectures were published, also tracts on morals, on the authority of councils, reply to cardinal Cajetan, &c. Paris, 1516.

Finus Hadrianus, an Italian of Ferrara, secretary of the treasury of the duke. In 1503, being then in years, he wrote *Flagellus adversus Judæos, libri ix.* printed, Venice, 1538, 4to.

Albert Crantz, born at Hamburg, doctor of canon law and theology, A. D. 1490; rector of the university of Rostock, dean of Hamburg; died December 7, 1517. He ardently desired a reformation of the church; but despairing of it, used to say to Luther—"Brother, brother, go to your cell and say, 'The Lord be merciful.'" He wrote *Metropolis*, (a history of the German churches, especially in Saxony, founded in the age of Charlemagne,) Cologne, 1574, 8vo. *Historia Saxonica libri xiii.* Frankf. 1575. *Historia Vandalicæ libri xiv.* Frankf. 1575. *Chronicon Gentium Septentrionalium*, (Denmark, Sweden, and Norway,) Frankf. 1257. All these are prohibited by the *Index Expurgatorius*, till purged of their heresy.

John Stella, a Venetian priest, wrote in the year 1505, *Commentarium de Vita*

et Moribus Pontificum Romanorum; from St. Peter to A. D. 1505, printed, Venice, 1507, and 1650, 24mo. He dared not tell all he knew.

Damianus Crassus, a Dominican of Lombardy, published A. D. 1506, a prolix commentary on Job; with several theological essays. He died A. D. 1516.

Francis Ximenes, [Gonzalo Ximenes de Cisneros,] a Spaniard, nobly born [but of a reduced family] at Alcalá [at Tordelaguna], A. D. 1437 [1436], and well educated for the ministry, at Alcalá, (where he was taught grammar,) and Salamanca (where he was placed at fourteen). After visiting Italy, and filling some minor ecclesiastical offices, he forsook the world, became a Franciscan [Observantine] monk [friar] at Toledo, [where a superb pile was then erecting for that strict order by Ferdinand and Isabella; he then assumed the name of Francis, after the founder of his order, and building a little hermitage with his own hands] retired to a sequestered spot; became an abbot, confessor to queen Isabella in 1492, provincial of his order, archbishop of Toledo A. D. 1495, high chancellor of the empire, inquisitor-general of Spain; founded the university of Alcalá (*Complutum*) in 1500, [opened in July, 1508;] was regent of the prince, and protector of the empire in 1506; cardinal in 1507; ruled all Spain from A. D. 1515; and died 7th Novemb. 1517, aged 80. He was learned, and a great promoter of learning; an austere monk, a sound catholic, an able statesman, and a benefactor of his country. His great work was the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, in 6 vols. fol. printed at Alcalá (*Complutum*), A. D. 1501—1515; on which he expended 50,000 crowns, employed a great number of the best scholars, and had the best manuscripts from the Vatican library. ["It was not brought to an end till 1517, fifteen years after its commencement and a few months only before the death of its illustrious projector." Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, iii. 303.—*Ed.*]

Alphonsus Zamora, a Spanish Jew, and rabbi, converted to Christianity, and employed by cardinal Ximenes on his Polyglot Bible. He flourished A. D. 1506. He was the chief writer of the sixth volume of the Polyglot, containing the

Apparatus for understanding the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Samaritan of the Old Testament. He also wrote another Hebrew Grammar, a concise Lexicon, and a treatise on Hebrew points; together with a letter to the Jews; all printed at Alcalá, 1526, 4to.

Philippus Decius, LL. D. a famous Italian professor of canon law at Pisa, and other places; who died A. D. 1535, aged above 80. In 1511, he gave an opinion, that a general council may be called without the consent of the pope; an opinion which he defended at length. He wrote also extensive commentaries on Canon Law, which were printed.

Thomas Radinus called Todiseus, an Italian Dominican of Piacenza, an acute theologian, and a distinguished poet and orator; flourished A. D. 1510. He wrote *De Pulchritudine Animæ*; *Abyssus Sideralis*; an Oration against Luther; and another against Melancthon.

Cyprianus Benetus, a Spanish Dominican professor of theology at Paris, A. D. 1511. He wrote several tracts respecting the papal power, and some other things.

Marcus Vigerius, a Genoese Dominican, professor of theology at Padua and Rome, bishop of Sinigaglia, and a cardinal; died A. D. 1516, aged 70. He wrote various treatises respecting the death of Christ; printed, Douay, 1607, two vols.

John Aventinus, born in Bavaria A. D. 1466, studied at Ingolstadt and Paris; became a finished scholar; taught the classics at Vienna, Ingolstadt, and Munich; intimate with Erasmus. At the instigation and expense of the princes of Bavaria, he wrote *Annales Boiorum libris vii.* (from the earliest times to A. D. 1460.) Ingolst. 1554, fol. and enlarged, Basil, 1580, fol. He died A. D. 1534, aged 68. His Annals are prohibited by the *Index Expurgatorius*, till purged of their heresies.

Peter Galatinus, an Italian converted Jew, a Franciscan, doctor of theology, and Apostolic penitentiary; flourished A. D. 1516; died after A. D. 1532. He wrote a Dialogue between Galatinus, Capnio, and Hoestratus, entitled *Opus de Arcanis Catholicæ Veritatis*; chiefly borrowed from Raymund Martini's *Pugio Fidei*; printed often; e. g. Frankf. 1672, fol. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

§ 1. Corrupt state of religion.—§ 2. Witnesses for the truth every where.—§ 3. Commotions in Bohemia.—§ 4. The Hussite war. Its conductors.—§ 5. The Calixtines.—§ 6. The Taborites.—§ 7. The Bohemian commotions terminated.—§ 8. Expositors of the Scriptures.—§ 9. The dogmatic and moral theologians much disliked.—§ 10. Especially by the well-educated.—§ 11. And by the Mystics.—§ 12. Polemic theology.—§ 13. Schism between the Greeks and Latins, not yet healed.—§ 14. Controversies among the Latins.

§ 1. THAT the public religion of the Latins had no longer any thing which could please pious and sensible men, is a fact so well attested, that even those who have the strongest inclination to do so, dare not deny it. Nor among the Greeks and Orientals was religious teaching much better. Nearly the whole worship of God consisted in ceremonies; and those in a great measure puerile and silly. The sermons that were delivered occasionally to the people, not only wanted sense and reason, but even religion and piety; while they were stuffed on the other hand with fables and offensive inventions.¹ And he was accounted sufficiently well informed and pious, among the Latins, who revered the clergy, and especially the head of that body, the Roman pontiff; who secured the favours of the saints, by frequent offerings to them, that is, to their temples and ministers; who attended the stated ceremonies; and who had, moreover, money enough to buy off the penalties of sins from those who sought supplies for the pope's exchequer by the sale of indulgences. Any one who added occasionally to these things a degree of severity towards his own body, was thought most closely connected with God. But it was made their business by very few to seek just views of divine subjects, to settle

¹ [For a full account of the preachers, and the subjects and modes of preaching in this century, see C. F. Ammon's

Geschichte der Homiletik, vol. i. Götting, 1804, 8vo, also with the title *Gesch. der praktischen Theologie. Tr.*]

their minds according to the precepts of Jesus Christ, to make the sacred books their counsellor: and such as were in this minority had a hard matter to escape the pyre.

§ 2. This cruel calamity and misery wise and religious men, in almost all the countries of the Latins, both saw and strove to alleviate, although their plans and operations differed. In England and Scotland the followers of *Wickliffe*, who were popularly branded with the odious name of *Lollhards*, found continual fault with the decisions of the pontiffs, and the conduct of the clergy.² The *Waldenses*, though oppressed from every quarter, did not cease to cry aloud from the remote valleys and hiding-places into which they had been driven, that help must be given to religion and piety, which were almost extinct. Even in Italy itself, *Jerome Savonarola*, among others, asserted that Rome was a second Babylon; and had many to support him. But as most of the priests, together with the monks, well understood that no diminution of the public ignorance, superstition, and folly, could take place without a corresponding one of their own emoluments and honours, they strenuously opposed all amendment; and employed fire and sword to force these importunate physicians into silence and inaction.

§ 3. The religious dissensions and controversies in Bohemia, which originated from *John Huss* and *Jacobellus de Misa*, broke out into a fierce and deadly war, after the lamentable death of *Huss* and *Jerome* of Prague, at Constance. The friends of *Huss* and defenders of the [sacramental] cup, being persecuted in various ways by those who sided with the Roman pontiffs, chose a high and rugged mountain in the district of Bechin, where they held their religious meetings, and celebrated the Lord's Supper in *both kinds*. This mountain they called *Tabor*, from the tents under which they lived there at first; but afterwards they built fortifications upon it, and a regular city. And now proceeding further, they put themselves under *Nicholas* of Hussinetz, lord of the place where *Huss* was born, and the celebrated *John Ziska*, a Bohemian knight, and a man of great valour: that under these leaders they might avenge the death of *John Huss* and *Jerome*, upon the friends of the Roman pontiff, and obtain the liberty of worshipping God in a different

² See David Wilkins's *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ*, tom. iv. Anth. Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. pp. 202. 204, &c.

manner from that prescribed by the statutes of the Romish church. *Nicholas* died in the year 1420, and left *Ziska* alone to take the lead in this company, which increased every day. Among the first conflicts, and when greater ills were beginning, A. D. 1419, the Bohemian king and emperor, *Wenceslaus*, was removed by death.

§ 4. His successor, the emperor *Sigismund*, employed edicts, arms, and penalties, to bring this war to a close; and he put many of the Hussites to a miserable death. Hence in the year 1420, the Bohemians revolted from him, and under *John Ziska* made war upon him. This *Ziska*, though blind, so managed the war as to render his very name terrible to his foes. On the death of *Ziska*, A. D. 1424, a large part of the Hussites chose for their leader *Procopius Rasa*; a man of equal energy, who successfully managed the cause of his party. On both sides, many things were done ferociously and cruelly — in fact, quite inhumanly. For both the contending parties, though they differed in most of their opinions as to religion and religious worship, yet both held the common principle, that the enemies of true religion might justly be assailed with arms, and be extirpated with fire and sword. The Bohemians, in particular, who contended that *Huss* had been unjustly committed to the flames at Constance, still admitted, in general, that corruptors of religion and heretics ought to be subjected to capital punishments: *Huss*, however, they maintained, was no heretic. In this war, so great was the inhumanity on both sides, that it is difficult to say which beat the other in cruelty, and in the multitude of its crimes.

§ 5. All the avengers of the death of *Huss* were in harmony at the commencement of the war: at least, they had the same views, and made the same demands. But when their number was increased, and multitudes of all sorts of persons joined their standard, great dissension arose among them on many points; and in the year 1420, this produced an open schism, dividing the body into two principal factions, the *Calixtines* and the *Taborites*. The former, or *Calixtines*, who derived their name from the *cup*³ which they wished to have restored in the eucharist, were of more moderate views, and did not wish to have the old constitution and government of the Church over-

³ Calix.

turned, or the religion of their progenitors changed. All that they required, was comprehended in these four wishes:—I. That the word of God might be preached in its purity and simplicity to the people:—II. That the sacred supper might be administered *in both kinds*:—III. That the clergy might be recalled from the pursuit of wealth and power, to a life and conduct becoming the successors of the apostles:—IV. That the greater or *mortal* sins might be duly punished. Yet those who confined themselves within these limits, were not free from disagreements. In particular there was a great contest among them respecting the Lord's Supper. For *James de Misa*, the author of the doctrine that the sacred supper should be administered *in both kinds*, maintained that the sacramental elements should be presented to infants; and many followed his views; but others were for prohibiting the admission of infants to the sacred supper.⁴

§ 6. The *Taborites*, who derived their name from mount *Tabor*, made far more extensive demands. For they wished to have both religion, and the government of the Church, restored to their original simplicity; the authority of the pontiff put down, and the Romish form of worship abolished; in short, they wished for an entirely new church and commonwealth, in which *Christ* himself should reign, and every thing be conducted by divine instigation. This made their principal teachers, *Martin Loquis*, a Moravian, and his associates, so extravagant, as to indulge themselves in fanatical dreams, and to disseminate and teach publicly, that *Jesus Christ* was about to descend, to purge away the corruptions of the Church with fire and sword; and other similar fictions. On this party alone, fall all the horrid deeds, the murders, plunderings, and burnings, which have been charged upon the *Hussites*, and upon their leaders, *Zisha* and *Procopius*. At least, a great portion of this class had imbibed cruel sentiments, and breathed nothing but war and blood against their enemies.⁵

⁴ See *Byzinius, Diarium Hussiticum*, p. 130, &c.

⁵ I will here transcribe some of the *Taborite* sentiments which Laur. *Byzinius* has faithfully stated, in his *Diarium Hussiticum*, p. 203, &c. "All the opposers of *Christ's* law ought to perish with the seven last plagues, to inflict which the faithful are to be called forth. In this

time of vengeance, *Christ* is not to be imitated in his mildness and pity towards those sinners, but in his zeal, and fury, and just retribution. In this time of vengeance, every believer, even a presbyter, however spiritual, *is accursed, if he withhold his material sword from the blood of the adversaries of Christ's law; for he ought to wash and sanctify his hands*

§ 7. The council of Bâle, A. D. 1433, attempted to put an end to this dreadful war in Bohemia; and accordingly invited the Bohemians to the council. They appeared by their envoys; among whom their general *Procopius* was one.⁶ But after much discussion, the Bohemians returned home, nothing being accomplished. The *Calixtines* were not averse from peace: but the *Taborites* could not be moved at all to yield. Afterwards, *Æneas Sylvius*, who, with others, was sent by the council into Bohemia, managed the matter more successfully. For by granting the use of the cup to the *Calixtines*, which was the chief object of their wishes, he reconciled them to the Roman pontiff. But with the other party, the *Taborites*, neither the shrewdness and eloquence of *Sylvius*, nor the numberless menaces, sufferings, and persecutions to which they were afterwards exposed, could avail any thing. From this time, however, they regulated both their religion and their discipline more discreetly and suitably; abandoned war; discarded those tenets which were at variance with genuine Christianity; and rejected and excluded all those who were either beside themselves, or of blemished morals.⁷ These are those *Bohemian Brethren*, or, as they were called by their enemies, *Piccards*, i. e. *Beghards*, who at the time of the Reformation entered into alliance with *Luther*

in their blood." From men of such sentiments, who could expect any thing of equity, justice, or kindness?—On this most calamitous war, besides the ancient writers, *Sylvius*, *Theobaldus*, *Cochlæus*, and others, *James Lenfant* has written an appropriate work; *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*, Amsterd. 1731, 2 vols. 4to. But to this should be added, a work that *Lenfant* did not consult, *Laur. Byzinius, Diarium Belli Hussitici*; a tract written with great fidelity, and published, though mutilated, by *Jo. Peter à Ludewig*, in his *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum*, tom. vi. and also *Beausobre's Supplément à l'Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*; Lausanne, 1745, 4to.

⁶ [The Bohemians appeared at Constance, 300 men on horseback; among whom were, besides *Procopius*, *William Cosca*, *John Rockyzanus*, a *Calixtine* priest, *Nicholas Galaccus*, a *Taborite* priest, and *Peter Anglieus*. In the name of their countrymen, they proposed the four following articles:—I. Whoever would be saved, must receive the eucharist in both kinds. II. Tem-

poral authority is forbidden to the clergy by the divine law. III. The preaching of the word of God should be free to every man. IV. Public crimes must by no means go unpunished. On these points, four Bohemian divines and four members of the council disputed for fifty days. Their speeches may be seen in *Harduin's Concilia*, tom. viii. p. 1655, &c. The council answered their demands so equivocally, that they deemed it expedient to break off the negotiation and return home. *Schl.*]

⁷ See *Adrian Regenvolscius, Historia Eccles. Provinciar. Slavonicar.* lib. ii. cap. 8, p. 165. *Joach. Camerarius, Historica Narratio de Fratrum Ecclesiis in Bohemia, Moravia, et Polouia*, Heidelb. 1605, 4to. *Jo. Lasitius, Historia Fratrum Bohemicorum*; which I have before me in manuscript; the 8th book of it was printed at Amsterd. 1649, 8vo. [See also *Jo. Thco. Elsner's* Dissertations relative to the creed, the usages, and the history of the Bohemian Brethren; in *Dan. Gerdes' Miscellanea Groningana*, tom. vi. vii. and viii. *Tr.*]

and his associates, and whose posterity still exist in Poland and in some other countries.

§ 8. In most of the interpreters of the sacred volume, whom this age produced in abundance, there is nothing to be commended, except their good intentions. Those who relied upon their own resources, and did not plunder from the writings of their predecessors, amused, or rather beguiled their readers, with what were called *mystical*, *anagogical*, and *allegorical* contemplations. At the head of all the interpreters, stood *Alphonso Tostatus*, bishop of Avila; whose ponderous volumes on the Holy Scriptures are extant, but contain nothing remarkable, except a prodigious mass of writing. *Laurentius Valla*, by his little book of critical and grammatical *Notes on the New Testament*, did more for the cause of sacred literature; for he there showed subsequent interpreters how to remove the difficulties that attend the reading and understanding of the sacred books. It is proper to add here, that in most of the countries of Europe, as in France, Italy, Germany, and Britain, the Holy Scriptures were translated into the vernacular languages; which portended a great change in the prevailing religion, and a reformation of it, from the sources of religious knowledge.

§ 9. In the theological schools, those almost exclusively reigned who loaded the memory with dialectical terms and distinctions, in order to dispute in a regular manner on divine subjects; which, however, they did not understand themselves. Very few remained of those who were inclined to demonstrate the doctrines and precepts of religion by the declarations of the sacred volume and of the ancient divines. There were, however, wise and learned men whom the faults of the prevalent mode of teaching did not escape, and who pronounced it ruinous to religion and piety. Hence, various plans were formed, by different persons, for either abolishing or reforming it; and the scholastics had no small number of enemies. The mystics, of whom we are presently to speak, were of opinion that all this kind of wisdom ought to be banished from the Christian Church. Others, who were more moderate, thought that it ought not be wholly suppressed, but that vain and idle questions should be excluded, the delirious rage for wrangling and disputation be restrained, and the scholastic subtlety be seasoned and tempered with the mystic simplicity. This was the opinion of the great *John Gerson*, who is known to have been assiduous in correcting

the faults of the scholastic tribe.⁸ Of the same opinion was *Nicolas Cusanus*, whose tract *on learned ignorance* is still extant; and likewise *Peter de Alliaco*, *Savonarola*, and others.

§ 10. The restorers of the *belles lettres* and elegant composition were no less hostile to this wrangling tribe. Yet they did not all possess the same views. For some of them treated the discipline of the schools with ridicule and contempt; and thought it deserved to be banished altogether, as being nugatory and pernicious to the culture of the mind. But others thought it might indeed be suffered to exist, but that it ought to be exhibited with the charms of eloquence and a purer diction. Of this class was *Paul Cortesius*, who composed a splendid work *on the Sentences*; in which, as he says, he united eloquence with theology, and explained the principal subtleties of the scholastics in a polished style of composition.⁹ But the designs of all these persons were resisted by the very powerful influence of the Dominicans and Franciscans; who excelled in this species of learning, and who would not suffer the glory which they had acquired, by wrangling and disputing, to become tarnished.

§ 11. While the scholastics were thus sinking in the estimation of men of genius, the *mystics* were gaining strength, and obtaining many friends and supporters. And there were among them several excellent men, who can be taxed with but few of the faults of that kind of doctrine which they followed; such as *Thomas à Kempis*, the author of the *Theologia Germanica*, which was commended by *Luther* himself; also *Laur. Justinianus*, *Jerome Savonarola*, and others. Yet there were other mystics, as *Vincent Ferrerius*, *Henry Harphius*, and *Bernhardin* of Siena, in whom we must carefully separate from the precepts of divine wisdom, such things as they derived from an over-excited imagination, and from that *Dionysius* whom all the mystics held in reverence. The mystics were aided against the attacks of the

⁸ Rich. Simon's *Lettres Choisies*, tom. ii. p. 269, and *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclés.* par M. Dupin, tom. i. p. 491. Jac. Thomasius, *Origines Histor. Philos.* p. 56, and especially, John Gerson's *Methodus Theologiam Studendi*, in Jo. Launoi's *Historia Gymnasii Navarreni*, in his *Opp.* tom. iv. P. i. p. 330, &c.

⁹ It was printed, Rome, 1512, and

Basil, 1513, fol. [He was of Dalmatia, *protonotarius apostolicus* under Alexander VI. and Pius III., and bishop of Urbino, and died in 1510. Besides his commentary on the *Sentences* of Lombard, he wrote a Dialogue concerning learned men, which was first printed at Florence, 1734. *Schl.*]

dialecticians, partly by the Platonists, who were now in high credit in several places, and partly by certain wise and religious men, who were themselves ornaments to the schools. For the former extolled *Dionysius* as being of their way of thinking; and some even commented upon him, as *Marsilius Ficinus*, that high ornament of the Platonic school. The latter advised, and in fact attempted, a conjunction of the two kinds of theology; as *John Gerson*, *Nicolas Cusanus*, *Dionysius* the Carthusian, and others.

§ 12. Men of talents now laboured, much more than before, to confirm and establish the truth and divinity of the Christian religion in general, against all the assaults of its adversaries. The prevalence of a desire to be useful in this way, appears from such works as the treatise *on the Truth of the Christian Religion* by *Marsilius Ficinus*, the *Triumph of the Cross* by *Jerome Savonarola*, the *Natural Theology* of *Raymond de Sabunde*, and other tracts of similar character. Against both the Jews and the Saracens, *Alphonso de Spina* contended in his *Fortalitium Fidei*; against the former only, *James Perezius* and *Jerome de St. Foi*; and against the latter only, *John de Turrecremata*. And that these labours were needed, will not be questioned by one who is aware that the Aristotelians in Italy had not a little unsettled the foundations of all religion in their schools; that the senseless jangling of the scholastics had produced, in the minds of the more crafty, a contempt for all religion; and that the Jews and Saracens lived intermingled everywhere with the Christians.

§ 13. Of the vain and fruitless endeavours of the Greeks and Latins to terminate their disagreements, we have already spoken. After the council of Florence, and the violation of the agreement by the Greeks, *Nicolaus V.*, indeed, again exhorted them to a union; but they turned a deaf ear; and three years after this last letter, Constantinople was taken by the Turks. And the pontiffs, in all their consultations on the subject of a union, since the overthrow of the Greek empire, have found the Greek bishops more obdurate and untractable than they were before. For there has grown up, in the minds of the Greeks, a hatred of the Latins, and especially of the pontiffs; because they believe that the evils which they experience from their Turkish tyrants, might have been repelled, if the Latin pontiffs and kings had not refused to bring them succour against the Turks. As often, therefore, as they deplore their misfortunes,

so often also they throw blame on the Latins for their insensibility, and their fatal tardiness to afford them succour in distress.

§ 14. Among the Latins, not to mention several minor contests, there was brought up again the celebrated controversy respecting the blood of Christ, and the worship of it; which had been moved between the Dominicans and the Franciscans, in the preceding century, A. D. 1351, at Barcelona; and had not been decided by *Clement VI.*¹ *James* of Marchia, a celebrated Franciscan, A. D. 1462, taught publicly at Brescia, in a sermon to the people, that the blood shed by *Christ* was distinct from his *divine nature*; and of course that it ought not to receive *divine* honours, or the worship called *latria*. The contrary opinion was espoused by the Dominicans. Hence *James* of Brescia, the inquisitor, arraigned that Franciscan upon a charge of *heresy*. The pontiff, *Pius II.*, attempted in vain to suppress this controversy at the outset; and, therefore, he ordered it to be investigated by some selected theologians. But there were many obstacles, especially the power and influence of the two orders who made this a party question between them, that prevented any final decision. Therefore, after many altercations and disputes, *Pius II.*, in the year 1464, imposed silence on both the contending parties; declaring that both opinions might be tolerated until the vicar of Christ should have leisure and opportunity for examining the subject, and determining which was the more correct opinion. Such an opportunity the pontiffs have not yet found.²

¹ Ln. Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. xiii. p. 58, &c. Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Prædicat.* tom. i. p. 650, &c.

² Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. xiii. p. 206, &c. Natal. Alexander, *Historia Eccles.* sæc. xv. p. 17. [The preacher's doctrine was, that our Lord's blood, shed during his passion, lost the hypostatic union, and consequently, during three days, became neither divine nor adorable. The inquisitor, being a Dominican, could not overlook the opening, thus given by a famous man of the rival order, for fastening some stigma upon Franciscan divinity. The question, however, soon assumed a vio-

lent party character between the two great mendicant bodies and their respective admirers. Hence papal interference became indispensable, and Pius II. desired to hear a solemn argument upon it, by some of the ablest men that each side could produce. After a debate of three days, Pius's own judgment, and that of most around him, inclined to the Dominicans, but his head was full of a crusade, which could not be successfully preached up, if the Franciscans were opposed or neutral. He therefore adroitly put off both parties. Moreri, *in voc.* Jaques de la Marche. *Ed.*]

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

§ 1. Rites of the Greeks.—§ 2 Rites of the Latins.

§ 1. THE state of opinion among the Greeks as to the proper way of worshipping God, may be learned from the treatise of *Simeon* of Thessalonica on *Heresies and Rites*.¹ From this book it is evident, that true religion being lost, a sort of splendid shadow was substituted in its place by the leading clergy; and that all religious arrangements were made with a view to pomp, and to gratify the eyes and the senses of the people. Reasons were, indeed, offered for all the ceremonies and regulations which are called sacred. But notwithstanding a degree of subtlety and ingenuity, which runs through these interpretations of the ceremonies, there is little or nothing of truth and good sense in any of them. The origin of the numerous rites, by which the native beauty of religion is obscured rather than adorned, is obscure and not very honourable: and those who would fain add splendour to them by taxing their own ingenuity, are commonly forsaken by their wits when they make the attempt.

§ 2. Among the Latins, though all good men wished for a diminution of the multitude of ceremonies, feast-days, sacred places, and other *minutiæ*, yet the pontiffs considered it their duty to enact new laws and regulations respecting them. In the year 1456, *Calixtus III.*, in perpetual remembrance of the raising of the siege of Belgrade, by the Turkish emperor *Mahomet II.*, ordered the festival of Christ's *transfiguration*, which had previously been celebrated in some provinces by private authority, to be religiously observed over the whole Latin world.² In the year 1476, *Sixtus IV.*, by a special edict,

¹ The contents of it are stated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius *Biblioth. Græca*, vol. xiv. p. 54.

² [This festival had been observed as early as the seventh century, by the Greeks. The day for it was the *sixth*

of August; and because, *on that day*, the Turks raised the siege of Belgrade, therefore this festival must be every where celebrated through all future time. *Tr.*]

promised remission of sins to those who should religiously keep, from year to year, the memorial of the *immaculate conception* of the blessed Virgin. No preceding pontiff had thought proper to ordain any thing on the subject.³ The other additions that were made to the worship of the holy Virgin, to the public and private prayers, to the traffic in *indulgences*⁴ and the like, are better omitted than enumerated particularly; for there is no need of proof, that, in this age, religion was made to consist chiefly in mimic shows and trifling.⁵

³ [The doctrine of the *immaculate conception* of the Virgin Mary, that is, of her being *herself born, free from original sin*, was first advanced in the twelfth century, by Peter Lombard. Thomas Aquinas disputed the doctrine; but Scotus maintained it, and gave it general currency. The *festival* of her birth commenced as early as the eleventh century; and was then observed by certain bishops, as by Anselm of Canterbury. By other bishops of that age it was opposed. *Tr.*]

⁴ [The popes now caused indulgences to be preached in all provinces. The ordinary price was five ducats. They promised to apply the money to a Turkish war; but they often expended it in wars against their Christian enemies, in enriching their family connexions, and supporting their voluptuous extravagance. Neither intelligent princes, nor the clergy, looked upon this sale of indulgences with approbation. They accordingly made ordinances of various kinds against it. For instance, the council of Soissons, in the year 1456, says: "Prohibemus quibuscunque quæstoribus, ne in hac provincia, prætextu indulgentiarum, prædicant verbum Dei—aut nihil in suo sermone *quæstuosum* exponant." In the council of Constance, A. D. 1476, the clergy complained of the sale of indulgences as a grievance, and said of it: "Absurda et *piarum aurium offensiva*, in cancellis, verbum Dei evangelizando committunt." And they enacted, "ut deinceps quæstores ad ambores ecclesiarum non admittantur—et omnes debent *quartam partem* rectoribus et plebanis solvere." And in Harzheim's *Concilia*, tom. v. *Suppl.* p. 945, it is said of these venders of indulgences:—"Tales collectores emunt et mercantur *collecturas*

ab ecclesiis, x. xiii. libris denariorum, et per annum xl. l. accumulanti—multo ampliores pecunias colligunt; facinora et scandala committunt, bibunt, noctu ludunt, blasphemant, in tabernas per noctes integras turpiter consumentes, quod ad Dei honorem fideles porrexerunt. *Schl.*]

⁵ [To elucidate this by a single example, I adduce the following from the *Anecdotes Ecclésiastiques*, Amsterd. 1771, 8vo, ad ann. 1499. Among the statutes of the cathedral church of Toul, there is an article with the title, *Sepelitur Halleluia*. It is well known that, during the seasons of fasting, *Halleluia*, as being an expression of joy, was not sung in the ancient church. Hence, to honour this *Halleluia*, which, in time of the fasts, was, as it were, dead, a solemn funeral was instituted. On the Saturday night before Septuagesima Sunday, children carried through the chancel a kind of coffin, to represent the dead *Halleluia*. The coffin was attended by the cross, incense, and holy water. The children wept and howled all the way to the cloister, where the grave was prepared. A custom equally ridiculous was introduced into a cathedral church near Paris. On the same day a boy of the choir brought into the church *a top* (*toupie*), around which was written *Halleluia*, in golden letters. And when the hour arrived that *Halleluia* was sung for the last time, the boy took a whip in his hand, and whipped the top along the floor of the church, quite out of the house. And this was called the *Halleluia whip*, *fouetter l'Alléluia*. So trifling was the character of the church ceremonies of that age, that they could even profane the churches by the plays of children. *Schl.*]

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

§ 1. The Manichæans and Waldenses.—§ 2. Beghards, Schwestriones, Picards or Adamites.—§ 3. The White Brethren.—§ 4. The Men of Understanding.—§ 5. The new Flagellants.

§ 1. NEITHER the edicts of the popes and emperors, nor the vigilance and cruelty of Inquisitors, could prevent in this age ancient sects from lurking still in many places, or some new ones from starting up. We have already seen the Franciscans waging war against the Romish church. In Bosnia and the neighbouring countries, the *Manichæans* or *Paulicians*, the same as those who were called *Cathari* in Italy, formed new societies without molestation. *Stephen Thomasius*, indeed, the king of Bosnia, abjured the heresy of the Manichæans, received baptism from *John Carvajal*, a Roman cardinal, and then expelled the Manichæans from his kingdom.¹ But he soon after changed his mind: and it is certain, that this sect continued to inhabit Bosnia, Servia, and the adjacent provinces, till the end of the century. The *Waldenses* collected brethren and adherents, as well in other countries of Europe, as in lower Germany, particularly in the territories of Brandenburg, in Pomerania, the district of Mecklenburg, and Thuringia. Yet it appears, from unpublished documents, that very many of them were seized by the *Inquisitors*, and delivered over to the secular authorities to be burnt.²

¹ See Raph. Volaterranus, *Comment. Urbanus*, lib. viii. leaf 289, &c. *Æneas Sylvius, de Statu Europæ sub Frederico III.* cap. x. in *Frelier's Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, tom. ii. p. 104, &c.

² [The profler of indulgences to such as hunted up heretics, contributed much to this. Boniface VIII. had already promised an indulgence to every one that should deliver over a heretic to the inquisition; and he ordained, that this

should be considered as equally meritorious with a crusade to the Holy Land. This ordinance was renewed by the council of Pavia. See Harduin, tom. viii. p. 1013, &c. So the provincial council of Constance, A. D. 1483, promised indulgences to all those who should lend their personal aid against the heresies of Wickliffe and Huss. See Harzheim's *Concilia German.* tom. v. p. 546. *Schl.*]

§ 2. *The Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit, or Beghards and Schwestriones*, as they were called in Germany, or *Turlupins*, as in France, that is, persons whose mystical views had thrown them into a species of frenzy, did not cease from wandering privately over certain parts of France, Germany, and the Netherlands, and especially of Suabia and Switzerland, beguiling the minds of the people. Few of their teachers, however, escaped the eyes and the hands of the *Inquisitors*.³ Upon the breaking out of the religious war in Bohemia, between the *Hussites* and the adherents to the pontiffs, in the year 1418, a company of these piously-infatuated people went into Bohemia; and they held their secret meetings, first at Prague, then also in other places, and lastly in a certain island. It was one of the tenets of this sect, as has been already stated, that those instincts of nature, bashfulness and modesty, indicate a mind not duly purified, and not yet brought back to the divine nature, whence it originated: hence, that those only are perfect and in close union with God, who are no longer moved by the sight of naked bodies, and who can associate with persons of a different sex, in a state of complete nudity, just as our first parents did, while still uncorrupted. These *Beghards*, accord-

³ Felix Malleolus, or Hämmerlein, in his *Descriptio Lollhardorum*, which is subjoined to his book *Contra Validos Mendicantes*, *Opp.* signat. c. 2, a. has drawn up a catalogue, though an imperfect one, of the Beghards burnt in Switzerland and the adjacent countries during this century. This Felix, in his books against the Beghards and Lollhards, (either intentionally, or being deceived by the ambiguity of the terms,) has confounded the three classes of persons on whom the appellation of Beghards or Lollhards was usually bestowed; viz. (1) the Tertiaries of the more rigid Franciscans; (2) the Brethren of the free spirit; and (3) the Cellite Brethren, or Alexians. The same error occurs in numberless other writers. [See also Harzheim's *Concil.* tom. v. 464, where there is an ordinance of the provincial council of Constance, A. D. 1463, and another, A. D. 1476, against the Lollhards and *Begutta*, and especially the *Tertiarii*. Here doubtless belongs what John Nieder states, in his *Formicarium*, lib. iii. "Fuit Fratricellus seu Beghardus secularis, qui in eremo austeram vitam

visit, et durissimam regulam tenuit ——— a Constantino episcopo captus, per inquisitorem judicio seculari traditus et incineratus fuit. Alius fuit, qui velut Beghardus infra Rhenum — tandem Viennæ in Pictaviensi diœcesi incineratus est. Dicebat, *Christum in se, et se in Christo esse.*—Currit in partibus Sueviæ, inter personas utriusque sexus, seculares et ecclesiasticas, hæresis et hypocrisis tam enormis, ut cam ad plenum exprimere non audeam. Omnia licere; non jejunant, occulte laborant in festis ecclesiæ; caeremonias omnes, tanquam animalium hominum, spernunt; virginitatem — superstitiones esse; pro minimo ducunt, non obedire papæ aut pastoribus aliis. Sacerdos quidam feminis persuasit, verecundiam abnegandam; coram clericis talibus se denudarent sed sine coitu — conjacebant clerici uno lecto, nec ad lapsum earns procedebant. De alta perfectione loquuntur — stilum librorum subtilissimorum in nostro vulgari periculose, ut vereor, scriptorum didicerunt — caeremonias, festivitates, missas, contemnunt," &c. *Schl.*]

ingly, who by a slight change in the pronunciation of the name, conformably to the harder utterance of the Bohemians, were called *Picards*, ordinarily went to their prayers and their religious worship without clothing. For this precept, so entirely accordant with their religion, was frequently upon their lips: *They are not free*, (that is, not duly rescued from the bonds of the body, and converted to God,) *who wear garments, especially such as cover the thighs*. Although these people, in their assemblies, committed no offence against chastity, yet, as might be expected, they fell under the greatest suspicion of extreme turpitude and lasciviousness. Credit being given to such imputations by *John Ziska*, the fierce general of the Hussites, he attacked this unhappy company of absurdly-religious and delirious people in the year 1421, slew some of them, and expressed a wish that the rest might be cut off by fire. This punishment the unhappy men cheerfully endured, according to the fashion of their intrepid sect, which looked upon death with astonishing indifference.⁴ They were also commonly called *Adamites*; because they wished to follow the example of *Adam* in his state of innocence. The ignominious name of *Beghards*, or, as the Bohemians pronounced it, *Picards*⁵, which was the appropriate designation of this little company, was afterwards transferred by their enemies to all those *Hussites* and Bohemians that contended with the Romish church; for these, as is well known, were called by the common people, the *Picard Brethren*.

§ 3. In Italy, a new sect, that of the *White-clad Brethren*, or the *Whites*⁶, produced no little excitement among the people. Near the beginning of the century, a certain unknown priest descended from the Alps, clad in a white garment, with an

⁴ See Jo. Lasinus, *Historia Fratrum Bohemorum Manuscripta*, lib. ii. § 76, &c. who shows fully, that the Hussites and the Bohemian brethren had no connexion with these Picards. The other writers on the subject are mentioned by Isaac de Beausobre, *Dissert. sur les Adamites de Bohême*; annexed to Jac. Lenfant's *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*. This very learned author takes the utmost pains to vindicate the character of the Bohemian Picards or Adamites, who, he supposes, were Waldenses, and holy and excellent men, falsely aspersed by their enemies. But all his efforts are vain. For it can be demonstrated, from the

most unexceptionable documents, that the fact was as stated in the text; and any one will readily think so, who has a fuller knowledge of the history and the sects of those times than this industrious man possessed, who was not well versed in the history of the middle ages, nor altogether free from prepossessions. [See especially Æneas Sylvius, *Historia Bohemica*, cap. 41. *Schl.*]

⁵ The Germans also frequently pronounced the word *Beghard*, *Pyckard*. See Menkenius, *Scriptores Germani*, tom. ii. p. 1521.

⁶ *Fratres albatii, seu Candidi*.

immense number of people of both sexes in his train, all clothed like their leader, in white linen; whence their name of the *White Brethren*.⁷ This multitude marched through various provinces, following a cross borne by the leader of the sect; and, by a great show of piety, so captivated the people, that numberless persons of every kind joined its ranks. Their chief exhorted them to appease the wrath of God, inflicted on himself voluntary punishments, recommended a war against the Turks, who were in possession of Palestine, and pretended to have divine visions. *Boniface IX.*, fearing some plot, ordered the leader of this host to be apprehended, and committed to the flames.⁸ After his death, the multitude gradually dispersed. Whether the man died in innocence or in guilt, is not ascertained. For some writers of the greatest fidelity assert, that he was by no means a bad man, and that he was put to death from envy; but others declare him to have been convicted of the most atrocious crimes.⁹

§ 4. In the year 1411, there was discovered in the Netherlands, and especially at Brussels, a sect which was projected and propagated by *Ægidius Cantor*¹, an illiterate man, and *William of Hillenissen*, a Carmelite; the members of which wished to be known as *the Men of Understanding*. Among this body of men there were not a few things deservedly reprehensible; which were derived, perhaps in great measure from the mystic system. For these people professed to have divine

⁷ ["Theodoric de Niem tells us, that it was from Scotland that this sect came, and that their leader gave himself out for the prophet Elias. Sigonius and Platina inform us, that this enthusiast came from France; and that he was clothed in white, carried in his aspect the greatest modesty, and seduced prodigious numbers of people of both sexes and of all ages; that his followers (called *penitents*), among whom were several cardinals and priests, were clothed in white linen down to their heels, with caps that covered their whole faces, except their eyes; that they went in great troops of ten, twenty, and forty thousand persons from one city to another, calling out for mercy, and singing hymns; that wherever they came, they were received with great hospitality, and made innumerable proselytes; that they fasted, or lived upon bread and water, during the time of their pilgrimage, which conti-

nued generally nine or ten days. See *Annal. Mediol. ap. Muratori*.—Niem, lib. ii. cap. 16." *Macl.*]

⁸ ["What Dr. Mosheim hints but obscurely here, is further explained by Sigonius and Platina, who tell us, that the pilgrims, mentioned in the preceding note, stopped at Viterbo, and that Boniface, fearing lest the priest, who headed them, designed by their assistance to seize upon the pontificate, sent a body of troops thither, who apprehended the false prophet, and carried him to Rome, where he was burnt." *Macl.*]

⁹ See Jac. Lenfant's *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, tom. i. p. 102. Poggius, *Historia Florentina*, lib. iii. p. 122. Mare. Anton. Sabellicus, *Enneades Rhapsodia Historica*, *Enneas IX.* lib. ix. Opp. tom. ii. p. 839, Basil, 1560, fol.

¹ [Gilles le Chantre. *Tr.*]

visions; denied that any one can correctly understand the holy Scriptures, unless he is divinely illuminated; promised a new divine revelation, better and more perfect than the Christian; taught that the resurrection had taken place already in the person of Christ, and that another, of the bodies of the dead, was not to be expected; maintained that the internal man is not defiled by the deeds of the external; and inculcated that hell itself will have an end, and that all, both men and devils, will return to God, and attain to eternal felicity. This sect appears to have been a branch of the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit*; for they asserted, that a new law of the Holy Spirit, and of *spiritual liberty*, was about to be promulgated. Yet there were opinions held by its members which show that they were not entirely void of *understanding*. They inculcated, for example, (I.) that *Jesus Christ* alone had merited eternal life for the human race; and, consequently, that men could not acquire for themselves future bliss by their own deeds: (II.) that presbyters, to whom people confess their iniquities, cannot pardon sins; but that only *Jesus Christ* forgives men their sins: (III.) that voluntary penances are not necessary to salvation. Yet these and some other tenets, *Peter de Alliaco*, the bishop of Cambray, who broke up this sect, pronounced to be *heretical*, and commanded *William of Hildenissen* to abjure.²

§ 5. In Germany, and particularly in Thuringia and lower Saxony, the *Flagellants* were still troublesome; but they were very different from those earlier *Flagellants* who travelled in regular bands from province to province. These new *Flagellants* rejected almost all³ religion, and the external worship of God, together with the sacraments; and founded all their hopes of salvation on faith and *flagellation*; to which, perhaps, they might add some strange notions respecting an evil spirit, and some other things, which are but obscurely stated by the ancient writers. The leader of the sect in Thuringia, and par-

² See the records, in Steph. Baluze's *Miscellanea*, tom. ii. p. 277, &c. [The mystical principles of these people are evinced by a passage of these records, in which Ægidius is said to have taught: "Ego sum salvator hominum; per me videbunt Christum, sicut per Christum Patrem:" and also by their coincidence with the Brethren of the free spirit, as teaching, that the period of the old law

was the times of the Father; the period of the new law, the times of the Son; and the remaining period, that of the Holy Ghost or Elias. Yet it is manifest from these records, that William of Hildesheim or Hildenissen, as being a man of learning, would have been able to state his tenets more clearly and distinctly. *Schl.*]

³ [Practical. *Tr.*]

ticularly at Sangerhausen, was one *Conrad Schmidt*; who was burnt in the year 1414, with many others, by the zeal and industry of *Henry Schönefeld*, a famous inquisitor, at that time, in Germany.⁴ At Quedlinburg, one *Nicholas Schaden* was committed to the flames. At Halberstadt, A. D. 1481, *Berthold Schade* was seized, but escaped death, it appears, by retracting.⁵ And from the records of those times, a long list may be made out of *Flagellants*, whom the Inquisitors, in Germany, put to death by fire.

⁴ *Excerpta Monachi Pirmensis*, in Jo. Burch. Menkenius, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicar.* tom. ii. p. 1521. *Chronicon Monaster.* in Anthon. Matthæus, *Analecta Veter. Ævi*, tom. v. p. 71. *Chronicon Magdeb.* in Meibomius, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicar.* tom. ii. p. 362, &c. I have before me sixteen Articles of the Flagellants, which Conrad Schmidt is said to have copied from the manuscript at Walkenried, and which were committed to writing by an Inquisitor of Bradenboreh, A. D. 1411. The following is a concise summary of these articles. All things that the Romish church teaches respecting the efficacy of the sacraments, purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the like, are false and vain. On the contrary, whoever believes, simply, what is contained in the Apostles' Creed, frequently repeats the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave Maria, and at certain periods

lacerates his body with scourging, and thus punishes himself for the sins he commits, will attain eternal salvation. [The same thing appears also from the fifty Articles of this Flagellant, which were condemned in the council of Constance, and may be seen in Von der Hardt's *Acta Concilii Constant.* tom. i. pt. i. p. 127. In the same Acts (tom. iii. p. 92, &c.) we find a letter of John Gerson, addressed to Vincent Ferrerius, who was much inclined towards the sect of the Flagellants, dated July 9th, 1417. This letter is also in the works of Gerson, published by Du Pin, tom. ii. pt. iv. together with his tract, *Contra Sectam Flagellantium.* Schl.]

⁵ The records of this transaction were published by Jo. Erh. Kappius, in his *Relatio de Rebus Theologicis Antiquis et Novis*, A. D. 1747, p. 475, &c.

INSTITUTES
OF
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
UNDER THE
NEW TESTAMENT.

BOOK IV.

EMBRACING EVENTS FROM THE COMMENCEMENT
OF
THE REFORMATION BY LUTHER
TO
THE YEAR A. D. 1700.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. The order of the narration must be changed.—§ 2. The history divided into the general and the particular.—§ 3. The general history.—§ 4. The particular history.—§ 5. History of the Reformation.

§ 1. IN narrating the Christian history of more modern times, it is out of our power to keep up the same order that we followed in detailing transactions of an earlier date. For since the face of Christian affairs underwent a signal change in the sixteenth century, and many more societies than there had been before, arose among those who worship Christ, widely differing in doctrines, and institutions, and regulating their conduct by different principles, all the various transactions among professed Christians can by no means be exhibited so as to form, as it were, a single and continuous picture. On the contrary, as the bond of union among Christians was completely rent asunder, their history must be unfolded in compartments, and of these there must be as many as the sects of any name that started into being.

§ 2. Nevertheless, much that happened belongs to the whole Christian world, and religion generally considered, nor is any single body exclusively concerned in it. And as the knowledge of these general facts throws much light on the history of the particular communities, as well as on the general state of the Christian world, they ought to be treated by themselves. Hence the work before us will be divided into two principal parts: the one, the *general history* of the Christian church; and the other, the *particular*.

§ 3. The *general history* will embrace all those facts and occurrences which may be referred to the Christian religion as such, or absolutely considered; and which, in some sense, acted upon the whole body of Christ's disciples, deplorably disunited

as they were in other things. We shall, therefore, mention both additions to the Christian commonwealth, and diminutions of it, without regard to the particular sects that were instrumental in these changes. Nor shall we omit those institutions and doctrines, which were received by all the Christian communities, or, at least, by most of them, and which, consequently, wrought some alteration almost every where.

§ 4. In the *particular history*, we shall take a survey of the several communities into which the Christian world is divided. Then again, the matter will not unaptly fall into two divisions. *First*, it is fitting to consider what occurred in the more *ancient communities* of Christians, whether in the East or in the West. *Secondly*, what occurred in the more *recent communities*, which arose after the reformation of both doctrine and discipline in Germany. In describing the condition and character of each particular sect, we shall pursue, as far as practicable, the method pointed out in the general Introduction to these Institutes. For, according to our conceptions, the less any one recedes from this method, the less likely will he be to miss information, upon which depends an accurate knowledge of some Christian society's affairs.

§ 5. At the head of all the things that have happened among Christians since the fifteenth century, stands that highly celebrated amendment of religion and its appendages, which is commonly called the *Reformation*. This has had, in fact, more influence on the Christian body, than any other event since the date of our Saviour's birth. Commencing from small beginnings in Saxony, it not only spread in a short space of time over all Europe, but also affected, in no slight degree, the other quarters of the globe: and it may be justly regarded as the first and principal cause of all those great ecclesiastical, and even those civil revolutions and changes, which have rendered the history of the subsequent times, quite to the present day, so interesting and important. The face of all Europe was changed after that event; and our own times are experiencing, and future times will experience, both the inestimable advantages that arose from it, and the inconveniences to which it gave occasion.¹ Wherefore, the history of an event so great as to be intimately con-

¹ [See C. Villiers, on the *Spirit and Influence of the Reformation*: from the French, 1807, 8vo. *Tr.*]

nected with almost every other, demands a distinct and prominent place. Let us now, then, enter upon the task, and give a compendious view of the modern history of the Christian church, according to the method here proposed.²

² [Dr. Mosheim still proceeds by centuries. On the *sixteenth* century he divides his history into three *Sections*. I. The history of the *Reformation*; in four chapters. II. The *general history* of the church; in a single chapter. III. The *particular history* of the several sects or communities; in two parts. Part *first* embraces the ancient communities; viz. the *Latin*, and the *Greek*, or Oriental churches, in distinct chapters. Part *second* includes, in separate chapters, the

history of the *Lutheran*, the *Reformed*, the *Anabaptist*, or *Mennonite*, and the *Socinian* churches. On the *seventeenth* century he makes but *two* sections: I. The *general history*, in a single chapter. II. The *particular history*, divided into parts and chapters, as in the preceding century; except that, among the *modern* sects, he assigns distinct chapters to the *Arminians*, the *Quakers*, and an additional chapter to several *minor* sects. *Tr.*]

CENTURY SIXTEENTH.

SECTION I.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

ARRANGEMENT OF THIS SECTION.

THE history of the *Reformation*, as it is called, is too extensive to be comprehended in one unbroken narrative, without wearying the reader. For the convenience, therefore, of such as are just entering upon the study of it, and as an assistance to their memories, we shall divide it into four parts.

The **FIRST** of these will describe *the state of the Christian Church before the Reformation began.*

The **SECOND** will detail *the history of the incipient Reformation, till the presentation of the Augsburg Confession to the emperor.*

The **THIRD** will continue *the history from that period till the commencement of the war of Smalcald.*

The **FOURTH** will carry it *down to the peace granted to the friends of the Reformation, A. D. 1555.*—This distribution arises naturally from the history itself.¹

¹ The *historians of the Reformation*, as well the primary as the secondary, and both the general and the particular, are enumerated by Phil. Fred. Hane (who is himself to be ranked among the better writers on this subject) in his *Historia Sacrorum a B. Luthero Emendatorum*, pars i. cap. i. p. 1, &c. and by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Centifolium Lutheranum*,

pt. ii. cap. 187, p. 863. [also by Walch *Biblioth. Theol.* tom. iii. p. 618.] The principal of these historians must be consulted by those who desire proof of what we shall briefly relate in this section. For it would be needless to be repeating every moment the names of Sleidan, Seckendorf, and the others, who stand pre-eminent in this branch of history.

CHAPTER I.

STATE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH WHEN THE REFORMATION
COMMENCED.

§ 1. At the beginning of the century, all was tranquil.—§ 2. Complaints against the pontiffs and the clergy were ineffectual.—§ 3. Revival of learning.—§ 4. The pontiffs, *Alexander VI.* and *Pius III.*—§ 5. *Julius II.*—§ 6. The council of Pisa.—§ 7. *Leo X.*—§ 8. Avarice of the pontiffs.—§ 9. They are inferior to councils.—§ 10. Corruption of the inferior clergy.—§ 11. State of the monks.—§ 12. The Dominicans.—§ 13. State of the universities and of learning.—§ 14. Theology.—§ 15. Liberty to dispute about religion.—§ 16. The public religion.—§ 17. Miserable condition of the people.—§ 18. A reformation desired.—§ 19. The mystics.

§ 1. WHEN the century began, no danger seemed to threaten the pontiffs. For those grievous commotions which had been raised in the preceding centuries by the Waldenses, the Albigenses, the Beghards, and others, and afterwards by the Bohemians, had been suppressed and extinguished by the sword and by management. The Waldenses, that survived in the valleys of Piedmont fared hard, and had few resources; and their utmost wish was, that they might transmit, as an inheritance to their posterity, that obscure corner of Enrope which lies between the Alps and the Pyrenees. Those Bohemians who were displeased with the Romish doctrines, from their want of power and their ignorance, could attempt nothing; and therefore were rather despised than feared.

§ 2. Complaints indeed were uttered, not only by private persons, but also by the most powerful sovereigns, and by whole nations, against the uncontrollable domination of the Roman pontiffs; the frauds, violence, avarice, and injustice of the Roman court; the insolence, tyranny, and eagerness to grow rich of the papal legates; the crimes, ignorance, and enormous licentiousness of priests of every kind, as well as of the monks; and finally of the unfairness and pressure of the Roman laws. Hence desires were now publicly expressed, as had been the case in generations long gone by, that some general

council would undertake a *Reformation* of the Church, in its head and in its members.¹ But these complaints the pontiff's could safely set at defiance. For they came from those who entertained no doubt of the sovereign pontiff's supreme power in matters of religion; nor did the parties go themselves about the work which was so much desired. They determined upon waiting for relief, either from Rome, or from a council. Yet it was manifest, that so long as the power of the pontiffs remained inviolate, the opulence and the corruptions of the church and of the clergy could not be diminished in any considerable degree.

§ 3. Nor were the pontiffs any more alarmed by that most auspicious revival of learning in many countries of Europe, which brought forward an unusual supply of able men. This event, by dissipating the clouds of ignorance, awakened in many minds the love of truth and liberty. Among these, there were several, as appears from the examples of *Erasmus* and others, who ridiculed and exposed, good-humouredly but poignantly, the wrong-headedness of the priests, the superstitions of the times, the corruptions of the Roman court, the clownish manners and barbarism of the monks. The root itself, however, of all the evil, and of the public calamity, namely, the jurisdiction of the pontiffs, which was falsely called *canonical*, and the inveterate prejudice respecting a vicegerent of Christ located at Rome, no one dared resolutely attack. And the pontiffs very justly concluded, that so long as these ramparts remained entire, their sovereignty and the tranquillity of the church would be secure, whatever even of menace and assault some individuals might put forth. Besides, they had at their disposal not only punishments with which to coerce the refractory, but also honours and emoluments with which to conciliate the more daring and contentious.

§ 4. Hence, the Roman bishops reigned securely and free

¹ These acensations have been collected, in great abundance, by the most learned writers. See, among many others, Val. Ern. Löscher's *Acta et Documenta Reformationis*, tom. i. cap. v. &c. p. 105, &c. cap. ix. p. 181, &c. and Ern. Salom. Cyprian's Preface to William Ern. Tenzel's *Historia Reformat.* Lips. 1717, 8vo. The complaints of the Germans in particular, respecting the wrongs

done by the pontiffs and the clergy, are exhibited by Jac. Fred. Georgius, in his *Gravamina Imperatoris et Nationis German. adversus Sedem Roman.* cap. vii. p. 261, &c. Nor do the more intelligent and candid among the adherents to the pontiff's at this day deny that the church, before Luther arose, was grossly corrupt.

from every fear, giving way to their lusts, and vices of every sort, just as they were impelled by an innate depravity of mind. *Alexander VI.*, a monster of a man, and inferior to no one of the most abandoned tyrants of antiquity, marked the commencement of the century with his horrid crimes and villanies. He died suddenly, A. D. 1503, from poison which he had prepared for others, if the common report is true, or from old age and sickness, if others are to be believed.² His successor, *Pius III.*, dying at the end of twenty-six days, was followed by *Julian de Roveria*, who took the name of *Julius II.*, and whom artifices and bribes placed upon the papal throne.

§ 5. That this *Julius II.* possessed, besides other vices, very great ferocity, arrogance, vanity, and a mad passion for war, is proved by abundant testimony. He first, after negotiating an alliance with the emperor and the king of France, made war upon the Venetians.³ He next laid siege to Ferrara. At last, drawing the Venetians, the Swiss, and the Spaniards to engage in the war with him, he made an attack upon *Lewis XII.*, king of France. Nor, so long as he lived, did he cease from disturb-

² See Alexander Gordon's *Life of Alexander VI.*; in French, from the English, Amsterd. 1732, 2 vols. 8vo; also another life of him, by a very learned and ingenious man, written with more candour and more moderation, and, together with a life of Leo X., subjoined to the first volume of the *Histoire du Droit Public Ecclésiastique François*, par M. D. B. Lond. 1752, 4to. ["Un jour, il" (Alex. VI.) "forma le dessein, il n'est que trop certain, d'empoisonner un des plus riches cardinaux; mais celui-ci sut attendrir, par des présents, par des promesses, et par des prières, le maître d'hôtel du pape: la confiture préparée pour le cardinal, fut servie au pape; celui-ci mourut du poison avec lequel il avait voulu en faire périr un autre." Ranke, *Histoire de la Papauté pendant les XVI. et XVII. Siècles*. Fr. transl. Paris, 1838, tom. i. p. 83. *Ed.*]

³ See Du Bos, *Histoire de la Ligue de Cambrai*, Hague, 1710, 2 vols. 8vo. ["Le pape Jules II. avait l'inappréciable avantage de rencontrer l'occasion de satisfaire, sans employer la violence, les prétentions de sa famille; il lui procura le patrimoine d'Urbin. Après il put se livrer, sans être troublé, à sa passion personnelle; au penchant de faire la guerre, de con-

quérir, mais en faveur de l'Eglise, du siège papal lui-même. Quelques autres papes avaient cherché à donner des principautés à leurs neveux, à leurs fils; Jules II., au contraire, fit consister toute son ambition à étendre l'état de l'Eglise. Il doit en être regardé comme le fondateur." (Ranke, tom. i. p. 84.) Every pope, then, was to be thought little concerned with views of his station as a public trust, until he had made a selfish provision for the importunate cravings of his own illegitimate children or other relatives. Julius was more highly principled than many of his predecessors, because he set bounds to the greediness of kindred, and being so fortunate as to secure a reasonable aggrandisement for his family at the outset, he laboured afterwards for the aggrandisement of his see. He was thus enabled to secure a considerable degree of popularity for his turbulent ambition. "Le monde de cette époque regardait comme une entreprise glorieuse et même religieuse, celle de vouloir rétablir l'état de l'Eglise: toutes les actions du pape avaient ce seul et unique but: toutes ses pensées étaient identifiées et exaltées par l'idée de cette mission." Ranke, tom. i. p. 87. *Ed.*]

ing and agitating every part of Europe. Who can doubt, that, under a vicar of Jesus Christ, who followed camps, and sought renown from eminence in war, all things, divine and human, must have gone to ruin, leaving subverted and obscured, not only external discipline, but even the very spirit of religion itself besides?

§ 6. Amidst these ills, however, there sprang up some slender prospect of the reform so long ardently desired. For *Lewis XII.*, king of France, threatened, on some coins issued by him, that he would completely overthrow the Romish power; which he designated by the name of *Babylon*.⁴ Moreover some cardinals of the Roman court, relying on the authority of this king and of the emperor, summoned a council at Pisa, in the year 1511, to curb the madness of the pontiff, and to deliberate on measures for a general reformation of the inveterate corruptions in religion. But *Julius*, confiding in the power of his allies and in his own resources, laughed at this angry undertaking. Lest any thing, however, should be omitted likely to render its efforts unavailing, he called another council in the Lateran palace, A. D. 1512.⁵ In this body, the acts of the assembly at Pisa

⁴ See Christ. Sigism. Liebe's *Commentatio de Numis Ludovici XII. Epigrapho. PERDAM BABYLONIS NOMEN, insignibus*, Lips. 1717, 8vo. Compare, however, the *Thesaurus Epistolicus Crozianus*, tom. i. p. 238, 243. Colonia's *Histoire Littér. de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 443, &c. and others: for it is well known that there has been much dispute respecting these coins, and the object of them. [Liebe has given engravings of these coins. On the one side was the king's likeness, and his title; on the other side, the arms of France surrounded with the inscription: *Perdam Babillonis* (instead of *Babylonis*) *Nomen*; or also simply, *Perdam Babillonem*. Harduin understood Babylon here to denote the city of Cairo in Egypt; and he explained the coin of a military expedition, which Lewis contemplated against the Turks. But Liebe has fully confuted this ingenious Jesuit; and has shown, that Babylon means Rome together with the pope, and that the threatened vengeance was aimed by the king against the pontiff. And that the French church was not opposed to the designs of the king, appears from the conclusions of the council of Tours, which are mentioned in the

following note. See Du Pin's *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiast.* tom. xiii. p. 13, 14, and Gerdes, *Historia Evangelii Sæculo XVI. per Europam Renovati*, tom. iv. Append. No. 1. *Schil.*]

⁵ Jo. Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 1559, &c. [Lewis XII. was not an enemy to be despised. He made preparations for a war against the pope, which were certainly great and imposing. He assembled the clergy of France, first at Orleans, and then at Tours (see Harduin, l. c. p. 1555); and proposed to them the following questions.—1. Is it lawful for the pope to make war upon temporal princes, whose territories do not belong to the church? *No.*—2. May the prince, in such a case, lawfully oppose force to force; and fall upon the territories of the church, not to conquer and retain them, but to disable the pope from carrying on the war? *Yes.*—3. May a prince refuse obedience to a pope, who is his enemy, and who makes unjust war upon him? *Yes*: so far as is necessary for his own security and that of his people.—4. In that case, how are those affairs to be conducted, which, ordinarily are referred to the decision of the pontiff? *Answer*: in the manner prescribed

were indignantly condemned and annulled. Nor, undoubtedly, would very dire decrees against *Lewis* and others have been left behind, if death had not overtaken this most daring pontiff, A. D. 1512, while actually employed in the preparation of them.

§ 7. His successor, *Leo X.*, of the Medicean family, who was elected in the year 1513, was of a milder disposition, but no better guardian of religion and piety. The friend of learned men, and himself learned, according to the standard of that age, he devoted a part of his time to conversation with persons of erudition, but a larger portion of it to such things as gratify the senses and amuse the mind. Of all care and business he was impatient, but extravagant, luxurious, and vain; perhaps

by the *Pragmatic Sanction*.—5. May a Christian prince defend with arms another prince, who is under his protection, against the assaults of the pope? (This question referred to the duke of Ferrara, who was involved in war with the pope.) *Yes*.—6. If the pope and a prince disagree, whether a case between them belongs to the ecclesiastical or the civil jurisdiction, and the prince wishes to leave it to referees, and the pope will not consent, but draws the sword, may the prince stand on the defensive, and call on his allies to help him? *Yes*.—7. If a pope pronounces an unjust sentence against a prince [with whom he is at variance, and who cannot safely appear at Rome to defend his cause,] is that sentence binding? *No*.—8. If the pope, in such a case, should lay the prince and his realm under an interdict, what is to be done? *Such an interdict would be itself a nullity*. [See the questions and answers at full length, in Gerdes' *Historia Evangelii Sæculo XVI. per Europam Renovati*, tom. iv. Append. No. 1. *Tr.*] After these preparatory steps, Lewis went still further, and purposed to have a general council called against the pope. The emperor Maximilian united in the measure, and three cardinals lent their aid to the business. The council was opened at Pisa, A. D. 1511; and after a few sessions removed to Milan. The pope was cited by the fathers to appear at Milan; and was afterwards suspended. But as the pope had now brought about a reconciliation with the emperor, and as nearly all the assembled prelates were from France, the decrees

of this council were no where received except in France. The council assembled by the pope in the Lateran church at Rome, to oppose that of Pisa, was somewhat larger than the other, yet quite too small for a general council; and besides, was composed almost exclusively of Italians. It may therefore be regarded rather as a provincial than as a general council. It held eleven sessions in all. In the first, it was determined to take up the subjects of the division caused by the council of Pisa, the reformation of the church, a pacification among Christian princes, and a war against the Turks. In the second, the convention of Pisa was declared to be irregular. In the third, the emperor having now sided with this council, severe bulls were issued against France. In the fourth, the abrogation of the *Pragmatic Sanction* was taken up. In the fifth, simony in the election of popes was forbidden, and the French church cited to appear on the subject of the above-named Sanction. Soon after, Julius died; and in the sixth and seventh sessions, the council was adjourned, both by the new pope, *Leo X.*, and by the votes of its members. In the eighth session, Lewis XII. was present by his envoys; and the pope forbade the studying of philosophy, more than five years, without proceeding to theology and jurisprudence. The ninth and tenth sessions were devoted to trivial matters, which did not satisfy the expectations raised concerning a reformation of the church. At length the council closed, in its eleventh session, May 16th, 1517. *Schl.*]

also, as no obscure report would have us think, positively impious. Yet he did not neglect the interests and the grandeur of the Romish see. For he took good care that nothing should be sanctioned in the Lateran council, which *Julius* had assembled and left sitting, favourable to the long wished for *Reformation*; and at Bologna, A. D. 1515, he persuaded *Francis I.*, king of France, to allow the abrogation of the ordinance called the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which had long been odious to the pontiffs, and to cause others, under the name of *Concordats*, to be imposed upon his subjects, in spite of their extreme indignation.⁶

§ 8. Besides the intolerable lust of dominion, and for oppressing every one, which allowed these pontiffs no repose, they had also an insatiable desire to draw money from every province of the Christian world into Rome, in order to support their power, and purchase friends. They might seem indeed, as heads of the Christian state, entitled, upon reasonable and creditable grounds, to demand tribute from their subjects. For who can deny that the sovereign ruler of a commonwealth, (and such the pontiffs claimed to be,) is entitled to a revenue from the whole state? But as the term *tribute* was too offensive, and would excite the indignation of the temporal sovereigns, the pontiffs managed the affair more discreetly, and robbed the unwary of their money by various artifices concealed under an appearance of religion.⁷ Among these artifices, what were

⁶ The Pragmatic Sanction of the French is extant in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. viii. p. 1949. The *Concordate* is in the same work, tom. ix. p. 1867, also in Godfr. Will. Leibnitz, *Mantissa Codicis Diplomati.* pt. i. p. 158, &c. Add. pt. ii. p. 358, &c. For a history of the Pragmatic Sanction, and of the *Concordate* that succeeded it, see Gilbert Burnet's *History of the Reformation of England*, vol. iii. p. 3. Cæs. Egasse de Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. vi. p. 61—109. Du Clos, *Histoire de Louis XI. Histoire du Droit Ecclésiastique François*, tom. i. diss. ix. p. 415. Add *Menagiana*, tom. iii. p. 285. [See also p. 28, note 7. Tr.]

⁷ [Whoever would learn the whole art and mystery of the financial concerns of the Romish court, may consult Le Bret's *Magazine for Civil and Ecclesiastical History*, and the *Ecclesiastical Laws of Catholic States*, vol. ii. p. 605, and

vol. iii. p. 3, where is an essay, entitled *History of the Romish chancery regulations*; and also an essay by a learned Neapolitan, on the Romish chancery regulations and the reservation of benefices. And if any one wishes to form an idea of the productiveness of these chancery regulations, he need only compute the part of them relating to Annates. Of these Luther made a computation, in his tract entitled, *Legatio Adriani Papæ*, &c., which contains an essay on the nature of Annates; Wittemb. 1538, 4to. A still fuller account may be seen in the tract published by Marcellus Silver, at Campo Flore, near Rome, 1514, under the title of *Taxa Cancellarie Apostolicæ, et Taxa Sanctæ Penitentie*, and which was republished at Cologne by Colini, 1515, and at Paris, 1520, and afterwards in the *Supplement to the Councils*, vol. vi. It occurs also in the *Oceanus Juris*, or the *Tractatus Tractatum*, tom. xv. pt. i.

called *indulgences*, that is, liberty to buy off the punishments incurred by sins by contributing money to pious uses, held a distinguished place. And to these, recourse was had, as often as the papal treasury became exhausted, to the immense injury of the public interests. Under some plausible, but for the most part, false pretext, the ignorant and timorous people were beguiled with the prospect of great advantage by men raising money for the pope, who were in general base and profligate characters.⁸

§ 9. But although the reverence for the sovereign pontiffs was extremely high, yet the more intelligent, and especially among the Germans, French, English, and Flemings, denied their entire exemption from error, and their superiority to all law. For after the period of the councils of Constance and Bâle, the belief prevailed among all, except the monks, the Romish parasites, and the superstitious vulgar, that the pontiff's authority was inferior to that of a general council; that his decisions were not infallible; and that he might be deposed by a council, if he were guilty of manifest errors and gross crimes, and plainly neglected the duties of his station. And hence arose that eager expectation and intense desire of a general council, which burst forth from minds of the wiser sort in this age. Hence too those frequent appeals to such a future council whenever the Roman court committed any offence against justice and piety.

p. 368. &c. [It has been frequently published, with notes and comments, and some diversity in the text; whence the Catholics placed it in the list of books prohibited, as being perverted by the Protestants. See Bayle's *Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* art. *Pinet* and *Bank* (Lawrence). *Tr.*] It contains the tariff of dues to be paid to the papal chancery for all absolutions, dispensations, &c. According to this book, a dean may be absolved from a murder for twenty crowns. A bishop or abbot may, for three hundred livres, commit a murder whenever he pleases. And for one-third of that sum any clergyman may be guilty of unchastity, under the most abominable circumstances. The ingenious French catholic divine, Claude Espence, in his *Comment, in Epist. ad Titum*, *Opp.* tom. i. p. 479, indignantly wrote concerning this book, "Prostat et veluti

in quæstâ pro meretrice sedet palam," &c. that is, "there is a book extant, which, like a venal prostitute, appears openly before the public here at Paris, and is now for sale, as it long has been, entitled, *Taxa Camerae seu Cancellariæ Apostolicæ*, from which more crimes can be learned than from all the writings concerning the vices; and in which licence is promised to very many, and absolution offered to all purchasers." *Schl.*

⁸ [The German princes and states, both Roman Catholic and Lutheran, assembled in the diet at Nuremberg, A. D. 1522, complained loudly of the papal indulgences, as exhausting the resources of the country, and subverting piety and good morals; in their *Centum Gravamina Nationis Germanicæ*, No. 4. &c. *Tr.*]

§ 10. The subordinate rulers and teachers of the church eagerly followed the example of their head and leader. Most of the bishops, with the *canons* their associates, led luxurious and jovial lives, in the daily commission of sins, and squandered, in the gratification of their lusts, those funds which the preceding generations had consecrated to God, and purposes beneficial to the poor. Most of them likewise treated the people subject to their control, much more rigorously and harshly, than the civil magistrates and princes treated their dependents. The greater part of the priests, on account of their indolence, their unchastity, their avarice, their love of pleasure, their ignorance, and their levity, were regarded with utter contempt, not only by the wise and the good, but even by the common people likewise.⁹ For, as sacred offices were now every where bought and sold, it was difficult for honest and pious men to get possession of any considerable post in the church, but easy for the vicious and unprincipled.

§ 11. The immense swarms of monks produced every where great grievances and complaints. Yet this age, which stood intermediate between light and darkness, would patiently have borne with this idle crowd, if it had only exhibited some show of piety and decorum. But the Benedictines, and the other orders which were allowed to possess lands and fixed revenues, abused their wealth, and rushed headlong into every species of vice, regardless altogether of their rules. The Mendicants too, as they are called, especially those whose discipline was that of *Dominic* or *Francis*, by their clownish impudence, ridiculous superstitions, ignorance and cruelty, in short, by senseless and discreditable conduct, alienated the minds of most people from them. They were all strongly averse from literature and erudition, and very unfriendly to the proceedings of certain excellent men who laboured to improve the system of education, and who assailed the barbarism of the times, both orally and in their writings. This is evident from what befel *Reuchlin*, *Erasmus*, and others.¹

⁹ See, besides others, Cornelius Anrelius Gaudanus *Apocalypsis seu Visio Mirabilis super Miserabili Statu Matris Ecclesie*; in Casp. Burmann's *Analecta Historica de Hadriano VI.*, p. 245, &c. Utrecht, 1727, 4to.

¹ [Reuchlin, or Capnio, was the great promoter of Hebrew and Rabbinic learn-

ing in Germany. The Dominicans of Cologne, to bring it into disgrace, prompted John Pfefferkorn, a converted Jew, to publish a work on the blasphemies contained in the books of the Jews. This induced the emperor Maximilian in the year 1509, to order all Jewish books to be burnt; which however Reuchlin hap-

§ 12. No order of monks was more powerful and influential than that of the Dominicans. For they filled important offices in the church, they presided every where over the terrible tribunal of the *inquisition*; and in the courts of all the kings and princes of Europe, they had the cure of souls, or, to use the common phrase, they held the office of *confessors*. Yet about this time they incurred very great odium, among all good men, in various ways, but especially by their base artifices and frauds; (among which, the tragedy at Berne, A. D. 1509, stands conspicuous²;) likewise by persecuting learned and good men,

pily prevented from taking place.— Erasmus published the Greek New Testament, as well as many works of the fathers, which the ignorant monks represented as sinning against the Holy Ghost. *Tr.*]

² On the notorious imposition of the monks of Bern, see, among many others, Jo. Henr. Hottinger's *Historia Eccles. Helvet.* tom. i. p. 334, &c. [*Historia Eccles. Nov. Test. secul. xvi. pt. i. p. 334, &c.* The narrative here printed, was drawn up by a Franciscan monk of Bern, in the year 1509. The substance of it is this. A Dominican monk, named Wigand Wirt, preaching at Frankfort, A. D. 1507, so violently assailed the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary, (the favourite doctrine of the Franciscans,) that he was summoned to Rome, to answer for his conduct. His brethren of the Dominican order, in their convention at Wimpfen, formed a plan to aid him, and to convince the world that the Franciscan doctrine of the immaculate conception was false. Bern was selected for the scene of their operations. The prior, subprior, preacher, and steward of the Dominican cloister at Bern, undertook to get up miracles and revelations for the occasion. A simple, honest rustic, by the name of John Jetzer, who had just entered upon his novitiate in the monastery, was selected as their tool. The subprior appeared to him one night, dressed in white, and pretending to be the ghost of a friar, who had been a hundred and sixty years in purgatory. He wailed, and entreated of Jetzer to afford him aid. Jetzer promised to do so, as far as he was able; and the next morning reported his vision to his superiors. They encouraged him to go on, and to confer freely with the ghost, if he appeared

again. A few nights after, the ghost made his appearance, attended by two devils, his tormenters; and thanked Jetzer for the relaxation of his sufferings, in consequence of Jetzer's prayers, fasting, &c. He also instructed Jetzer respecting the views entertained in the other world, concerning the immaculate conception, and the detention of some pontiffs and others in purgatory, for having persecuted the deniers of that doctrine; and promised Jetzer, that St. Barbara should appear to him, to give him further instruction. Accordingly, the subprior assumed a female garb, on a succeeding night, and appeared to Jetzer. She revealed to him some parts of his secret history, which the preacher, his confessor, had drawn from him at his confessions. Jetzer was completely duped. St. Barbara promised, that the virgin Mary should appear to him. She, or the subprior personating her, did so; and assured him, that she was not conceived free from original sin, though she was delivered from it three hours after her birth; that it was a grievous thing to her, to see that erroneous opinion spread abroad. She blamed the Franciscans much, as being the chief cause of this false belief. She also announced the destruction of the city of Bern, because the people did not expel the Franciscans, and cease to receive a pension from the French king. She appeared repeatedly, gave Jetzer much instruction, and promised to impress on him the five wounds of Christ; which she declared were never impressed on St. Francis, or any other person. She accordingly seized his right hand, and thrust a nail through it. This so pained him, that he became restive under the operation; and she promised to impress the other wounds without giving him pain. The conspi-

whom they branded as heretics; lastly, by extending their own privileges and honours at the expense of others, and most unjustly oppressing their adversaries.³ It was these friars especially who prompted *Leo X.* to the imprudent step of publicly condemning *Martin Luther*.

§ 13. Many of the mendicant monks held the principal chairs in the universities and schools; which was the great cause that the light of science and polite learning, which had begun to diffuse itself through most countries of Europe, could not more effectually dispel the clouds of ignorance and stupidity from them. Most of the teachers of youth, decorated with the splendid titles of Artists, Grammarians, Philosophers, and Dialecticians, in a most disgusting style, loaded the memories of their pupils with a multitude of barbarous terms and worthless distinctions; and when the pupil could repeat these, with volubility, he was regarded as eloquent and erudite. All the philosophers extolled *Aristotle* beyond measure: but no one followed him; indeed none of them understood him. For what they

rators now gave him medicated drugs, which stupified him; and then made the other wounds upon him, while senseless. Hitherto the subprior had been the principal actor. But now the preacher undertook to personate St. Mary: and Jetzer knew his voice; and from this time began to suspect the whole to be an imposition. All attempts to hoodwink him became fruitless: he was completely undeceived. They now endeavoured to bring him to join voluntarily in the plot. He was persuaded to do so. But they imposed upon him such intolerable austerities, and were detected by him in such impious and immoral conduct, that he wished to quit the monastery. They would not let him go; and were so fearful of his betraying their secret, which was now drawing crowds to their monastery, and promised them great advantage, that they determined to destroy him by poison. Jetzer, by listening at their door, got knowledge of the fact, and was so on his guard, that they could not succeed, though they used a consecrated host as the medium of the poison. He eloped from the monastery, and divulged the whole transaction. The four conspirators were apprehended, tried for blasphemy, and profaning holy ordinances, delivered over to the civil power,

burnt at the stake in 1509, and their ashes cast into the river near Bern.— Such is an outline of the story, which the Franciscan narrator has drawn out to a tedious length, with great minuteness, and not a little *esprit de corps*. *Tr.*]

³ See Bilib. Pirekheimer's Epistle to the pontiff Hadrian VI. *de Dominicanorum flagitiis*; in his *Opp.* p. 372, whence Dan. Gerdes copied it in his *Introduct. ad Historiam renovati Evangelii*, tom. i. Append. p. 170. [This learned and candid civilian, and Roman Catholic of Nuremberg, who corresponded with all the leading men of Germany, both catholics and protestants, a few years before his death, (which was in 1530,) wrote a respectful and excellent letter to pope Adrian VI., in which he endeavours to acquaint him with the true state of things in Germany. The grand cause of all the commotions there he supposed to be the Dominicans, who, by their persecution of Capnio and of all literary men, and by their pride, and insolence, and base conduct, particularly in trumpeting the papal indulgences, alienated almost all the intelligent and honest from the church, and then by their violent measures drove them to open opposition to the pontiffs. *Tr.*]

called the philosophy of *Aristotle*, was a confused mass of obscure notions, sentences, and divisions, the force of which not even the chiefs of the school had mastered. And if, among these thorns of scholastic wisdom, there was any thing that had the appearance of fruit, it was crushed and destroyed by the senseless altercations of the different sects, especially the *Scottists* and *Thomists*, the *Realists* and *Nominalists*, from which no university was free.

§ 14. How perversely and insufficiently theology was taught in this age, appears from all the books that it has transmitted to us, which are conspicuous for nothing but their bulk. Of the *Biblical* doctors, or expounders of the precepts of the Bible, only here and there an individual remained. Even in the university of Paris, which was considered as the mother and queen of all such institutions, not a man could be found, when *Luther* arose, able to dispute with him out of the Scriptures.⁴ The only commentators to be found, neglecting the literal sense, which they were quite unequal to investigate, from ignorance of the sacred languages, and of the laws of interpretation, senselessly ran after abstruse and hidden meanings. Nearly all the theologians were *Positivi* and *Sententiarii*; who deemed it a great achievement, both in speculative and practical theology, either to overwhelm the subject with a torrent of inapposite quotations from the fathers, or to force it under the laws and distinctions of dialectics. Whenever, accordingly, these men had occasion to say something about the meaning of any text, they appealed invariably to what was called the *Glossa Ordinaria*: and the phrase, the *Glossa says*, was as common and decisive in their lips, as anciently the phrase, *ipse dixit*, in the Pythagorean school.

§ 15. These public teachers, nevertheless, disputed among themselves, with sufficient freedom, on various questions in religion, and even upon those which comprise the essentials of salvation. For a great many points of doctrine had not yet been determined by the authority of the church, or, as the phrase ran, by the holy see: and the pontiffs were not accus-

⁴ [This was not strange. Many of the doctors of theology, in those times, had never read the Bible. Carlstadt expressly tells us, this was the case with himself. Whenever one freely read the Bible, he was cried out against, as one

making innovations, a heretic, and exposing Christianity to great danger by making the New Testament known. Many of the monks regarded the Bible as a book which abounded with numerous errors. *Von Ein.*]

tomed, unless there was some special reason, to make enactments that would restrain liberty of opinion on subjects not connected either with the supreme power of St. Peter's chair, or with such matters as give good opportunities to the clergy. Hence many persons of the highest character might be named, who advanced the same opinions with applause, before *Luther's* day, that were afterwards charged upon him as a crime. Nor, doubtless, would *Luther* have been deemed inexcusable in using a liberty which these men had already used, had he not attacked the system of Roman finance, the wealth of the bishops, the supremacy of the pontiffs, and the reputation of the Dominican order.

§ 16. The public worship of God consisted almost wholly in a round of ceremonies; and those, for the most part, vain and useless, being calculated not to affect the heart but to dazzle the eye. Those who delivered sermons, (which not many were able to do,) filled, or rather beguiled the ears of the people, with any pretended miracles, ridiculous fables, crude sophistries, and other such trash, that came in their way.⁵ There are still extant many examples of such discourses, which no good man can read without indignation. If among these declaimers there were some rather graver than the rest, for them certain common-places had been prepared and made ready for use, on which they almost perpetually rang changes by the hour; for instance, on the authority of holy mother church, and on paying obedience to her; on the influence with God of saints in heaven, their virtues and merits; on the dignity of the blessed Virgin Mary, her glory and kindness; on the efficacy of relics; on the enriching of churches and monasteries; on the necessity of what were then called good works in order to salvation; on the intolerable heat of *purgatory*; on the utility of indulgences. To preach to the people nothing but Christ Jesus our Saviour, and his merits, and true love to God and men, springing from faith,

⁵ [The Easter sermons in particular are proof of this; in which the preachers were emulous to provoke laughter among the audience, by repeating ludicrous stories, low jests, and whimsical incidents. — This was called emphatically, *Easter laughter*; and it still has its admirers, in some portions of the Roman Catholic

church. John *Æcolampadius*, in the year 1518, published at Basil, a tract of 32 pages, 4to, entitled, *De Risu Paschali Æcolampadii ad W. Capitonem Theologum Epistola*. See J. C. Füsslin's *Beiträge zur Kirchen-Reformationsgesch. des Switzerlandes*, vol. v. p. 447, &c. *Schl.*]

would have added little to the treasures and emoluments of good mother church.

§ 17. From these causes there was among all classes and ranks, in every country, an amazing ignorance on religious subjects; and no less superstition, united with gross corruption of morals. Those who presided over the ceremonies willingly tolerated these evils; and indeed encouraged them in various ways, rather than strove to stifle them; well knowing that their own interests were depending on them. Nor did most of them think it advisable to oppose strenuously the corruption of morals; for they could see, that if the crimes and sins of the people were diminished, the sale of *indulgences* would also decrease, and they would derive much less revenue from *satisfactions* and other similar sources.⁶

⁶ [Schlegel here inserts the following history of popish indulgences, according to the views of Dr Mosheim; derived undoubtedly from his public lectures, which Schlegel himself had heard, and has frequently referred to. *Tr.*—The origin of indulgences must be sought in the earliest history of the church. In the first centuries of the Christian church, such Christians as were excluded from the communion, on account of their relapses in times of persecution, or on account of other heinous sins, had to seek a restoration to fellowship by a public penance, in which they entreated the brethren to forgive their offence, standing before the door of the church clothed in the garb of mourning. This ecclesiastical punishment, which was regarded as a sort of *satisfaction* made to the community, and was called by that name, and which prevented much irregularity among Christians, was afterwards moderated, and sometimes remitted, in the case of infirm persons; and this remission was called *indulgence*, *indulgentia*. Originally, therefore, indulgences were merely the remission of the penances or ecclesiastical punishments, imposed on the lapsed and other gross offenders. When persecutions ceased, and the principal ground of this ecclesiastical regulation no longer existed, these punishments might have been laid aside. [Not so: for relapsing into idolatry, was only one among the many offences, for which penance was imposed; and as persecutions ceased, and the church became

rich and corrupt, other sins were multiplied, so that the ground for inflicting church censures rather increased than diminished. *Tr.*] They continued; and the doctrine gradually grew up, that Christ had atoned for the *eternal* punishment of sin, but not for its temporary punishment. The temporary punishment they divided into that of the present life, and that of the future life or of purgatory. It was held, that every man who would attain salvation, must suffer the temporary punishment of his sins, either in the present world, or in the flames of purgatory; and that the confessor to whom a man confessed his sins, had the power to adjudge and impose this temporary punishment. The punishment thus imposed consisted of fasting, pilgrimages, flagellation, &c. But among the persons liable to such punishments, were frequently persons of distinction and wealth. And for these, the principle of admitting *substitutes* was introduced. And there were monks, who for compensation paid them, would endure these punishments in behalf of the rich. But as every man could not avail himself of this relief, they at last commuted that penance into a pious mulet, *pia muleta*. Whoever, for instance, was bound to whip himself for several weeks, might pay to the church or to the monastery a certain sum of money, or give it a piece of land, and then be released from the penance. Thus Pepin of France, having dethroned the lawful monarch of that country, with the consent of the

§ 18. In proportion to the pestilential operation of these disorders upon every thing Christian, was the earnestness with which all longed for amendment and cure, who were either governed by good sense and solid learning, or by love of piety. Nor was the number of these, throughout the Latin world, by any means small. The majority of them, indeed, did not wish to have the constitution and organization of the church altered, nor the doctrines which had become sacred by long admission to be rejected, nor the rites and ceremonies to be abrogated;

pope, now gave to the church the patrimony of St. Peter. As the popes perceived that something might be gained in this way, they assumed wholly to themselves the right of commuting canonical penances for pecuniary satisfactions, which every bishop had before exercised in his own diocese. At first they released only from the punishments of sin in the present world; but in the 14th century, they extended this release also to the punishments of purgatory. Jesus, they said, had not removed all the punishments of sin. Those which he had not removed, were either the punishments of this world, that is, the penances which confessors enjoin, or the punishments of the future world, that is, those of purgatory. An indulgence frees a person from both these. The first, the pope remits by his papal power, as sovereign lord of the church; just as the sovereign of a country can commute the corporeal punishment, which the inferior judges decree, into pecuniary mulets. The last, he remits, (as Benedict XIV. says, in his bull for the jubilee,) *jure suffragii*; that is, by his prevalent intercession with God, who can deny nothing to his vicegerent. Yet this release from the punishments of sin cannot be bestowed gratis. There must be an equivalent; that is, some money, which is given to the pope for religious uses. Princes indeed never release a man from corporeal punishment, unless he petitions for it. But the vicegerent of Christ is more gracious than other judges, and causes his indulgences to be freely offered to the whole church, and to be proclaimed aloud throughout the Christian world. These principles carried into operation drew immense sums of money to Rome. When such indulgences were to be published, the disposal of them was commonly farmed out. For the papal court

could not always wait to have the money collected and conveyed from every country of Europe. And there were rich merchants at Genoa, Milan, Venice, and Augsburg, who purchased the indulgences for a particular province, and paid to the papal chancery handsome sums for them. Thus both parties were benefited. The chancery came at once into possession of large sums of money; and the farmers did not fail of a good bargain. They were careful to employ skilful hawkers of the indulgences, persons whose boldness and impudence bore due proportion to the eloquence with which they imposed upon the simple people. Yet that this species of traffic might have a religious aspect, the pope appointed the archbishops of the several provinces to be his commissaries, who in his name published, that indulgences were to be sold, and generally selected the persons to hawk them, and for this service shared the profits with the merchants who farmed them. These papal hawkers enjoyed great privileges, and however odious to the civil authorities, they were not to be molested. Complaints indeed were made against these contributions, levied by the popes upon all Christian Europe. Kings and princes, clergy and laity, bishops, monasteries, and confessors, all felt themselves aggrieved by them: the former, that their countries were impoverished, under the pretext of crusades that were never undertaken, and of wars against heretics and Turks; and the latter, that their letters of indulgences were rendered inefficient, and the people released from ecclesiastical discipline. But at Rome, all were deaf to these complaints; and it was not till the revolution produced by Luther, that unhappy Europe obtained the desired relief. *Schl.*]

but only, to have some bounds set to papal power, the corrupt morals and the impositions of the clergy corrected, the ignorance and the errors of the populace dispelled, and the burthens imposed on the people under colour of religion removed. But as none of these things could be effected without first extirpating various absurd and impious opinions which gave birth to those evils, and purging the existing religion from its corruptions, all those are considered as implicitly demanding a reformation of *religion*, who are recorded to have called for a reformation of the *church*, both in its head and in its members.

§ 19. What residue of real piety still existed, lived as it were under the patronage of those called *mystics*. For this class of persons, both orally, and by their writings, avoiding all scholastic disputations, and demonstrating the vanity of mere external worship, exhorted men to strive only to obtain holiness of heart and communion with God. And hence they were loved and respected by most of those who earnestly and seriously sought for salvation. But as all of this party associated the vulgar errors and superstitions with their precepts of piety, and many of them were led into strange opinions by their excessive love of contemplation, and were but little removed from fanatical delirium, more powerful auxiliaries than they were necessary to the subjugation of errors which had grown inveterate.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE COMMENCEMENT AND PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION, TILL THE PRESENTMENT OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION [OR FROM A. D. 1517—1530].

§ 1. The beginning of the Reformation.—§ 2. Luther.—§ 3. John Tetzel preaches indulgences in 1517.—§ 4. State of the question between these two persons.—§ 5. The opposers of the former, and patrons of the latter.—§ 6. Conference of Luther with Cajetan at Augsburg.—§ 7. The issue of it.—§ 8. Proceedings of Miltitz. All plans for peace frustrated.—§ 9. The discessions at Leipsic. Eckius. Carlstadt.—§ 10. Philip Melancthon.—§ 11. Beginning of the reformation in Switzerland.—§ 12. Luther is excommunicated by the pope in 1520.—§ 13. He withdraws from the communion of the Romish church.—§ 14. The rise of the Lutheran church.—§ 15. The diet of Worms in 1521.—§ 16. The events of it. Luther is proscribed.—§ 17. His pursuits after leaving the castle of Wartburg.—§ 18. Hadrian VI. The diet of Nuremberg in 1522.—§ 19. Clement VII. A. D. 1524.—§ 20. Carlstadt. Zwingli.—§ 21. War of the peasants in 1525.—§ 22. Death of Frederic the Wise. John his successor.—§ 23. The diet of Spire in 1526.—24. Subsequent progress of the Reformation.—§ 25. The diet of Spire in 1529. The Protestants.—§ 26. Their alliance.—§ 27. The conference at Marpurg in 1529.—§ 28. The diet to be assembled at Augsburg.—§ 29. The state of the Reformation in Sweden, about the year 1530.—§ 30. Reformation effected in Denmark by Christiern.—§ 31. It was completed by Frederic and by Christian III.—§ 32. A discrimination to be made in regard to the Swedish and Danish Reformation.—§ 33. The Reformation in France.—§ 34. Reformation in other countries in Europe.

§ 1. WHILE the Roman pontiff thought every thing safe and settled, and all pious and good men were nearly in despair of the religious reformation, so earnestly desired, a certain obscure and inconsiderable monk in Saxony, a province of Germany, suddenly opposed himself single-handed with incredible resolution to the power of Rome. This was *Martin Luther*, of Eisleben, born of reputable but humble parentage¹, a member of the

¹ [Luther's family appears to have been of the class, known in England as yeomanry. Its long-established residence was at Möhra, on the edge of the Thuringian forest. The usage of that

class made the eldest brother of a family heir to the paternal residence and fields. Martin Luther's father, Hans, or John, was a younger brother, and therefore obliged to seek a subsistence away from

Augustinian body, known as *Eremites*, which is one of the four mendicant orders, and professor of theology in the university of Wittemberg, established a few years before² by Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony. The papal chair was then filled by *Leo X. Maximilian I.*, of Austria, governed the Romano-German empire; and *Frederic*, from depth of understanding, surnamed *The Wise*, ruled over Saxony. The year since our Saviour's birth was 1517. Many applauded the courage and heroism of this new adversary; but hardly any one anticipated his success. For it was not to be expected that this light-armed warrior could harm a *Hercules* whom so many heroes had assailed in vain.

§ 2. That *Luther* was possessed of extraordinary talents, uncommon genius, a copious memory, astonishing industry and perseverance, superior eloquence, a greatness of soul that rose above all human weaknesses, and consummate erudition for the age in which he lived, even those among his enemies who possess any degree of candour do not deny. In the philosophy then taught in the schools, he was as well versed as he was in theology; and he taught both, with great applause, in the university of Wittemberg. In the former, he followed the principles of the *Nominalists*, which were embraced by his order, that of the Augustinians; in the latter, he was a follower for the most part of *St. Augustine*. But he had long preferred Holy Scripture and sound reason to every thing that rested upon the authority of individuals. No wise man, indeed, will pronounce him entirely faultless; yet if we except the imperfections of the times in which he lived, and of the religion in which he was trained, we shall find little to censure in him.³

his native home. He married Margaret Lindemann, of Neustadt, in the bishopric of Wurtzburg, and went to reside at Eisleben, a little town in Saxony, where the future reformer was born in the evening of Nov. 10. 1483. This was the eve of St. Martin's day: a circumstance that found him a Christian name. He was under six months old when his parents removed to Mansfield, a distance of about five leagues, and a place famous for its mines. It was there that he passed his childhood. D'Aubigné's *Hist. of the Great Reformation*, Eng. trans. Lond. 1843, i. 47. Ranke's *Hist. of the*

Reformation in Germany, Eng. trans. Lond. 1845, i. 317. *Ed.*]

² [In 1502. *Ed.*]

³ All the writers who have given the history of Luther's life and achievements, are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Centifolium Lutheranium*, of which the first volume appeared at Hamburg, in 1730, 8vo. [Melancthon, *de Vita Lutheri*, ed. Heumann, Gotting. 1741, 4to, Sehroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. i. p. 106, &c. J. and I. Milner's *Church History*, cent. xvi. Alex. Bower's *Life of Luther*, Edinb. 1813, and numerous others; among which

§ 3. The first occasion for publishing the truths that he had discovered, was presented to this great man by *John Tetzel*, a

are the following, particularly recommended by Schlegel. (*Tr.*)—J. G. Walch's *Ausführliche Nachricht von D. Mart. Luther*, prefixed to the 24th vol. of his edition of Luther's works, p. 1—875, which exceeds all others in fulness and learned fidelity. The earlier work of F. S. Keil, *Merkwürdige Lebensumstände D. Mart. Luther's*, Leipsic, 1764, iv. vol. contains much that is good, with some things that are censurable. Also, from its historical connexion, C. W. F. Walch's *Gesch. der Frau Catharina von Bora, Martin Luther's Ehegattin*, 2 vol. Gotting. 1753—54, 8vo. and Prof. Schroeckh's *Life of Luther*, in his *Abbildungen der Gelehrten*. From these writings we adduce these principal circumstances.—Luther's father was a miner of Mansfield. He was born at Eisleben, A. D. 1483. After attending the schools of Magdeburg and Eisenach, he studied scholastic philosophy and jurisprudence at Erfurt, and at the same time read the ancient Latin authors. [His love of the world was first checked by the shock that he received from the violent death of a young college friend, whom he greatly loved. Before his spirits had recovered from this unexpected blow, he was overtaken, in the summer of 1505, while returning from his father's house to the university, by a dreadful thunderstorm, from which he thought himself to have had a very narrow escape with life. *Ed.*] Thinking now of nothing but religion, he joined himself, much against the will of his father, to one of the most rigid orders of mendicants, that of the Augustinian Eremites. In this situation he so conducted himself, that his superiors were well satisfied with his industry, good temper, and abilities. In the year 1508, John von Staupitz, his vicar general, sent him from Erfurt to Wittenberg, contrary to his inclinations, to be professor of philosophy. He now applied himself more to biblical theology, discovered the defects of the scholastic philosophy, and began to reject human authorities in matters of religion; and in these views, his baccalaureate in theology, which he took in the year 1509, confirmed him still more. A journey to Rome, which he undertook in the year 1510, on the business of his order, procured him knowledge and experience, which were afterwards of great use to

him. After his return, he took, in the year 1512, his degree of doctor in divinity; and he now applied himself diligently to the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages. All these pursuits were preparations for that great work, which Divine Providence intended to accomplish by him; and they procured him a degree of learning, that was great for those times. He was not inexperienced in philosophy, and he understood the Bible better than any other teacher in the catholic church; he had critically read the writings of the fathers; and had studied, among the modern writers, especially William Occam and John Gerson, together with the mystics of the two preceding centuries, and particularly John Tauler; and from the two former (Occam and Gerson) he learned to view the papal authority differently from the mass of people; and from the latter, (the mystics,) he learned many practical truths relating to the religion of the heart, which were not to be found in the ordinary books of devotion and piety. Of church history he had so much knowledge, as was necessary for combating the prevalent errors, and for restoring the primitive religion of Christians. In the *Belles Lettres* also, he was not a novice. He wrote the German language with greater purity, elegance, and force, than any other author of that age; and his translation of the Bible and his hymns still exhibit proof, how correctly, nervously, and clearly, he could express himself in his native tongue. He possessed a natural, strong, and moving eloquence. These acquisitions and talents resided in a mind of uncommon ardour, and of heroic virtue in action; and he applied them to objects of the greatest utility, both to mankind at large, and to the individual members of society. He saw religion to be disfigured with the most pernicious errors; and reason and conscience to be under intolerable bondage. He chased away these errors, brought true religion and sound reason again into repute, rescued virtue from slavish subjection to human authorities, and made it obedient to nobler motives, vindicated the rights of man against the subverters of them, furnished the state with useful citizens by removing obstructions to marriage, and gave to the thrones of princes their original power

Dominican monk of boundless impudence, whom *Albert*, archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, had hired, because he had face enough for any thing, to solicit the Germans, in the name of the Roman pontiff *Leo X.*, to expiate with money their own sins, and those of their friends, and future sins as well as past ones; or, in other words, to *preach indulgences*.⁴ This fraudulent declaimer so conducted his business as not only to forget all modesty and decency, but also to detract impiously from the merits of Jesus Christ. Hence *Luther*, moved with just indignation, publicly exposed at Wittemberg, on the 1st of October, A. D. 1517, ninety-five propositions; in which he chastised the madness of these indulgence-sellers generally, and not obscurely

and secnry. By what means he gradually effected all this good for mankind, will appear in the course of this history. It is true, the man who performed these heroic deeds for Europe, had his imperfections. For heroes are but men. But his faults were not the fruits of a corrupt heart, but of a warm, sanguine, choleric temperament, and the effects of his education, and of the times in which he lived. He answered his opposers with too great acrimony and passion even when they were kings and princes, and often with personal abuse. He acknowledged this as a fault, and commended Melanethon and Brentius, who exhibited more mildness in their conversation and writings. But it was his zeal for the truth that enkindled his passions: and perhaps they were necessary in those times; perhaps also they were in consequence of his monastic life, in which he had no occasion to learn worldly courtesy. And, were not the harsh and passionate terms, which he used towards his opposers, the controversial language of his age? We do not say this, to justify Luther: he was a man, and he had human weaknesses; but he was clearly one of the best men known in that century. This is manifest, among other proofs, from his writings: the most important of which we shall here enumerate. *Theses de Indulgentiis*, or, *Disputatio pro Declaratione Virtutis Indulgentiarum*, 1517. A sermon on *Indulgences and Grace*, 1518. *Resolutiones Thesium de Indulgentiis*. Among his exegetical writings, his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, and that on *Genesis*, are the most important. In

his own estimation, his best work was his *Postilles*, which were published in 1527. His essays *de Libertate Christiana*, *de Captivitate Babylonica*, and *De Votis Monasticis*, are very polemic: as also his book against Erasmus, *De Servo Arbitrio*, in which he closely follows Augustine in the doctrine concerning grace, while the earliest among the Reformed defended universal grace. His translation of the Bible, which was first published by parcels, and appeared entire, for the first time, in 1534; his larger and smaller Catechisms; the seventeen Articles of Schwalbach; the Articles of Schmalkald; and his Letters, are very noticeable. The best edition of his writings, is that of Halle, 1737-53, in twenty-four volumes, 4to, to which the immortal councillor Waleh has imparted the greatest possible perfection. *Schl.*]

⁴ The writers who give account of Tetzel, and of his base methods of deluding the multitude, are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Centifolium Lutheranicum*, pt. i. p. 47, and pt. ii. p. 530. What is said of this vile man, by Jac. Echard and Jac. Quetif, in their *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, tom. ii. p. 40, betrays immoderate and ignoble partiality. [Tetzel was distinguished by a fine person, imposing manner, and sonorous voice. He was the son of a goldsmith at Leipsic, named Diez, and was called Diezel, or Tetzel. At the time when Luther's attack gave him an unenviable immortality, he was sixty-three years of age, but might have passed for a much younger man, as there was little or no appearance of decay about him. D'Aubignô's *Hist. Ref.* i. 267. *Ed.*]

censured the pontiff himself, for suffering the people to be thus diverted from looking to Christ. This was the beginning of that great war which obscured no small portion of the pontifical splendour.⁵

⁵ [The pope offered, as a pretext for this new spiritual tax, the completion of the church of St. Peter, which had been commenced by Julius II.; and he appointed for his first commissary, Albert, archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, and margrave of Brandenburg, who, from the expensiveness of his court, had not yet paid the fees for his pall, and was to pay them out of his share of the profits of these indulgences. The second commissary was Jo. Angelus Arcembold. In Saxony, John Tetzel, who had before been a successful preacher of papal indulgences, was appointed to this service. He was a profligate wretch, who had once fallen into the hands of the Inquisition, in consequence of his adulteries, and whom the elector of Saxony rescued by his intercession. He now cried up his merchandise, in a manner so offensive, so contrary to all Christian principles, and so acceptably to the inconsiderate, that all upright men were disgusted with him; yet they dared to sigh over this unclerical traffic only in private. He pursued it as far north as Zerbst and Jüterbock, and selected the annual fairs for its prosecution. He claimed to have power to absolve, not only from church censures, but likewise from all sins, transgressions, and enormities, however horrid they might be, and even from those of which the pope only can take cognizance. He released from all the punishments of purgatory; gave permission to come to the sacraments; and promised to those who purchased his indulgences, that the gates of hell should be closed in regard to them, and the gates of paradise and of bliss open to them. See Herrn. Von der Hardt, *Hist. Litter. Reformat.* pt. iv. § 6, 14, &c. Some Wittembergers, who had purchased his wares, came to Luther as he was sitting in the confessional, and acknowledged to him very gross sins. And when he laid upon them heavy ecclesiastical penances, they produced Tetzel's letters of indulgence, and demanded absolution. But he declined giving them absolution, until they had submitted to the penance, and thus given some evidence of repentance and amendment; and he declared,

that he put no value upon their letters of indulgence. These sentiments he also published in a discourse from the pulpit; and he complained to the archbishop of Mentz, and to some of the bishops of this shameful abuse of indulgences; and published his *theses*, or propositions, against Tetzel: in which he did not indeed discard all use of indulgences, but only maintained, that they were merely a release by the pope from the canonical penances for sin, as established by ecclesiastical law, and did not extend to the punishments which God inflicts; that forgiveness of sins was to be had only from God, through real repentance and sorrow, and that God requires no penance or satisfaction therefore. The enemies of the reformation tell us, that Luther was actuated by passion, and that envy between the Dominicans and the Augustinians was the moving cause of Luther's enterprise. They say the Augustinians had previously been employed to preach indulgences, but now the Dominicans were appointed to this lucrative office; and that Luther took up his pen against Tetzel, by order of John von Staupitz, [provincial of the order,] who was dissatisfied that his order was neglected on this occasion. The author of this fable was John Cochleus; (in his *Historia de Actis et Scriptis Mart. Lutheri*, p. 3, 4, Paris, 1665, 8vo.) and from this raving enemy of Luther, it has been copied by some French and English writers, and from them by a few German writers of this age. But the evidence of this hypothesis is still wanted. It is still unproved, that the Augustinians ever had the exclusive right of preaching indulgences. (See Fred. Will. Kratz, *De Luthero contra Indulgentiarum Nundinatores hucusquaque per Invidiam disputante*, Gotting, 1749, 4to.) Luther was far too openhearted, not to let something of this envy appear in his writings, if he really was urged on to act by it; and his enemies were far too sharp-sighted, if they had even the slightest suspicion of it, not to have reproached him with it in his lifetime. Yet not one of them did this. For what Cochleus has said on this subject, did not appear, till after Luther's

§ 4. This first controversy between *Luther* and *Tetzel* was in itself of no great importance, and might have been easily

death. [Pallavicini, in his *Historia Concilii Trident.* pt. i. lib. i. c. 3, § 5, &c. Graveson, *Historia Eccles.* sæcul. xvi. p. 26, and other catholics, violent enemies of the Reformation, expressly deny and confute this charge against Luther. *Tr.*] Others tell us, with as little evidence of truth, that Luther was prompted to take this step by the court of Saxony; which had a design to draw into its own coffers the religious property situated in Saxony: an objection which the whole series of subsequent events will confute. Luther at first had no thought of overthrowing the papal hierarchy; and Frederic the Wise, who was opposed to all innovations in ecclesiastical or religious matters, would evidently be one of the last persons to form such a plan. *Schl.*]

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

Mr. Hume, in his *History of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, has thought proper to repeat what the enemies of the Reformation, and some of its dubious or ill-informed friends, have advanced with respect to the motives that engaged Luther to oppose the doctrine of indulgences. This elegant and persuasive historian tells us, that the "Austin friars had usually been employed in Saxony to preach indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration; that Arcemboldi gave this occupation to the Dominicans; that Martin Luther, an Austin friar, professor in the university of Wittenberg, *resenting the affront put upon his order*, began to preach against the abuses that were committed in the sale of indulgences, and being provoked by opposition, proceeded even to deery indulgences themselves." It were to be wished that Mr. Hume's candour had engaged him to examine this

accusation before he had ventured to repeat it. For, in the *first* place, it is not true that the *Austin friars had been usually employed in Saxony to preach indulgences*. It is well known that the commission had been offered alternately, and sometimes jointly, to all the Mendicants, whether *Austin friars, Dominicans, Franciscans, or Carmelites*. Nay, from the year 1229, that lucrative commission was principally entrusted with the Dominicans; and in the records which relate to indulgences, we rarely meet with the name of an Austin friar, and not one single act by which it appears that the Roman pontiff ever named the friars of that order to the office under consideration. More particularly it is remarkable, that for half a century before Luther (*i. e.* from 1450 to 1517), during which period indulgences were sold with the most scandalous marks of avaricious extortion and impudence, we scarcely meet with the name of an Austin friar employed in that service; if we except a monk named Palzius, who was no more than an underling of the papal questor, Raymond Peraldus; so far is it from being true, that the Angustin order were exclusively or even usually, employed in that service. Mr. Hume has built his assertion upon the sole authority of a single expression of Paul Sarpi, which has been abundantly refuted by De Prierio, Pallavicini, and Graveson, the mortal enemies of Luther. But it may be alleged, that even supposing it was not usual to employ the Angustin friars alone in the propagation of indulgences, yet Luther might be offended at seeing such an important commission given to the Dominicans exclusively, and that consequently this was his motive in opposing the propagation of indulgences. To show the injustice of this allegation, I observe,

Secondly. That in the time of Luther, the preaching of indulgences was become such an odious and unpopular matter, that it is far from being probable that Luther would have been solicitous about obtaining such a commission, either for himself or for his order. The princes of Europe, with many bishops, and multitudes of learned and pious men, had opened their eyes upon the turpitude of this infamous traffic; and even the Franciscans and Dominicans, towards

settled, if *Leo X.* had possessed either the ability or the disposition to treat it prudently. It was, in fact, a private contest between two monks, as to how far the Roman pontiffs were empowered to remit the punishments of sins. *Luther* admitted the pope's authority to excuse the human penalties for sin, or those appointed by the church and the papal see; but denied his power to release from the divine penalties, either of the present, or the future world; maintaining, on the contrary, that these divine punishments must be removed either by the merits of Jesus Christ, or by voluntary penances undertaken by the sinner. *Tetzel*, on the other hand, expressed a belief in the pontiff's power to release also from divine punishments, whether

the conclusion of the fifteenth century, opposed it publicly, both in their discourses and in their writings. Nay more, the very commission, which is supposed to have excited the envy of *Luther*, was offered by *Leo* to the general of the Franciscans, and was refused both by him and his order, who gave it over entirely to *Albert*, bishop of *Mentz* and *Magdeburg*. Is it then to be imagined, that either *Luther*, or the other *Austin* friars, aspired after a commission of which the Franciscans were ashamed? Besides, it is a mistake to affirm that this office was given to the Dominicans in general; since it was given to *Tetzel* alone, an individual member of that order, who had been notorious for his profligacy, barbarity, and extortion.

But that neither resentment nor envy was the motive which led *Luther* to oppose the doctrine and publication of indulgences, will appear with the utmost evidence, if we consider, in the *third* place, that he was never accused of any such motive, either in the edicts of the pontiffs of his time, or amidst the other reproaches of contemporary writers, who defended the cause of Rome, and who were far from being sparing of their invectives and calumnies. All the contemporary adversaries of *Luther* are absolutely silent on this head. From the year 1517 to 1546, when the dispute about indulgences was carried on with the greatest warmth and animosity, not one writer ever ventured to reproach *Luther* with those ignoble motives of opposition now under consideration. I speak not of *Erasmus*, *Sleidan*, *De Thou*, *Guicciardini*, and others, whose testimony might perhaps be suspected of

partiality in his favour, but I speak of *Cajetan*, *Hogstrat*, *De Prierio*, *Emser*, and even the infamous *John Tetzel*, whom *Luther* opposed with such vehemence and bitterness. Even *Cochleus* was silent on this head during the life of *Luther*; though after the death of that great reformer, he broached the calumny I am here refuting. But such was the scandalous character of this man, who was notorious for fraud, calumny, lying, and their sister vices, that *Pallavicini*, *Bossuet*, and other enemies of *Luther*, were ashamed to make use either of his name or testimony. Now may it not be fairly presumed, that the contemporaries of *Luther* were better judges of his character, and the principles from which he acted, than those who lived in after times? Can it be imagined, that motives to action, which escaped the prying eyes of *Luther's* contemporaries, should have discovered themselves to us, who live at such a distance from the scene of action, to *M. Bossuet*, to *Mr. Hume*, and to other abettors of this ill-contrived and foolish story? Either there are no rules of moral evidence, or *Mr. Hume's* assertion is entirely groundless.

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

in the present, or the future life. This subject had in preceding times been often discussed, and the pontiff's had passed no decrees about it. But the present dispute, being at first neglected, and then treated unwisely, gradually increased, till from small beginnings it involved consequences of the highest importance.

§ 5. *Luther* was applauded by the best part of Germany, which had long borne, very impatiently, the various artifices of the Roman pontiff's for raising money, and the impudence and impositions of papal tax-gatherers. But loud murmurs rose from sycophants of the pontiff's, and none made more noise than the Dominicans, who considered, like all monks, their whole order grievously injured by *Luther*, in the person of *Tetzel*. In the first place, *Tetzel* himself made an early attack upon *Luther*, in two disputations at the university of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, when he took his degree of doctor in theology.⁶ The following year, A. D. 1518, produced violent refutations from two celebrated Dominicans, one at Rome, from *Sylvester Prierias*⁷, an Italian, the general of his order; the other, at Cologne, from *James Hochstraten*, a German. They were followed by a third adversary, a great friend of the Dominicans, *John Eck*, a theologian of Ingolstadt.⁸ To these assailants, *Luther* replied with spirit; and at the same time he addressed very modest letters to the Roman pontiff himself, and to some of the bishops; in which he not only set forth the justice of his cause, but also

⁶ [Tetzel arrived at Frankfort, in November, 1517. The university there, "like that of Wittenberg, was an offshoot from Leipsic, only founded at a later date, and belonging to the opposite party. Determined opponents to all innovation had found appointments there." Tetzel did not confine his demonstration to assertion and argument, on the 20th of January, 1518, which is the real date of his disputation. He likewise had a pulpit and scaffold set up in the suburbs of Frankfort, and going thither in solemn procession, as inquisitor, he thundered violently from the pulpit against Luther and his opinions. Luther, he declared, ought to be burnt alive, and he actually set fire to his publications against indulgences, on the scaffold; an act, no doubt, intended to intimidate. D'Aubigné, i. 350. Ranke, i. 344. *Ed.*]

⁷ [Silvestro da Prierio. (Pallavicino, *Ist. del Conc. di Trento*, i. 98.) Sylvester Manzolini, of Prierio. (Ranke, i. 343.)

He was master of the sacred palace, and general inquisitor. *Ed.*]

⁸ Eck, though either it or the Latin form, *Eckius*, is the usual designation of this divine, was really not his surname, but *Mayr*. Eck was the name of his native place, of which his father, Michael Mayr, a substantial yeoman, was *Ammann*, or magistrate. *John Mayr*, of Eck, the son, was one of the first scholars of his day, and justly possessed of great reputation. He had been a very laborious student; but was quite unable to see the possibility of shaking the positions with which his learning had made him familiar. Hence he depended chiefly upon his memory, and thought himself secure of victory, from its stores, in any disputation. Of disputations he was immoderately fond; viewing them (especially if he could find any new subject) as one of the surest roads to advancement. Ranke, i. 444, 449. *Ed.*]

promised a change in his views and opinions, if he could be convicted of error.⁹

§ 6. *Leo X.* at first looked with contempt upon this controversy, but being informed by the emperor *Maximilian I.* that it was an affair of no little consequence, and that Germany was splitting into parties, he summoned *Luther* to appear at Rome and take his trial.¹ Against this mandate of the pontiff, *Frederic the Wise*, elector of Saxony, interposed, and requested that *Luther's* cause might be tried in Germany, according to the ecclesiastical laws of the country. The pontiff yielded to the wishes of *Frederic*; and ordered *Luther* to appear before his legate, cardinal *Thomas Cajetan*², then at the diet of Augsburg, and there defend his doctrines and conduct. The Roman court here exhibited an example of the greatest indiscretion that appeared in the whole transaction. For *Cajetan* being a Dominican, and of course the enemy of *Luther*, connected besides with *Tetzel*, a more unfit person could not have been named to sit as judge and arbiter of the cause.

§ 7. *Luther* repaired to Augsburg in the month of October, A. D. 1518; and had three interviews with *Cajetan*, the pontifical legate.³ Now, if *Luther* had even entertained a thought of yielding, undoubtedly this Dominican was not the person to

⁹ [Luther attended the general convention of the Augustinians at Heidelberg in the year 1518; and in a discussion there, he defended his *Paradores* (so he entitled his propositions) with such energy and applause, that the seeds of evangelical truth took deep root in that part of the country. See Martin Bucer's *Relatio de Disputatione Heidelbergensi*, in Dan. Gerdes, *Append.* ad tom. i. *Historie Evangelii Renovati*, No. 18, p. 175, &c. After his return from Heidelberg, he wrote to the pope in very submissive terms. See his works, ed. Halle, vol. xv. p. 496. He also wrote to Jerome Scultetus, bishop of Brandenburg, to whose diocese Wittemberg belonged; and likewise to Staupitz; using in both instances very modest language. *Schl.*]

¹ [Here is undoubtedly a slip of the memory. Before Maximilian's letter arrived at Rome, Leo had cited Luther to appear, within sixty days, at Rome, and take his trial before Jerome, bishop of Ascoli, and his enemy, Sylvester Pri-

erius, as his judges. See Seckendorf's *Historia Lutheranismi*, p. 41, and Luther's *Works*, vol. xv. p. 527, &c. Maximilian was himself friendly to Luther; but was now pushed on by some of his courtiers. *Schl.*]

² [Thomas de Vio of Gaeta. *Tr.*]

³ Of Cajetan, a full account is given by Jac. Quetif and Jac. Echard, in their *Scriptores Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. ii. p. 14, &c. [He was born A. D. 1469, at Gaeta, in Latin, Cajeta (whence his surname *Cajetanus*), in the territory of Naples; at the age of 29, wrote a book to prove that a general council could not be called without the authority of a pope; and was rewarded with the bishopric of Gaeta, and then with the archbishopric of Pisa; and in 1515, with a cardinal's hat. In 1522, he was papal legate to Hungary; and died A. D. 1534, aged 65. He was fond of study, and wrote much on the Aristotelian philosophy, scholastic theology, and in the latter years of his life, extensive commentaries on the Scriptures. *Tr.*]

gain that point from a high-spirited man. For he treated him imperiously; and peremptorily required him humbly to confess his errors, although unconfuted in argument, and to submit his judgment to that of the pontiff.⁴ And as *Luther* could not bring himself to this, the result of the discussion was, that previously to his departure from Augsburg, he appealed, as might be done without compromising the papal dignity, from the pontiff ill-informed, to the same when better informed.⁵ Soon after, on the 9th of November, *Leo X.* published a special edict, requiring all his subjects to believe that he had the power of remitting the penalties of sins. On learning this, *Luther*, perceiving that he had nothing to expect from Rome, appealed, at Wittenberg, November 28, from the pontiff to a future council of the whole church.

§ 8. The Romish court seemed now to be sensible of its error in appointing *Cajetan*. It committed, accordingly, about the same time, this business of leading *Luther* back to the pontiff, to another legate, who was not a party in the case, and who possessed more knowledge of human nature. The individual was *Charles von Miltitz*, a Saxon knight, who belonged to the court of *Leo X.*⁶; a discreet and sagacious man. Him the

⁴ Cajetan's proceedings with Luther were dissatisfactory, even to the court of Rome. See Paul Sarpi's *Historia Concilii Trident.* lib. i. p. 22. Yet Eberhard apologizes for Cajetan, in his *Scriptores Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. ii. p. 15; but I cannot say whether wisely and solidly. The court of Rome, however, erred in this matter as much as Cajetan. For it might easily have foreseen, that a Dominican would not have behaved ingenuously with Luther. [Cajetan was one of the most learned men of his church; but he was a scholastic divine, and undertook to confute Luther by the canon law and the authority of Lombard. The electoral court of Saxony proceeded very circumspectly in this affair. Luther was not only furnished with a safe-conduct, but was attended by two counsellors, who supported him with their legal assistance. The cardinal required Luther to revoke, in particular, two errors in his *Theses*; namely, that there was not any treasury of the merits of saints at Rome, from which the pope could dispense portions to those that obtained indulgences from him; and that, without faith, no forgiveness of sin could be ob-

tained from God. Luther would admit of none but Scripture proofs; and as the cardinal, who was no biblical scholar, could not produce such proofs, Luther held fast his opinions; and when the cardinal began to be restless, and to threaten ecclesiastical censures, Luther appealed a *Pontifice male informato ad melius informandum*;—a legal step, which was nowise harsh, and one which is resorted to, at the present day, by those who do not question the infallibility of the pope. By this appeal he recognized the jurisdiction of the pope, and at the same time secured this advantage, that the cardinal, as a delegated judge, had no longer jurisdiction of the case. *Schl.*]

⁵ See Christ. Fred. Boerner's *Diss. de Colloquio Lutheri cum Cajetano*, Lips. 1722, 4to, also among his *Dissertationes*, collected in one volume; and Val. Ern. Loescher's *Acta et Documenta Reformat.* tom. iii. c. xi. p. 435, &c., and Jo. Geo. Walch's *Nachricht von Luthero*, in the Works of Luther, vol. xxiv. p. 409, &c.

⁶ [He was chamberlain to the pope, and held canonries at Mentz, Treves, and Meissen. D'Aubigné, ii. 2. *Ed.*]

pope sent into Saxony, that he should both offer to the electoral prince *Frederic* the consecrated golden rose, which the pontiff's sometimes gave to distinguished men whom they were disposed to honour; and also should negotiate with *Luther* for terminating his contest with *Tetzel*, or rather with the pontiff himself. And he managed the business not without some success. For immediately, in his first interview with *Luther* at *Altenburg*, in the month of *January*, 1519, he prevailed on him to write a very submissive letter to *Leo X.*, dated *March 3rd*, in which he promised to be silent, provided his enemies would also be silent. *Miltitz* had other discussions with *Luther* in *October* of this year, in the castle of *Liebenwerda*; and in the following year, 1520, *October 12*, at *Lichtenberg*.⁷ Nor was the prospect utterly hopeless, that these threatening commotions might be stilled.⁸ But the insolence of *Luther's* foes, and the haughty indiscretion of the court of *Rome*, soon afterwards dissipated all these prospects of peace.

§ 9. The incident which caused the failure of *Miltitz's* embassy, was a conference or dispute at *Leipsic*, in the year 1519, from the 27th of *June* to the 15th of *July*. *John Eck*, that famous papal theologian, disagreed with *Andrew Carlstadt*, the friend and colleague of *Luther*, in regard to *free will*. He therefore challenged *Carlstadt*, according to the custom of the age, to a personal dispute, to be held publicly at *Leipsic*; and also invited *Luther*, whom he had already assailed by writing. For the martial spirit of our ancestors had made its way into the schools, and among the learned; and heated dissentients on points of religion or literature, were accustomed to challenge one another to single combats, like knights and warriors. These literary combats were usually held in some distinguished university, and the rector of the university, with the masters, were arbiters of the contest, and adjudged the victory. *Carlstadt* consented to the proposed contest, and on the day appointed he appeared on the *arena*, attended by *Luther*. After *Carlstadt* had disputed warmly for many days with *Eck*, in the castle of

⁷ The documents relating to the embassy of *Miltitz*, were first published by *Ern. Salom. Cyprian*, in his *Additiones ad Wilh. Ern. Tenzelii Historiam Reform.* tom. i. et ii. They are also contained in *Val. Ern. Loescher's Acta Reformat.* tom. ii. c. xvi. and tom. iii. c. ii. &c.

⁸ *Leo X.* himself wrote a very kind letter to *Luther* in the year 1519; which memorable document was published by *Loescher*, in his *Unschuldigen Nachrichten*, 1742, p. 133. It appears clearly from this epistle, that no doubt of a final reconciliation was entertained at *Rome*.

Pleissenburg, before a large and splendid assembly, on the powers of free will; *Luther* engaged, with the same antagonist, in a contest respecting the supremacy and authority of the Roman pontiff.¹ But the disputants accomplished nothing; nor would *Hofmann*, the rector of the university of Leipsic, take upon him to say which party was victorious; but the decision of the cause was referred to the universities of Paris and Erfurth.² *Eck*, however, carried away from this contest a feeling entirely hostile to *Luther*; and, much to the detriment of the pontiff and the Romish church, became resolved upon his ruin.

§ 10. Among the witnesses and spectators of the Leipsic contest was *Philip Melanethon*, professor of Greek at Wittemberg; as yet, indeed, a partizan on neither side, and from the mildness of his temper, and his love of elegant literature, averse from such disputes; still, friendly to *Luther*, and to his efforts for rescuing the science of theology from the subtleties of the scholastics.³ As he was doubtless one of those who went home

¹ [*Eck* (or *Eekius*) was a great talker, and one of the most ready disputants of his times. In one of his theses proposed for discussion, he had asserted, that the pope was, by divine right, universal bishop of the whole church; and that he was in possession of his ghostly power before the times of Constantine the Great. In this disputation, *Luther* maintained the contrary, from passages of Scripture, from the testimony of the fathers and of church history, and even from the decrees of the council of Nice. And when, from the subject of the pope, they came to that of indulgences, *Luther* denied their absolute necessity; and so of purgatory, he acknowledged, indeed, that he believed in it, but said he could find no authority for it in the Scriptures, or in the fathers. In fact, it was in the year 1530, that *Luther* first pronounced purgatory to be a fable. The dispute with *Carlstadt* related to freedom in the theological sense, or to the natural power of man to do the will of God. *Carlstadt* maintained, that since the fall, the natural freedom of man is not strong enough to move him to that which is morally good. *Eck*, on the contrary, asserted, that the free will of man produces good works, and not merely the grace of God; or that our natural freedom co-operates with divine grace, in the production of good works; and

that it depends on man's free power, whether he will give place to the operations of grace, or will resist them. It thus appears, that *Carlstadt* defended the doctrine of Augustine in regard to divine grace. *Eck* claimed to himself the victory; and he gave a very unjust account of this dispute; which occasioned many controversial pamphlets to be published. The chief advantage he gained was, that he drew from *Luther* assertions which might hasten his condemnation at Rome; assertions, which a man of more worldly cunning than *Luther* would have kept concealed a long time. But still he lost much of his popularity by this discussion; and on the other hand, the truth gained more adherents, and *Luther's* zeal became more animated. *Schl.*]

² The fullest account of this dispute at Leipsic, is in Val. Ern. Loescher's *Acta et Documenta Reformat.* tom. iii. c. vii. p. 203. [The English reader will find a neat summary of this dispute in *Bower's Life of Luther*, ch. v. p. 126—130. *Tr.*]

³ See his letter on this conference, in Val. Ern. Loescher's *Acta et Documenta Reformat.* tom. iii. c. viii. p. 215, [and in *Gerdes, Historia Evang. Renovati*, tom. i. append. p. 203—209. It exhibits a lucid and candid statement of the whole proceeding. *Tr.*]

from this discussion, more convinced of the justice of *Luther's* cause, and afterwards became, as it were, the second reformer, next to *Luther*; it is proper here to give some brief account of his talents and virtues. All know, and even his enemies confess, that few men of any age can be compared with him, either for learning and knowledge of both human and divine things, or for richness, suavity, and facility of genius, or for industry as a scholar. He performed, for philosophy and the other liberal arts, what *Luther* performed for theology; that is, he freed them from the corruptions which they had contracted, restored them, and gave them popularity in Germany. He possessed an extraordinary ability to comprehend, and to express in clear and simple language, the most abstruse and difficult subjects, even such as were exceedingly complicated. This power he so happily exerted on questions pertaining to religion, that it may be truly said, no literary man, by his genius and erudition, has done more for them. From his native love of peace, he was induced most ardently to wish, that religion might be reformed without any public schism, and that the visible brotherhood among Christians might remain entire. And hence it was, that he frequently seemed to be too yielding. Yet he by no means spared great and essential errors; and he inculcated with great constancy, that unless these were clearly exposed and plucked up by the roots, the Christian cause would never flourish. In the natural temperament of his mind, there was a native softness, tenderness, and timidity. And hence, when he had occasion to write or to do any thing, he pondered most carefully every circumstance; and often indulged fears, where there were no real grounds for them. But, on the contrary, when the greatest danger seemed to impend, and the cause of religion was in jeopardy, this timorous man feared nothing, and opposed an undaunted mind to his adversaries. And this shows, that the power of truth which he had learned, had diminished the imperfections of his natural temperament, without entirely eradicating them. Had he possessed a little more firmness and fortitude, been less studious to please every body, and been able wholly to cast off the superstition which he imbibed in early life, he would justly deserve to be accounted one of the greatest of men.⁴

⁴ There is a Life of Melancthon, has been often printed. But the cause written by Joach. Camerarius, which of literature would be benefited by a

§ 11. While the pontiff's empire was thus nodding to its fall in Germany, another mortal wound was inflicted on it, in the neighbouring Helvetia, by the discerning and erudite *Ulric Zwingle*, a canon and priest of Zurich. The fact must not be disguised, that he had discovered some portion of the truth before *Luther* openly contended with the pontiff. But afterwards being excited and instructed by the example and the writings of *Luther*, he not only expounded the Holy Scriptures in public discourses, but also in the year 1519, successfully opposed *Bernardin Sampson* of Milan, who was impudently driving, among the Swiss, the same shameful traffic that had awakened *Luther's* ire.⁵ This was the first step towards purging Switzer-

more accurate history of this great man composed by some impartial and discreet writer; and also by a more perfect edition of his whole works, than we now possess. [This great man (whose German name was *Schwartzerde*, in Gr. *Melancthon*. *Tr.*) was born at Bretton, in the Lower Palatinate, A. D. 1497, studied at Heidelberg, and was teacher of *Belles Lettres* at Tübingen, when he was invited, A. D. 1518, by Reuchlin and Luther, to become professor of Greek at Wittemberg. He taught, wrote, and disputed, in furtherance of the same objects with Luther; but with more mildness and gentleness than he. He composed, so early as 1521, the first system of theology that appeared in our schools, under the title of *Loci Communes Rerum Theologicarum*, (which passed through 60 editions, in his lifetime. *Tr.*) and greatly helped forward the reformation. He also composed the Augsburg Confession, and the Apology for it. During the reformation, he rendered service to many cities of Germany. He was also invited to France and England, but declined going. In the latter years of his life, from his love of peace he manifested more indulgence towards the Reformed, than was agreeable to the major part of the divines of our church; and his followers were therefore called *Philippists*, to distinguish them from the more rigid Lutherans. In the year 1530, he did not entertain such views. There is a letter of his, to John Laelman, a preacher at Heilbron, in which he warns him to beware of the leaven of Zwingle; and says, "Ego non sine maximis taxationibus didici, quantum sit vitii in dogmate Cinglii. Scis mihi veterem cum *Ecolampadio* amicitiam esse. Sed optarim

eum non incidisse in hanc *conjuratiorem*. Non enim vocari aliter libet, quia prætextu ejus dogmatis vides, quos tumultus excitent Helvetii." See Dr. Buttinghausen's *Beiträge zur Pfülzinger Geschichte*, vol. ii. p. 139, &c. But the death of Luther, correspondence with Calvin, his timid and mild character, and perhaps also political considerations, rendered him more indulgent. Among the superstitious notions imbibed in his youth, and of which he could not wholly divest himself, was his credulity in regard to premonitions and dreams, and his inclination towards astrology, with which he even infected some of his pupils. (The most learned men of that age, Melancthon, Chemnitz, Neander, were believers in this art; indeed, such as were not, could scarcely pass for learned men. Henke's *Kirchengesch.* vol. iii. p. 580.) He died in 1560. His works were published, collectively, A. D. 1562 and onwards, in 4 volumes fol. See also Theodore Strobel's *Melancthoniana*, Altdorf, 1771, 8vo. *Schl.*]

⁵ See Jo. Hen. Hottinger's *Helvetische Reformationsgeschichte*, p. 28, &c. Or his *Helvetische Kirchengeschichte*, tom. ii. lib. vi. p. 28, &c. For the former, (which is often published separately,) differs very little from the latter; though it is often sold as being the first part of the latter work. [Also his *Historia Ecclesiast. N. T.* sæcul. xv. pt. ii. p. 198, &c. *Tr.*] Abram Ruchat's *Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*, tom. i. livr. i. p. 4, &c. p. 66, &c. Dan. Gerdes, *Historia Renovati Evangelii*, tom. ii. p. 228, &c. [or rather tom. i. p. 99, &c. *Tr.*] Jo. Conrad Fuesslin's *Beiträge zu der Schweizer-Reformations Geschichte*, in five parts. [Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit*

land of superstition. *Zwingle* now vigorously prosecuted the work that he had begun; and having obtained several learned

der Reformation, vol. i. p. 103, &c. and H. P. C. Henke's *Allgem. Geschichte der Christl. Kirche*, vol. iii. p. 74, ed. Brunsw. 1806.—Luther and his followers had long and severe contests with *Zwingle* and the Reformed, respecting the corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist; and this caused much alienation and prejudice between the two bodies, during the whole of the 16th century; nor has entire harmony been restored between them to this day. Hence, for more than two centuries, the Lutherans and the Reformed, contended, whether Luther or *Zwingle* was entitled to the honour of leading the way to the reformation. Mosheim manifestly gives the precedence to Luther. Hottinger, Gerdes, and others, give it to *Zwingle*. Schroeckh, Henke, Schlegel, Von Einem, and others, of the Lutheran church, now divide the praise between them. The facts appear to be these. *Zwingle* discovered the corruptions of the church of Rome, at an earlier period than Luther. Both opened their eyes gradually, and altogether without any concert; and without aid from each other. But *Zwingle* was always in advance of Luther in his views and opinions; and he finally carried the reformation somewhat further than Luther did. But he proceeded with more gentleness and caution, not to run before the prejudices of the people; the circumstances in which he was placed, did not call him so early to open combat with the powers of the hierarchy; Luther therefore has the honour of being the first to declare open war with the pope, and to be exposed to direct persecution. He also acted in a much wider sphere. All Germany, and even all Europe, was the theatre of his operations. *Zwingle* moved only in the narrow circle of a single canton of Switzerland. He also died young, and when but just commencing his career of public usefulness. And these circumstances have raised Luther's fame so high, that *Zwingle* has almost been overlooked. Luther, doubtless, did most for the cause of the reformation, because he had a wider field of action, was more bold and daring, and lived longer to carry on the work. But *Zwingle* was a more learned, and a more judicious man, commenced the reformation earlier, and in his little circle carried it further. —Ulric *Zwingle* was born at Wild-

hausen, county of Toggenburg, and canton of St. Gall, A. D. 1484. At the age of ten, he was sent to Basle, for education, and afterwards to Berne. Here the Dominicans endeavoured to allure him into their order; and to prevent which, his father sent him to Vienna. Returning to Basle, at the age of 18, he became a schoolmaster; and prosecuted theology, at the same time, under Thomas Wittenbach, who was not blind to the errors of the church of Rome, and who instilled principles of free inquiry into his pupils. He preached his first sermon in 1506; and was the same year chosen pastor of Glarus, where he spent ten years. He had been distinguished in every branch of learning, to which he had applied himself, and particularly in classical and elegant literature. He now devoted himself especially to Greek and Hebrew; and had no respect for human authorities in theology, but relied wholly on the Scriptures, which he read and explained to his people from the pulpit, with great assiduity. His fame as a preacher and divine rose high. In 1516, he was removed to the abbey of Einsiedlin, as a field of greater usefulness. He had before cautiously exposed some of the errors of the Romish church, and he now more openly assailed the doctrines of monastic vows, pilgrimages, relics, offerings, and indulgences. The next year he was chosen to a vacancy in the cathedral of Zurich: and before accepting the office, stipulated that he should not be confined in his preaching to the lessons publicly read, but be allowed to explain every part of the Bible. He continued to read the best Latin and Greek classics, studied diligently the more eminent fathers, as Augustine, Ambrose, and Chrysostom, and pressed the study of Hebrew and the kindred dialects. He now publicly expounded the scriptures, as the Gospels, the Epistles of Paul and Peter, &c. and inculcated, that the Bible is the only standard of religious truth. While he was thus leading the people gradually to better views of religion, in the year 1518, Sampson came into Switzerland to sell indulgences; and the year following, on his arrival at Zurich, *Zwingle* openly opposed him, and procured his exclusion from the canton. The progress of the people in knowledge was rapid, and the

men, educated in Germany, for his associates and fellow-labourers in the arduous task, he brought, by their assistance, the greatest part of his fellow-citizens to renounce their subjection to pontifical domination. Yet *Zwingle* proceeded in a different way from *Luther*; for he did not uniformly oppose the employment of force against the more pertinacious defenders of the old superstitions; and he is said to have conceded to magistrates more authority in religious matters than is consistent with the nature of religion.⁶ But in general he was an upright man, and his intentions are worthy of the highest praise.

§ 12. We now return to *Luther*. While *Miltitz* was negotiating with him for a peace, and with some prospect of success, *John Eck*, burning with rage after the debate at Leipsic, hurried away to Rome, in order to hasten his destruction. Connecting himself there with the most powerful Dominicans in the pontifical court, and particularly their two first men, *Cajetan* and *Prierias*, he pressed *Leo* to excommunicate *Luther* forthwith. For the Dominicans most eagerly thirsted to avenge the very great injury, which they conceived *Luther* had done to their whole order, first, in the person of their brother *Tetzel*, and then in that of *Cajetan*. Overcome by their importunate applications and by those of their friends and abettors, *Leo X.*, most imprudently, issued the first bull against *Luther*, on the 15th of June,

reformation went forward with great success. *Luther's* books were circulated extensively, and by *Zwingle's* recommendation, though he chose not to read them himself, lest he should incur the charge of being a Lutheran. He was however assailed by the friends of the hierarchy, and at length accused of heresy before the council of Zurich, Jan. 1523. He now presented 67 doctrinal propositions before the council, containing all the fundamental doctrines since held by the reformed church; and offered to defend them against all opposers, by scripture. His enemies wished to bring tradition and the school-men to confute him. But the council declared, that the decision must rest on the scriptures. *Zwingle* of course triumphed; and the council decreed, that he should be allowed to preach, as heretofore, unmolested; and that no preacher in the canton should inculcate any doctrine, but what he could prove from the scriptures. The next year, 1524, the council of Zu-

rich reformed the public worship, according to the advice of *Zwingle*. Thus the reformation of that canton was now completed. *Zwingle* continued to guide his flock, and to lend aid to the other portions of the church, till the month of Oct. 1531; when a Roman Catholic force, from the popish cantons, marched against Zurich; and *Zwingle*, according to the usage of his country, bore the standard amidst the citizens that attempted to repel them. The enemy were victorious, and *Zwingle* was slain near the commencement of the battle, and his body cut to pieces and burned to ashes. See the writers before referred to, particularly *Hottinger*, *Gerdes*, and *Schroeckh*; also the article *Zwingle*, in *Rees's Cyclopadia*.—His works were printed, Zurich, 1544–45, 4 vols. fol. *Tr.*]

⁶ [This charge against *Zwingle* in both parts of it, appears to be wholly groundless. See *Gerdes, Historia Evang. Renovati*, tom. i. p. 237. *Supplementa. Tr.*]

1520; in which forty-one tenets of his were condemned, his writings adjudged to the flames, and he was commanded to confess his faults within sixty days, and implore the clemency of the pontiff, or be cast out of the church.⁷

§ 13. As soon as *Luther* heard of this first sentence of the pontiff, he consulted for his own safety, by renewing his appeal from the pontiff to the supreme tribunal of a future council. And foreseeing that this appeal would be treated with contempt at Rome, and that as soon as the time prescribed by the pontiff was elapsed, he would be excommunicated by another bull, he soon formed the resolution to withdraw from the Romish church, before he should be excommunicated by a new rescript of the pontiff. In order to proclaim this secession from the Romish community, by a public act, he caused a fire to be kindled on the 10th of December, 1520, without the walls of the city, and in the presence of a vast multitude of spectators, committed to the flames the bull issued against him, together with a copy of the pontifical canon law. By this act he publicly signified, that he would be no longer a subject of the Roman pontiff; and consequently, that the second decree, which was daily expected from Rome, would be nugatory. For whoever publicly burns the statute-book of his prince, protests by so doing that he will no longer respect and obey his authority; and one who has excluded himself from any society, cannot afterwards be cast out of it. I must suppose, that *Luther* acted in this matter with the advice of the jurists. *Luther* withdrew, however, only from the *Romish* church, which looks upon the pontiff as infallible, and not from the church *universal*, the sentence of which, pro-

⁷ The friends of the pontiff's confess that Leo erred greatly in this matter. See Jo. Fred. Mayer's *Diss. de Pontificiis Leonis X. Processum adversus Lutherum Improbantibus*; which is a part of the work he published at Hamburg, 1698, 4to, with the following title, *Ecclesia Romana Reformationis Lutherana Patrona et Clens*. And there were, at that time, many wise and circumspect persons at Rome, who did not hesitate publicly to avow their disapprobation of the violent councils of Eckius and the Dominicans, and who wished to wait for the issue of Miltzsch's embassy. [See Riederer's *Nachrichten zur Kirchlich-Gelahrten- und Büchergeschichte*, stück ii. n. 18, p. 178, where there is an anonymous letter from

Rome to Pirkeimer, saying, "Scias neminem Romæ esse, si saltem sapiat, qui non certo certius sciat et cognoscat, Martinum in pluribus veritatem dicere, verum boni ob tyramidis metum dissimulant, mali vero, quia veritatem audire coguntur, insaniant. Inde illorum oritur indignatio pariter et metus; valde enim timeant, ne res latius serpat. Hæc causa fuit, cur bulla tam atrox emanaverit, multis bonis et prudentibus viris reclamantibus, qui suadebant maturius consulendum, et Martino potius modesta et rationibus quam detestationibus occurrendum esse, hoc enim decere mansuetudinem, illud vero tyramidem sapere, et rem mali exempli videri." *Schl.*]

nounced in a legitimate and free council, he did not refuse to obey. And this circumstance will show, why wise men among the papists, who were attached to the liberties of Germany, looked upon this bold act of *Luther* without offence.⁸ Before one month after this heroic deed of *Luther* had elapsed, on the 4th day of January, 1521, the second bull of *Leo* against *Luther* was issued; in which he was expelled from the bosom of the Romish church, for having violated the majesty of the pontiff.⁹

§ 14. When these severe bulls had been issued against the person and doctrines of *Luther* and his friends, nothing remained for him, but to attempt to found a new church opposed to that of Rome, and to establish a system of doctrine consonant to the Holy Scriptures. For to subject himself to the dominion of his most cruel enemy would have been madness; and to return again, contrary to the convictions of his own mind, to errors that he had rejected and opposed, would have been base and dishonest. From this time, therefore, he searched for the truth with redoubled ardour, and not only revised and confirmed more carefully the doctrines which he had already advanced, but likewise boldly attacked the very citadel of the pontifical authority, and shook it to its foundation. In this heroic enterprise, he had the aid of other excellent men in various parts of Europe, as well as of the doctors at Wittenberg who joined his party, and especially of *Philip Melancthon*. And as the fame of *Luther's* wisdom and heroism, and the great learning of *Melancthon*, drew a vast number of young men to Wittenberg, the

⁸ [Some modern jurists, as Schlegel tells us, have condemned this act of *Luther*, as being a treasonable act, against the established laws of the land. But it was not so, in that age. For the canon law contained enactments only of the popes and councils, with which the civil powers were supposed to have no concern. It was the statute-book of a foreign and spiritual sovereign, who claimed jurisdiction equally over the temporal sovereigns of Germany and over their subjects. To burn this book, therefore, was treason against that foreign sovereign, the pope; but not so, against the temporal sovereigns of Germany. — *Luther's* motives for this act, he himself stated in a tract on the subject. Among them, were these, *first*, that his enemies had burned his books, and he

must burn theirs, in order to deter the people from reverencing them, and being led astray by them; and *secondly*, that he had found thirty abominable assertions in the canon law, which rendered the book worthy of the flames. *Tr.*]

⁹ Both these bulls are in the *Bullarium Romanum*, [ed. Cherub. Luxemb. 1742, tom. i. p. 610, &c. p. 614, &c. *Tr.*] and also in *Christ. Matth. Pfaff's Histor. Theol. Litterar.* tom. ii. p. 42, &c. [The excommunicating bull was an attack upon the rights of the German churches. For *Luther* had appealed to an ecclesiastical council; and in consequence of this appeal, the pope could no longer have jurisdiction of the case. Hence the number of *Luther's* friends increased the more, after the publication of this bull. *Schl.*]

principles of the reformation were spread with amazing rapidity through various nations.¹⁰

§ 15. While these things were in progress, the emperor *Maximilian I.* died¹; and his grandson *Charles V.*, king of Spain, was elected his successor, on the 28th of July, A. D. 1519. *Leo X.* therefore reminded the new emperor of the office that he had undertaken, of *advocate* and *defender of the church*, and called upon him to inflict due punishment upon that rebellious member of the church, *Martin Luther*. On the other hand, *Frederic the Wise*, of Saxony, conjured him to abstain from every thing unfair and rash against *Luther*, and to conduct the whole business according to the rights of the Germanic churches, and the laws of the empire. *Charles* was under greater obligations to *Frederic*, than to any other of the German princes. For it was chiefly by his efforts and zeal, that he had obtained the imperial dignity, in preference to his very potent rival, *Francis I.*, king of France.² In order, therefore, to gratify both this friend to whom he owed every thing, and the pontiff as well, he determined to give *Luther* a hearing in the diet to be assembled at Worms, before any decree should be passed against him. It may seem strange and contrary to ecclesiastical law, that a religious cause should be discussed and subjected to examination before a diet. But it must be recollected, that as the archbishops, bishops, and some of the abbots had seats among the princes, those Germanic diets were likewise provincial councils of the Germanic nation, to which, according to ancient canon law, the trial of such causes as that of *Luther* properly belonged.

§ 16. *Luther*, therefore, appeared at Worms, protected by a safe-conduct from the emperor; and on the 17th and 18th of April, pleaded his cause most resolutely before the diet. Being called upon and admonished to renounce the opinions that he had hitherto defended, and to become reconciled to the pope; he replied with great constancy, that he would never do so unless first convinced of error, by proofs from the Holy Scriptures or

¹⁰ On the rapid progress of the reformation in Germany, Dan. Gerdes treats particularly, in his *Historia Renovati Evangelii*, tom. ii. also Benj. Grosch, in his *Vertheidigung der Evangelischen Kirche gegen Arnold*, p. 156, &c.

¹ [January 12th, 1519. *Tr.*]

² [During the five months of the *interregnum*, *Frederic* had been at the head of the Germanic empire, had refused the imperial crown offered to himself, and had greatly exerted himself to secure the election of *Charles*. *Tr.*]

from sound reason. And, as neither promises nor menaces could move him from his purpose, he obtained indeed from the emperor the liberty of returning home unmolested; but, after his departure, on the 27th of May, by the joint voices of the emperor and the princes, he and his adherents were proscribed, and declared to be enemies of the Romano-Germanic empire. His prince, *Frederic*, foreseeing the storm, caused him to be intercepted on his return, near Eisenach, and to be conducted to the castle of Wartburg, (perhaps with the emperor's privity,) and in that castle, which he called his *Patmos*, he lay concealed ten months, beguiling the time very profitably with writing and study.³

³ See the writers, mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Centifolium Lutheranium*, pt. i. c. xliii. p. 79—84, and pt. ii. p. 563, &c. [This journey to Worms was a very perilous undertaking for Luther. His friends advised him not to go; and even the electoral prince, his sovereign, did not allow him to go, till he had obtained for him a safe-conduct from the emperor. This safe-conduct, however, would have afforded him no protection against the operations of the papal bulls, and the snares of his enemies, if the high-minded emperor had been willing to listen to those who whispered in his ear the inhuman and unchristian maxim, that a man is not to keep his promise to a heretic. But the emperor had nobler views; and Luther himself was so unshaken, that he would let nothing deter him from the journey; and when arrived in the territory of Worms, and some persons, in the name of his friend Spalatin, warned him of his danger, he replied, that he would go thither, if there were as many devils there, as tiles on the roofs of their houses. He therefore proceeded fearlessly to Worms, and, when there, showed indescribable fortitude. He was conducted, in his monkish dress, from his lodgings, to the assembled diet, by the marshal of the empire, Von Pappenheim; and two questions were now put to him, by the official of the archbishop of Treves, namely, whether he acknowledged those books, that were laid upon a bench before him, to be his productions; and whether he would recall the opinions contained in them. To the first question, Luther was on the point of answering, at once, affirmatively; but Dr. Jerome Schurf, a jurist of Wittem-

berg, who had been assigned to him as his counsellor, reminded him, that he should first ascertain whether there were not some books among them that were not his. So he heard the titles read over; and then answered to the first question, *Yes*. But to the second question, at the suggestion of his counsellor, he requested to be allowed till the next day to consider of his answer. The following day he appeared, and the question being repeated, he answered by making distinctions. Some of his writings, he said, treated of a Christian's faith and life, others were directed against the papacy, and others against private individuals, who defended the Romish tyranny, and assailed his holy doctrines. As for the first, he could not renounce them, because even his enemies admitted, that they contained much good matter; nor could he renounce the second, because that would be lending support to the papal tyranny; in those of the third class, he freely acknowledged, that he had often been too vehement; yet he could not at once renounce them, unless it were first shown, that he had gone too far. As the official now demanded of him a categorical answer, whether he would renounce, or not; he replied, that he could not, unless he was first convicted of error, either by Scripture, or by reason. And the official alleging, that he *must* have erred, because he had contradicted the pope and the councils; he answered: The pope and ecclesiastical councils have often erred, and have contradicted themselves. He at last closed with his declaration: *Here I stand: I can say no more; God help me. Amen.* After this, Luther

§ 17. From this *Patmos* of his, *Luther* returned to *Wittemberg* in the month of March, 1522, without the knowledge or consent of the elector *Frederic*; being influenced by the pestilent commotions, which he had heard were then set on foot by *Carlstadt* and others, equally to the disadvantage of religion and the commonwealth. For, in *Luther's* absence *Andrew Carlstadt*, a doctor of *Wittemberg*, a man of learning, and not ignorant of the truth, whom the pontiff, at *Eck's* instigation, had excommunicated in conjunction with *Luther*, but a hasty person that knew not how to be moderate, had begun to destroy images, and put himself at the head of a fanatical sect, who in several places greatly abused, as usual, the dawning of liberty.¹ He therefore

appeared no more before the diet; but the emperor caused him to be informed, that as he would not be reconciled to the church, the emperor would do as law required; he must, however, repair to his usual residence within 21 days. On the 8th of May, the bill of outlawry was drawn up against him; which was published, a few days after his departure. (Pallavicini says, *Hist. Concil. Trident.* l. i. c. 28, § 7, that the bill was drawn up May 25th, and signed May 26th, but dated back to May 8th. The reason, it is said, was, that the bill was passed at the close of the diet, and when many of the members had retired, and it was wished to disguise that fact. *Tr.*) By virtue of this bill, after the 21 days of the safe-conduct expired, no man might harbour or conceal *Luther*, on pain of treason; but whosoever might find him in any place, was to apprehend him, and deliver him up to the emperor; and all his adherents were to be seized in the public streets, imprisoned and stripped of all their goods. This arbitrary decree of the emperor contravened all the laws of humanity, as well as the rights of the German churches. For it required a man to renounce what he was not convinced was wrong; and on the assumption of the infallibility of the pope, condemned him, against an intervening appeal to a council. This bill of outlawry, however, produced very little effect; and indeed the emperor does not seem to have been much in earnest in respect to it. For, although the perplexed state of his affairs, the political movements of Europe, and the internal disquietude of his private territories, might call his attention to very

different subjects from the execution of the edict of Worms, yet it is difficult to comprehend, how *Luther* could safely return to *Wittemberg*, and there preach, and write, and teach, if the emperor wished in earnest to give him trouble. Nay, he might easily have discovered his retreat at *Wartburg*. But probably the emperor took no pains to discover him, in order to avoid collision, either with the pontiff, or the elector of Saxony. At *Wartburg*, *Luther* prosecuted the study of the Hebrew and Greek languages, commenced his German translation of the Scriptures, expounded some portions of the Bible, composed his *Postills*, and some other works. *Schll.*]

¹ [Andrew Bodenstein, born at *Carlstadt* in *Franeonia*, (and hence called, in Latin, *Carlostadius*), was a doctor of biblical learning, a canon and archdeacon of the church of *Allsaints*, at *Wittemberg*, and professor in the university there. He supported *Luther* in the work of reformation, as appears from the history of the conference at *Leipsic*, and was highly esteemed by him, and is mentioned with praise in his writings. But in respect to the manner of effecting the reformation, these two men had very different views. *Carlstadt* would have the abuses of popery abolished at once, but *Luther* preferred a gradual process. The monks of *Luther's* fraternity at *Wittemberg*, the *Augustinians*, had, during his absence, begun to reform their monastery, and to abolish the mass; and they now wished to effect the same reform in the city. But the court were afraid, lest it should give offence, both to other princes and cities, and also to the citizens themselves; and the elector,

first energetically repressed the impetuosity of this man; wisely declaring, that it is necessary to extirpate errors from the minds of men, before such objects as those errors have set up can be advantageously removed. And to establish this principle by facts, and by his own example, inviting certain learned men to aid him, he proceeded gradually to perfect and to finish the German translation of the Bible, which he had commenced.⁵ The event confirmed the excellence of his plan: for the parts of this work being successively published and circulated, the roots of inveterate errors were soon extirpated from the minds of vast numbers.

§ 18. In the mean time *Leo X.* died, A. D. 1522. *Hadrian VI.*, of Utrecht, succeeded him, by the aid of *Charles V.*, whose tutor he had been. He was an honest man; and so ingenuous as to confess, that the Christian church laboured under ruinous maladies; and to promise, readily, that he would correct them.⁶ By

therefore, called for the opinion of the professors at Wittemberg. Their opinion was in favour of abolishing the mass; but this did not satisfy the count. Luther, whose opinion was also asked, assumed the rational principle, that the reformation should commence, not with the pictures, nor with other external things, among which he accounted the mass, but with the understandings of the people; and to his opinion, all the professors now subscribed, except only Carlstadt. He gathered around him the common people: and as soon as he thought himself strong enough, he broke out, and with a throng of enthusiastic followers, rushed into the cathedral church, destroyed the pictures and the altar, and hindered the clergy from any longer saying mass. Melancthon was too timid to control this uproar. Luther therefore came forward, preached against these violent innovations, and restored tranquillity. From that time onward, there was a coldness between Luther and Carlstadt, which at length broke out into hostilities, that were no honour to either of them. *Schl.*—Luther has been taxed with opposing Carlstadt from motives of ambition, or unwillingness that another should take the lead in any thing. And this censure is repeated by Mac-laine, Bower, &c. But Seekendorf (*Historia Lutheranismi*, lib. i. § 121, p. 197, 198,) seems to have confuted the charge; which has no support, except a single

sentence in one of Luther's letters, in which he charges Carlstadt with wishing to be foremost; a charge, which Melancthon advanced in quite as strong terms. For an account of Carlstadt prior to 1522, see Gerdes, *Miscellan. Groning.* tom. i. p. 1, &c. *Tr.*]

⁵ A history of Luther's German translation of the Holy Scriptures, which contributed more than any thing else to establish the Lutheran church, was published by Jo. Fred. Mayer, Hamb. 1701, 4to. A much fuller history was long expected from Jo. Melchior Kraft, than whom no one laboured upon the subject with greater care, assiduity, and success, during many years. But a premature death frustrated our expectations. Compare Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Centifolium Luthericum*, pt. i. p. 147, &c. and pt. ii. p. 617, &c. [What Kraft was prevented by a premature death from accomplishing, has since been performed by Jo. Geo. Palm, in his *Historie der Deutschen Bibelübersetzung Luthers*; which was published, with notes, by Jo. Melchior Götze, Halle, 1772, 4to, and Gottl. Christ. Giese, *Historische Nachricht von dieser Bibelübersetzung*; published by Riederer, Altdorf, 1771, 8vo. *Schl.*]

⁶ See Casper Burmann's *Hadrianus VI. sive Analecta Historica de Hadriano VI. Papa Romano*; Utrecht, 1727, 4to. [This is a collection of historical papers relating to the life of this pope. Hadrian was of humble parentage, but of great

his legate to the diet of Nuremberg, A. D. 1522, and onwards, *Francis Cheregato*, he indeed earnestly entreated, that the punishment decreed against *Luther* and his adherents by the edict of Worms, might no longer be delayed; but at the same time he showed himself ready to correct the evils which had armed so great an enemy. The German princes, deeming this a favourable opportunity, while the emperor was absent in Spain, demanded a free council; which should be held in Germany, and should deliberate in the ancient manner on a general reformation of the church. They also exhibited, under one hundred heads, the grievances of which their country had to complain from the Roman court; lastly, they passed a decree, forbidding any further innovations in religious matters, till the council should decide what ought to be done.⁷ So long, in fact, as the princes of Germany did not perceive that plans were under consideration in Saxony, for establishing a new church in opposition to that of Rome, they were pretty well united in opposing the pontifical power, which they all felt to be excessive; nor were they much troubled about *Luther's* controversy with the pontiff, which they regarded as little else than a private affair.

§ 19. The honest pontiff, *Hadrian*, after a short reign⁸, died in the year 1523⁹; and was succeeded, on the 19th of Novem-

attainments in scholastic theology; and therefore long filled the office of a professor at Louvain. He had a natural aversion to pomp, extravagance, and luxury, and a very upright disposition. He therefore did not grasp the fire and sword, in order to still the complaints of the Germans, but commenced with the reformation of his own court, curtailed his own table, dismissed all superfluous servants, and required of the cardinals a more retired life, and retrenchment in their expenses. But this was so displeasing to the Romans, that they not only lampooned him much during his lifetime, but spoke very ill of him after his death. Indeed, it has been suspected, that they were instrumental in causing his death. So gratifying to the Romish populace was his decease, that the night after it took place, the front door of his principal physician was decorated with a wreath of flowers, surmounted with the inscription: *For the deliverer of his country.* *Schl.*]—This pontiff was

deeply sensible of vast corruption in the Romish church, and he was sincerely resolved to reform it, as fast as possible. In his instructions to his legate, to the diet of Nuremberg, A. D. 1522, he authorized him to say: "*Scimus in hac sancta sede aliquot jam annis multa abominanda fuisse, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis, et omnia denique in perversum mutata. Nec mirum si aegritudo a capite in membra, a summis pontificibus in alios inferiores prelatos descendit. Omnes nos (the prelates) et ecclesiastici declinavimus, unusquisque in vias suas, nec fuit jam diu, qui faceret bonum, non fuit usque ad unum.*" See *Raynald's Annales Eccles.* ad ann. 1522, § 70. *Tr.*]

⁷ See *Jac. Fred. George, Gravamina Germanorum adversus Sedem Roman.* lib. ii. p. 327. [The *Gravamina* are also inserted in *Flacius, Catalogus Testum Veritatis*, No. 187. *Schl.*]

⁸ [Of two years and eight months. *Tr.*]

⁹ [September 24th. *Tr.*]

ber, by *Clement VII.*, a man less ingenuous and open-hearted.¹ He censured immoderately, by another legate, *Laurence Campeggi*, in the same diet, A. D. 1524, the lenity of the princes, in tolerating *Luther*; at the same time, craftily suppressing all notice of the promise of a reformation made by *Hadrian*. The emperor seconded the demands of *Campeggi*, requiring by his minister adherence to the decree of Worms. Overcome by these remonstrances, the princes changed indeed the language of the decree, but in reality corroborated it. For they engaged to enforce the edict of Worms, to the extent of their power; but at the same time renewed their demand for a council, and referred all other questions to the next diet, to be held at Spire. After the diet, the pontifical legate retired with a number of the princes, most of whom were bishops, to Ratisbon; and from them he obtained a promise, that they would enforce the edict of Worms in their territories.

§ 20. While the religious reformation by *Luther* was thus daily gathering strength, in almost all parts of Europe, two very serious evils arose to retard its progress, the one internal, and the other external. Among those whom the Romish bishop had excluded from the privileges of his community, a pernicious controversy, respecting the *manner* in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the sacred supper, produced very great disunion. *Luther* and his adherents, while they rejected the dogma of the Romish school, that the bread and wine are transmuted into the body and blood of Christ, yet maintained, that persons coming to the sacred supper participated truly, though in an inexplicable manner, of the body and blood of Christ, together with the bread and the wine.² His colleague, *Carlstadt*

¹ See Jac. Ziegler's *Historia Clementis VII.* in Jo. Geo. Schelhorn's *Amanitates Hist. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 210. &c. [*Clement VII.* was a kind of *Leo X.*, and was previously called *Julius de Medicis*. He was of a very different spirit from *Hadrian*; was crafty and faithless, and made it his great aim, through his whole reign, to advance the interests of the pontifical chair. He therefore took all pains to thwart the designs of the Germans, in regard to a general council for reforming the abuses of the papal court. See *Waleh's Historie der Römischen Päpste*, p. 379, &c. *Schl.*]

² [*Luther* denied *transubstantiation*,

that is, a transmutation of the substance of the bread and wine into the flesh and blood of Christ; yet held to *consubstantiation*, that is, to a real and corporeal presence of the body and blood of Christ, *in, under, or along with*, the bread and wine; so that the sacramental substances, after consecration, became each of them twofold; namely the bread became both bread and the flesh of Christ, and the wine became both wine and the blood of Christ. Sometimes, however, he represented the union of the two substances in each element, as constituting but *one substance*; just as the union of the divine and human natures in Christ, still con-

held a different opinion.³ And after him *Ulric Zwingle* much more fully and ingeniously maintained, in published writings, that the body and blood of the Lord are not present in the holy supper; but that the bread and the wine are merely symbols or emblems, by which people should be excited to commemorate the death of Christ, and the blessings resulting to us from it.⁴ As this doctrine was embraced by nearly all the

stituted but *one person*. The ubiquity of Christ's *body* was an obvious consequence of his doctrine; and one which he did not hesitate to admit. See Hospinian's *Historia Sacramentaria*, pt. ii. p. 5, &c. *Tr.*]

³ [Carlstadt supposed, that when Christ said, *This is my body*, he pointed to his body; so that the affirmation related solely to his real body, and not to the sacramental bread. His foes charged him with denying any kind of presence of Christ in the Sacrament, even a spiritual or sacramental presence. See Hospinian, l. c. p. 50, &c. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Val. Ern. Loescher's *Historia Motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, pt. i. lib. i. c. ii. p. 55. And on the other side, add Abram. Scultetus, *Annales Evangelii*; in Herm. von der Hardt's *Historia Litterar. Reformat.* p. 74, &c. Rud. Hospinian, [*Historia Sacramentaria*, pt. ii.] and the others among the Reformed, who give account of the origin and progress of the controversy.—[The Romish doctrine of the real or corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist, which was brought into the church principally by the efforts of Paschasius Radbert, in the ninth century, (see above, vol. ii. p. 218, &c.) but which was warmly contested by Berengarius, in the eleventh century, (see above, vol. ii. p. 356, &c.) and openly denied by Wickliffe, in the fifteenth (see above, vol. ii. p. 620, note²), was too absurd, not to engage the attention of the Reformers. As early as A. D. 1513, Conrad Pelican and Wolffg. Fabr. Capito, in a private interview, disclosed to each other their conviction of the absurdity of this doctrine. (See Gerdes, *Historia Evang. Renov.* tom. i. p. 113.) Luther, however, while he denied the Romish doctrine of *transubstantiation*, yet held to the real presence, in the way called *consubstantiation*. Most of the other Reformers, especially in southern Germany and Switzerland, disbelieved the real or corporeal presence of Christ, and maintained only a spiritual presence.

Yet they did not think it expedient to write or preach on the subject, till the public mind should be ripe for such a discussion. Indeed they were not fully settled in their own minds, what form to give to the doctrine, or what interpretation to put upon the texts relied on in proof of the real presence. In the month of Jan. 1524, Zwingle offered to the senate of Zurich his sixty-seven doctrinal theses; in No. 18 of which he declared the eucharist to be *not a sacrifice*, (non esse sacrificium,) but a *commemoration* of the sacrifice once offered on the cross, and a *seal* of the redemption by Christ (sed sacrificii in cruce semel oblatis commemorationem et quasi sigillum redemptionis per Christum). (See Gerdes, l. c. Append. p. 223.) These theses were cordially adopted by the senate of Zurich; and they met the general approbation of the reformed in that vicinity. As early as the year 1521, Cornelius Hone, a learned Dutch jurist, in a letter which was privately circulated, explicitly denied the corporeal presence, and maintained, that the word *is*, in the declaration of Christ, *This is my body*, is equivalent to *represents* or *denotes*. (See the Letter, in Gerdes, l. c. Append. p. 228—240.) This letter Zwingle first read in 1524; and approving of it perfectly, he the next year caused it to be published. In the same year, 1524, Zwingle wrote a letter to a friend, in which he fully declares his belief, that the bread and wine were merely emblems or representatives of Christ's body and blood; but he charged his friend, not to make the letter public, lest it should produce commotion. The letter, however, was published the next year. At Wittenberg, Carlstadt was the first to reject and impugn the doctrine of the real presence. After his rebuke from Luther, (for destroying the altars and images at Wittenberg, in 1522.) he retired to Orlamund, not far from Leipsic; and there became a parish minister, inveighed against images and the mass,

Swiss, and by not a few divines in upper Germany, and as *Luther* and his friends, on the other hand, strenuously contended

and denied the doctrine of the real presence. The people fell in with his views, to the great dissatisfaction of the elector and *Luther*. Therefore in Aug. 1524, *Luther* was sent to reclaim the wandering people. At Jena, he declaimed against the innovators, with great warmth. *Carlstadt* was present, and feeling himself injured by this public attack, went to *Luther's* lodgings, and complained of his abuse. Hard words were used on both sides. *Carlstadt* taxed *Luther* with erroneous doctrine, particularly in regard to the real presence. *Luther* challenged him to a public controversy on the subject. *Carlstadt* accepted the challenge; but being soon banished from Saxony, and retiring first to Strasburg, and then to Basle, it was from the last of these places he issued his first publications. (See the account of the dispute at Jena, in *Luther's* Works, vol. ii. fol. 446, &c. ed. Jena, 1580.) Among the tracts here published by *Carlstadt*, one was entitled: On the words of Christ; *This is my body*. He supposed Christ to have pointed to his body, when he uttered these words; and to have intended to indicate, that the sacramental bread was an emblem of his body. *Luther* now wrote to the Strasburgers, against *Carlstadt*. *Capito* and *Bucer* both published tracts on the dispute between *Luther* and *Carlstadt*, endeavouring to exhibit the difference in doctrine as not material, and to stop controversy on the subject. But early the next year, 1525, *Luther* issued his full and keen reply to *Carlstadt*, entitled, *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, in two parts. *Æcolampadius*, *Zwingle*, and others in south Germany and Switzerland, viewed *Carlstadt* as substantially correct in doctrine, but not happy in his statements and reasonings. *Zwingle* compared him to a new recruit, who did not know how to put on his armour. And as the subject of the eucharist was now under discussion, and the writings of both *Luther* and *Carlstadt* circulating around them, they deemed it proper to engage in the controversy, and endeavour to enlighten and guide their people to right conclusions. Both *Æcolampadius* and *Zwingle*, therefore, published their views of the controversy. And in March, 1525, *Zwingle* published his

Commentarius de Vera et Falsa Religione; in which he distinctly but concisely stated his views of the eucharist. And in June following, enlarged on that point, in his *Subsidium de Eucharistia*. *Æcolampadius's* principal publication was in the form of a letter, addressed to his friends in Swabia, and entitled, A Genuine Exposition of the Works of our Lord, *This is my body*, according to the most ancient authors. *Zwingle* and *Æcolampadius* both maintained the bread and wine to be mere symbols or representatives of Christ's body and blood. But they differed as to the interpretation of the words, *This is my body*. *Zwingle* adopted *Hone's* opinion, that the word *is*, is used catechetically, for *represents*; but *Æcolampadius* placed the trope on the word *body*, supposing it to be used metonymically, for *memorial*, or *emblem of my body*. *Bugenhagius* of Wittenberg now wrote against *Zwingle* and *Æcolampadius*; and *Zwingle* replied to him. In the year 1526, *Brentius* and fourteen other ministers of Swabia, replied to *Æcolampadius*, in a work entitled *Syngramma Sævicum*; which was soon translated into German, and published with a harsh preface by *Luther*. *Æcolampadius* and *Zwingle* both replied to *Luther's* preface. *Luther* now published his sermon against the Enthusiasts; to which *Zwingle* wrote two letters in reply. *Martin Bucer* also wrote to *Brentius* and the other Swabians, censuring their indiscreet zeal. On the other side, *Jo. Pomeranus* of Wittenberg published a letter against *Zwingle* and the Reformed; to which *Zwingle* and also *Michael Cellarius* of Augsburg replied. *Conrad Pellican* and *Leo Juda* appeared on the side of the Reformed; and *Erasmus*, *Biliannus*, and *Osiander*, on that of the Lutherans. In the year 1527, *Zwingle* addressed a work to *Luther*, entitled, *Amica Excegesis, id est, Expositio Eucharisticæ Negotiæ*. And about the same time *Luther* published his very severe German work, entitled, "That the Words of Christ, *This is my body*, still stand fast, against the enthusiastic spirits." *Æcolampadius* replied, and also *Zwingle*; the latter in a German work, entitled, "That the Words of Christ, &c., will ever have their ancient and only meaning, and that M. *Luther*

for *his* doctrine, a long and unmanageable controversy burst forth in the year 1524, which at last, after many fruitless attempts at a compromise, produced a lamentable schism among those that separated from the papal jurisdiction.

§ 21. Quite unconnected with *Luther's* followers, was a rising which took place, like some sudden tornado, in the year 1525. An innumerable multitude of seditious and senseless people then declared war, in various provinces of Germany, by a series of

in his last work, has not substantiated his and the pope's sense." In this year Pomeranus, Pirkheimerns, Clichtovius, and bishop Fisher of England, came out against the Reformed; but Regius and Billicanus espoused their cause. In 1528, Luther published his most methodical work on this subject, entitled, A Confession of Faith respecting the Lord's Supper: to which both Œcolampadius and Zwingle replied; the latter in a long and elaborate work, addressed to John, elector of Saxony, and Philip, landgrave of Hesse. Bucer also replied to it. And Œcolampadius wrote to Melancthon, requesting him to use efforts for moderating the hostility of the Lutherans towards the Reformed, who only claimed toleration and brotherly affection. In 1529, several letters passed between Œcolampadius and Melancthon. The Strasburgers and Erasmus also exchanged polemic letters on the doctrine. In September of this year, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, invited the Lutheran and Reformed champions to a friendly conference at Marburg. The Lutherans reluctantly attended, being resolved not to make peace with those who should deny the real presence, and despairing of convincing the Reformed on that subject. Luther, Melancthon, and Justus Jonas, from Saxony, Andrew Osiander of Nuremberg, Brentius of Halle, in Swabia, and Stephen Agricola of Augsburg, were present on the side of the Lutherans. On the side of the Reformed, Zwingle, Œcolampadius, Bucer, and Hedio, attended, without hesitation. In the discussion, Luther and Œcolampadius were pitted against each other; and also Zwingle and Melancthon. They agreed perfectly on fourteen essential articles of faith; but could not agree respecting the real presence. The landgrave wished them, nevertheless, to view each other as brethren. Zwingle and his friends con-

sent; but Luther refused. In November of this year, the Lutheran states entered into an alliance, called the league of Smalcald; but refused to admit the Strasburgers and the other reformed cities and states into it. In 1530, the Lutherans, the Strasburgers, and also Zwingle, severally presented confessions of their faith to the diet of Augsburg; all drawn up with moderation and care. The princes perceived their agreement in all essential points, and were disposed to admit the Reformed to the league. But Luther and Melancthon opposed it, and prevailed. Philip, however, landgrave of Hesse, entered into a league with the Reformed, for mutual defence against the papists. And Strasburg, Zurich, Bâle, and Bern, formed an alliance, for the same purpose, for fifteen years. In this year, Melancthon published his testimonies from the fathers in favour of the real presence; and Œcolampadius replied, elaborately, in the form of a dialogue. In 1531, Zwingle and Œcolampadius both died; and the Reformed, weakened by the loss of these two great men, and pressed with danger from the papists, against whom their Lutheran brethren would not defend them so long as they denied the real presence, began to waver, and to try to swallow the Lutheran creed. Bucer led the way; and the Strasburgers followed him. The controversy subsided, in a great measure. Yet the Swiss and numerous others continued to deny the real corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist. This controversy it was, produced the division of the Protestants into the two great bodies of Lutherans and Reformed. See, for the facts here condensed, the authors mentioned at the beginning of this note, and Schroeckh's *Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation*, vol. i. p. 351, &c., and p. 420, &c. T.]

murders, robberies, and conflagrations, against the laws, the magistrates, and the whole framework of society. The greatest part of this furious rabble consisted of peasants, who were discontented under the government of their lords: and hence this calamity has been commonly called the *war of the peasants*.⁵ There is, however, no question, that not a few persons were engaged in it of various descriptions: some were fanatics; others vicious and idle characters, who were brought forward by nothing else than the hope of living comfortably on the fruits of other people's labour. This sedition, at its commencement, was altogether of a *civil* nature, as appears from the paper published by those engaged in it: for these peasants only wished to be relieved from some part of their burdens, and to enjoy greater freedom. Of religion there was no great notice taken. But when *Thomas Münzer*, a fanatical person who had before this deceived others by fictitious visions and dreams, and some people like him, had joined themselves to this widely-spread commotion, out of a civil war, especially in Saxony and Thuringia, a religious and holy one was made. The sentiments, however, of this dissolute and infuriate rabble were very different. Some demanded a freedom from the restraints of law, and the abrogation of all dominion of one man over another: others only wished to have their taxes and their burdens as citizens made lighter: others contemplated the formation of a new church free from every spot, and pretended to be full of the Deity; others again were merely hurried away by their passions, and a hatred of the magistrates, but had no very definite object in view.

⁵ Such insurrections of the peasants had been very common before the times of Luther; as appears from numerous examples. Hence the author of the *Chronicon Danicum*, published by Jo. Pet. a Ludewig, *Reliquiar. Manuscriptor.* tom. ix. p. 59, calls them *the common evil (commune malum)*. See also p. 80 and 133. This will not appear strange, if it be recollected, that the condition of the peasants, in most places, was much more insupportable than at the present day; and that the oppression of many of the barons, prior to the reformation, was really intolerable. [In many places the peasants were treated as slaves, or serfs, and bought and sold with the lands to which they were attached. And the landlords, the barons, bishops, abbots, and priests, were generally disposed to oppress and grind their tenants to the

utmost. Hence they were perpetually rebelling in one place and another. Thus, A. D. 1469, the Netherland peasantry appeared in arms, to the number of 6000; and about the same time there was an insurrection against the abbot of Kempten in Swabia. In the bishopric of Spire there was another, in 1503; and one at Wittenberg, in 1514. The next year there was one in the Austrian dominions, in which 2000 peasants were slain. It spread into Hungary, and some other countries; 400 of the nobility and gentry were butchered by the insurgents; and the whole number that perished on both sides was estimated at 70,000. In 1517 there was another on the borders of Austria and Croatia. See Seekendorf's *Comment. de Lutherismo*, lib. ii. sec. 1. *Tr.*]

Hence, although one must confess that many of them misunderstood what Luther taught upon the liberty gained by *Christ*, and hence took occasion to run wild, yet it is a great mistake to lay upon his doctrines all the blame of this frenzy. Indeed *Luther* himself sufficiently refuted this calumny, by publishing books expressly against this turbulent faction. The storm subsided after the unfortunate battle of the peasants with the army of the German princes, at Mülhausen, A. D. 1525, in which *Münzer* was taken prisoner; and he underwent capital punishment.⁶

⁶ Peter Gnodalins, *Historia de Seditione repentina Vulgi, præcipue Rusticorum*, A. D. 1525, tempore verno, per unicersam fere Germaniam exorta; Basil, 1570, 8vo. See also Ern. Salom. Cyprian's additions to Tenzel's *Historia Reformat.* tom. ii. p. 331, &c. [This commotion of the peasants commenced in the year 1524, and in Swabia, where some subjects of the spiritual princes, civil dukes, and nobles, complained of their heavy burdens and feudal services, and demanded a relaxation. Their lords repulsed them harshly, cast some of them into prison, and even put some to death. This rekindled their rage; and presently a host of peasants were to be seen in Swabia and Franconia, who roamed from one district to another, and united the disaffected to their standard. Their rulers now gave them kind words: but it was too late; and they refused to lay down their arms till certain articles were conceded to them. Among these, the first was, the right of electing their own preachers. And this was the only article that related to religion. They wished for preachers who would have no respect of persons. Yet they afterwards dropped this demand. They demanded, further, the abolition of personal slavery. The tithe of produce they were willing to pay; but it must go to the support of the preachers, the poor, and to promote the public interests of the people and the country. The tithe of cattle, or the lesser tithe, they demanded to be made free. They also demanded that hunting and fishing should be free in the public forests, seas, and rivers; and the cutting of timber likewise; and required a diminution of the personal services to be rendered to their landlords; and a reduction of the fines and penalties imposed, &c. At the same time they de-

clared that they would withdraw their demands, and return to obedience to their lords, if it could be shown that their demands were unreasonable; for they were not insensible that the Scriptures required obedience to magistrates. (See their statement of their grievances in Luther's works, ed. Jena, 1580, vol. iii. fol. 111, followed by Luther's comments and exhortations to the peasants, *Tr.*) They named Luther for their arbiter; and he endeavoured to enlighten them by his sermons and writings. But the rulers themselves were the cause of the spread and prevalence of the insurrection. Fair promises were made to such as would lay down their arms; but the promises were not fulfilled; nay, many were violently seized and put to death. In this state of things fanatics came among them, and prompted the irritated multitude to renew their first demand, to aim higher, and to wage war against the clergy and nobility with the greatest cruelty. The most prominent of these fanatics were Thomas Münzer, and one Pfeiffler, a renouncing Premonstratensian monk. Münzer was a friend of those visionaries, Nicholas Stork, Mark Stubner, and Martin Cellarius, who had commenced the disturbances at Wittenberg, under the patronage of Carlstadt, but who were expelled from Wittenberg on Luther's return thither from Wartburg. He had been a preacher at Zwickau and at Alstadt, and had clearly shown, by his writings and his sermons, that he was not satisfied with Luther's reformation. (See Loescher's *Stromata*, sec. x. p. 218, &c. and Fueslin's *Beyträge*, vol. v. p. 136, 410.) He wished to abolish all distinctions of rank, and all subordination, and to introduce a perfect equality in society; and he believed that Christ Himself would soon

§ 22. When this alarming insurrection was at its height, *Frederic the Wise*, elector of Saxony, ended his life A. D. 1525. While he lived he had been a kind of mediator between the Roman pontiff and *Luther*; nor would he give up the hope that a righteous and honourable peace might finally be established between the contending parties, without the formation of separate communities under different regulations. Hence he did not thwart, but even favoured *Luther's* designs of purifying and reforming the church; yet he took little pains to organize and regulate the churches in his territories. *John*, his brother and successor, was of a very different character. Being fully satisfied as to the truth of *Luther's* doctrines, and clearly perceiving the utter impossibility of preserving them, if the pontiff's authority were preserved, he took upon himself an entire jurisdiction in religious matters; and had no hesitation to establish and organize a church totally distinct from that of the pontiff. He caused, accordingly, regulations, not only as to the constitution and government of the churches, the form and mode of public worship, the official duties and the salaries of the clergy, and other things connected with the interests of religion, to be drawn up by *Luther* and *Philip Melancthon*, and to be promulgated in the year 1527 by his deputies: but he likewise made provision for placing pious and competent teachers over all the churches, and for the removal of unsuitable ones. His example was soon followed by the other princes and states of Germany, that had cast off the dominion of the Roman pontiff; and nearly the same institutions that he had introduced, were adopted by them. This prince may therefore, not improperly,

come, and set up the heavenly Jerusalem on the earth; in which there would be no civil laws, no penalties, no burdens imposed, &c. As he met with resistance, generally, in Saxony, he travelled over Thuringia, Franconia, and Swabia, as far as the boundaries of Switzerland; and he blew the fire of insurrection every where, by his influence, until it finally burst into a flame. *Schl.*— Meeting opposition at the south, he returned to the north and headed the insurgents of Thuringia, hoping for co-operation from those of Swabia. But the Swabian insurgents were attacked and slaughtered in their several camps, to the number, it is said, of 70,000. In the mean time, those of Thuringia, to the number of

8000, were assembled at Mühlhausen, with Münzer for their prophet and leader. The neighbouring princes offered them capitulation, which they refused, relying on the assurance of Münzer, that God would miraculously destroy their adversaries, and preserve them. In the battle, 4000 of the peasants (some say more) were slain. Münzer and Pfeiffer were taken and beheaded. Thus ended this war of the peasants in the summer of 1525; in which, according to some, near 130,000 persons lost their lives. See Seckendorf, *Comment. de Lutheranismo*, lib. ii. sec. i. &c. Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. i. p. 339, &c. and Arnold's *Kirchen-und-Ketzer-Historie*, ed. 1741. *Tr.*]

be considered as the second parent and founder of the Lutheran church; since he it was, who gave it salutary regulations, and the supports of law, and separated it wholly from the popedom. But then it was, from the time of this elector John, that the dissensions of the German princes, in regard to religious and ecclesiastical subjects, had their commencement, having previously been very slight. The prudence of *Frederic the Wise* had kept their minds under restraint, and in a good degree united. But when the various proceedings of *John* made it obvious, that he designed to separate the churches of his territory, entirely, from the church of Rome; instantly the minds of the princes, which had before moved in tolerable harmony, became at variance, some preferring the old religion of their fathers, and others the amended system.

§ 23. The patrons of the old religion, without much disguise, now laid plans for an attack upon the Lutheran party by arms and war. And they would, undoubtedly, have acted up to their intentions, if they had not been prevented by the troubled state of Europe. Being aware of this, the leading men, among those who had embraced the reformed religion, began also to consult together about forming an alliance among themselves.⁷ Meanwhile, the diet of Spire, in 1526, at which *Ferdinand* the emperor's brother presided, had a more favourable issue for the Lutheran cause than could have been anticipated. The emperor, by his envoys, required that all contentions respecting religious subjects, should cease; and that the law passed at Worms against *Luther* and his associates, should be observed. But a majority of the princes declared themselves unable to obey this edict, or to pass any definite decisions on the subject, until a general council, duly assembled, should have examined and judged the case; for to such a body it pertained, to settle disputes upon religious questions. This sentiment prevailed, after long and various discussions; and a unanimous resolve

⁷ The war of the peasants had caused repeated consultations between the neighbouring princes. And when the danger from that source began to diminish, the indications of a combination among the Roman Catholic princes, under the countenance of the emperor, led the Lutheran princes and states to hold correspondence and conventions, and at length to form alliances. In the winter of 1526, the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse, invited the senate of Nuremberg to meet

them at Torgau, for such a consultation. The senate excused itself; but the two princes met on the 4th of May, and entered into an alliance for mutual defence, much the same as the league of Smalcald, a few years after. They also invited other Lutheran states, to come into this alliance; which was renewed, at Magdeburg, on the 12th of June, of the same year. See *Seckendorf, Comment. de Lutheranis*, lib. ii. § 15, addit. ii. Tr.]

was passed, that a petition should be presented to the emperor, urging him to call a free council without delay; and that in the mean time, every one should be at liberty to manage the religious concerns of his own territory, in the manner he saw fit, yet under a due sense of his accountability to God and to the emperor, for the course that might be taken.

§ 24. Than this decree nothing could be more favourable to the cause of those who deemed a religious reformation necessary. For the emperor was so occupied and perplexed with his French, Spanish, and Italian affairs, that during several years he could not give much attention to the concerns of Germany, and especially to the difficult subject of religion. And if he had been able to do something for the pope, during the German disputes upon religion, undoubtedly he would not have been inclined. For the sovereign pontiff, *Clement VII.*, after *Francis I.*, king of France, had been vanquished, dreading the emperor's power in Italy, entered into an alliance with the French and the Venetians against him: and this so inflamed the resentment of *Charles*, that he abolished the pontifical authority throughout Spain, made war upon the pope in Italy, captured the city of Rome in 1527, by his general, *Charles of Bourbon*, besieged the pontiff himself in the castle of St. Angelo, and permitted him to be treated with much personal abuse and indignity.⁸ The professors of the reformed religion, therefore, improved this opportunity and [the liberty given by] the edict of Spire, with great advantage, for strengthening and extending their cause. Some, whom the fear of punishment had hitherto restrained from attempting any innovations, now unhesitatingly expelled inveterate superstitions from their territories, and caused such a system of religion and such forms of worship to be introduced, as had been adopted in Saxony. Others, though they did not themselves attempt any thing against the papal interests, yet gave no molestation to such as persuaded their people to renounce the pontiff; nor did they oppose the assembling in private of such as had withdrawn from his allegiance. And all those in Germany, who had before rejected the Romish authority, now carefully employed the liberty afforded them to strengthen their cause, and to regulate properly their religious

⁸ [See Wm. Robertson's *History of the reign of the emperor Charles V.* vol. ii. (book iv.) Jo. Sleidan's *Commentar. de Statu Relig. et Reipubl.* lib. iv. and others. *Schl.*]

affairs. During this period, *Luther* and his associates, especially those who resided with him at Wittenberg, by their writings, their preaching, their admonitions, and their refutations, added courage to the irresolute, and imparted light and animation to all.⁹

§ 25. This tranquillity was interrupted by the second diet of Spire, in 1529, which the emperor called in the early spring, after settling in some measure the disquieted affairs of his empire, and coming to a compromise with the pontiff, *Clement VII.* For the major part agreed to a revocation of the power, granted three years before to every prince, of regulating religious matters in his own territories as he saw fit until the meeting of a general council, and all changes in the public religion were declared to be unlawful, until the council should have passed its judgement on them. This decree could not fail to appear grievous and insupportable to the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and the other patrons of the reformation. For no body knew so little of affairs as to consider the promise of a council to be soon assembled, any thing else than an artifice to keep people in good humour: the last concession likely to be gained from the Roman

⁹ [It was in this interval, or from A. D. 1526, that the elector of Saxony caused the noted visitation of the churches, throughout his dominions. *Luther* being sick, *Melancthon* with the aid of two or three civilians drew up the instructions to the visitors. The elector's territories were divided into four districts, and different sets of visitors appointed for each, consisting of one or two clergymen, and three or more civilians. *Luther* was the clerical visitor for Saxony proper; and *Melancthon* was a visitor for Misnia. The visitors were to take account of the state of all the parishes, monasteries, schools and cathedrals. They were to examine into the character and conduct of all the clergy, the monks, and school teachers; with power to remove improper men, to supply vacancies, and to assign and regulate the salaries of all. They were also to appoint superintendents; who were to be competent clergymen, commissioned to examine all young ministers, and to watch over the clergy within certain limits, to admonish the unfaithful, and if they did not reform, to report them to the civil authorities, that the sovereign

might call them to account, or dismiss them, as he saw fit. The visitors were also to see that schools were set up, in all parishes, and provided with competent teachers; to assign the salaries of the masters; and to prescribe rules and regulations for the schools. They were directed, not to spare the vicious and profligate; but to deal tenderly with the ignorant, the aged, and infirm, and such as laboured under honest prejudices. They must cause the true faith, and sound practical religion to be every where preached; and if they found any, that conscientiously desired other preaching, they were to afford them every facility to remove to places where they could enjoy it. Similar visitations were instituted by other Lutheran princes. On his return from this visitation, *Luther* was so impressed with the ignorance of both the clergy and laity, in a large part of the country, that he sat down to write his catechisms for their use. See an account of this visitation in *Seckendorf's Comment. de Lutheranismo*, lib. ii. § 36, 37. p. 100—108. *Tr.*]

pontiff being a legitimate and free council. Therefore, when they found that their arguments and reasoning made no impression upon *Ferdinand*, the emperor's brother, who presided in the diet, and upon the adherents to the old religion, who were guided by the pontifical legate, they publicly remonstrated against this decree, or in the language of the jurists, they *protested* against it on the 19th of April, and appealed to the emperor and to a future council. Hence originated the name of PROTESTANTS, borne from this time onward by those who have forsaken the communion of the Roman pontiff.¹

§ 26. The protectors of the reformed churches, or the *Protestant* princes, as they were called, immediately despatched envoys to the emperor, then on his way from Spain to Italy, to let him know what they had done at the diet of Spire. These envoys, as they had been instructed, using a manly tone, and boldly emulating the constancy of those who had sent them, were put under arrest by order of the emperor, and were kept some days confined. The princes, anxious for the reformation, on learning this fact, concluded that their own safety depended wholly on their union and power to defend themselves; wherefore, they held several conventions at Rothach, Schwabach, Nuremberg, Smalcald, and other places, for the purpose of entering into a closer alliance to repel the attacks of their enemies. But nothing definite was agreed upon, in consequence of the diversity of their opinions and views.²

¹ [The princes and states which joined in this protest, were, the elector John of Saxony, the margrave George of Brandenburg, Onolzbach, and Culmbach, the dukes Ernest and Francis, of Lüneburg, the landgrave Philip of Hesse, Wolfgang prince of Anhalt; and fourteen imperial cities, namely, Strasburg, Ulm, Nuremberg, Constance, Rentlingen, Windsheim, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempten, Heilbron, Isny, Weissenberg, Nordlingen, and St. Gall. They appealed to the emperor, to a future general or free council of the German nation, and lastly to every impartial judge. For they believed, that a majority of votes in a diet, could decide a secular question, but not a spiritual or religious question. They appealed to the emperor, not as recognizing him as their judge in a matter of religion, but merely, that he might allow their appeal to a council to be valid. And they sub-

joined the appeal to a council, because, according to the ecclesiastical law of Germany, religious controversies are not to be decided by decrees of a diet, but by a national council. We may also here remark, that this was not the *first* protest; but that, in the year 1523, at the diet of Nuremberg, the elector of Saxony, and the evangelical dukes, and imperial cities, protested against the decree of the diet. See Dr. Waleh's *Diss. Historica de Liberis Imperii Civitatibus a Pace Religionis nunquam exclusis*. Gotting, 1755, 4to. *Schl.*]

² See Christ. Aug. Salig's *History of the Augsburg Confession*; written in German, tom. i. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 128, but especially, Jo. Joach. Müller's *Historie von der Evangelischen Stände Protestation gegen den Speyerschen Reichsabschied von 1529, Appellation, &c.* Jena, 1705, 4to.

§ 27. Among the hindrances to a cordial union among those who withdrew from the Romish church, a prominent one was the disagreement between the Saxon and Helvetic reformers respecting the Lord's Supper. Hence, in order to bring this controversy to a close, *Philip*, landgrave of Hesse, appointed a conference between *Luther* and *Zwingle* and some other principal doctors of both parties, to be held at Marburg, in 1529, with a view to a compromise. But this prince, *magnanimous* in reality and name, was disappointed in his expectations. The assembled theologians disputed in presence of the landgrave four days, or from the first day of October till the fourth, and particularly *Luther* with *Æcolampadius*, and *Melancthon* with *Zwingle*, on the various allegations against the Helvetians. For *Zwingle* was regarded by the Saxons as not only teaching falsely respecting the Lord's Supper, but also as holding erroneous views respecting the divinity of the Saviour, the efficacy of the divine word, original sin, and some other subjects. *Zwingle* and his companions replied to these accusations in such a manner as to satisfy *Luther* in regard to most of them. But the disagreement respecting the Lord's Supper could not be at all removed, both parties firmly persisting in their respective opinions.³ The only advantage, therefore, derived from the conference, was, that the parties entered into a kind of truce, and depended on God and the influence of time to heal the dissension.

§ 28. The ministers of those churches which approved *Luther's* doctrines, were preparing a new embassy to the emperor, when it became known that he was coming into Germany, with an intention to examine and decide the controversies respecting religion, at the diet to be held at Augsburg. The emperor, in fact, had been convinced by men of great penetration, that matters were becoming serious. Hence his mind was considerably

³ [Val. Ern. Loescher's *Historia Motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, tom. i. lib. i. cap. vi. p. 143, &c. Henry Bullinger's *Historie Colloquii Marpurgensis*, in Jo. Conr. Fuesslin's *Beyträgen zur Schweitzer. Reformat. Geschichte*, iii. p. 156; also Fuesslin's Preface, p. 80. Abrah. Seultetus, *Annales Reformat. ad Ann. 1529*. Rudolph Hospinian's *Historia Sacramentaria*, pt. ii. p. 72, &c. [See above, pp. 117—119, note⁴. Hospinian's History contains, (pt. ii. p. 123, &c. ed. Geneva, 1681,) the whole pro-

ceedings of the conference, by Rodolph Collin, a schoolmaster of Zurich, who attended Zwingle to Marburg, took minutes of all the discussions, and then filled them out into a regular account; likewise, accounts of this conference, given in private letters to their friends, by Melancthon, (p. 132, and 134,) by Luther, (p. 135,) by Æcolampadius, (p. 137,) and by Bucer (p. 138), also a reply of the ministers of Zurich, A. D. 1544, to false reports respecting the conference. Tr.]

softened, and as a first step, he had laboured with great earnestness, at Bologna, to persuade the pope that a council must be called. But being utterly unable to prevail; and the pontiff urging in return that it was the emperor's duty to succour the church, and to punish without delay the perverse faction of the *heretics*; he came to the conclusion, that it would be unjust, and a violation of the imperial laws of Germany, to condemn worthy citizens unheard, and to make war upon them. At that time there was not extant any tangible exposition of the religion professed by *Luther* and his friends, from which might be learned clearly what were their views on doctrinal subjects, and what the grounds of their opposition to the Roman pontiffs; and as the approaching solemn investigation of the whole question rendered such a document absolutely necessary, *John*, the elector of Saxony, directed *Luther* and some other of the most eminent doctors to draw up a brief summary of the reformed religion. *Luther* conceived that the seventeen articles agreed to in the convention at Schwabach, in the year 1529, were sufficient; and accordingly he exhibited them to the elector at *Torgau*; whence they were called the *Articles of Torgau*.⁴ From these articles as the basis, *Philip Melancthon*, by order and authority of the princes, drew up and put into more free and agreeable language, partly at Coburg and partly at Augsburg, holding consultation all the while with *Luther*, that confession of faith which is called the *Augsburg Confession*.

§ 29. During these transactions there was scarcely any part of Europe on which the light of the religious reformation by *Luther* did not shed its radiance, and likewise animate with the hope of regaining its liberty. Some of the more important countries also had now openly rejected the Romish institutions and enactments. The Roman bishop, therefore, had sufficient reason for representing to the emperor the necessity of crushing the factious without delay, and for fearing the overthrow of his whole community. Not long after the commencement of *Luther's* attack upon the Romish church, *Olaus Peterson*, a disciple of *Luther*, first imbued the Swedes with a knowledge of the truth.

⁴ See Christ. August. Heumann's *Diss. de Lenitate Augustanae Confess.* in the *Sylloge Dissert. Theologicar.* tom. i. p. 14, &c. Jo. Joach. Müller's *Historia Protestantionis*; and most of the historians of

the Reformation and of the Augsburg Confession. [For instance, Jo. Geo. Walch's *Introductio in Libros Eccles. Luth. Symbolicos*, lib. i. c. iii. § 2—9. *Tr.*]

His efforts were nobly seconded by *Gustavus Vasa*, whom the Swedes, after expelling *Christiern*, king of Denmark, had created king⁵, and who was a heroic prince and very zealous for the public good. He had been in exile while *Christiern* was laying waste his country, and had acquired at Lubeck some knowledge of the Lutheran religion, which he considered not only as the true religion of the Scriptures, but also as salutary for Sweden in its present state. That he might not appear to do any thing rashly while the minds of the people were distracted between the old religion and the new, or to depart from the principles of the Lutheran religion, he determined to proceed gradually and with caution. He first invited, therefore, learned men from Germany who were competent teachers, and directed them to instruct the people in a knowledge of the Bible; and he caused the Holy Scriptures, as translated by *Olaus Peterson*, to be published and disseminated. He next, in the year 1526, directed this translator of the Bible to hold a public discussion on religious subjects, at Upsal, with *Peter Gallius*, a strenuous defender of popery. And *Gallius* being vanquished in the discussion, he at length, in the assembly of the states at Westeras, A. D. 1527, so powerfully and judiciously recommended the reformed religion of Luther to the representatives of the nation, that all of them decreed, after long discussions, and strenuous opposition from the bishops, that the reformed religion should be introduced. This decision was the effect especially of the firmness and resolution of the king, who declared publicly that he would rather resign his crown and retire from the kingdom, than rule over a people subjected to the laws and the authority of the Roman pontiff, and more obedient to their bishops than to their king.⁶ From this time, therefore, the Roman pontiff's power entirely ceased among the Swedes.

§ 30. *Christian II.*, commonly called *Christiern*, king of Denmark⁷, who was, either from natural temperament or from the influence of bad counsels, an oppressive and cruel monarch, endeavoured to imbue the Danes with a knowledge of the Lutheran

⁵ [A. D. 1523—1561. *Tr.*]

⁶ Jo. Baaz, *Inventarium Ecclesiæ Suco-Gothorum*, Lincoping, 1642, 4to. Abrah. Scultetus, *Annales Evangelii Renovati*; in Hern. von der Hardt's *Historiæ Liter. Reformat.* pt. v. p. 83 and 110, &c. Raynal's *Anecdotes Histor. Politiques*

Militaires, tom. i. pt. ii. p. 1, &c. and others. [Dan. Gerdes, *Historia Evang. renovati*, tom. iii. p. 277, &c. Schroeckli's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. ii. p. 3, &c. *Tr.*]

⁷ [A. D. 1513—1523. *Tr.*]

religion as early as the year 1521. For he first invited *Martin Reymhard*, a disciple of *Carlstadt*, from Saxony, in the year 1520, and made him professor of theology at Copenhagen; and on his leaving the kingdom, in 1521, he invited *Carlstadt* himself to Denmark; who, however, soon returned to Germany. The king even invited *Luther* to come to Denmark; but without success; and he adopted other measures calculated to subvert the authority of the Roman pontiff in his territories. But in all this *Christiern* was not actuated by zeal for true religion, but by the desire of increasing his own power and grandeur. At least it seems evident from his conduct that he patronized the Lutheran religion in order to obtain by it absolute dominion, and to wrest from his very powerful bishops their possessions and authority.⁸ But his projects were unsuccessful. For the different orders of the realm, conspiring against him in 1523, deposed and banished him from the kingdom; as well on account of his various acts of cruelty and oppression, as for his attempts to destroy the liberties of Denmark and to abolish the established religion.⁹ In place of him, *Frederic*, duke of Holstein and Sleswick, uncle to *Christiern*, was called to the throne.

§ 31. This *Frederic*, the successor of *Christiern*¹, proceeded with more prudence and moderation. He permitted *George Johanson*, *Jo. Tausson*, and others, publicly to preach in the

⁸ See Je. Gramm's *Diss. de Reformatione Danicæ a Christierno tentata*: in tom. iii. *Scriptor. Societ. Scientiar. Hafnensis*, p. 1—90.

⁹ See the causes which induced the states of Denmark to renounce subjection to king *Christiern*, in Jo. Pet. a Ludewig's *Reliquie Manuscriptor.* tom. v. p. 315, &c. where those states thus express themselves, p. 321: "Lutheranæ hæresis pullulatores contra just pietatemque in regnum nostrum catholicum introduxit. Doctorem Carolostadium, fortissimum Lutheri athletam, emtrivit." [The grounds of the reformation were much the same in Denmark, as in Sweden. The interests of the state demanded a depression of the clergy. Denmark was an elective monarchy; and the power of the kings was greatly limited by the council of the state, which consisted partly of clergymen, and partly of civilians. The civil counsellors were from the highest nobility; the clerical were archbishops and bishops. The

revenues of the kings were small; and the clergy were in possession of the most important castles and fortresses. Hence there was constant jealousy between the nobility and the clergy; and the former wished to see the latter humbled. *Christiern* so dexterously availed himself of this jealousy, that by it he stripped the clergy of their power, and introduced the reformation into the kingdom. He forcibly took from the papal preacher of indulgences, *Arcembold*, a large sum of money, collected by the sale of indulgences; and he caused a Danish translation of the New Testament to be made. After his deposition, he heard *Luther* preach in Germany, with great pleasure; yet, as he was hoping for succour from *Charles V.*, he did not openly profess the Lutheran doctrines. But his queen *Isabella*, sister to the emperor *Charles V.*, professed it, and died in it, with great constancy, in the year 1525. *Schl.*]

¹ [A. D. 1523—1533. *Tr.*]

realm the doctrines which they had learned from *Luther*²; but he did not venture to change the ancient government and constitution of the church. He greatly aided, however, the progress of the reformed religion, by procuring a legislative decree, at the diet of Odensee, A. D. 1527, which gave the citizens free liberty, either to continue in the old religion or embrace the new. For, under the protection of this decree, the preachers of the reformed religion discharged their functions with so much success, that the greatest part of the Danes, in time, abandoned the Roman pontiff. Yet the glory of delivering Denmark altogether from the Roman bondage, was reserved for *Christian III.*³, a king of distinguished piety and prudence. For he, after stripping the bishops of their envied power, and restoring to their lawful owners a great part of the possessions which the church had gained by exceptionable arts, called *John Bugenhagen* from Wittemberg, and with his aid regulated the religious affairs of the whole realm, in an enlightened and judicious manner; and then in the assembly of the states at Odensee, in 1539, persuaded the leading men to sanction the reformation in religion that had taken place.⁴

§ 32. In regard, however, to the reformation both in Sweden and Denmark, we should carefully discriminate between a reformation or change of *religion*, and a reformation of the *bishops*; two things nearly related indeed, yet so distinct that either may exist without the other. For the religion of a people might be reformed, while the rank and power of the bishops remained the same; and on the other hand, the bishops might be deprived of a portion of their wealth and authority, and yet the old religion be retained. In the reformation of religion and worship⁵, there was nothing that deserved censure, for no violence or imposition was practised, but every thing was done in a reasonable and religious manner. But in the reformation of the bishops and

² See Jo. Mölleri *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 886, &c. Christ. Olivarius, *Vita Pauli Eliæ*, p. 108, &c. Eric Pontoppidan's *Annales Eccles. Danicæ*, tom. iii. p. 139, &c.

³ [A. D. 1534—1559. *Tr.*]

⁴ Eric Pontoppidan's *Concise History of the Reformation in Denmark*, written in Danish, Lubeck, 1734, 8vo, and his *Annales Ecclesie Danicæ*, tom. ii. p. 790, &c. tom. iii. p. 1, &c. Henry Muhlhus, *De Reformat. Religionis in vicinis Danicæ*

Regionibus et potissimum in Cimbria; in his *Dissert. Historico-Theologicæ*, p. 24, &c. Kiliae, 1715, 4to. [Also Dan. Gerdes, *Historia Evangelii renovati*, tom. iii. p. 338, &c. Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. ii. p. 59, &c. A still better account may be expected in the *Ecclesiastical History of Denmark*, now preparing, and partially published, by Fr. Münter, bishop of Seeland.

Tr.
⁵ [In these countries. *Tr.*]

clergy, there appears to have been something defective. For violent measures were adopted; and the bishops, against their wills and their efforts to the contrary, were deprived of their honours, their prerogatives, and their possessions. This reformation of the *clergy* in both these northern kingdoms was, however, not a religious but a mere civil and secular transaction; and it was so necessary, that it must have been undertaken if no *Luther* had arisen. For the bishops, by corrupt artifices, had gotten possession of so much wealth, so many castles, such revenues, and so great authority, that they were far more powerful than the kings, and were able to govern the whole realm at their pleasure: indeed they had appropriated to themselves a large portion of the patrimony of the kings, and of the public revenues. Such, therefore, was the state, both of the Danish and the Swedish commonwealths, in the time of *Luther*, that the bishops, who shamefully abused their riches, their prerogatives, and their honours, must have been divested of the high rank they held in the commonwealth, and deprived of a large portion of their ill-gotten wealth; or the ruin of those kingdoms, the irreparable detriment of the public safety and tranquillity, and the sinking of their kings into contempt, with an utter inability to protect the people, must have been anticipated.

§ 33. In France, *Margaret*⁶, queen of Navarre, and sister to *Francis I.*, king of France, the perpetual enemy and rival of *Charles V.*, became charmed with the light of a better religion: hence, several pious men, well acquainted with the Scriptures, under cover of her protection ventured not only upon teaching this religion, but also upon forming congregations in various places. It appears, from documents of unquestionable authority, that as early as the year 1523, there were, in most of the provinces of France, a multitude of persons opposed to the principles and the laws of the Romish church; among whom were men of high character, and even bishops. As this number continually increased, and as religious commotions took place here and there, the king and the magistrates protected the ancient religion by the sword, and by penal inflictions, and a large number of pious and good persons were cruelly put to death.⁷ But

⁶ [b. 1492, d. 1549. *Tr.*]

⁷ See Theod. Beza's *Histoire des Eglises Réformées de France*, tom. i. liv. i. p. 5, &c. Elias Benoist's *Histoire de l'Edit*

de Nantes, tom. i. liv. i. p. 6, &c. Christ. Aug. Salig's *Historie der Augsburgischen Confession*, vol. ii. p. 190, &c., and others. [Gerdes, *Historia Evangelii renovati*, tom.

this cruelty advanced rather than retarded the progress of the new religion. The friends of reformation, however, in France,

iv. p. i. &c. Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 208, &c.—France was the first country, where the reformation that commenced in Germany and Switzerland, very soon, and under the severest oppressions, found many adherents. No country seems to have been so long and so well prepared for it, as this: and yet here it met the most violent opposition; and no where was it later, before it obtained legal toleration. No where did it occasion such streams of blood to flow; no where, give birth to such dreadful and deadly civil wars. And no where have state policy, court intrigue, political parties, and the ambition of greatness, had so powerful an influence on the progress and fortunes of the reformation, as in France. *Schroeckh.*—The friendship of Francis I. to the sciences, and his attachment and generosity to learned men, induced many persons of genius, who were favourable to the reformation, to take up their residence in France; and thus the writings of the Reformers, which were in general better compositions than the books of the Papists, were introduced extensively into France, and were there eagerly read; and by these writings such as had before taken no part in the religious contests, were convinced of the necessity of a reformation, and brought to desire it. The university of Paris indeed had already, in 1521, declared expressly against Luther, and his writings. (See the *Determinatio Facultat. Theol. Paris. super Doctrina Lutherana*; in Gerdes, *Historia Evangel. renovati*, tom. iv. Append. No. ii. p. 10, 11.) Yet the doctrine of Luther and Melanethon, from the first, had many friends in France: indeed, there was a time when Francis I., to gratify the wishes of his sister, queen Margaret, was disposed to invite Melanethon to take up a residence in France. The first movement with a direct view to produce a reformation, was at Meaux; where the devout and learned bishop, William Brissonet, gave support and protection to James le Fevre, William Farel, and Gerard Ronssel; and permitted them openly to preach against the old superstitions and abuses of the Romish church, and to gather a small congregation. But as soon as the thing became extensively known, the parliament, in the year 1533,

ordered a rigorous investigation of the subject. John Le Clerc, a woollen-spinner, but who had become preacher to the new congregation at Meaux, published in this year a letter against indulgences in which the pope was represented as Antichrist. He was therefore beaten with rods, branded with a hot iron, and banished; and afterwards died a martyr at Metz. The congregation were dispersed all over France. Brissonet, terrified by the resentment of the king, drew back; and now condemned the doctrines he had hitherto approved. Farel went to Switzerland; reformed Mümpelgard; and adhered firmly to the reformed doctrines till his death. Le Fevre and Ronssel took themselves to Navarre, to queen Margaret; where they did not, indeed, openly break with the Romish church, yet greatly promoted the spread of pure doctrine. In the mean time, the evangelical multiplied exceedingly in Bearn and Guienne, through the protection of Margaret. Francis therefore, being prompted by the bishops, sent for this queen, and rebuked her for suffering these innovations to take place. She promised him, she would go no further in this thing, provided the following concessions were granted her: 1st, That no mass should be said, unless there were persons to receive the eucharist. 2nd, That the elevation of the host should cease. 3rd, The worship of it also. 4th, That the eucharist should be administered in both kinds. 5th, That in the mass, there should be no mention made of Mary and the saints. 6th, That common, ordinary bread should be taken, broken, and distributed. And 7th, That the priests should not be compelled to a life of celibacy. But these propositions were rejected; and the preachers she had brought with her to Paris, were thrown into prison, and with great difficulty, at her intercession, set at liberty. At last, cardinal Tournon so far wrought upon the king, by his fierce persecuting zeal, that he strictly commanded his sister to avoid all innovations in religious matters; and, notwithstanding the intercession of the protestant princes of Germany, he caused the evangelical to be punished in the most cruel manner. Gallowses were erected, and the flames kindled, against the professors of the reformed doctrine; and yet they were

experienced various fortune, sometimes adverse, and sometimes tolerable, during the reign of *Francis I.*⁸ For the king being either of no religion, or of a dubious one, conducted himself towards them just as his own advantage, or state policy seemed to require. When he wished to conciliate the good will of the German protestants, and by them inflict a wound upon his enemy, *Charles V.*, he was mild, humane, and equitable towards them: but on a change of circumstances he assumed a different character, and showed himself implacable towards them.

§ 34. The other countries of Europe did not exhibit so many and so clear indications of a defection from the Romish institutions and customs, prior to the presentation of the Confession of Augsburg. And yet it can be proved by the most credible testimony, that Spain⁹, Hungary¹, Bohemia², Britain³, Poland⁴,

so far from being exterminated, that their number increased continually. The persecution became still heavier, in the year 1534, when some inconsiderate persons, in their rash zeal, posted up satirical papers against the popish mass in various places, and even on the royal palace. The blood of the unhappy protestants now smoked, till the death of the king. Especially the honest Waldensians, in the mountains of Provence, at Merindol, and Cabrieres, became the victims of a most cruel persecution. Merindol was destroyed; and its inhabitants, who had chiefly taken refuge at Cabrieres, were either butchered, or burnt alive, or sent to the galleys. Cardinal Tournon was the instigator, and D'Oppeda, the president of the parliament of Aix, was the chief actor in the bloody scene. Yet all was done with the consent of the king; though, in the end, he could not approve of all that had taken place, but execrated this worse than barbarian deed; and on his death-bed, enjoined upon his successor to subject it to an investigation. *Sed.*]

⁸ [A. D. 1515 — 1547. *Tr.*]

⁹ [The emperor Charles V., being king of Spain, and carrying on extensive wars in Italy, Germany, and Spain, his Spanish and German subjects, of all ranks and professions, were necessarily brought into close contact. Many Spanish officers and soldiers, and also statesmen and theologians, of course learned something of the reformed religion: and not a few of them embraced it. Yet the rigours of the inquisition, and the com-

plete ascendancy of popery in Spain, induced the Evangelical Spaniards, for a long time, either to conceal their religious sentiments, or to propagate them in the most covert manner. Yet before the year 1550, the protestants had become so numerous in Spain, that they ventured to appear openly. They could number a great many persons of distinction, and had increased so rapidly, that it seemed as if the whole nation would soon embrace the reformed religion. But the catholics taking the alarm, a most violent persecution ensued, which raged, till not a heretic dared to show his head in that country. See Michael Geddes, *Martyrology of Protestants in Spain*; in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 545, &c. and Latin, in Mosheim's *Dissert. Hist. Eccles.* vol. i. 663, &c. Reginaldi Gonsalvi *Relatio de Martyribus Protestantium in Hispania*; in Dan. Gerdes' *Miscellanea Groning.* tom. iv. p. 681, &c. and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. ii. p. 791, &c. *Tr.*] Full information upon Spanish protestantism will be found in the *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain*, an able work published by the late Dr. M'Crie, in 1829. He had published, two years before, a similar work of great value, respecting Italy. *Ed.*]

¹ [Hungary is one of the countries which early received some light from the reformation; but in which it was resisted so strenuously, that it never absolutely triumphed, and never became the religion of the state. As early as 1522, several Hungarians, educated at

and the Netherlands⁵, now abounded in great numbers of friends to the doctrines inculcated by *Luther*; some of whom repaired

Wittenberg, introduced the Lutheran doctrines into their native country. These doctrines spread rapidly; and other Hungarians, trained in the school of *Luther*, became successful preachers to their countrymen. But persecution commenced in 1525; and was renewed from time to time, with such success, as nearly to destroy the reformed churches. There were some Moravians, or Hussites, in the country, before the time of *Luther*, and likewise some Waldensians. *Mary*, widow of *Lewis II.*, and sister to *Charles V.*, was friendly to the Lutherans; and she checked the persecuting zeal of her son, king *Ferdinand*. In the year 1530, five free cities in the northern part of Hungary declared for Lutheranism, and presented a confession of their faith to the king. The next year *Matthias Devay*, the *Luther* of Hungary, began his career. The most rapid increase of the reformed was about the year 1550. In the year 1555, the five above-named free cities, and also twelve market towns in the county of *Zips*, with a few towns in lower Hungary, and several noblemen obtained liberty to practise the reformed religion. See *Schroeckh*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 723, &c. *Tr.*]

² [As early as the year 1519, the Hussites in Bohemia opened a friendly correspondence with *Martin Luther*, and exhorted him to persevere in the good work, assuring him there were very many in Bohemia, who prayed night and day for the success of his cause. (*Luther's Lat. Works*, ed. *Jena*, tom. i. p. 366, &c.) The intercourse continued free, and was salutary to both the Bohemians and the Lutherans, till the year 1525, when it was suspended for ten years; in consequence of some slanderous reports respecting *Luther*, propagated in Bohemia. But in 1535, the intercourse was renewed; evangelical doctrines spread in the country; and the Hussites corrected their former creed, without entirely abandoning it. The evangelical were divided among themselves, and were exposed to persecution: yet they multiplied greatly, and finally obtained free toleration. See *Adr. Regenvolschii Systema Historice Chronolog. Ecclesiar. Slavonicar.* cap. ix. p. 54, &c. and *Jo. Th. Elsner's Brevis Conspectus Doctrinæ Fratrum Boëmorum*; in *Gerdes*,

Miscellanea Groning. tom. vi. pt. i. p. 381, &c. *Tr.*]

³ [In England, the Wickliffites, though obliged to keep concealed, had not been exterminated by 150 years' persecution. *Luther's* writings were early brought into England, and there read with avidity. This quickened persecution; and six men and one woman were burnt at the stake, in *Coventry*, in passion week, A. D. 1519. In 1522, king *Henry VIII.* wrote a confutation of *Luther's* doctrines; but to no purpose. *Bilney*, *Latimer*, and others at *Cambridge*, formed a society, which read and circulated *Luther's* book, as early as 1523. *William Tindal* made an English translation of the *New Testament*, which he printed at *Antwerp*, and circulated in England, in 1526. The next year, king *Henry* began to question the legality of his marriage with his brother's widow, and proceeded to solicit from the pope a divorce. The negotiation was protracted till the king was out of all patience, and he proceeded, without the pope's consent, to divorce his queen. The pope censured his conduct, and a quarrel ensued, the result of which was, that *Henry*, with the consent of the parliament, abolished the papal authority in England, A. D. 1533. During this period though persecution had been kept up, the number of the reformed had greatly increased, and the nation was ripe for a secession from Rome. See *Burnet's History of the Reformation*, book i. ii. *Gerdes' Historia Evang. renovati*, tom. iv. p. 172, &c. *Schroeckh's Kirchengesch. seit d. Ref.* vol. ii. p. 505, &c. — Through England, some of the writings of the early reformers might reach Scotland, then sunk in ignorance, superstitiously devoted to its priests, and still more passionately attached to its nobles, the heads of the Scottish clans. *Patrick Hamilton*, a young nobleman, and abbot of *Ferns*, eager to know more of the reformed religion, went to Germany, and studied some time at *Marburg*. Returning with one of his three companions to Scotland, he began to preach the doctrines of the Reformers. The priests arraigned him for heresy, convicted him, and he was burnt alive, at *St. Andrew's*, A. D. 1527, in the 24th year of his age. From this time the Protestant doctrines

to Wittemberg, for the sake of enjoying the instructions of so great a master and guide. Some of these countries afterwards made themselves wholly free from the Romish yoke; in others, numerous societies arose that rejected the decrees of the pontiff, and which have existed down to the present times, though amidst various molestations; in some again the most cruel persecutions and inhuman laws, after a short time, extinguished the knowledge that had been obtained and widely circulated of the reformed religion. It may be unhesitatingly ascertained,—for the adherents of the Roman pontiffs themselves admit it,—that the entire fabric of the Romish church would have been quickly demolished had not its defenders opposed the multitude of assailants already in the breach, with fire and sword.

made a slow but constant progress, amidst ever wakeful persecution, in Scotland, till the year 1547, when the famous Scottish reformer, John Knox, arose. See Schroeckh, l. c. p. 435, &c. Robertson's *History of Scotland*; Gerdes' *Hist. Evang. renovati*, vol. iv. p. 210, &c. 229, 224, 291, &c. 304, &c. 321. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Before the Reformation, a considerable body of Hussites had removed from Bohemia to Poland; where their doctrines spread considerably, especially among the nobility, and roused the spirit of persecution. Luther's writings at once circulated among the dissenters from the church of Rome, corrected their views, and strengthened their opposition to popery. Even some of the bishops favoured evangelical doctrines; and as early as 1525, there were several evangelical preachers in Poland, and also in Polish Prussia. But so vigorous a persecution was kept up, that Protestant worship could be maintained only in private till near the middle of the century. See Regenvolsen's *Systema Hist. Chronol. Ecclesiar. Slavonicar.* lib. i. c. 13. p. 71, &c. Schroeckh, l. c. vol. ii. p. 666, &c. *Tr.*—See also Count Varierian Krasinski's *Historical Sketch of the*

Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland. Lond. 1838. *Ed.*]

⁵ [The seventeen Belgian provinces, composing the Netherlands, were a part of the hereditary dominions of Charles V., which he governed by his viceroys. Here, from the 14th century, various religious reformers had appeared, as Gerhard Groot, John Wesselius, Thomas à Kempis, John of Goch, and Cornelius Graphens. Here also arose the famous Erasmus. The writings of Luther were early and eagerly read by the Netherlands. The Roman Catholics were alarmed; and through their instigation, the government introduced the inquisition, in the year 1522, and kept up a hot persecution of the reformed, for a long course of years. It was computed, that in these provinces, during the reign of Charles V., not less than 50,000 persons lost their lives, in consequence of their defection from the Church of Rome. Yet the number of the reformed continually increased; and when at length, seven of these provinces revolted, and became an independent state, they adopted the Protestant religion. See Gerdes' *Hist. Evang. renovati*, tom. iii. p. 1, &c. Schroeckh, l. c. vol. ii. p. 348, &c. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, FROM THE PRESENTATION OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION [1530], TILL THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR OF SMALCALD [1546].

§ 1. The Augsburg Confession presented to the emperor.—§ 2. Its character.—§ 3. Confutation of it.—§ 4. Deliberations for settling the religious controversies.—§ 5. Result of the diet of Augsburg.—§ 6. The league of Smalcald.—§ 7. The peace of Nuremberg.—§ 8, 9. The council.—§ 10. Commotion of the Anabaptists.—§ 11. Revolt of Great Britain from the pontiff.—§ 12. Character of this Reformation.—§ 13. Renewed attempts at compromise. The conference at Worms. The diet of Ratisbon.—§ 14. Preparations for war.

§ 1. *Charles V.* made his entry into Augsburg on the 15th of June¹, and on the 20th of the same month the diet was opened. As the nobles had agreed that religious affairs should be despatched before any deliberation upon a Turkish war, the protestant members present received permission from the emperor to exhibit a summary view of the religion which they professed in the session of the princes, on the 25th of June. Accordingly, in the palace of the bishop of Augsburg that confession of faith which, from the city where it was presented and read, is called the Augsburg Confession, was read in German, by *Christian Bayer*, the chancellor of Saxony. There was not one of the princes who did not listen to it with eager attention: and some of them, who before had little acquaintance with the religious views of *Luther*, expressed approbation of the purity and innocence of its doctrines. *John*, elector of Saxony, and four princes of the empire, *George*, marquis of Brandenburg, *Ernest*, duke of Lüneburgh, *Philip*, landgrave of Hesse, and *Wolfgang*, prince of Anhalt, with the two imperial cities, Nuremberg and Reutlingen, subscribed their names to the copies², delivered after the reading to the emperor, in testimony of the accordance of the doctrines there expressed with their own views.³

¹ [1530. *Tr.*]

² [The one Latin, the other German. *Tr.*]

³ A history of this *diet*, in a large folio volume, by George Celestine [a Lutheran], was published at Frankfort

§ 2. Since the Augsburg Confession has been adopted as a public standard of faith, by the whole body of⁴ protestants, no one of them should be ignorant of its character and contents. The style is *Philip Melancthon's*, which is as much as to say, that it was drawn up in polished, perspicuous language, well adapted to the subject. The argument and matter, it is certain, were supplied principally by *Luther*, who was at Coburg, a town not far from Augsburg, at the time of the diet. He likewise examined and approved the form which it owes to *Melancthon's* genius. It is comprised in twenty-eight articles, of which twenty-one state in suitable terms the sentiments upon religious questions of those who had seceded from the Roman church, and seven recount the errors, or *abuses*, as they are called, on account of which the parties had withdrawn from the Romish body.⁵

on the Oder in 1577. Histories of the *Augsburg Confession* were composed by David Chytraeus, and by others; and especially, in the 18th century, by Ern. Salomon Cyprian, and by August. Salig, in the German language. Salig's work is prolix, and is more properly a history of the *Reformation* than a history of the *Augsburg Confession*. Cyprian's history is more concise and dense, and is corroborated with well selected documents. It therefore deserves to pass to a third edition. [G. G. Webber's *Critical History of the Augsburg Confession*, Frankf. on Mayn, 1783, &c. 2 vols. 8vo.—The original subscribers to the confession are mentioned in the text. Before the diet rose, the cities, Kempten, Heilbronn, Windsheim, and Weissenburg, also subscribed; and afterwards many more. It was immediately printed, and soon spread all over Europe, and was translated into various foreign languages. It thus became of great service to the Protestant cause; for it was a very able document, and was drawn up in a most judicious manner. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. i. p. 445, &c. *Tr.*]

¹ [Lutheran. *Tr.*]

⁵ [The Articles in this Confession, or as it might be called *Apology*, are of very unequal length. Some are in the form of answers to slanders reported of the Lutherans; others are short essays; most of them include proofs of argumentation; and several of them are followed by renunciations of the opposite tenets of heretics ancient and modern. As few American readers have access

to this celebrated creed, the following summary of its contents is here subjoined:—

Art. 1st treats of God and the Trinity, in accordance with the Nicene Creed.

Art. 2nd affirms, that all men, since the fall, are born with sin; that is, destitute of faith and the fear of God, and with corrupt propensities; for which hereditary sin they are exposed to eternal death, until they are regenerated by baptism and the Holy Spirit. It rejects the Pelagian doctrine, and denies man's ability to obtain justification by his own works.

Art. 3rd treats of the person and mediation of Christ; in accordance with the Apostles' Creed.

Art. 4th asserts justification to be solely on the ground of Christ's righteousness imputed to the believer, and not on the ground of his personal righteousness; agreeably to Rom. iii. iv.

Art. 5th asserts, that the word, preaching, and the sacraments, are the medium through which God imparts the Holy Spirit to whom he will; in consequence of which, they believe unto righteousness. It rejects the doctrine of the Anabaptists, that men can obtain the Holy Spirit by their own efforts, and without the means above stated.

Art. 6th asserts, that true faith always produces good works; which every man is bound to perform, yet must not rely upon for salvation.

Art. 7th affirms the existence of a holy Catholic Church, consisting of all

§ 3. The friends of the pontiff present at the diet drew up a *confutation of the Protestant Confession*; of which *John Faber*,

the faithful; and which is known not by a uniformity in ceremonies, but by the efficacious preaching of the word, and the administration of the sacraments in their purity.

Art. 8th asserts, that the Christian Church, though composed of saints, yet has hypocrites in it; and that the efficacy of the sacraments is not destroyed by hypocrisy in the administrators.

Art. 9th asserts, that baptism is necessary, and is a means of grace; and that infants are to be baptized.

Art. 10th asserts that the real body and blood of Christ are truly present in the eucharist, under the elements of the bread and wine, and are distributed and received.

Art. 11th retains private confession of sins to the pastors, and absolution by them; but denies the necessity of a particular enumeration of all sins.

Art. 12th maintains, that those who sin after baptism, if they repent, should always be restored by the church; that repentance consists in sorrow and regret for sin and reliance on Christ for pardon, and is productive of good works. It denies sinless perfection in this life, the Novation error of refusing absolution to the penitent, and all dependence on our own satisfaction for sin.

Art. 13th asserts, that the sacraments are not merely significant signs, but are tokens and evidence of God's gracious disposition towards us, calculated to awaken and strengthen our faith, and requiring faith to a worthy receiving of them.

Art. 14th asserts, that no one should preach publicly, and administer the sacraments unless duly called.

Art. 15th. Rites of human institution, so far as they are not sinful, and tend to peace and good order in the church, (as certain feasts, fasts, &c.) are to be observed. But all human institutions, designed to appease God, are contrary to the Gospel.

Art. 16th. Civil government is ordained of God; and Christians may lawfully hold offices, civil and military, and may pursue the various occupations of citizens; contrary to the views of the Anabaptists, and such as deem all worldly business inconsistent with a truly religious life.

Art. 17th asserts, that, at the last day, Christ will come, will raise the dead, and will adjudge the believing and elect to eternal life, and wicked men and devils to hell and eternal torment. It rejects the Anabaptist notion of a final restoration of devils and the damned; and also the Jewish notion of a temporal reign of Christ on the earth, prior to the resurrection.

Art. 18th asserts, that men have some free-will to live reputably, to choose among objects which their natural reason can comprehend; but that without the gracious aids of the Holy Spirit they cannot please God, nor truly fear him, exercise faith, or overcome their sinful propensities. 1 Cor. ii.

Art. 19th asserts, that God is not the cause and author of sin; but that the perverse wills of ungodly men and devils are the sole cause of it.

Art. 20th maintains, that the Reformers do not discourage good works though they inculcate the doctrine of justification by faith alone; but only discourage useless works, as the rosary, worshipping saints, pilgrimages, monastic vows, stated fasts, &c.; and it evinces, at considerable length from Scripture and the fathers, that a man cannot be justified by works.

Art. 21st admits, that the saints are to be respected and to be imitated as patterns of piety; but denies that they are to be worshipped, prayed to, or regarded as mediators.

Such, for substance, is the doctrine (say they) taught in our churches; and being the doctrine of the Bible, we cannot but hold to it. All should embrace it.

The *abuses* (they say) which have crept into the church, and which we could not conscientiously endure, are chiefly the following:—

Art. 22nd. Denying the *sacramental cup* to the laity; contrary to Scripture and early Christian practice.

Art. 23rd. Imposing *celibacy on the clergy*; contrary to reason, and Scripture, and the practice of the purer ages, and with very injurious consequences.

Art. 24th. The Protestants are falsely taxed with abolishing the *mass*. They only purified it; and discarded the idea of its being a work of merit, an offering

afterwards bishop of Vienna, with the aid of *John Eck* and *John Cochläus*, is said to have been the composer. This con-

for the sins of the living and the dead, which militates with the Scriptural doctrine that Christ's sacrifice is the only sin-offering.

Art. 25th. The Protestants had not abolished *private confession*; for they made it a necessary preparation for the eucharist. Yet they did not consider it a sacrament, nor require a particular enumeration of sins.

Art. 26th censures the multitude of *fasts and other ceremonies* of human invention, and the undue stress laid upon them as meritorious acts; thus obscuring the doctrine of salvation by faith, holding these human prescriptions more sacred than the commands of God, and burdening the consciences of men with them.

Art. 27th represents the whole system of *monkery* as a great abuse, and exceedingly injurious to piety.

Art. 28th discriminates between *civil and ecclesiastical power*, and allows neither to infringe upon the other. The spiritual or episcopal power is limited to preaching, administering the sacraments, and loosing and binding sins. If bishops teach contrary to the Scriptures, they are, and must be treated as false prophets. If allowed to try causes relating to marriage and tithes, it is only as civil officers. They have no legislative power over the church; and they can bind the conscience only by showing that the Gospel enjoins what they inculcate. As to Sundays and other holy days, and rites and forms of worship, bishops may and should appoint such as are convenient and suitable; and the people should observe them,—not as divine ordinances,—but as conducive to good order and edification.

Though the Lutherans expressed their doctrine of consubstantiation in the most inoffensive terms that would be explicit, yet the Reformed or Zwinglians could not subscribe to the Augsburg Confession. Hence the imperial cities of Strasburg, Constance, Lindau, and Memmingen, offered a separate confession, called the *Confession of the four cities*, *Confessio Tetrapolitana*. It agreed, substantially, with the Augsburg Confession, except in regard to the corporeal presence. They held to a real, yet a spiritual or sacramental presence; a presence which the devout soul could feel and enjoy, but

which implied no physical presence of Christ's body. Yet they expressed themselves in terms which need not have given offence to the Lutherans. They say: "All that the evangelists, Paul, and the holy fathers, have written respecting the venerable sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, our preachers teach, recommend, and inculcate, with the greatest fidelity. Hence, with singular earnestness, they constantly proclaim, that goodness of Christ towards his followers, whereby, no less now, than at his last supper, to all his sincere disciples, as oft as they repeat this supper, he condescends to give, by the sacraments, his real body and his real blood, to be truly eaten and drunken, as the food and drink of their souls, by which they are nourished to eternal life; so that he lives and abides in them, and they in him." This confession they presented to the emperor, in Latin and German; but he would not allow it to be read in public. Yet when the popish priests had made out a confutation of it, he called them before him, to hear that confutation read; and then, without allowing discussion, or permitting them to have a copy of the confutation, demanded of them submission to the church of Rome. They refused. This confession of the four cities, which was drawn up by Martin Bucer, and had been adopted by the senate and people of Augsburg, was the confession of that city for a number of years. But afterwards, the four cities, feeling the necessity of a union with the Lutherans, lest their popish enemies should swallow them up, brought themselves to believe, that the Lutherans and they differed more in words than in reality; and therefore they subscribed to the Augsburg Confession, and became a part of the Lutheran church. See *Hospinian's Historia Sacramentaria*, pt. ii. p. 162, &c. — At the same diet, Zwingli presented his private confession; which is a long and elaborate performance. He says: "Grace is conferred along with the sacraments; but not by them, as the channels; or, in other words, that the Holy Spirit imparts grace to the devout communicants, in the ordinance; but does not annex the grace to the sacrament, so that it goes along with it, as water through a channel, or by a physical

futation being likewise read before the diet on the 3d of August, the emperor required the protestants to acquiesce in it, and to abandon the whole cause and controversy. But they declared themselves not satisfied with this answer of the papal divines, and wished to have a copy of it, that they might point out its fallacies. The emperor, more obedient to the exhortations of the pontiff's legate and his companions, than to the demands of right and of equity, refused their request, and would not allow the controversy to be protracted by any new writings about it. Nevertheless, the protestants caused an answer to be drawn up by *Philip Melancthon* to so much of the pontifical confutation as the theologians had been able to gather from hearing it read; and on the 22nd of September, they presented it to the emperor, who refused to receive it. This answer, (though afterwards corrected and enlarged by *Melancthon*, upon obtaining a copy of the pontifical confutation), is that *Apology for the Augsburg Confession*, which was afterwards published in the year 1531, and which constitutes a part of the symbolical books of the Lutheran church.⁶

§ 4. Three modes of getting rid of these very troublesome contentions remained. One was, to allow those who would not obey the mandates of the pontiff, to enjoy their own sentiments on religion, and to worship God as they saw fit, without allowing the public tranquillity to be thereby destroyed. Another was, to compel them, by force of arms, to give over their dissent from the Roman church, and make them return to the repudiated friendship of the Roman prelate. A third was, to attempt an

process." And respecting the Lord's Supper, he says: "I believe, that in the holy eucharist, or supper of thanksgiving, the real body of Christ is present, to the eye of faith (fidei contemplatione): that is, those who thank the Lord for the benefits conferred on us in Christ his Son, acknowledge that he assumed a real body, truly suffered in it, and washed away our sins in his own blood; and thus the whole that Christ has done is, as it were, present to the eye of their faith. But that the body of Christ, in substance and reality, or that his natural body, is present in the supper, and is received into our mouth, and masticated by our teeth,—as the papists, and some who look back upon the flesh-pots of Egypt, represent,—that I not only deny, but unhesitatingly pronounce an error,

and contrary to the word of God." He subjoins elaborate proofs, from the Scripture, reason, and the fathers, in support of these views. To this confession, Eekins, a Catholic divine, replied; and Zwingle, on the 27th of August, defended himself in a letter addressed to the emperor and to the Protestant princes. See *Hospinian*, l. c. p. 167, &c. *Tr.*]

⁶ [*Melancthon* composed the *Apology* in Latin; but *Justus Jonas* afterwards translated it into German, in which language it was published in the first collection of all the symbolical books of the Lutheran church, Dresden, 1580, fol. 21—134. The *Augsburg Confession* in German immediately precedes it, fol. 3—20. See *J. G. Walch's Introductio in Libros Symbolicos*, lib. i. cap. 4, p. 409, &c. *Tr.*]

honourable and equitable compromise by persuading each party to relinquish some portion of the claims which it considered as its due. The first method was accordant with reason and justice, and would meet the wishes of the wise and good; but it was totally repugnant to the arrogant claims of the pontiff, and to the ignorance of the age, which abhorred all liberty of opinion concerning religion. The second accorded with the customs and views of the age, and with the violent counsels of the Romish court; but it was abhorrent to the prudence, the moderation, and the equity, both of the emperor and of all good men. The third, therefore, was adopted, and met the approbation of all who were solicitous for the good of the empire; nor did the sovereign pontiff himself seem to be wholly averse from it. Hence various consultations were held between select individuals of both parties; nor was any thing omitted that seemed calculated to allay mutual hatred, and bring discordant minds to harmonize. But the contending parties were so far apart in their demands, that nothing could be effected. In these discussions, the character of *Philip Melancthon*, whom as the principal doctor among the protestants, the adherents to the pontiff took especial pains to conciliate, very clearly appeared. He seemed easy of access, and ready to make concessions when his adversaries dealt in compliments and promises; but when they would terrify him by threats and denunciations, he showed himself quite another person, bold, courageous, and regardless of life with its outward advantages. For, in this great man, a mild and tender spirit was united with the strictest fidelity, and an invincible attachment to that which he knew to be the truth.

§ 5. This middle course having been tried in vain sufficiently long⁷, the better mode of ending the disputes which religion had occasioned, seemed to be the one that reason and the principles of Christianity equally condemn, but which the perverseness of the times recommended. Accordingly, on the 19th of November, a severe decree was passed by command and authority of the emperor, in the absence of those leaders of the protestants, the landgrave of Hesse and the elector of Saxony; in which there was nothing that could solace the protestants except an equivocal and deceptive promise of a council to be called within

⁷ [The conferences continued, with repeated changes of the delegates, from the second day of August, till the end of the month. *Tr.*]

six months by order of the pontiff. For the dignity and excellence of the old religion were extolled extravagantly; new force was added to the edict of Worms, against *Luther* and his followers; the religious reformations entered upon in various places, were severely censured; and the princes and the cities that had become alienated from the pontiff, were admonished to return to their duty within some months, unless they wished to incur the vengeance of the emperor, in his capacity of patron and protector of the church.⁸

§ 6. On learning this sad issue of the diet, the elector of Saxony and his associates, in the year 1530, and the year following, assembled at Smalcald, and afterwards at Frankfort; and formed a league among themselves, for their mutual protection against the evils which the edict of Augsburg portended, but excluding all offensive operations against any one.⁹ They also took measures to bring the kings of France, England, and Denmark, as well as other princes and states, into the confederacy.¹ When

⁸ See, in addition to the authors before mentioned, Jo. Joach. Müller's *Historie der Protestation und Appellation der Evangelischen Stände*, book iii. ch. 48, p. 997.

⁹ [The first meeting of the Protestants, subsequently to the diet, was held at Smalcald, on the 22nd of December, 1530. But it was found, that many of the representatives of cities had received no instruction, in regard to a confederacy; and that many other cities were to be invited to join them. As the emperor had entered into a coalition with the Catholic states against them, they assembled again, in the following year, on the 29th of March, to form a closer union for their mutual defence. The landgrave of Hesse took great pains to have the Swiss included in the confederacy. But the elector of Saxony, who was guided by Luther, absolutely refused to admit them. And in general, Luther had great scruples in regard to the whole transaction; and the jurists had much debate with him respecting the lawfulness of such a confederacy; for he, according to his monkish principles, held all human matters for preserving peace in religious means, to be unallowable; and supposed, that men should repose themselves wholly on the providence of God, without venturing upon any measures suggested by policy in such cases. But the jurists informed

him, that the constitution of the empire allowed the states to combine together, and probably also to declare war against the emperor: for, by virtue of the compact between the emperor and the states, the emperor engaged not to infringe upon the laws of the empire, and the rights and liberties of the Germanic church. This compact the emperor had violated; and therefore the states had a right to combine together against him. Luther replied, that he had not been aware of this; and that if it was so, he had no objections to make; for the Gospel was not opposed to civil government. Yet he could not approve of an *offensive* war. *Schl.*]

¹ [In their meeting at Smalcald, A. D. 1531, after forming a league for mutual defence, for six years, they drew up an *apology* for their conduct; in which they gave a concise history of the Reformation, the necessity there was for it, and the sufferings and dangers to which they were exposed on account of it. Copies of this apology they sent both to Francis I. the king of France, and to Henry VIII. of England. Both those kings returned very civil answers; but nothing was said, on either side, about an alliance for mutual defence. See Seckendorf's *Historia Lutheranismi*, lib. iii. § 1. Gerdes, *Historia Evang. Reformati*, tom. iv. p. 222, &c. In 1535, the Protestants had another meeting at Smal-

things began to wear this warlike aspect, the electors of Mentz and the Palatinate interposed as mediators between the parties. And *Charles V.* had various reasons of his own that made him very anxious for peace. For the protestants would not lend him the aid in a Turkish war, which he exceedingly needed; and they also contended that his brother *Ferdinand*, who had been created king of the Romans by the major part of the princes in the diet of Cologne, A. D. 1531, was elected contrary to the laws of the empire.

§ 7. After various consultations, therefore, in the year 1532, a peace was concluded at Nuremberg, between the emperor and the protestants, on the following terms: that the latter should contribute money for the Turkish war, and should acknowledge *Ferdinand* as king of the Romans: and that *Charles* should annul the edicts of Worms and Augsburg, and should allow the followers of *Luther* full liberty to regulate their religious matters as they pleased, until either a council, (which was to be held within six months,) or a diet of the empire, should determine what religious principles were to be adopted and obeyed. Scarcely was the apprehension of war removed by this convention, when *John*, the elector of Saxony, died, and was succeeded by his son, *John Frederic*, an unfortunate prince, though possessed of invincible fortitude and of extraordinary magnanimity.

cald, in which they extended their league of 1531, for ten years longer. About this time, Dr. Barnes, an English bishop, arrived in Saxony, as envoy from the king of England; and he was soon followed by Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford, and Nicholas Heath, an English archdeacon. They attended the convention at Smalcald, and a negotiation was held for forming a coalition of some sort, between the German confederates and the king of England. See Seckendorf, l. c. lib. iii. § 39. In 1538, the German confederates sent an embassy to the king of France, (which however effected very little,) and also three ambassadors to the king of England. They proposed to king Henry to adopt the Augsburg confession, and consent to be the head and patron of the Protestant confederacy; they also stated what aid each should afford to the other in case of attack from the enemy. But Henry was not yet prepared to go so far in the Reformation; nor did he wish to embroil himself with the emperor. See

Seckendorf, l. c. lib. iii. § 66, p. 197, &c. Gerdes, l. c. p. 287, &c. Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, book iii. vol. i. p. 329, &c. ed. Lond. 1825. *Tr.*—Dr. Robert Barnes never was a bishop. He had been prior of the Austin friars, at Cambridge, but having embraced scriptural opinions, and attacked cardinal Wolsey, he was apprehended. Escaping, he fled for his life to the continent. Bishop Fox found him in Germany, and gladly using the services of an Englishman well used to that country, recommended him to Cromwell, the vicar general, by whom he was employed in treating with the members of the Smalcaldic league. After returning to his own country, he was again sent into Germany, on the business of Henry the Eighth's unfortunate marriage with Anne of Cleves. This, of course, rendered him any thing rather than a favourite at court; and Romish influence having revived, he was burnt, under a parliamentary attainder, in 1540. *Ed.*]

§ 8. The truce of Nuremberg with the emperor gave so much spirit and resolution to the concealed and feebler enemies of the pontiff, that they would no longer obey his mandates. Evidence of that fact is afforded by various regions and towns of Germany, which year after year, from this time onward, professed without fear the religion that *Luther* had restored. Moreover, as the only hope of removing the disagreement about the religion now depended on the promised council, the emperor did not cease to urge the sovereign pontiff, *Clement VII.*, to hasten the meeting of such a body. He was, however, so alarmed by the proceedings of former councils, that his head ran only upon delays, and he looked eagerly to arms rather than consultations for setting his affairs straight.² He promised, indeed, by his legate, in 1533, that a council should be called in Italy; either at Mantua, Piacenza, or Bologna. But the protestants declared themselves not satisfied with an *Italian* council, and maintained that a controversy which arose among Germans, ought to be decided within the limits of Germany. And the pontiff himself, artfully, so managed as to get rid of his own promise; and soon after died in the year 1534.³

§ 9. His successor, *Paul III.*, seemed more tractable when the emperor addressed him on the subject of a council. For he first made a promise in 1535, that he would assemble a council at Mantua; and afterwards, A. D. 1536, he actually proclaimed one by letters despatched through all provinces of the Roman world. The protestants, on the other hand, foreseeing that in such a council every thing would go according to the opinion and the pleasure of the pontiff, declared in a convention held at Smal-

² [Besides the causes which, since the councils of Constance and Bâle, had divested the popes of all relish for such clerical parliaments, pope Clement had his own peculiar reasons. It was his misfortune to be the illegitimate son of Julian de Medicis; and he was afraid his enemies in the council might avail themselves of this circumstance, to pronounce him therefore unworthy of the papal dignity. For it was a disputed point, which had never been decided, whether a bastard could ever be a legitimate pope. That a *profligate* might be, had been decided by usage long since, especially by the example of Alexander VI. See Paul Sarpi, tom. i. p.

54, &c. and Jac. Zeigler's *Historia Clementis VII.* in Schelhorn's *Amanitat. Hist. Eccles. et Litterar.* vol. i. p. 210, &c. *Schl.*]

³ Every thing pertaining to this council, is fully and intelligently stated pre-eminently by Paul Sarpi, *Historia Concilii Tridentini*, lib. i.—[The Protestants met at Smalcald, to consider the proposed plan of an Italian council; and remonstrated against it, as being to be held in Italy. They also insisted, that the pope, as one of the parties whose cause was to be tried, should have no authority over the council; and that the decision should be founded solely on the Holy Scriptures. *Tr.*]

cald, in 1537, their entire dissatisfaction with such a servile council: nevertheless, they procured a new summary of their religious faith to be drawn up by *Luther*, which they might present to the assembled bishops, if occasion should call for it. This writing of *Luther* is called the *Articles of Smalcald*; and it has been admitted among the books, from which the religious sentiments of those called Lutherans are to be learned.⁴

§ 10. During these consultations, two very remarkable events occurred; one of them highly injurious to the general interests of religion, and especially to the cause of the reformation; the other, no less so, to the papal dominion. The former was a new sedition of the furious and fanatical tribe of the *Anabaptists*: the

⁴ [The Articles of Smalcald were drawn up in German, by Luther, in his own acrimonious style. The Augsburg Confession was intended to soften prejudice against the Lutherans, and to conciliate the good-will of the Roman Catholics. Of course the gentle Melancthon was employed to write it. The Articles of Smalcald, on the contrary, were a preparation for a campaign, against an enemy with whom no compromise was deemed possible, and in which victory or death was the only alternative. Of course all delicacy towards the Catholics was dispensed with, and Luther's fiery style was chosen, and was allowed full scope. In words, the Articles flatly contradict the Confession, in some instances; though in sense, they are the same. Thus the Confession (Article xxiv.) says: "We are unjustly charged with having abolished the *mass*. For it is manifest that, without boasting, we may say, the *mass* is observed by us with greater devotion and earnestness, than by our opposers." But in the Articles of Smalcald (pt. ii. art. ii.) it is said: "That the popish *mass* is the greatest and most horrid abomination, as militating directly and violently against these Articles; and yet it has become the chief and most splendid of all the popish idolatries." In the Confession, they applied the name of the *mass* to the Lutheran form of the *eucharist*. But in these Articles, they confine that term to its proper import, the ordinary public service among the Catholics.—The Articles of Smalcald cover 28 folio pages; and are preceded by a preface, and followed by a treatise on the power and supremacy of the pope. The *first* part

contains four concise articles, respecting God, the Trinity, and the incarnation, passion, and ascension of Christ; in accordance with the Apostles' and the Athanasian Creeds. On these Articles the Protestants professed to agree altogether with the papists. The *second* part, also, contains four articles of fundamental importance; in which the Protestants and papists are declared to be totally and irreconcilably at variance. They relate to the nature and grounds of *justification*, the *mass* and *saint-worship*, ecclesiastical and monkish *establishments*, and the claims of the *pope*. The *third* part contains 15 articles, which the Protestants considered as relating to very important subjects, but on which the papists laid little stress. The subjects are *sin*, the *law*, *repentance*, the *gospel*, *baptism*, the *sacrament of the altar*, the *keys*, (or *spiritual power*,) *confession*, *excommunication*, *ordination*, *celibacy of the clergy*, *churches*, *good works* *monastic vows*, and *human satisfactions for sin*. When the Protestants subscribed these Articles, Melancthon annexed a reservation to his signature, purporting that he could admit of a *pope*, provided he would allow the Gospel to be preached in its purity, and would give up his pretensions to a *divine right* to rule, and would found his claims wholly on expediency, and human compact. In consequence of this dissent from Luther, Melancthon was requested to draw up an article on the power and supremacy of the pope. He did so; and the Protestants were well pleased with it, and subscribed to it. It is annexed to the Articles of Smalcald. See J. G. Walsh's *Introductio in Libros Symbol.* lib. i. cap. v. *Tr.*]

latter was a revolt of *Henry VIII.*, king of Great Britain⁵, from the Roman pontiff. In the year 1533, certain persons of the class of *Anabaptists*, who were more insane and distracted than the rest, came to Munster, a city of Westphalia, and gave out that they were divinely commissioned to set up a sort of holy empire on the ruins of all human institutions. The whole city being stirred up, and thrown into great commotion, they proceeded to erect the new commonwealth, conformably to their crude opinions and fancies, and placed *John Bockholt*, a tailor of Leyden, at the head of it. But the city being taken in the year 1535 by the bishop of Munster, who was aided by other German princes, this delirious king and his associates were executed without mercy, and the new republic was thus overthrown soon after its establishment. This seditious procedure of certain *Anabaptists* induced most of the princes of Europe to enact severe laws against the whole race; in consequence of which, in subsequent years, vast numbers of them, as well innocent as guilty, were miserably put to death.⁶

§ 11. *Henry VIII.*, king of Great Britain, the same that had before warmly opposed *Luther*, a prince falling behind none of his age, either in vices or talents, becoming enamoured of *Anne Boleyn*, an English virgin of high birth, in order to marry her, wished to be divorced from his queen, *Catharine* of Aragon, aunt to *Charles V.*, and therefore applied to the sovereign pontiff, *Clement VII.*, to sanction such a measure.⁷ He declared, how-

⁵ [This is incorrect. James I. was the first king of Great Britain. Henry was king of England. *Ed.*]

⁶ Herm. Hamelmann's *Historia Ecclesiast. Renati Evangelii, per Inferiorem Saxoniam et Westphaliam*, pt. ii. p. 1196, &c. in his collected works. M. E. von Printz, *Specimen Historiæ Anabaptist.* cap. x. xi. xii. p. 94. [Jo. Sleidan's *Commentarii de Statu Relig. et Reipublicæ sub Carolo V.*, lib. x. Gerdes, *Miscellanea Gronœngensis*, tom. ii. 377, &c. 569, &c. Robertson's *History of the Reign of Charles V.*, book v. p. 245—250, ed. N. York, 1829. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Dr. Mosheim errs in representing Henry's passion for Anne Boleyn, as the first and grand cause of the king's wish to be divorced from his queen. His father had scrupled the legitimacy of the marriage; a foreign court had made it an objection to intermarriage with his

children by this wife; and his subjects, very generally, entertained apprehensions respecting the succession to his crown, from the same cause. It was state policy which first led to the marriage; but it appears never to have given entire satisfaction to any one. Doubtless Henry was sincere in professing to have scruples of conscience on the subject. But there were also other causes. The queen's beauty had faded, and some diseases had rendered her person less agreeable. Political considerations, or apprehensions respecting his successor, had influence. And after these causes had operated some time, Anne Boleyn came to court, and the king was charmed with her. This, though the last, was, henceforth, probably, not the least reason for his final resolution to divorce his queen. See Hume's *History of England*, ch. xxx.

ever, that his conscience would not allow him to cohabit with his queen, *Catharine*, because she had been married to his deceased brother, *Arthur*: a marriage with a brother's widow being contrary to the law of God. *Clement*, through fear of offending *Charles V.*, contrived various evasions, and endeavoured to delude and disappoint *Henry*. In consequence, he became impatient, and at the suggestion of *Thomas Cranmer*, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, a secret friend of *Luther* and his improvement in religion, consulted nearly all the universities of Europe on the question; and as most of them pronounced marriage with a brother's widow to be unlawful, the king divorced *Catharine* without the pope's consent, and married *Anne Boleyn*. *Henry's* defection from the pontiff soon followed. For the king being declared, by the parliament and people of England, *supreme head of the British church*, in the year 1533, ejected the monks, disposed of all their property, and abolished altogether the authority of the Roman pontiff in England.⁵

§ 12. This downfall of the popish power in England, however, was of little advantage to the lovers of a pure religion. For the king, though he destroyed the empire of the pontiff, yet retained,

vol. iii. p. 288, &c. Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. book ii. at the beginning. *Tr.*—Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, had remonstrated against any application to the pope to legitimate this marriage, and Henry himself, when arrived at the age of fourteen, had made a formal protest against it, by his father's desire. When his father also was on his death-bed, he entreated him to forbear from the consummation of this marriage. Thus Henry fulfilled his childish engagement with *Catharine*, not only in defiance of the religious scruples generally entertained, but also of his own father's deliberate judgment. Eventually, his queen bore him three sons; and one of them, named after himself, lived six weeks, but, at last, all hope of male progeny from *Catharine* vanished. This appears to have been felt not only as a bitter disappointment, but also as a judicial visitation for the punishment of a connexion intrinsically sinful. Henry's conduct, therefore, however indefensible in many points, was not so much so in this as it is commonly represented. *Ed.*]

⁵ Besides Gilbert Burnet, and others

who have composed direct histories of the reformation in England, the *Acts* of this memorable event, as collected by David Wilkins, in his *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae*, tom. iii. p. 424, &c. should be consulted. See also Raynal's *Ancedotes Historiques, Politiques, Militaires*, tom. i. pt. ii. p. 90, &c. and the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Crit.* tom. ii. p. 388, article *Bolena*. [Henry was never acknowledged *head of the British church*. Scotland was not civilly subject to him, and neither he, nor any other layman, thought of more than the concurrence of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The act of 1533 prohibited appeals to Rome under penalty of a *præmunire*. This was a virtual abrogation of the papal authority over England, its essence lying in the established habit of appealing to it. The king's supremacy had been recognised in convocation, two years before, archbishop Warham having moved that he should be styled *supreme head, so far as it is allowed by the law of Christ*, and this motion having been carried after a considerable debate. *Ed.*]

for the most part, the old religion; and persecuted, and sometimes punished capitally, those who thought differently from himself on religious subjects. Besides, he understood the title that he had assumed, of *supreme head of the British church*, as investing him with the Roman pontiff's power, so that he had a right to make decrees respecting religion, and to prescribe to his people what they must believe and practise. During his life, therefore, religion in England was coincident with the king's character, that is, uncertain and changeable. Yet the archbishop of Canterbury, *Thomas Cranmer*, who had the king's confidence, and was a patron of the reformed religion, exerted himself as much as he prudently could, and as the instability of the king and other difficulties would allow, by his writings and his actions, to diminish continually, in some degree, the old superstition and ignorance, and to increase the number of *Luther's* friends.⁹

§ 13. After the pontiff's first proposed council was set aside, various negotiations for restoring peace and harmony were held between the emperor and the protestants, but without any determinate and solid benefit, because the pontiff, by his legates and others, generally disconcerted all their measures. In the year

⁹ Besides Burnet, see Dan. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. ch. i. p. 11, &c. [In the year 1536, king Henry, with the sanction of the convocation, prescribed what doctrines should be taught in the churches; the substance of which may be seen in Burnet, *Hist. Reform.* vol. i. p. 280, &c. ed. Lond. 1825, and in Neal, l. c. p. 69. &c. ed. Portsm. 1816. Mr. Neal remarks upon these instructions: "One sees here the dawn of the reformation: the Scriptures and the ancient creeds are made the standards of faith, without the tradition of the church or decrees of the pope; the doctrine of justification by faith is well stated; four of the seven sacraments are passed over, and purgatory is left doubtful. But transubstantiation, auricular confession, the worshipping of images and saints, are still retained." In the year 1539, the king and the opposers of the reformation procured a statute to be passed, in both houses of parliament, making it penal to speak or write, at all, against any one of the six following articles. "First, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there

remained no substance of bread and wine, but under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ were present. *Secondly*, that communion in both kinds was not necessary to salvation to all persons, by the law of God; but that both the flesh and blood of Christ were together in each of the kinds. *Thirdly*, that priests, after the order of priests (after admission to orders), might not marry, by the law of God. *Fourthly*, that vows of chastity ought to be observed, by the law of God. *Fifthly*, that the use of private masses ought to be continued; which, as it was agreeable to God's law, so man received great benefit by them. *Sixthly*, that auricular confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the church." This, called "the bloody statute," was enforced during the residue of Henry's reign, or till the year 1547. It brought many to the stake and to prison; and caused the reformation to go back, rather than advance, during these eight years. See Burnet, l. c. p. 334, &c. and Neal, l. c. p. 75, &c. *Tr.*]

1541 the emperor, much to the pope's displeasure, ordered select individuals of both parties to confer together respecting religion at Worms. Accordingly, *Philip Melancthon* and *John Eck* held a discussion during three days.¹ The discussion was then transferred, for certain reasons, to the diet of Ratisbon of the same year; in which the project of some unknown person, who had drawn up conditions for a peace, was particularly subjected to examination.² But the protracted deliberation had no other effect than to make the parties agree, that this very difficult subject must be reserved for a more careful examination in the future council, or if, perchance, it should be impossible to call one, then in the next diet of Germany.

§ 14. After this a very disturbed state of things ensued, which required the deliberations for settling religious controversies to be deferred. In the diet of Spire, in 1542, the pontiff, by his legate, renewed his promise of a council, and signified that it should be held at Trent if that place were agreeable. The king of the Romans, *Ferdinand*, and the popish princes, gave their assent; but the protestants rejected both the place and the council proposed by the pontiff; demanding a legitimate and free council, that is, one that should be exempt from the prescriptions and the authority of the pontiff. Nevertheless, the pope, with the emperor's consent, gave notice of the council; and at the diet of Worms, A. D. 1545, the emperor negotiated with the protestants to gain their approbation of the council at Trent. But these negotiations failing, and the emperor seeing no prospect that the protestants would ever subject themselves to the council, listened to the advice of *Paul III.*, who urged a resort to arms, and, in conjunction with that pontiff, secretly prepared for war. The leaders of the protestants, the landgrave of Hesse, and the elector of Saxony, took measures to guard against a surprise, and raised forces on their side.³ While this

¹ See Jo. Andr. Roeder's *Tract. de Colloquio Wormatiensi*, Norimb. 1744, 4to, [and Sleidan's *Comment. de Statu Relig. et Reipubl.* lib. xiii. sub finem. *Tr.*]

² See Jo. Erdmann Bieck's *Triple Interim* (written in German), ch. i. p. 1, &c. [This conference was held in April, 1541. The emperor selected the disputants: on the part of the Roman Catholics, Jo. Eckius, Julius Pflug, and Geo. Grop-

per; on the part of the protestants, Ph. Melancthon, Martin Bucer, and John Pistorius. The author of the written project (called the *first Interim*), here read and discussed, was supposed to be Geo. Gropper. See Sleidan, l. c. Robertson's *Charles V.* book vi. p. 294, &c. ed. 1829. *Tr.*]

³ [See Robertson's *Hist. of Charles V.* b. vii. p. 322, &c. *Tr.*]

storm was gathering, *Luther*, who was disposed to contend with prayers and patience, rather than with arms, met a peaceful death at Eisleben, his native town, on the 18th of February, 1546.⁴

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR OF SMALCALD, [A. D. 1546,] TO THE CONCLUSION OF A RELIGIOUS PEACE [A. D. 1555].

§ 1. Commencement of the war of Smalcald.—§ 2. The war: and the reverses of the Protestants.—§ 3. Form of the Interim.—§ 4. Commotions arising from it.—§ 5. The Council of Trent resumed.—§ 6. Maurice disconcerts the plans of the emperor.—§ 7. His war against the emperor. The transaction at Passau.—§ 8. Diet of Augsburg. Religious peace.—§ 9. The Reformation in England.—§ 10. Scotland.—§ 11. Ireland.—§ 12. The Netherlands.—§ 13. Spain and Italy.—§ 14. Estimate of the Reformation.

§ 1. THE destruction of those who should oppose the council of Trent had been agreed on between the emperor and the pontiff; and the opening of the council was to be the signal for taking up arms. That council, accordingly, had scarcely commenced its deliberations, at the beginning of the year 1546, than it became evident, from various indications, that a Cæsareo-papal war impended over the protestants. At the diet of Ratisbon, indeed, of this year, a new conference or dispute between the principal theologians of the two parties had been instituted: but its progress and issue clearly showed that the cause was to be decided not by arguments but by arms. The fathers at Trent passed their first decrees; which the protestants again firmly rejected at the diet of Ratisbon; and soon after the emperor proscribed the protestant leaders, and began to assemble an army against them.

⁴ [See Bower's *Life of Luther*, chap. i. *Tr.*—The principal events in Luther's life are detailed with sufficient fulness, and great spirit, in D'Aubignon's *History of the Reformation.* Ed.]

§ 2. The Saxon and Hessian princes led their forces into Bavaria to meet the emperor: and they cannonaded his camp at Ingolstadt. A battle was expected to ensue. But as *Maurice* duke of Saxony, who coveted the riches and the high rank of his uncle, *John Frederic*, and was seduced by the promises of the emperor, now invaded the Saxon territories; as the confederates of Smalcald were not harmonious in their views; and as the money promised them from France did not arrive, the protestant army was broken up, and the elector of Saxony returned home. The emperor, pursuing by forced marches, fell upon him unawares, from the treachery, as there is great reason to believe, of some among his friends, near Mühlberg, on the Elbe, the 24th of April, 1547, and, after an unsuccessful battle, took him prisoner. The other protestant prince, *Philip* of Hesse, by advice of his son-in-law, *Maurice*, and of the elector of Brandenburg, threw himself upon *Charles's* mercy; expecting, according to that monarch's promise, to be forgiven and set at liberty. But he was, nevertheless, kept a prisoner: and it is reported that the emperor violated his promise in this instance; and deluded the Hessian prince by the ambiguity of some German words. But this part of the history has not yet been so investigated as to make the imprisonment of the landgrave, and the grounds of it, altogether clear.¹

§ 3. After this victory, the cause of the protestants appeared irrecoverably ruined, and that of the Roman pontiff triumphant. In the diet held soon after at Augsburg, (and which was surrounded by troops,) the emperor demanded of the protestants to submit the decision of the religious controversy to the council of Trent. The greater part consented, and, in particular, *Maurice* of Saxony, who had received from *Charles* the electoral dignity, of which, together with a part of his territories, *John Frederic* had been deprived, and who was also extremely solicitous for the liberation of his father-in-law, the landgrave of Hesse. But the emperor lost the benefit of this assent to the council of Trent. For, upon a rumour that the plague had broken out at Trent, a great part of the fathers retired to

¹ Besides the accounts of the common historians, Benj. Grosch has well described all these transactions, in his *Vertheidigung der Evangelischen Kirche gegen Gottfr. Arnold*, p. 29, &c. See

Scidan's *Comment. de Statu Relig. et Reipubl.* lib. xviii. and the very full history of this war, in Robertson's *Hist. of Charles V.* book viii. p. 338, &c. and book ix. p. 360, &c. *Tr.*]

Bologna; and thus the council was melted away.² Nor could the emperor prevail with the pope to re-assemble the council without delay. As the prospect of a council was now more distant, the emperor deemed it necessary, in the *interim*, to adopt some project which might preserve the peace in regard to religion until the council should assemble. Hence he caused a document to be drawn up by *Julius Pflug*, bishop of Naumburg, *Michael Sidonius*, a papist, and *John Agricola* of Eisleben; which should serve as a rule of faith and worship to the professors of both the old religion and the new until the meeting of the council: and this paper, because it had not the force of a *permanent* law, was commonly called the *Interim*.³

§ 4. This code of instructions, called the *Interim*, though very favourable to the papal cause, was equally displeasing to the pontiff and to the professors of the true or Lutheran religion. When, however, the emperor communicated it to the diet of Augsburg, the elector of Mentz, without taking the sense of the members, rose, and, as if in the name of the diet, assented to it. Most of the princes therefore, though reluctantly, acquiesced. Those who opposed it, were, for the most part, compelled by the power and arms of the emperor to submit; and the calamities and oppressions which followed in Germany, are almost indescrib-

² [The report of a pestilence was a mere pretence. The pope, Paul III., was equally jealous of the council, which had not been disposed in all respects to govern itself by his prescription, and of the growing power of the emperor, which he did not wish to see further increased by the council. He indeed hated the protestants; but he did not wish to see the emperor, under colour of enforcing the decrees of the council, acquire a more absolute authority over Germany. He had already withdrawn his troops from the imperial army; and he now wished to see the council dispersed. The Spanish members opposed him; but he found means to prevail. *Schl.*]

³ See Jo. Erdm. Bieck's *Dreifaches Interim*, Leip. 1721, 8vo. Jac. Osiander's *Historia Eccles.* cent. xvi. lib. ii. c. 68, p. 425, and others. Respecting the authors and the editions of the *Interim*, see a dissertation in the *Danische Bibliothek*, vol. v. p. 1, &c. and vol. vi. p. 185, &c. [The *Interim* may be seen, at large, in Goldast's *Constitutiones Imperiales*, tom. i. p. 518, &c. also in Le Fevre's con-

tinuation of Fleury's *Ecclesiast. History*, lib. cxlv. § 21—23, Latin, by R. P. Alexander, vol. xxxix. p. 540—586. See also Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformat.* vol. i. p. 674, &c. Robertson's *Hist. of Charles V.* book ix. p. 377, &c. The *Interim* consisted of 26 articles, drawn up with great care, and in a very conciliatory spirit. On most doctrinal points, such as man's primitive rectitude, apostacy, original sin, redemption by Christ, necessity of divine grace, human merit, &c. it adopted, very much, scriptural views and language; and might have been assented to by the protestants, without sacrificing, perhaps, any fundamental truths. But it retained the mass, all the seven sacraments, the hierarchy, the traditions, the ceremonies, in short, the whole exterior of the catholic establishment and worship, with the sole exceptions of tolerating the marriage of the clergy, and communion in both kinds. Yet it limited the authority of the pontiff, and so examined the grounds and uses of the Romish rites, as to make them the least offensive possible. *Tr.*]

able. *Maurice*, elector of Saxony, who occupied middle ground between those who approved and those who rejected the *Interim*, held, in the year 1548, several consultations at Leipsic and other places with his theologians and principal men, of whom *Philip Melancthon* was most distinguished, that he might determine what course to pursue. The result of the protracted deliberation was, that *Melancthon*, (whom the other theologians followed) partly from fear of the emperor, and partly from condescension to his sovereign, decided that the whole instrument called the *Interim* could by no means be admitted; but that there was no impediment to receiving and approving it so far as it concerned things not essential in religion, or things *indifferent*.⁴ This decision gave rise to the *Adiaphoristic* controversy among the Lutherans; which will be described in the history of the *Lutheran church*. In this state of things, the cause of the reformed religion of *Luther* was in imminent peril: and had the pontiff and the emperor known how to take advantage of their good fortune, they might, doubtless, have either totally crushed the Lutheran church, or depressed it greatly and brought it into serious embarrassment.

§ 5. In the midst of these contests, *Julius III.*, who succeeded *Paul III.* in the government of the Romish church, A. D. 1550, being overcome by the entreaties of the emperor, consented to revive the council of Trent. The emperor, therefore, at the diet of Augsburg, which he again surrounded with his troops, conferred with the princes on the prosecution of the council. The major part agreed that the council ought to go on: and *Maurice*, elector of Saxony, consented, yet only on certain conditions.⁵ At the close of the diet, therefore, A. D. 1551, the emperor directed all to prepare themselves for the council, and promised to use his endeavours that every thing should there be done in a religious and Christian manner, and without passion. Hence confessions of faith, to be exhibited to the council, were drawn up; one in Saxony, by *Melancthon*, and another among the

⁴ *Adiaphora*.

⁵ [These conditions were, that the council should rescind all its past acts, and begin anew; that the divines of the Augsburg confession should not only be heard, but have the right of voting; that the pontiff should place himself under the jurisdiction of the council, and should not have the presidency of

it; and that he should release the bishops from their oath of allegiance to him, so that they might give their opinions freely. The assent, under these conditions, was read before the diet, and request made, that it might be entered entire, upon the journals; but this request was refused. See *Sleidan's Comment.* &c. lib. xxii. fol. 576, ed. 1556. *Tr.*]

Württembergers, by *John Brentius*. Besides the ambassadors of the duke, some of the theologians of Würtemberg also repaired to Trent. But the Saxons, at the head of whom was *Melancthon*, though they set out, advanced no further than Nuremberg: for their master⁶ only made a show of obedience to the will of the emperor; while he thought really of subjecting *Charles* to his own pleasure.

§ 6. What were the plans and purposes of *Charles V.* in these German commotions, will be plain enough, if we consider the circumstances of the times, and compare the different parts of his conduct. Obviously relying more than prudence would dictate upon his own powers and good fortune, he wished to make these inquietudes, arising out of religion, subservient to the enlargement and establishment of his power in Germany, and the diminution of the resources and the rights of the princes. Moreover, as he had in like manner long wished to see the authority and dominion of the Roman pontiff's diminished, and confined within some definite limits, so that they might no longer interrupt the progress of his designs, he hoped, by means of the council, to see this wish realized; since, by means of the councils formerly held at Constance and Bâle, a check was laid upon the exorbitant lust of power in the Roman prelates. For he had no doubts, that by means of his ambassadors and bishops, those of Spain and Germany, and others, he should be able so to control the deliberations of the council, that every one of its decrees and acts would be conformable to his plans and wishes.⁷ But all these expectations and designs were frustrated by that very *Maurice*, by whose assistance principally *Charles* had been able to break down the power of the protestants.

§ 7. Long had *Maurice* in vain solicited for the liberation of his father-in-law, *Philip* of Hesse; and long had the greatest princes of Germany and Europe importunately petitioned the emperor to set at liberty both the landgrave of Hesse and the recent elector of Saxony. When, therefore, *Maurice* perceived that he had been duped, and that *Charles* had hostile designs upon the liberties of Germany, he entered into an alliance with the king of France and with certain German princes for asserting the rights of the Germanic nation; and in the year 1552,

⁶ [The elector Maurice. *Tr.*]

⁷ [This is clearly and satisfactorily

shown, in Robertson's *History of Charles V.*, vol. iii. p. 58. 207. *Schli.*]

led forth a well appointed army against the emperor. And he conducted the business with such celerity and vigour, that he was near to falling upon *Charles* unawares, and in a state of security at Innspruck. This sudden storm so terrified *Charles*, that he appeared quite ready to agree to any terms of peace; and soon after, at Passau, he not only gave present tranquillity to the protestants, but also promised to assemble a diet within six months, at which the long protracted religious contests should be definitively settled. Thus the very man who had given a severer blow perhaps than any other to the protestant cause, was the individual who raised and restored it when all but given up and overthrown. *Maurice* did not, however, live to see the result of his undertaking; for the next year he fell in a battle against *Albert* of Brandenburg, at Sievershausen.⁸

⁸ [Maurice was, all his life, a protestant at heart. But he was selfish, ambitious, and ungrateful. His base attack upon the dominions of his uncle, John Frederic, during the war of Smalcald, was the chief cause of the unhappy termination of that war, and of all the calamities endured by the protestants from the year 1548 to 1552. During this period, he took sides with the emperor, for the sake of acquiring an increase of territory, and the rank of an elector. Yet he did not abandon the protestant religion, nor so enforce the *Interim* as to restrain the exercise of that religion among his subjects. He probably had been deceived by the emperor's hollow promises not to injure the cause of protestantism. When he perceived this, and also discovered the emperor's designs to overthrow the liberties of Germany, he was mortified, stung by his conscience, and roused to indignation. He therefore determined to bring down the power of the emperor, and to rescue both the protestant religion, and the liberties of his country, from oppression. See Robertson's *History of Charles V.*, book x. p. 285, &c. 310. 344. 401, &c. ed. New York, 1829, in one vol. 8vo. The treaty of Passau, August 2nd, 1552, laid the foundation of the liberties of the German protestant church. Its chief articles were, "That before the 12th of August, the confederates shall lay down their arms, and disband their forces; that on or before that day, the landgrave shall be set at

liberty, and be conveyed in safety to his castle of Rheinfels; that a diet shall be held within six months, in order to deliberate concerning the most proper and effectual method of preventing for the future all disputes and dissensions about religion; That in the mean time, neither the emperor, nor any other prince, shall, upon any pretext whatever, offer any injury or violence to such as adhere to the confession of Augsburg, but allow them to enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; That, in return, the protestants shall not molest the catholics, either in the exercise of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or in performing their religious ceremonies; That the imperial chamber shall administer justice impartially to persons of both parties; and protestants be admitted indiscriminately with the catholics to sit as judges in that court; that if the next diet should not be able to terminate the disputes with regard to religion, the stipulations in the present treaty in behalf of the protestants, shall continue for ever in full power and vigour; That none of the confederates shall be liable to any action, on account of what had happened during the course of the war; That the consideration of those encroachments which had been made, as Maurice pretended, upon the constitution and liberties of the empire, shall be remitted to the approaching diet; That Albert of Brandenburg shall be comprehended in the treaty, provided he shall accede to it, and disband his forces, before the 12th of August." Robertson's *Charles V.*, 1.

§ 8. The diet which the emperor promised at the *pacification* of Passau, could not be assembled, on account of commotions that arose in Germany and other impediments, until the year 1555. But in this year, at Augsburg, and in presence of *Ferdinand*, the emperor's brother, that memorable convention was held, which gave to the protestants, after so much slaughter and so many calamities and conflicts, that firm and stable *religious peace* which they still enjoy. For on the 25th of September, after various discussions, those who had embraced the Augsburg Confession were pronounced free and exempt from all jurisdiction of the pontiff and the bishops; and were bidden to live securely under their own laws and regulations; and liberty was given to all Germans to follow which of the two religions they pleased: and lastly, all those were declared to be public enemies of Germany, who should presume to make war upon others, or to molest them, on the ground of their religion.⁹ Nothing scarcely could more clearly demonstrate the superstition, ignorance and wretchedness of that age, and consequently, the necessity that existed for a reformation in the prevalent views of religion and things sacred, than the fact that most of the Ger-

c. 414, &c. See also Sleidan's *Comment.* &c. lib. xxiv. fol. 661. *Tr.*]

⁹ See Jo. Schilter's tract, *de Pace Religiosa*, published in 1700, 4to, Christoph. Lehmann's *Acta Publica et Originalia de Pace Religiosa*, Francf. 1707, fol. [The compact entitled the religious peace, as extracted from the acts of the diet of Augsburg of Sept. 25, 1555, may be seen at large in B. G. Struve's *Corpus Juris Publici Academicum*, ed. 2nd, Jena, 1734, p. 169—214. It embraces 22 articles; and is founded on the treaty of Passau, described in the preceding note. It places the believers in the Augsburg confession and the catholics, on the same ground, as citizens, and as members of the empire; and forbids all molestation of the one class by the other; forbids proselyting, but allows voluntary transition from one religion to the other. Yet beneficed catholics, if they turned protestants, were to lose their benefices. All other denominations of Christians, except catholics and Lutherans, are expressly excluded from the privileges of this compact. (Art. IV. "Attamen ceteri omnes, qui alteri prænominatarum harum binarum Religionum non sint adherentes, sub hac pace, non com-

prehensi, sed plane exclusi esse debent.") The Zwinglians, Calvinists, or Reformed, were therefore left in the same state as before. The treaty still contemplated a more full adjustment of all points of controversy, in a general or national council, or in a future diet; yet it contained an express stipulation, that the principles here settled should remain inviolate for ever. In the imperial cities, and wherever the professors of both religions had hitherto enjoyed equal religious liberty, they were to continue to enjoy the same. —The pope was exceedingly displeased with this peace; and tried to persuade the emperor to renounce it, promising to absolve him from his oath. But the emperor would not consent. Yet the catholics were never satisfied with it. And some ambiguities in the language of it, and some of its odious provisions, such as excluding all but Lutherans and catholics from a participation in it, and subjecting beneficed catholics to the loss of their livings, if they became Lutherans, led on to contention, and at last produced, in the next century, the thirty years' war, which nearly ruined Germany. *Tr.*]

mans needed to be instructed by so many writings, controversies, and wars, before they could assent to regulations so equitable and so consonant to reason and the holy Scriptures.

§ 9. While these events were taking place in Germany, the English were deploring that the light of pure religion was almost extinguished among them, and from the daily executions of their own countrymen, they esteemed those Germans happy who had escaped from the Romish tyranny. *Henry VIII.*, whose vices obstructed the progress of the Reformation, died in the year 1547. His son and successor, *Edward VI.*, a child in years, but mature in wisdom, intelligence, and virtue, having collected around him learned men from every quarter, and particularly some from Germany, of the mildest character, as *Martin Bucer*, and *Paul Fagius*, ordered the kingdom to be purged entirely of the popish fictions, and a better religion to be publicly taught. But he was removed by death in 1553, to the immense grief of his subjects. His sister *Mary*, daughter of that *Catharine* whom *Henry VIII.* had divorced, being heiress to the kingdom, and a woman so immoderately given up to the religion of her ancestors, that it excluded all discretion, again obtruded upon Britons the Roman pontiff's laws and privileges; nor did she hesitate to slay, by the most inhuman punishments, great numbers of such as resisted, and even persons of the highest rank; among whom *Thomas Cranmer*, archbishop of Canterbury, whose exertions chiefly had overthrown the papal power in England, stood conspicuous. But the death of the queen, who departed without issue, in 1558, put an end to these insane proceedings. For her successor on the British throne, *Elizabeth*, a woman of masculine resolution and sagacity, rescued her country entirely from the power of the pontiff, and established that form of religion and worship which still prevails in England. This is different from that form which the counsellors of *Edward* had devised, and approaches nearer to the usages and institutions of the previous times; yet it is very far removed from that which is held sacred at Rome.

§ 10. Into the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland, the elements of a purer religion were early introduced by certain young men of noble birth who had resided in Germany. But the papal power, supported by inhuman laws and penalties, for many years prevented it from taking firm root. The principal author of the entire abolition of the Romish dominion over Scotland,

was *John Knox*, a disciple of *Calvin*, a man of eloquence, and quite incapable of fear. Proceeding from Geneva to Scotland, in the year 1559, he soon enkindled every where such a flame, by his discourses, that a majority of the people bade farewell to the institutions of their ancestors, and overthrew all traces of the Romish religion. From that time onward, the Scots have pertinaciously held to that form of religion and discipline which was established at Geneva under the auspices of *John Calvin*, *Knox's* preceptor; nor could any considerations afterwards induce them to adopt the ecclesiastical institutions and forms of worship of the English.

§ 11. In Ireland the Reformation was exposed to the same fluctuations and fortunes as in England. When *Henry VIII.*, upon the abrogation of the pontifical power, was declared *supreme head of the English church*, *George Brown*, an English Augustinian monk, whom the king, in 1535, had created archbishop of Dublin, proceeded to purge the churches of his province of their images, relics, and superstitious rites; and he exerted such influence, that the king's *supremacy* (by which was meant the royal power over the church) was acknowledged also among the Irish. Soon after this the king expelled the monks from Ireland and destroyed their houses. Under *Edward VI.* the reformation in Ireland continued to be urged forward by the same archbishop. But *Mary*, the sister of *Edward*, persecuted with fire and sword those who embraced the reformed religion in Ireland as well as in England; and *Brown* and the other bishops who favoured the Reformation were deprived of their offices. Under *Elizabeth*, however, every thing was restored; and the Irish adopted the form of religion and discipline which was established in England.¹

¹ See the *Life of George Brown*, late archbishop of Dublin, London, 1681, 4to, and which is reprinted in the collection, called the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v. Lond. 1745, 4to, No. lxxiii. [The reformed religion never has had the assent of the Irish people at large. *Henry VIII.* attempted little more than to establish his supremacy over the church of Ireland. And though he succeeded in procuring a major vote in the Irish parliament for it, the people and the clergy, very generally, never would admit it. He suppressed the monasteries, and confiscated their funds; but

this did not suppress popery. *Queen Mary*, easily, and at once, restored every thing in that country, except the confiscated property. She deprived archbishop *Brown* in 1554; but did not attempt to persecute "with fire and sword" the handful of protestants in that country, until near the close of her reign, when she sent over *Dr. Cole*, with a commission for that purpose. His commission, however, was stolen from him on the way; and he had to return to England for another. But before he reached Ireland a second time, the queen died, and he could not proceed to his bloody work.

§ 12. Soon after the Scots, the inhabitants of the provinces now called the *United Netherlands*², revolted entirely from the Roman pontiff. *Philip II.*, king of Spain, very anxious for the safety of the Romish religion among a people so attached to liberty, determined to restrain the Belgians, and secure their allegiance to the pontiff, by creating an additional number of bishops, by establishing among them the iniquitous tribunal of the Inquisition, and by other hard and insupportable laws. But this excessive care to preserve the old religion, instead of securing it from the dangers to which it was exposed, occasioned its total overthrow. In the year 1566, the nobility combined together, and remonstrated strongly against these new edicts; and meeting with repulses and contempt, they, in conjunction with the people, openly trampled upon the things held sacred by the Romanists.³ As the duke of Alva, who was sent from

Queen Elizabeth caused herself to be proclaimed head of the church in Ireland; and undertook to enforce every where the protestant doctrines and worship; but without success. The recusant clergy, indeed, lost their livings; and some protestant clergymen were introduced into the country. But the people at large would not attend the protestant worship. Thus, while protestantism was the only established religion, and the only one legally tolerated, it was followed by few, except the officers of government, and such English families as removed to Ireland to enjoy the estates they acquired there. In the reign of James I., many Presbyterians from Scotland settled in the north of Ireland; and English Puritans also took refuge there. Thus the protestant population became considerably increased. But still the pure Irishmen, as well as the descendants of those English who settled in Ireland prior to the Reformation, together constituting the majority of the population of the country, continued to adhere to the catholic religion. During the two last centuries, the protestant population, and particularly the dissenting portion of it, has been considerably increased; yet the catholic population has also increased; and, it is said, that, there have been more conversions from the protestant to the catholic faith in Ireland, during the period, than conversions from the catholic faith to the protestant. Thus Ireland is still a catholic country, if we regard the population;

though protestant, and of the church of England, if we regard only the religious establishments of the country. *Tr.*] At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, with the bishops of Ferns, Limerick, Cork, Waterford, and Killaloe, conformed. (*Etrington's Clergy of the Church of England truly ordained.* Dubl. 1808, p. 54.) This conformity had not, however, any lasting, or perhaps, considerable effect upon the country. Little, or none, could, in fact, be expected, on account of its unsettled state. The emigrations, however, from Britain, especially from Scotland, in the seventeenth century, have given very much of a protestant face to the province of Ulster, which is the principal seat of Irish wealth, civilization, industry, and intelligence. In the other provinces, the landed property is almost exclusively in protestant hands; a circumstance which adds venom to the Romish bigotry of the peasantry. The gentry are not merely hated as heretics; they are hated really much more, as holders of estates unjustly forfeited, as is alleged, by the ancestors of Romanists, now plunged in poverty, by means of that very forfeiture. They, with all of their communion, are therefore, much in the condition of the Moors, when keeping at Granada, the rest of Spain at bay. Religious antipathies are exasperated by interested views. *Ed.*]

² [Or the Dutch. *Tr.*]

³ [Dr. Maelaine justly remarks, that

Spain with forces for that purpose, endeavoured to suppress these commotions, with unparalleled cruelty, and with innumerable slaughters, that furious civil war was produced, to which the very powerful republic of the seven United Provinces of Belgium owes its origin. This republic, rescued from the dominion of the Spaniards, by its leader, the prince of Orange, *William of Nassau*, with the aid of *Elizabeth*, queen of England, and of the king of France, adopted, in the year 1573, the doctrines, the ecclesiastical organization, and the worship of the Swiss; yet gave to all the citizens entire liberty of opinion on religious subjects, provided they attempted nothing against the peace and prosperity of the community.⁴

“Dr. Mosheim here seems to distinguish too little between the spirit of the nobility and that of the multitude. Nothing was more *temperate* and *decent* than the conduct of the former; and nothing could be more *tumultuous* and *irregular* than the behaviour of the latter.” *Tr.*]

⁴ The noble work of Gerhard Brandt, entitled a *History of the Reformation in the Netherlands*, written in Dutch, and printed at Amsterdam, 1677, &c. in 4 vols. 4to, is especially to be consulted. [The first volume is properly the history of the reformation, coming down to the year 1600; the other volumes contain the history of the Arminian controversy, and the events of the seventeenth century. There is a translated abridgment of Brandt, both in French and English, which gives a good condensed account. See also Gerdes, *Historia Evangelii Renovati*, tom. iii. p. 1, &c. and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. ii. p. 348—434.—Philip II., king of Spain, determined to purge the Netherlands of heretics; and for this purpose, increased the number of bishops from four to fourteen; enacted severe laws against heretics; and determined to introduce the inquisition into the country. These measures were generally offensive; and to the catholics, nearly as much so as to the protestants. In 1566, most of the nobles, though generally catholics, entered into an association, to protect and defend the liberties of the country. The protestants, now 100,000 in number, petitioned the king for toleration; and though treated with contempt, they ventured to hold their meetings for worship, openly, instead of meeting in private. They had now 50 or 60 places of meet-

ing in Flanders, attended by 60,000 persons. Similar meetings were opened in Artois, Brabant, Holland, Utrecht, Seeland, Geldres, Friesland, &c. Attempts being made by the government to disperse their assemblies by force, they went armed to their places of worship. The same year, the rabble, first in Flanders, and afterwards in the other provinces, broke into the churches, and destroyed the images, pictures, crosses, &c. Philip subsidized 13,000 German troops, to support the government. Many of the rebellious catholics voluntarily submitted; and the protestants were reduced to great straits. Many were put to death; and many fled the country. The association of the nobles melted away. In 1567, the Netherlands were truly a conquered country. But Philip, not yet satisfied, determined to punish his subjects still more; and therefore sent the duke of Alva, with an army of Spaniards and Italians, to chastise the country. But severity only increased the number of protestants, and drove the people to desperation. In 1568, William, prince of Orange, assembled an army of refugees, and attacked the country, without success. In 1572, he attacked the northern provinces, by sea, and presently made himself master of Holland, and several of the other provinces. The Hollanders now proclaimed him their stadtholder; and in 1573, he was able to attack some of the more southern provinces. The war lasted many years; and the united provinces fully set up the protestant religion; while those that remained subject to a foreign jurisdiction, were obliged to acquiesce in popery, as the established

§ 13. In Spain and Italy the reformed religion made great progress soon after the first conflicts between *Luther* and the pontiffs. Very many in all the provinces of Italy, but especially among the Venetians, the Tuscans, and the Neapolitans, avowed their alienation from the Romish religion. And in the kingdom of Naples, in particular, very great and dangerous commotions arose from this source, in the year 1536; which were excited chiefly by the celebrated *Bernh. Ochino*, *Peter Martyr*, and others who preached against the superstitions; and which *Charles V.* and his viceroy for Naples had great difficulty to suppress.⁵ The principal instruments used by the Roman

religion.—Respecting the toleration of other sects, in the United Netherlands, Dr. Maclaine (who lived long in that country, and therefore may be considered good authority,) observes, that “It is necessary to distinguish between the toleration that was granted to the Roman catholics, and that which the *Anabaptists*, *Lutherans*, and other protestant sects, enjoyed. They were all, indiscriminately, excluded from the civil employments of the state; but though they were equally allowed the exercise of their religion, the latter were permitted to enjoy their religious worship in a more open and public manner than the former, from whom their churches were taken, and whose religious assemblies were confined to private conventicles, which had no external resemblance of the edifices usually set apart for divine worship.” *Tr.*]

⁵ See Peter Giannone, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 108, &c. The life of Galeacius, in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. ii. p. 524. [See Dan. Gerdes, *Specimen Italiae Reformate—una cum Syllabo Reformatorum Italorum*, Leyden, 1765, 4to, and Dom. Rosins de Porta, *Historia Reformat. Ecclesiar. Reticarum*, Cur. 1771, vol. i. lib. ii. ch. ii. &c. *Tr.*—“It was an attempt to introduce a Roman inquisitor into the city of Naples that, properly speaking, produced the tumult and sedition which Dr. Mosheim attributes, in this section, to the pulpit discourses of Ochino and Martyr; for these famous preachers, and particularly the former, taught the doctrines of the reformation with great art, prudence, and caution, and converted many secretly without giving public offence. The emperor himself, who heard him at Naples, declared, that *he preached with such spirit*

and devotion, as was sufficient to make the very stones weep. After Ochino’s departure from Naples, the disciples he had formed gave private instructions to others, among whom were some eminent ecclesiastics, and persons of distinction, who began to form congregations and conventicles. This awakened the jealousy of the viceroy, Toledo, who published a severe edict against heretical books, ordered some productions of Melancthon and Erasmus to be publicly burnt, looked with a suspicious eye on all kinds of literature, suppressed several academies which had been erected about this time by the nobility for the advancement of learning, and having received orders from the emperor to introduce the inquisition, desired pope Paul III. to send from Rome to Naples a deputy of that formidable tribunal. It was this that excited the people to take up arms in order to defend themselves against this branch of spiritual tyranny, which the Neapolitans never were patient enough to suffer, and which, on many occasions, they had opposed with vigour and success. Hostilities ensued, which were followed by an accommodation of matters, and a general pardon; while the emperor and viceroy, by this resolute opposition, were deterred from their design of introducing this despotic tribunal into the kingdom of Naples. Several other attempts were afterwards made during the reigns of Philip II. III. IV. and Charles II., to establish the inquisition in Naples; but by the jealousy and vigilance of the people they all proved ineffectual. At length, the emperor, Charles VI., in the beginning of this present century, published an edict, expressly prohibiting all causes, relating to the holy faith, to be tried by any per-

pontiffs for repelling this danger were the *inquisitors*; whom they sent into most parts of Italy, and who tortured and slew so many people, that very many of the friends of the new religion fled into exile, and others returned, ostensibly at least, to the old religion. But the pontiff found it utterly impossible to bring the Neapolitans to tolerate the tribunal of the *inquisition*, or even to admit *inquisitors* into their country. Spain became imbued with the Lutheran doctrines by different ways; and among others, by those very theologians whom *Charles V.* took with him to Germany to confute the *heretics*: for those theologians returned to their country tainted with the heresy. But the *Spanish inquisition*, by its accustomed severities, and especially by condemning to the flames, easily extinguished in the population every disposition to substitute a better religion in place of the old one.⁶

§ 14. It is unnecessary to enter upon any great controversy with such a remark that some of the persons who took a leading part in these great revolutions were now and then guilty of grievous faults. For the best informed do not deny that several transactions might have been conducted more discreetly; and that some of the men in power were more solicitous to promote their own interests than to advance pure religion. But, on the other hand, it is beyond all question, that many things which appear faulty to us of the present age, should be classed among noble achievements, if we regard the times and the places of them, and compare them with the frauds and enormities as well of the Roman pontiff, as of his adherents. However, when we go into inquiry respecting the justice of the controversy which *Luther* first waged with the Roman pontiff, it is not a question that relates to the personal acts and virtues of individual men. Let

sons except the archbishops and bishops as ordinaries. See Giannone, *Histoire de Naples*, liv. xxxii. sec. 2 and 3. *Modern Univ. History*, vol. xxviii. p. 273, &c. ed. 8vo." *Mæcl.*]

⁶ Michael Geddes, *Spanish Protestant Martyrology*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 445. [It is noticeable, that all the Spanish theologians, who accompanied *Charles V.* to Germany, and were associated with him afterwards in his retirement, fell, after his death, into the hands of the inquisition, and were condemned, some to the flames, and others

to other kinds of death. These were Augustine Casal, his court preacher; Constantine Pontius, his confessor; the Dominican, Bartholomew Caranza, confessor to king Philip and queen Mary; together with many others. *Schl.*—⁷For information respecting the dawn of protestantism in Italy and Spain, see two works of the late Dr. *McCrie*: the *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy*, Edinb. 1827, and the *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain*, Edinb. 1829. *Ed.*]

some of these be supposed even worse men than they are generally esteemed to be, provided the *cause*, for which they contended, be allowed to have been just and good.⁷

CHAPTER V.

* HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

§ 1. Henry VIII.—§ 2. Translations of Scripture.—§ 3. Authorised religious books.—§ 4. Renunciation of the papal supremacy.—§ 5. Suppression of monasteries.—§ 6. Previous suppression.—§ 7. Terms made by the monks.—§ 8. Opposition encountered.—§ 9. The northern rebellion.—§ 10. The act of six articles.—§ 11. Progress of the Reformation under Henry.—§ 12. Edward VI.—§ 13. The English Liturgy.—§ 14. Further reforms.—§ 15. The second service-book.—§ 16. The forty-two articles.—§ 17. Episcopal dismissals.—§ 18. Mary.—§ 19. Pole.—§ 20. Cranmer.—§ 21. Other episcopal martyrdoms.—§ 22. The Marian persecution.—§ 23. Elizabeth.—§ 24. Rupture with Rome.—§ 25. First Protestant movements.—§ 26. The act of supremacy.—§ 27. Parker.—§ 28. His consecration.—§ 29. Legend of the Nag's Head tavern.—§ 30. The new prelacy.—§ 31. The conference of Westminster.—§ 32. The law of heresy.—§ 33. Overtures from Rome.—§ 34. The thirty-nine articles.—§ 35. Settlement of the Church of England.

§ 1. WHEN Luther attracted notice, nothing seemed less likely than that the English throne should aid his progress. Its occupant, Henry VIII., came to it with a far better title than had been enjoyed by any one of his predecessors, during more than a century. He held the balance between the two rival monarchies of France and Spain. He was highly popular at home, and had an imperious disposition which overawed a spirit of resistance. In addition, besides, to the dislike of innovation naturally attendant upon established power, he had imbibed a taste for school-divinity, and proud of his acquisitions in that branch of learning, his name gave credit and currency to a

⁷ [See Maclaine's Appendix, No. i. first reformers, &c. subjoined to his concerning the *spirit* and *conduct* of the translation of this section. *Tr.*]

literary attack upon the new enemy to established principles that had appeared in Saxony.¹ Thus personal vanity rendered Luther's theology additionally odious to him, and that reformer's coarse treatment of his controversial essay soon bound him more strongly than ever to his religious prepossessions, by the powerful motive of resentment. But all these outworks gave way before reflection upon the very questionable nature of his marriage with Catharine of Aragon, uneasiness under the want of male issue, the decline of his wife's personal attractions, the fascination of a beautiful rival, and the intractability of pope Clement VII., whom Charles V. prevented from granting him a divorce. These over-ruling causes placed him largely under the influence of Thomas Cranmer, a scholarly divine, born at Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire, in 1489, whom he raised to the see of Canterbury in 1533, but who was a married man with a strong and well-matured bias towards the Reformation.² By means of this eminent prelate, Henry laid aside much of his hostility to Lutheranism, and the latter years of his reign were directed, though not without considerable interruptions, to that deliverance of England from Roman bondage, upon which is mainly founded her pre-eminence among nations.

§ 2. One of the most effective instruments in rendering the country Protestant, was an authorised translation of the Bible. Wickliffe had largely owed his influence to the circulation of that sacred book in the vernacular tongue; and in the earlier years of Luther's career, William Tyndale, born on the confines of Wales, who had been a member of both universities, gave a violent shock to English Romanism, by a translation of the New Testament.³ Unable to face the mortifying and embarrassing fact, that men were won over from the papal church by reading the Bible, because they could not find Romish peculi-

¹ *Assertio VII. Sacramentorum*. This work was beautifully printed by Pynson in 1521. In 1687 appeared an English translation of it.

² There is an excellent account of this eminent, but misrepresented, prelate by archdeacon Todd, entitled, *The Life of Archbishop Cranmer*, 2 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1831. There is also a very able and useful life of him by Mr. Le Bas, 2 vols. 12mo, Lond. 1833. The great storehouse of information respecting him is, however, his life by Strype, entitled,

Memorials of the most reverend Father in God, Thomas Cranmer, sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, republished at Oxford in 1812, in 2 vols. 8vo, but archdeacon Todd has furnished many new particulars. Another Life of Cranmer, which attracted considerable notice before late accounts of him appeared, came from the easy but superficial pen of Gilpin.

³ The first edition of Tyndale's *Testament* was printed at Antwerp in 1526. It is a volume of the utmost rarity.

arities in it, the clergy took refuge under charges of inaccuracy against existing versions. They did not come forward with objections against scriptural reading altogether, but only against public acquaintance with the translated Bibles in circulation, which were denounced, as artfully glossed, and in various ways calculated to mislead. As a counterpoise to this alleged mischief, the king, courtiers, and prelacy, formally promised in the Star-chamber, on the 25th of May, 1531, that a version of Scripture, worthy of reliance, should be undertaken.⁴ The scandal, however, of an indiscriminate objection to the popular acquisition of scriptural knowledge being thus eluded, no step appears to have been taken to redeem the pledge so solemnly given. The people saw no probability of any authorised version, and being extensively desirous of reading God's written word, the decried translations of it were largely but surreptitiously imported from the continent; allowing, by their marginal notes, no readers to overlook, that nothing in Scripture told against Luther, while much plainly confirmed him. Independently of his habitual integrity, which placed him above a shelter under unfulfilled pledges, and illusory concealments, Cranmer was naturally desirous that his countrymen should judge for themselves as to that which God had placed upon record, and as to the agreement of his German friends with an authority so unquestionable. Hence he exerted himself to obtain the fulfilment of that pledge which had been given under his predecessor, Warham, and at length, in 1539, England saw herself blessed with an authorised version of Scripture.⁵ This effectually paralyzed Romish opposition. Political vacillations enabled the party that clung to early prepossessions, to obtain, in 1543, a prohibition of biblical reading to all the inferior classes.⁶ But Parliament went no further than restraining

⁴ Lewis's *History of the Translations of the Holy Bible and New Testament into English*. Lond. 1818, p. 75.

⁵ *Matthee's Bible*, as it was called, was published with the royal licence in 1537. *Matthee* appears to have been a mere name to disguise the fact that the volume comprised the translations of Tyndale and Coverdale, both of whom had been stigmatised as unfaithful interpreters of Scripture. The former translated the Old Testament to the end of Chronicles, and the book of Jonah, with all the New Testament. Coverdale translated the remainder of the Old Testament, and to the end of the Apocrypha.

Cranmer's, or the Great Bible, printed in 1539, was a revision of *Matthee's Bible*, in which Tyndale's prologues and notes, with notes by others, were all omitted. It was now that every parish was to provide an English Bible, before All Saints' day, next ensuing, under the penalty of forty shillings a month. This edition must, therefore, be considered as the first English Bible regularly authorised. In addition to Lewis's work, Dr. Cotton's *List of Editions of the Bible and Parts thereof in English*, will be found highly useful.

⁶ The statute entitled *An Act for the Advancement of true Religion*, prohibits

access to Scripture, and stigmatising Tyndale's labours as *crafty*, *false*, and *untrue*. Hence all Henry's later years placed in strong contrast before the better-informed, what was universally confessed to be the word of God, and what many pronounced, with a great appearance of probability, to be nothing else than the traditions of men.

§ 3. Besides the access thus given to scriptural truth, Henry also published some summaries of doctrine for popular instruction, based upon principles that shook the church of Rome. In 1536, appeared the *Ten Articles*, in the following year, the *Institution of a Christian Man*, and in 1543, *A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*.⁷ All these authorised pieces were evidently constructed with reference to the confession of Augsburg, and although they retain much of a Romish character, yet their omissions, and some of their declarations, bear most injuriously upon the papal system.⁸ Three Primers also, the last of which, published in 1545, was expressly sanctioned by the king, had all the same tendency. The first of these, which was, indeed, unauthorised, and gave great offence to the clergy, omitted the Litany, because it contained prayers to saints. It cannot, however, be doubted, that this decried publication gave rise to its two successors, and these, though retaining enough to preserve the principle of saintly intercession, avoid the free use of it which established formularies offered, and they generally make against the church of Rome.⁹ Another formulary, with this tendency, was an English Litany, authorised in 1544¹, and thus a beginning was made to wean

artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servants, husbandmen, and labourers, from reading the Bible either "privately or openly," under pain of a month's imprisonment.

⁷ All these pieces were re-published by the University of Oxford in 1825, in an 8vo vol. entitled, *Formularies of Faith, put forth by authority during the reign of Henry VIII.* The editor was Dr. Charles Lloyd, who died in 1829, in the 45th year of his age, being then bishop of Oxford, and king's professor of divinity there.

⁸ The Lutheran character of these documents, and of subsequent Anglican formularies, is ably shown in the Hamp-

ton Lectures for 1804, preached by Dr. Richard Laurence, afterwards canon of Christchurch, and king's professor of Hebrew in Oxford, and eventually archbishop of Cashel in Ireland, being the last protestant holder of that see with archiepiscopal honours.

⁹ All these pieces were re-published in an 8vo vol. by the University of Oxford in 1834, entitled, *Three Primers put forth in the reign of Henry VIII.* Their editor was the late learned, amiable, and unassuming Dr. Edward Burton.

¹ Heylin's *History of the Reformation*, Lond. 1674, p. 20. Humphrey says, in his Life of Jewel, that Henry contemplated much completer changes, when

the people from the inveterate, but pernicious and absurd, superstition of public worship in an unknown tongue.

§ 4. Upon the propriety of such innovations, considerable difference of opinion was manifested; but upon the papal authority, hardly any at all. So early as the year 1534, the convocations of both provinces, and the two universities, formally pronounced that *the Roman bishop has no greater jurisdiction given him by God over England than any other foreign bishop.*² To this disclaimer of a long-established authority, nearly all parties responded warmly, and at once. It seemed as if papal interference in English affairs was so palpable an usurpation, that men only needed some little consideration, and an assurance that they might safely speak their minds, in order to shake it indignantly off their shoulders. Individuals, accordingly, whose vigilance never slumbered when there was an opening to befriend the doctrines or ritual of Rome, came emulously forward to denounce the papacy. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, the most subtle and influential partizan of the Romish worship, wrote his treatise, *De Vera Obedientia*, to expose the papal supremacy.³ Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, the most able and active of the Romishly-inclined prelates after Gardiner, preached a sermon to the same effect before the king⁴, which he afterwards published. Nothing is more remarkable in the English Reformation than this immediate appearance of unanimity upon such a great leading question.

§ 5. Another important step in the English reformation, under Henry, was the dissolution of monasteries. To few things had the papacy stood so deeply indebted, as to these foundations. It is, indeed, true, that among the Mendicants, especially among certain of the more rigid Franciscans, denunciations against the Roman Church had frequently been heard, occasionally such as would have satisfied the most violent Protestant of later times. Nor is it doubtful, that such language was among the preparatives of the Reformation. But still,

he was arrested by death, even so far as an extermination of the mass. *Joannis Juelli, Angli, Episc. Sarisb. Vita et Mors*, Lond. 1573, p. 176.

² Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* lib. ii. p. 94. In the Records to that volume are to be found the formal instruments by which the papal authority was so promptly and completely exploded.

³ Boner, afterwards of persecuting

notoriety, wrote a preface to this book. It was printed at Hamburg in 1536. The author was frequently upbraided with it during the Marian persecution. It is to be found, with Boner's preface, in Brown's Appendix to the *Fasciculus Rerum Expensarum et Fugendarum*, p. 800.

⁴ On Palm Sunday, 1538. Strype's *Memorials*, Oxford, 1822. i. 518.

there existed universally among these orders, a sufficient inclination to support the papacy, whenever it did not cross their particular views, and a cordial adoption of all those superstitions which papal had inherited from pagan Rome, and which form one of her principal holds upon human nature. Thus even the Mendicants, and as a whole, added greatly to the strength of popery. All the other monastic orders had ever been the firmest and most zealous adherents of the papacy. Their houses too, although great national ornaments, and long of the highest utility as refuges for literary treasures, and for men able to use them, were universally harbours for a base, grovelling, and unchristian superstition. Deluded worshippers were ever crowding to them from the fame of their images, relics, and mendacious miracles. It was, therefore, a great advantage, both over the papal power and over the baser but more popular portions of Romanism, when England was cleared of her monastic establishments.

§ 6. For Henry's attack upon these foundations the nation had been prepared by the papacy itself. Cardinal Wolsey, being desirous of building and endowing two splendid colleges, one at Ipswich, the place of his birth, the other at Oxford, the place of his academical education, had obtained permission, in 1525, from Clement VII. to dissolve forty monasteries, and apply their revenues to the execution of his plans.⁵ Thus Rome herself had recently been betrayed into the signal indiscretion of treating monastic property as liable to alienation, when public interest required. Such a requirement was the plea set up, when parliament laid its hands upon conventual property. Among monks and friars were found the most unyielding opponents of the royal supremacy, which was represented, and upon solid grounds, as inseparable from the crown: it had, in fact, been so treated by all the ablest English monarchs and lawyers. As a further and more cogent reason for dealing severely with monasteries, a visitation of them was ordered. This was conducted, most probably, with a view to make out a case against them, and hence a candid allowance could not be expected in any quarter. In most cases, the visitors were rather likely to exaggerate every thing unfavourable. Romish writers admit some degree of truth in their report, but naturally charge them

⁵ Fuller's *History of Abbeyes*, p. 305. *Church History*, Lond. 1655.

with positive fiction in many things.⁶ This was, however, needless. An unfriendly scrutiny into a great number of conventual establishments, at a time when manners were gross, and public observation little more than commensurate with every petty neighbourhood, would easily paint a very revolting picture without any ingredient positively untrue. Such a picture, undoubtedly, was drawn by Henry's visitors, and under cover of it, all religious houses, with a revenue not exceeding two hundred pounds a year, were suppressed by act of parliament in 1536. In putting their suppression upon this ground, the legislature unconsciously effected a righteous retribution, English monachism having mainly triumphed before the Norman Conquest, under Edgar, by means of injurious charges against the secular canons.

§ 7. The facility with which this important innovation was effected, the mass of wealth which it turned into the royal coffers, and the encouragement given by monastic bodies to the rebellion raised by papal partizans in the north of England, rendered *Henry* and his courtiers anxious for the total suppression of conventual establishments. In 1538, accordingly, a new visitation of monasteries was ordered, and, although the report was not universally unfavourable, yet enough was alleged to make every monk tremble for the consequences. There was now, therefore, found in religious houses, a general disposition to surrender. In a body so extensive as the monastic, many were, of course, glad to escape from restrictions which had either been always irksome, or had become so. Some, probably, were quite willing to make terms, while others might be intimidated into a surrender. From these various causes, all the larger monasteries were brought, in about two years, to a dissolution seemingly voluntary. A change in the national society so extensive, could not be carried through without instances of individual hardship, but in general the emancipated monks and nuns received equitable treatment; either church preferment being given to them, or provisions from their former revenues being settled upon them, proportioned to their wants and respective stations.⁷

§ 8. Although *Henry* encountered very little opposition in

⁶ Sanders, *De Schismate Anglicano*,
Ingolst. 1588, p. 112.

⁷ Fuller, 343.

effecting his various innovations, universal acquiescence was impossible. Prelates, undoubtedly favourable to Romanism, might write and preach against the papal supremacy; might even formally renounce it upon oath, professedly of their own free will, and for ever, as Gardiner and his friends did in 1535⁸, but some men, notwithstanding, would eagerly cling to it as by an article of faith. The very year, accordingly, which brought forward these episcopal oaths, voluntarily made, as it was asserted, exhibited also some distressing cases of opposition to the royal pretensions. The lead was taken in this by the Carthusians, of whom several suffered the penalties of high treason, for denying the supremacy, or rather, for using the pestilent engine of confession to raise up a spirit of resistance to it.⁹ A lighter shade of the same offence brought to the block¹ John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, one of the most learned, candid, blameless, and disinterested prelates of his day. He had denied the king's supremacy, while imprisoned in the Tower, and the pope having insultingly nominated him a cardinal, Henry's contemptuous resentment, as it seems, quickly shed his blood. This lamentable execution was rapidly followed² by that of the virtuous, erudite, and facetious Sir Thomas More, late lord chancellor, whose inveterate Romish prejudices had betrayed him, while in power, into some acts of persecution, and now betrayed him, lawyer as he was, into a denial of those ecclesiastical prerogatives, which a long series of statutes and precedents claims for the English crown.

§ 9. Henry experienced, however, a more serious obstacle in rebellious movements, which agitated the northern counties in 1536, and the following year. The bold and ignorant population of those parts was fired by a persuasion that the vitals of religion were seriously threatened by recent measures. Leaders were found in a few persons of superior condition, and the insurrection assumed for a time an embarrassing appearance. But the south did not respond to the voice of resistance that sounded from the north, and such as had much to lose even

⁸ This oath, as taken by Abp. Lee, of York, and the bishops Gardiner, of Winchester, Stokesley, of London, and Tunstall, of Durham, may be seen in Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, Lond. 1610,

p. 964. It was taken also by the other bishops.

⁹ Strype's *Memorials*, i. 305.

¹ June 22, 1535.

² July 6, 1535.

there, standing very commonly aloof, the rebellion was easily crushed.³

§ 10. Subsequently, the Romish party chiefly depended upon the dexterous use of royal favour. Its most remarkable, but discreditable triumph, was in 1539; when Henry was persuaded to come down to the House of Lords, and secure the passing of the *Act of Six Articles* by his personal weight.⁴ This cruel statute made burning the penalty for denying transubstantiation, and left any who should recant such denial, still liable to the total confiscation of property. It adjudged to death as felons, all who maintained the necessity of communicating in both kinds; or who denied the divine prohibition of sacerdotal marriages, or the divine ratification of vows of chastity; or who attacked private masses, or auricular confession. In 1544, this act was modified by another, which allowed no prosecution under it without a previous presentment, legally made by a jury, and limited presentments to offences committed within the twelve months immediately preceding.⁵

§ 11. During Henry's whole reign, the church remained in appearance completely Romish. Excepting the English litany prepared for a particular occasion⁶, that prince left the ritual as he found it, as he did nearly the whole framework of religious belief. But by his means, the established system was completely undermined. Many doctrines long current, were confessedly of doubtful authority. None saw them clearly revealed in Scripture, and many could find no trace of them there, but rather of matter in opposition to them. Their only ascertained dependance was the Roman see; an authority which England now repulsed with scorn. The Bible, too, was opened, at first, unreservedly, and it was never completely sealed again. Thus people formed a habit of distrusting doctrines which would not bear confronting with God's undoubted word. They were, indeed, pretty plainly taught that articles of faith required a scriptural warranty. Subsidiary works of religious instruction, published by authority, were mainly based upon the Confession of Augsburg. The primate, who could never be dislodged from a strong-hold upon

³ Herbert's *Life and Reign of King Henry VIII.* in Kennet's *Complete History of England*, Lond. 1706, ii. 205.

⁴ Abp. Cranmer to the Devonshire insurgents, Strype's *Cranmer*, Appen-

dix, 808.

⁵ Herbert, 242.

⁶ It was prepared to pray for God's blessing when he was upon the eve of departing on an expedition to France.

his royal master's mind, had been in Germany, associated with Lutherans, was known to agree generally with them in opinion and to be a married man, living privately with his wife, until the *Act of Six Articles* compelled him to send her away for a time to her relations abroad. The monastic foundations, which were the great seats of papal prejudice, and of debasing superstition, were wholly suppressed. Thus, to say nothing of anti-Romish works by unauthorised polemics, the whole course of national events, during all Henry's latter years, prepared the country for that protestant profession which it speedily embraced after his demise. Even the *Act of Six Articles*, and other ebullitions of Romish intolerance, had this tendency, by irritating the reforming party, and rendering its opponents additionally odious.

§ 12. On Henry's death, in 1547, the English reformation began in earnest. Edward VI., who succeeded, was, indeed, under ten years old, but he was a child of more than usual promise, and as his tutors, Coxe and Cheke, had imbibed protestant opinions, all the personal weight which one so young could have, was eagerly directed against Romanism. The chief power at the outset of his reign, readily fell into the hands of his maternal uncle, Edward Seymour, who was nominated protector, and created duke of Somerset. This nobleman at once identified himself with the reformation, and Cranmer's became the leading mind in all the nation's religious affairs.

§ 13. Within a few weeks, accordingly, of the king's accession, Nicholas Ridley, afterwards bishop of London, preached in the chapel royal against images, and the lustral water of paganism, naturalised among Romanists under the name of *holy water*.⁷ Much offence was taken in many quarters at this and other such attacks upon established superstitions; but the government were evidently bent upon their suppression, and nothing could shield them from a daily accumulation of odium and contempt. As the year advanced, royal visitors with protestant instructions⁸, inspected all the country, the first book of Homilies was published, and every parish had orders to provide itself with the Paraphrase of Erasmus. These unequivocal

⁷ Gloucester Ridley's *Life of Dr. Nicholas Ridley, sometime bishop of London*, Lond. 1763, p. 200.

⁸ The *Injunctions* with which the

visitors were furnished for dispersion, may be seen at the beginning of Bp. Sparrow's *Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons, &c.* Lond. 1675.

steps towards a scriptural faith led, in the next year, to a prohibition of the usual processions on Candlemas-day, of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, and of palms on Palm-Sunday.⁹ This was immediately followed by an order for the general removal of images from churches.¹ Orders for the removal of images abused to superstitious uses had been already given. The movement, however, most decidedly protestant, which distinguished the year 1548, was the compilation of an English liturgy. Abstractedly, there was no violation of Romish principle in this measure, for the papal church framed her service when the congregation spoke Latin; and the Trentine decree against a vernacular tongue in public worship was not promulged until 1562. Nor was the matter produced by the liturgical committee, such generally as to offend Romanists. They might, indeed, regret some omissions, but the bulk of the new English book was translated, and with admirable skill, from the old Latin service.² The whole proceeding, however, was in defiance of inveterate Romish usage, and the new service, by omitting all the superstitious innovations that appeared in the mass-book, gave them a severe rebuke. A catholic position was thus assumed, which papal partizans might asperse and envy, but which dispassionate enquiry would soon show to be greatly above their own.

§ 14. In 1549, an English ordinal was produced³, and in the following year, the stone altars, which had immemorially ornamented the churches, were removed, to make way for communion-tables. This change, posterity may regret, as needless in itself, and an injudicious sacrifice of a venerable decoration. But contemporaries alone can adequately judge of such questions, and they had undoubtedly a degree of difficulty in weaning the people from inveterate superstitions, which rendered all incentives to them obnoxious. It is, however, plain that a disposition was afloat to war with Romish usages beyond the necessities of

⁹ Official circular from Bp. Boner. Heylin's *History of the Reformation*, Lond. 1674, p. 55.

¹ Order of council. *Ibid.*

² See Mr. Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ, or Antiquities of the English Ritual*, an excellent work, which filled an inconvenient void in English literature. Former liturgical works had furnished much useful information, but Mr. Palmer's by

exhibiting the originals, where any could be found, has not only given ready access to much useful information, but has also demonstrated the catholic character of the Anglican service.

³ Upon the consonance of the English ordinal with antiquity, may be consulted Bp. Barnet's *Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England*, Lond. 1677.

the case. In their anxiety to protestantize the country, the English reformers called for assistance from abroad, and thence they secured services of considerable intrinsic value, but qualified by a low-church alloy. The foreign divines came from quarters in which the prelacy had stood aloof when Romanism began to totter, and where, accordingly, there had been some necessity to depart from catholic polity, in order to obtain deliverance from usages and principles unsanctioned by catholic antiquity. As usual under such necessities, the parties did not stop where sound discretion would have allowed them, but incautiously opened a door to endless questions and innovations.

§ 15. This indiscretion acted upon the English service-book. A narrow spirit was awake which would hear of nothing in divine worship that could not plead some direct authority in the New Testament. Mere conformity to the tenour of revelation, and an unquestionable connexion with primitive times, were deemed insufficient. Hence objectors found many subjects for exception in the new liturgy, and a clamour was raised against it. The young king became a party to this, and it was obviously inexpedient, if not impossible, to leave the service as it had been originally framed. Cranmer, accordingly, bent to a necessity which he could not control; but being anxious to avoid a like evil again, he desired Bucer, and Martyr, two of the learned foreigners then employed in England, to prepare full statements of their objections. Their task was executed at considerable length, and in the review of the Common Prayer, which was effected in 1551, their more prominent objections were found to have prevailed. The most important alterations now made were the omission of any prayer for the dead, and the withdrawal of a liberty to use extreme unction in visiting the sick. In many other particulars, too, a conformity with Romish usages, which Edward's first service-book had enjoined, was now to be discontinued.⁴ The English Prayer-book was, in fact, reduced very nearly to the same form that it has ever since retained. It was, however, not admitted, that any error in principle had found place on the former occasion. On the contrary, objec-

⁴ The two service-books may be seen side by side in Hamon L'Estrange's *Alliance of Divine Offices*, and in Dr. Cardwell's *Two Books of Common Prayer*, set

forth by authority of Parliament, in the reign of king Edward VI. compared with each other.

tions to the first service-book were expressly attributed to curious and mistaken views, the volume really containing nothing that was not agreeable to God's word and the primitive church.⁵ Thus the alteration was treated as a mere matter rendered expedient by circumstances, and accordingly, members of the church of England have repeatedly felt themselves at liberty to avow a preference for the liturgy, as it originally stood.

§ 16. In 1552, the church of England was provided with a doctrinal test. Forty-two articles of religion were framed, and sanctioned by the convocation, but it is not known whether that body formally examined them, or merely placed them in the hands of a committee.⁶ They do not materially differ from the thirty-nine articles, eventually adopted as the standard of national belief, and it is evident that they were compiled with especial reference to the Confession of Augsburg. It was intended also to provide a new body of canon law, and the design was actually carried into effect, but the young king's death rendered it abortive. The provisions, however, which are extensive, remain on record⁷, and have, by their award of capital penalties to blasphemers, and impugnors of the first four general councils, given great occasion to recriminate, when Romanists have been taunted with intolerance.⁸ There is, however, considerable difference between such severity in this case, and in the case of a disbelief in transubstantiation; which has ever been the chief cause for shedding protestant blood.

§ 17. Overt resistance to Edward's numerous reforms was made by some bodies of insurgent peasantry in 1549. Devonshire was the county most disturbed; but neither there, nor elsewhere, did the ferment prove of any serious importance. Among the bishops, several used various arts to stop the innovating party, but they had placed themselves under very disadvantageous circumstances. Perhaps, there was really nothing more objectionable in Cranmer, than a disposition to encourage civil encroachments on the episcopate. He seems to have thought a bishop as much dependent on the crown as an ordinary magistrate; and hence, needing new powers on a royal

⁵ Act authorising the second service-book. Heylin, *Hist. Ref.* 107.

⁶ Collier, *Ecc. Hist.* ii. 325.

⁷ Published under the title of *Re-*

formatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum, in the reign of Elizabeth, republished in 1640.

⁸ Dr. Lingard's *History of England*, vii. 187.

demise to exercise his functions. Unless this opinion had taken thorough possession of his mind, it is hardly conceivable that he should have submitted, on Edward's accession, to supplicate for new powers, or even to accept such. He did, however, both⁹, and his brethren followed the bad example. Nay, more, the bench generally consented to hold during the royal pleasure¹; a stretch of subserviency which found ready means for dismissing such of the Romish prelates as were found intractable. The first upon whom this measure of severity fell was Edmund Boner, bishop of London, who was dismissed in 1549, under plea of connivance at adultery, and for various hindrances to the ecclesiastical reforms in progress.² In 1551, Gardiner was deprived, as an incorrigible opponent of the existing system.³ In the same year, the bishops Heath and Day were cashiered, but on grounds more defensible, because less indefinite. The former had refused to sign the new ordinal, the latter had resisted the removal of altars.⁴ In 1552, Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, was removed from his see. He had been found to have received a letter, proposing a rebellion in the north. None such broke out; but it was considered, and not unreasonably, that a man in Tunstall's station ought not to keep secret, as he did, a communication of this dangerous kind. Hence a bill of attainder against him was brought into the House of Lords, but it failed in the Commons; and he was then, after such preliminary formalities as had been used in like cases before, dismissed by the royal authority.⁵ It was intended to divide his diocese into two, but Edward's death left the scheme incomplete, and when a new reign began, Tunstall had only to re-enter upon his old jurisdiction and possessions. To three of the other cashiered prelates, protestants of learning and ability succeeded.⁶ Heath of Worcester, eventually archbishop of York, had no regular successor, his see being given *in commendam* to Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and its valuable temporalities made a prize for rapacious courtiers. Such acts have done incalculable injury to the cause of truth. Hence has

⁹ Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 201.

¹ Collier, ii. 218.

² Foxe, 1209.

³ *Ibid.* 1237.

⁴ Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 329.

⁵ *Ibid.* 413.

⁶ Nicholas Ridley, martyred under Mary, was appointed to London; John Poynt, who died in exile under Mary, to Winchester; John Seory, to Chichester. All three were translated from Rochester.

been given to Romanism plausible means for stamping a mercenary character upon the whole reformation.

§ 18. On Edward's premature demise, in 1553, an unhappy and abortive attempt was made by the protestant party, to place Lady Jane Grey upon the throne. The nation generally, however, stood aloof, and nothing followed, but individual misery, and increased stability to the crown of Mary, the lawful heir. That princess, grand-daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, distinguished as the *Catholic sovereigns*, and resting her legitimacy of birth, solely on a very questionable dispensation from Rome, had shown through life, a lofty constancy in adhering to the religion in which she had been bred. Since her subjects were extensively pervaded by different opinions, they naturally felt anxious as to liberty of conscience. While, however, not yet warm upon the royal seat, she allayed rising apprehensions by assuring the magistracy of London, that, although firm in her own belief, she had no intention of forcing it upon the nation, otherwise than by the diffusion of sound instruction. But this tolerant assurance had scarcely passed her lips, when John Francis Commendone, eventually a cardinal, whom Dandino, papal resident at Brussels, had secretly sent into England, obtained admittance to her in disguise. Mary's hopes, prejudices, and antipathies, now became violently enflamed. She did not, indeed, venture to lay aside immediately the title of *Supreme Head of the Church of England*⁷, borne by her father and half-brother; but she expressed an extreme abhorrence of it⁸, and evidently would not rest until Romanism should be completely restored. In the November, accordingly, of the very year which saw her on the throne, an act of Parliament was passed, repealing all king Edward's laws as to religion, and restoring the Romish service from the 20th of the next month.⁹

§ 19. Mary's principal religious adviser, throughout her reign, was Reginald Pole, whose mother was last surviving member of the royal house of Plantagenet, and who had been made a cardinal in 1536. Since that time he had signalled himself disgracefully in abortive attempts to stimulate foreign

⁷ In her first Parliament-roll she is styled, *Ecclesie Anglicanae et Hiberniae Supremum Caput*. *Parliamentary History*, Lond. 1751, iii. 290.

⁸ Pallavicino, *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, Rom. 1657, ii. 35.

⁹ The bill was sent down from the Lords, Oct. 31, and debated by the

powers against Henry VIII.¹, but latterly he had spent a scholarly and religious life in Italy. He was a well informed man, of decorous habits, and courtly manners, but scurrilous upon paper when provoked, and of an understanding that at furthest did not exceed mediocrity. On Edward's death, he had been appointed papal legate to England, and he entered immediately into correspondence with the queen. Various delays, partly turning upon continental politics, and partly upon Mary's own apprehensions of precipitancy, detained him on the continent, until near the close of 1554. The nation was then formally reconciled to Rome, both houses of Parliament being publicly absolved by Pole from the alleged sin of abjuring the papal see. He was then lodged in the archiepiscopal residence at Lambeth, and he continued to occupy it, although not formally placed in the see of Canterbury until after Crammer's martyrdom.²

§ 20. Crammer himself had been early removed from his home. Soon after Mary's accession, a report reached his ears that he had offered to propitiate the court by celebrating a mass of *Requiem* at king Edward's funeral. Stung to the quick by this venomous calumny, he lost no time in the preparation of a paper denying Romish claims to antiquity, and offering to prove in a solemn public argument, that antiquity was really on the side of Protestants. This was merely the draught for a larger piece that he was meditating, but bishop Scory obtained a copy of it, whether by permission or otherwise is not certainly known³, and it soon was eagerly circulated all over London.⁴ The queen's advisers treated it as seditious, which it certainly was not, the

Commons during six days. *Parl. Hist.* iii. 295.

¹ He was sent by the pope into Flanders in 1537, while Roman hopes were raised by the northern rebellion in England to foment that insurrection, and to obtain succour for it from the kings of France and Scotland. In 1538 he went into Spain to persuade Charles V. into hostilities against England.

² Those who wish to study the character of Pole, may consult *The History of the Life of Reginald Pole*, written by Phillips, a canon of Tongres, published originally in 4to with the author's name, afterwards anonymously in 2 vols. 8vo, in 1767, and the answers to it. The former is a Romish party work, of no

great intrinsic value: the latter are, *The Life of Cardinal Reginald Pole*, translated from Beccatelli, with notes by Pyc, Lond. 1766; *A Review of Mr. Phillips's History of the Life of Reginald Pole*, by Ridley, Lond. 1766; *Animadversions upon Mr. Phillips's History of the Life of Cardinal Pole*, by Neve, Oxford, 1766; *Remarks upon the History of the Life of Reginald Pole*, by Stone, Oxford, 1766. The last is the least valuable.

³ There is little room for doubt that Scory's net was without permission. See Archdeacon Todd's *Historical and Critical Introduction to Crammer's Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament*, Lond. 1825, p. lxxxix.

⁴ Sept. 5, 1553.

religious principles advocated in it being still established by law. Upon this ground, however, reinforced by his participation in Lady Jane Grey's attempt, Cranmer was committed to the Tower.⁵ Upon the latter charge he was soon after brought to trial⁶, and he pleaded guilty, protesting that he had acted most reluctantly and under legal advice, to which he might reasonably defer. Had Mary's government possessed any sound discretion, it would have availed itself of such an opportunity to get rid of an obnoxious opponent. But it was the foot-ball of an infatuated, resentful bigotry, which could not rest without savage dreams of suffering heretics. Hence Cranmer was repeatedly harassed with attempts to browbeat and confute him. At length, his venerable friends, Ridley and Latimer, who had hitherto shared his troubles, received the crown of martyrdom⁷; and endeavours were artfully made to shake his own constancy. These were attended with some considerable success. The fear of death, and the love of life, betrayed him into a disgraceful dissimulation. It has generally been believed that he recanted protestantism, and a document, doing this most completely, is found in Foxe's *Martyrology*. It appears, however, that he really never signed this. He might have written it out, and affected a disposition to consider it, giving, at the same time, hopes of acquiescence. The matter to which his signature, authenticated by a date, stands appended, is equivocal; such as, indeed, he could not sign, under existing circumstances, without discredit, because his act might pass among ignorant Romanists for a sufficient recantation, while better judges knew that it really left untouched all the points at issue.⁸ It seems, therefore, both that he shrank from the guilt of a genuine recantation, and that his enemies have not to bear the infamy of burning him, after he was no longer liable, on their own principles, to that penalty. They, probably, saw the hopelessness of drawing any thing from him that would bear sufficient examination, and having practised

⁵ Sept. 8.

⁶ Nov. 13.

⁷ Oct. 16, 1555.

⁸ Cranmer's recantations were published immediately under the inspection of Bp. Boner, with this title, *All the Submyssions and Recantations of Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterburge, truly set forth both in Latyn and Englysh, agreeable to the originalles, wrytten and sub-*

scribed with his own handes. The tract itself is extremely scarce, but reprints of it may be seen in Strype's *Memorials*, iii. 392; Todd's *Life of Cranmer*, ii. 472; Jenkyns's *Remains of Cranmer*, iv. 393. A lengthened examination of these perplexing documents may be found in the editor's *History of the Reformation*, iv. 517.

upon his weakness long enough to degrade him effectually, they brought him to the stake.⁹ Nothing could be more ill-judged. The dissembling prisoner, fluttering between unworthy hopes and fears, called for grief, scorn and exultation, or pity. From the dying martyr, happily freed from every chord that bound him to the earth, shone forth all the noble constancy of a spirit mounting to the skies. Few men who have done and suffered so much in a cause that half the world approves, have received harder measure from posterity. Romanists, smarting under the defection of an archbishop and a scholar, have naturally loaded the memory of Cranmer with indiscriminate abuse. Protestants commonly have thought more of his subserviency under Henry, and of his recantation, such as might be, under Mary, than of the firmness that he showed repeatedly under both, and of his great services to the holy cause of scriptural Christianity. The truth is, that his convictions were slowly and cautiously formed, and that he had not the nerve with which some very few men are blessed. But he was among the most useful men that England ever produced, and a careful consideration of his history will show him to have passed through life with far more of independence and courage, than a hasty view of some ill-understood facts has made men commonly believe.

§ 21. Four other members of the prelacy perished in the flames under Mary. Two of them, Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, who had been bishop of Worcester, but resigned the see when the *Act of Six Articles* was passed, were burnt, like Cranmer, in the city ditch, at Oxford. Neither of them was married; hence, in their cases, there was no ground for assigning their Protestantism to any other than the purest motives. Ridley was a scholarly divine, who had been led to the rejection of transubstantiation, by the reading of Ratramn's famous piece. This he reasonably viewed as a conclusive argument against the antiquity of the Romish doctrine, and by introducing the book to Cranmer's notice, he brought him too over to the same opinion.¹ Latimer had a fund of rustic simplicity,

⁹ March 21, 1556.

¹ Cranmer has been commonly thought to have brought from Germany a belief in the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation. He, however, denied this twice when examined at Oxford, professing himself to have been brought over from

the Romish doctrine by Bp. Ridley. He probably considered the Romish and Lutheran doctrines as not materially different, while the former had the advantage of antiquity. Ratramn's piece, to which his attention appears to have been called about the year 1546, con-

and homely eloquence, which rendered him highly popular as a preacher. Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, was burnt in that city, before an immense crowd, at the beginning of this frightful and insane persecution.² He was a zealous, able, and eloquent man, formerly a Cistercian monk; but he had imbibed in Switzerland, whither he fled before the *Act of Six Articles*, some low-church notions, which made him object to the episcopal attire, and laid a *foundation for Puritanism. Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was burnt at Caermarthen.³ He had been prior of Nostel, in Yorkshire, but on Mary's accession he was embarrassed, and in prison, from the failure of remittances into the exchequer of some subsidies from his clergy. He certainly was by far the least considerable of the episcopal sufferers.

§ 22. The whole Marian persecution extended over about four years, and the victims who perished in it appear to have been two hundred and eighty-eight.⁴ It may reasonably be considered rather a portion than an interruption of the Reformation. Not only were several venerated and popular ecclesiastics sacrificed, leaving an extensive impression of grief, pity, and indignation on the public mind, but also a large proportion of the victims came from inferior life. Thus personal feelings fostered a horror and hatred of popery through every grade of English society. Advantage was taken of these feelings during the next reign. Foxe published his *Martyrology*, and it was a book, provided under royal authority, by every parish in the kingdom.⁵ By this provision, men were enabled and invited to brood over the horrible details of Mary's infatuated reign. Their own knowledge, or that of persons about them, would abundantly corroborate, and even exaggerate the revolting picture. Thus the unhappy queen, who has gained eternal infamy by her sanguinary zeal against alleged heresy, really took effective measures, for rooting it in the land. She still is popularly stigmatised as *the bloody*, and her creed is hastily dismissed in

vinced him that the Romish doctrine had no such advantage, and a careful examination of the question made him abandon a belief in the corporal presence altogether.

² Feb. 9, 1555.

³ March 30, 1555.

⁴ Strype's *Memorials*, iii. Appendix, 556. In the *Execution of Justice in England, not for Religion, but for Treason*,

first published in 1583, under authority of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and generally considered his writing, the number of protestants who lost their lives under Mary is estimated at near four hundred; but then imprisonment, torments, and famine, are taken into the account besides fire.

⁵ Strype's *Annals*, iii. 738.

lower English life, as linked inseparably with the fires of Smithfield.

§ 23. On Mary's demise⁶, her half-sister, Elizabeth, peaceably succeeded. The Romish party had grounds for questioning her legitimacy from the nature of Henry's second marriage, and papal condemnation of it. But the late queen's council, resting on a statute passed in the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII., made no difficulty in recognizing her title to the crown.⁷ It must, however, have seemed probable from the first that she would assume a Protestant position. Her mother's cause was linked inseparably with the Reformation, and her own education generally had taken that direction. Still she had conformed to Romanism under the late reign, and it might be known that her tastes were more in favour of a showy ritual, than of that bald simplicity in public worship which some of the reformed churches had adopted. She was also under a degree of personal obligation to her brother-in-law, Philip of Spain, perhaps one of the most bigoted of contemporary Romanists. He had politically, if not generously, taken her part when Mary was bent upon oppressing her, and she soon had reason to know that he was now willing to make her his wife.⁸ In one of her first cares, however, the choice of a council, Romanists might naturally see cause for apprehension. Thirteen of Mary's councillors were, indeed, retained, but with them were associated eight others, known to be Protestants, however they might have recently conformed, and from whom nothing Romish was to be expected. Especially William Cecil, immediately appointed secretary of state, eventually created Lord Burghley, and virtually prime minister during most of Elizabeth's arduous and glorious reign, was an earnest of a policy essentially different from Mary's.

§ 24. As usual, the course of events expedited a decision which the caution that a long course of trying circumstances had effectually taught, might have kept longer in suspense. The exiles, who had sought safety from the Marian persecution among foreign Protestants, eagerly returned on the first news of the late queen's death, and soon made England ring with complaints of their own hardships and with invectives against

⁶ Nov. 17, 1558.

⁷ Camden's *Elizabeth*, in Kemet's

Complete Hist. of England, ii. 369.

⁸ *Ibid.* 370.

the system that had caused them. On the other hand, their opponents, the Romish incumbents, became irritated by their attacks, and alarmed for the safety of their own preferments. They too, therefore, lost no time in taking the field, and England became at once the theatre of an angry religious controversy, in which the two sides felt themselves preparing to contend not only for victory, but for bread as well. Foreign politics likewise hastened Elizabeth's deliberations. Her cousin, the unfortunate Mary, queen of Scots, was then dauphiness, and her father-in-law, Henry II., urged her into the imprudence and indecency of assuming the English arms, and claiming the English crown. Thus Elizabeth's pride was wounded, and her security threatened, by the brand of illegitimacy, and a show of competition for her throne, backed by the power of France. To the court of that country the aged pope, Paul IV., was then completely devoted, from his hatred of Spain, and the Austrian family.⁹ Elizabeth civilly sent him, through Sir Edward Carne, English resident at his court, the customary announcement of her accession, and an assurance that none should be molested for religion. But with a rudeness, and indiscretion, little usual at Rome under delicate circumstances, he repulsed the complimentary message; professing inability to recognize a sovereign of illegitimate birth, until the case had been regularly examined at his court. In the event, indeed, of a reference to him, he expressed himself desirous of taking the most favourable views possible.¹ Elizabeth must have naturally felt insulted by this reflection upon her origin, and this insolent pretension of one without English rights, to judge of her capacity for England's throne. Every thing, therefore, but anxiety to retain Philip's friendship, impelled her into an identification with the Protestant party.

§ 25. Being, however, anxious to precipitate nothing, she issued a royal proclamation on the 27th of December, imposing silence on the pulpit. Neither party was to preach, or teach, and all were forbidden to attend as hearers, if any gloss even, or explanation, were delivered. In this exercise of the prerogative, precedents were followed in the late reigns, and the feverish state of public opinion now rendered such a precaution

⁹ Pallavicino, *Ist. del Conc. di Trento*, ii. 128.

¹ *Ibid.*

more than usually defensible. The proclamation did not indeed, strictly take neutral ground. It forbade any other service than the Romish, which was yet authorized by law; but then it admitted the Litany, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, with the Epistle and Gospel, in English.² Though any abstract objection to these concessions could hardly be maintained, all must have viewed them as the first steps towards a general defection from Rome. Adherents to the papacy had long not only put up every where with public worship in an unknown tongue, but had even become so fascinated by that strange abuse, as to call Latin the *sacred language*.

On the 15th of January, 1559, the queen was crowned by Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, with all the usual ceremonies. The service appears to have been completely that of the Romish ritual, and all the bishops at liberty, are said to have attended.³ If it were so, however, this was the last appearance of their concurrence with Elizabeth's government. Upon their bench were then only sixteen individuals, and of these five were of king Henry's appointment, hence sworn to renounce the pope, and noted for admitting various modifications of the Romish system, at the call of interest. Three of them, indeed, had subsequently incurred dismissal and imprisonment, when Edward required a character completely Protestant.⁴ The remaining two⁵, had not, however, shown even that tardy affection for the system to which they all so readily returned under Mary. Thus previous consistency gave no very certain pledge for the principles of any one among the five. Their eleven brethren, however, were all of Mary's appointment, and this infusion of a more unbending tone, seems to have acted upon the whole bench.

§ 26. When the Romish cause accordingly came under parliamentary debate, all of them stood resolutely by it; merely agreeing to those indirect assaults upon the papal authority

² Strype's *Annals*, Append. i. 391.

³ Strype's *Annals*, i. 44. Camden, however, says, "the archbishop of York, and some others, refusing to assist at the solemnity." This may only mean that they would take no part in the service. Dr. Lingard understands it otherwise, mentioning "the absence of the prelates." White, bishop of Winchester, was under restraint, having been

ordered to keep his house, in consequence of an intemperate attack upon the Marian exiles, in his sermon at the late queen's funeral.

⁴ Viz. — Heath, now archbishop of York; Boner, bishop of London; and Tunstall, bishop of Durham.

⁵ Viz. — Thirlby, bishop of Ely, and Kitchen, bishop of Llandaff.

which were conveyed by the statute recognizing the queen's title to the throne; and by that making her inheritable from her mother.⁶ The first legislative act openly levelled at popery was one for the royal supremacy. This was originally meant as a measure for simply reviving the law enacted under Henry. But there were objections to this course, and among them one was entertained by Elizabeth herself⁷, the sovereign seeming to be placed by Henry's legislature, in something like an ecclesiastical position, analogous to that of the pope. The measure, therefore, as first introduced, was abandoned after a long discussion, and the bill that superseded it was drawn so as to be free from objections deemed of any weight. The act as it passed was not grounded upon the principle of investing the crown with any powers that it had wanted before Henry's reign. It merely professed to revive the sovereign's *ancient* ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to repeal acts repugnant to the same. There was, indeed, a series of precedents reaching to the earliest national records, which proved England to have admitted any papal interference in her affairs, only by connivance.⁸ As the facts establishing this were easily accessible to persons of information, and as the *statutes of provisors*, with other formal acts of resistance, to the papal assumptions, were matters of universal notoriety, there was a reasonable ground for requiring that all ecclesiastical and official persons should take an oath, admitting the royal supremacy, on pain of forfeiture.⁹ This test the act

⁶ The former bill passed the Lords, Feb. 9, the latter, Feb. 13, 1559, in both cases unanimously. D'Ewes, 19, 20.

⁷ Sandys to Parker, Lond. April 30, 1559. Burnet's *Hist. Ref.* Records, ii. 456.

⁸ This was shown at great length, by Sir Edward Coke, then solicitor-general, in 1591, in Cawdrey's case. His argument may be seen in *Sir Edward Coke's Reports*, Lond. 1777, pt. v. viii.

⁹ The oath was also to be tendered to "wards that were to sue their liveries, and be invested in their livings;" (Camden, 372) or as Dr. Lingard expresses it, to "all laymen suing out the livery of their lands or about to do homage to the queen." (*Hist. Engl.* vii. 260.) This interference with private fortunes was indefensible. Nevertheless, the law might not be so bad in practice as it

was, in this particular, theoretically, Elizabeth's usage being to provide stringent remedies, and to put them in force only when pressed by some necessity; a treacherous policy, it must be owned, but perhaps more imputable to the embarrassments of a very difficult position than to deficiencies either of mercy or discernment. Mr. Butler, indeed, the late venerable Romish counsel, represents the *Act of Supremacy* under no very odious aspect. He says, "None, however, except persons holding ecclesiastical or civil offices, could be required to take the oath; and none but those who voluntarily denied the queen's supremacy were subjected to other penalties. Thus the operation of this act, though severe, was limited." *Historical Memoirs of the English Catholics*, Lond. 1821, iii. 182.

provided, and the episcopal bench, with a single exception, absolutely refused it. Thus all the sees in England, but one, came into the queen's disposal.

§ 27. The holder of that one, Kitchen of Llandaff, who now saved his bishopric once more, seems never to have taken this test himself, but only to have engaged that it should be taken by all under his authority. He was allowed personally an unlimited time for considering the oath.¹ From his former compliances during a long series of years, not only was any thing to be expected of him rather than the surrender of his preferment, but also hopes appear to have been entertained of inducing him to aid in keeping up the episcopal succession. Neither the obstinacy that Elizabeth had experienced from her whole prelacy, nor the notions brought home by the exiles from un-episcopal protestants abroad, goaded the government into any rash counsels for the abandonment of an ecclesiastical polity that all antiquity sanctions. On the contrary, one of the queen's earliest cares was to re-establish that catholic and venerable order in the Church, which Englishmen of every rank had respected from infancy, and which all men of information knew to have been universal among Christians from the first. For archbishop of Canterbury, she singled out Dr. Matthew Parker, who had been her unfortunate mother's chaplain, and who succeeded in retaining Henry's good opinion, after that lady's untimely end, having been appointed by royal collation, prebendary of Ely, and afterwards by letters commendatory, master of Corpus Christi, or Bene't college, Cambridge.² Under Edward, he married, and was advanced to the deanery of Lincoln. During the Marian persecution, he kept himself concealed in England, being at one time in imminent danger; but he thus escaped those low-church

¹ This fact has not been known until lately. Dr. Lamb brought it to light in his *Historical Account of the Thirty-nine Articles*, Camb. 1829, p. 11. There is printed from the invaluable MS. library of C. C. C., Bp. Kitchen's written undertaking to force the consciences of others, while his own was left at liberty, dated July 18, 1559. He died in 1563. His associate in all previous compliances, Bp. Thirlby, might not have been found willing even to give this kind of undertaking. He had indeed gone to Rome in 1554, upon an embassy

to thank the pope, as it was given out, for his readiness in pardoning the heresy of England; really, as it is thought, to negotiate for the recognition of titles to the monastic property, the fortunate holders of this having no sort of disposition to surrender it, whatever might be their general leaning towards Romanism. Thirlby's appearance in this Italian pageant naturally disqualified him for another turn at the call of interest four years after.

² Strype's *Parker*, Oxf. 1821, i. 26.

prepossessions, which so many of his fellow-sufferers imbibed during their exile upon the continent. He was, indeed, thoroughly smitten by the love of antiquity, and nothing could be more foreign from his cast of mind, than theoretic views of scriptural perfection founded upon a breach of catholic unity. He was, besides, more than usually fitted for a difficult position, being cautious, well-informed, and discreet above most men.

§ 28. But if any hopes were ever entertained of Kitchen's concurrence in maintaining his country's episcopal succession, by aiding in Parker's consecration, they were eventually disappointed. That solemnity, so important, for preserving her catholic appearance to England, was performed in the chapel of Lambeth-house, on the 17th of December, 1559, without any assistance from a bishop actually benefited. It was, however, regularly performed by individuals who had received episcopal consecration. These were the bishops Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale, who had all been deprived of episcopal sees under Mary, and Hodgkins, who had been suffragan of Bedford, and therefore, like his coadjutors, episcopally consecrated, though not like them, ever possessed of a diocesan prelacy. Thus Parker's sacred deposit was regularly conveyed, and England's apostolic polity preserved inviolate. The ordinal used was that provided in king Edward's reign.

§ 29. Nothing could be more mortifying to the Romish party, when once its energies thoroughly rallied from the prostration that followed Mary's death, than this re-appearance of the national church upon her ancient footing. Hence after a discreet lapse of time, when all witnesses of any station were likely to be removed by death, systematic opposition had been organized, and passions were violently inflamed by persecution, a tale made its way into circulation, which never could be expected to show itself out of the lighter walks of literature. It is, however, a remarkable fact, that forty-five years after Parker's consecration, Romish malignity denied him ever to have been consecrated at all. He had merely, it was maintained, met by appointment Kitchen of Llandaff, at the Nag's Head tavern in Cheapside, to make arrangements, probably, for his consecration. But this was found impracticable, Kitchen having been frightened by Boner. On this, Scory laid a Bible on his head, and on the heads of some others, as they knelt before him, and they all

rose up bishops. So craving and indiscriminate is the appetite of calumny, that this ridiculous figment, which carries its own refutation on its very face, found many who affected to believe it, and it hence has regularly received notice in the grave pages of history and theology. It is, however, contradicted by existing records: it had no sooner shown its impudent front, than a living witness of Parker's consecration stepped forward to contradict it³, and no partisan ventures any longer to say one word in its favour.

§ 30. The English service had been restored, by the *Act of Uniformity*, which passed in the spring preceding Parker's consecration.⁴ That important ceremony was followed by immediate steps for re-organizing the episcopal bench. Two of the archbishop's consecrators, Barlow and Scory, were confirmed, within three days, in the sees of Chichester and Hereford respectively. On the following day, these two, now beneficed prelates, assisted their new metropolitan, in his chapel at Lambeth, at the consecration of four other bishops. In the following month, five more individuals were consecrated for the episcopate, and among them the learned and amiable Jewel, who had already attracted universal notice, by challenging Romanists upon the ground of tradition, which they are in the habit of treating as indisputably their own⁵, and who has gained lasting celebrity by his triumphant *Apology for the Church of England*.⁶ In the next March, two bishops were consecrated for the sees in the province of York. Thus the whole country saw that ecclesiastical polity restored, which took root together with its earliest institutions, and of which traces are to be found in the most venerable monuments of Christian antiquity.

³ The Earl of Nottingham. This absurd and malicious tale, which long sought to discredit Parker's consecration, is treated at considerable length in several works, but perhaps in none more fully and judiciously than in Le Courayer's *Defence of the Validity of the English Ordinations*, Lond. 1728, i. 26.

⁴ The first *Act of Uniformity*, as it may be conveniently called, to distinguish it from that passed under Charles II., passed the Commons April 20, 1559. It was brought up to the Lords April 25, and passed April 28. It provided that king Edward's second service-book,

with a few alterations, should be used on the feast of St. Baptist next ensuing, and thenceforwards. D'Ewes, 30.

⁵ In a sermon at St. Paul's cross, March 17, 1560. *Le Bas' Jewel*, 91.

⁶ Published in Latin in 1562. "It came forth with the consent of the bishops, and other distinguished divines, and it had moreover the sanction of the queen's authority. So that the *Apology* is not to be regarded as containing the sentiments of an individual writer, but rather as a sort of state vindication of the protestant establishment of England." *Ibid.* 108.

§ 31. By way of giving the Romish party a sufficient opportunity for the public production of its defence, a solemn disputation was arranged between select champions on the two sides, according to precedents in the two last reigns. The disputants confronted each other, on the 31st of March, 1559, in Westminster abbey, before the two houses of Parliament. Three questions were to be debated, viz. the use of an unknown tongue in public worship, the right of particular churches to regulate the externals of religion, and the Romish doctrine of a propitiatory sacrifice in the mass. The first question stood for the first day's discussion. It is, however, a question very difficult to advocate, in the face of sufficient opposition, and it evidently was approached on the Romish side with great embarrassment. It had been arranged, that none but written arguments were to be produced. When, however, these were called for, White, bishop of Winchester, said that adequate time for the preparation had not been allowed, but that one of the party was willing to enter upon an oral argument. This was not declined, and Cole, dean of St. Paul's, made a long and vehement harangue in defence of the Latin service. It was evident that he had come far from ill prepared, having with him a large mass of written matter, to which he constantly referred, and being prompted from time to time by his friends around. He was answered by Horne, dean of Durham, under Edward, and eventually bishop of Winchester. Having to take the popular side of an argument easily manageable, Horne acquitted himself to the general satisfaction of his auditory, and the day passed off disadvantageously to Romanism. On the second day appointed, the protestants wished to discuss the second question, but the Romanists refused until an answer had been read to Horne's discourse delivered on the preceding day. To this the other party would not agree, and new objections being started on the Romish side, nothing further was done in the way of disputation, and the whole conference broke off in displeasure, amid mutual accusations.⁷

§ 32. One branch of the *Act of Supremacy* was the abrogation of queen Mary's persecuting powers. Her father had repealed

⁷ An account of this conference, put forth by the privy council, may be seen in the records to the second volume of Bp. Burnet's *History of the Reformation*,

No. V. Another contemporary account is in a letter of Jewel to P. Martyr, April 6, 1559.

three statutes, passed under Richard II. and his two immediate successors, the Lancastrian Henries, against Lollardy, or the opinions of Wickliffe. Without these edicts, or others of a similar character, the atrocious persecution which had recently sought the extirpation of English protestantism, could not have been set on foot. The late unhappy queen had, accordingly, restored these sanguinary laws to their former places in the statute-book. Elizabeth now again repealed them. To this act of her government none will any longer venture to deny commendation. The act was, however, clogged with a provision which has greatly lessened the applause of posterity. Lollardy, the ancient name for anti-papal doctrine, was, indeed, no longer, to be heresy, but it was otherwise with opinions at variance with the first four general councils, or any other general council, and the plain and express words of canonical Scripture. Maintainers of such opinions were left liable to the old horrible penalty of burning, which had been awarded by the common law.⁸ The sixteenth century appears to have been incapable of rising above some cruel style of dogmatising, and really protestants were goaded out of any dispassionate reasoning upon opponents of the catholic faith by Romish misrepresentation. Nothing is likely to act more unfavourably upon the papal cause than a calm consideration of protestant agreement with all that Romanists can confirm from Scripture, and from the Church's most venerated monuments. Hence it has been usual with reasoners against the reformation, to paint it as a general cover for opinions equally irreconcilable with the known landmarks of Christianity, and with each other. There is reason to believe that these artful representations had considerable influence in exasperating the reformers against heresy. But be that as it may, their attention to Romish precedent here has been most injurious to their memory, and has done, probably, some disservice to the cause for which they laboured. Vainly is the Romish disputant reminded that capital penalties against impugners of the first four general councils, are very different,

⁸ Sir Roger Twisden thus justifies this act: "For every one to think and do without controul what him list, was to let loose all reins of government, to leave open a door for sedition, to disquiet her kingdom, and the commonwealth, perhaps, not to be ever in peace." (*Historical Vindication of the Church of Eng-*

land in point of Schism, Lond. 1675, p. 160.) This argument was undoubtedly considered sound both in Elizabeth's days and in Twisden's; hence it sufficiently accounts for the statute: its sufficiency to vindicate such legislation is no longer likely to be conceded in any quarter.

both in their nature and in the extent of their operation, from such penalties against the obscurely-authorized peculiarities of his own system. He will persist in arguing, and not unfairly, that cruelties of that kind, being universally provided for some sort of religious belief or other, are proofs that the age was sanguinary, and that no one section of it was especially blameable for imbibing something of its unrelenting spirit. It is humiliating to a protestant to add, that Elizabeth's cruel continuance of the ancient common-law provision against heresy did not remain a dead letter during her reign. It sullied her fair fame by the barbarous consignment of two foreigners and three Englishmen to the flames.⁹

§ 33. At Rome the wise movements of England towards a satisfactory settlement of her ecclesiastical affairs naturally occasioned great uneasiness, and a new pontificate would evidently earn a glorious distinction if signalled by the recovery of a kingdom so important. On the death, accordingly, of Paul IV., his more prudent successor Pius IV., hastened to open a communication with Elizabeth. He sent a conciliatory letter to her by Parpaglia, who had been connected with Cardinal Pole¹, and he intimated that this messenger had instructions to make some concession. The report has gone abroad with very general credit, that Parpaglia was authorized to offer a recognition of the queen's legitimacy and an allowance of the English liturgy, on condition of the national return to dependence upon the Roman see. There are, however, reasons for doubting, independently of intrinsic improbability, that Pius pushed his desire of accommodation so far. His recognition of Elizabeth's legitimacy, and some further acquiescence in her ecclesiastical arrangements, are likely enough to have been intended by him; in full confidence that Italian subtlety and the course of events would prevent the latter concession from making any serious inroad upon the settled policy of Rome. To recognize a service, which not only disregarded the *sacred language*, but also omitted every thing

⁹ The first of these barbarous executions was that of the two foreigners, which took place in London in 1575.

¹ The letter, dated May 15, 1560, may be seen in Camden's *Elizabeth*, 384. The passage in it, which holds out some indefinite promise, is this, "The above-mentioned Vincent" (Parpaglia) "has directions to transact with you

more at large." Sir Edward Coke, at the Norwich assizes in 1606, said that he had often heard from the queen herself that Pius was to admit the English liturgy. But there are difficulties in the way of this statement, which may be seen in the Editor's *History of the Reformation*, iv. 725.

contained in the mass-book for which catholic antiquity could not be pleaded, would be to surrender the Romish religion at discretion. Elizabeth, however, allowed no means for ascertaining the lengths to which papal conciliation might be driven. She would not receive Parpaglia. Nor would she subsequently hearken to an overture made by Pius, and again with hints of some undefined concession², for the transmission of English representatives to the council of Trent. There is no doubt that she exercised a sound discretion in both cases. Had papal agents again obtained a footing in England, no exertions would have been spared to render every hope illusory which had been held out when the object was to gain a landing for them, and to reduce the country once more, by whatever means, to all its old blindness under a foreign ritual, unscriptural opinions, and papal usurpation.

§ 34. Although Elizabeth, however, prudently declined any participation in the council of Trent, she would not leave the questions under discussion there, without that decision for which all Europe loudly called. While the Trentine fathers really were deliberating how the peculiarities of Rome could be most safely retained, and most advantageously enunciated, the English convocation was employed in preparing a body of doctrine that would bear confronting with Scripture and Catholic antiquity. There could be no reason to doubt that king Edward's articles, based as they were upon the confession of Augsburg, and drawn up with a high degree of scholarly discretion, had powerful claims upon the national confidence. They were, accordingly, now brought forward for a careful review, and such alterations were made in them as experience and more extended information suggested. The result was, that Edward's forty-two articles were digested, with certain alterations, omissions, and additions, into the thirty-nine, which henceforth became the standard of Anglican conformity. This body of doctrine received the unanimous assent of convocation, at the end of January, 1563. The prelates authenticated it immediately by their subscriptions; the lower house did this after some delay.³ It is worthy of remark, that Romanism could not appeal to a

² Pallavicino, *Ist. del Conc. di Trento*, *Historical Account of the Thirty-nine Articles*, 19. ii. 204.

³ Strype's *Annals*, i. 491. Lamb's

similar authentication until the close of the year 1563. The council of Trent then ceased its sessions, and gave authority to that mass of doctrine, uncontained, as it seems to ordinary readers or students, in Scripture, which Pius IV. has embodied in the celebrated creed that bears his name. Thus, in fact, the English church really preceded the Roman in the formal enunciation of her principles. It is true, indeed, that the Trentine fathers authorised nothing new; but it is equally true, that they authorised much hitherto thought, from its want of any sufficient authority, open to individual acceptance or rejection. To these divines, therefore, forming a body chiefly Italian and Spanish, sitting in the sixteenth century, not to any society or other unquestionable sanction, with a venerable front of catholic antiquity, is the church of Rome indebted for the formal authentication of her peculiar creed. Englishmen must have had equal right to deliberate upon theological difficulties, which had hitherto been universally deemed open to debate; and they certainly took the safer side, in exacting no man's belief to such doctrines as were undoubtedly destitute of any certain warranty in Scripture, and as many scholars thought, were equally destitute of any safe authority from catholic tradition.

§ 35. By the passing of the Thirty-nine Articles, the Anglican reformation was concluded. The national church was now provided with a polity, a liturgy, and terms of conformity. All the three have encountered at intervals great obloquy and opposition, but all the three are deeply rooted in an eminently thoughtful nation, and are daily rising in its good opinion. It is, indeed, an immense advantage, upon the very face of it, to be under that form of religious discipline, which every ecclesiastical history shows to have been established from the first. It is, besides, most beneficial to the laity to be restrained from that interference in ecclesiastical affairs, which experience marks as the tempter to petty pride and officious meddling. To the clergy it is a most important comfort and protection to be under the direction of men who have a practical knowledge of their position, and a fraternal respect for their feelings. The whole religious community has great reason to rejoice in a form of public worship, neither theatrical, nor bald, which embodies all the choicest expressions of devotion that the Church of Christ has ever produced, and is, at the same time, judiciously freed from every excrescence that surreptitiously gained reception

under cover of ignorance and superstition. The liturgy, accordingly, is that among their national distinctions of which Englishmen, perhaps, are most proud. In its earlier years it was commonly reviled as a fetter upon the spontaneous effusions of a pious mind, and a polluted remnant of an idolatrous religion. But it comes home to the hearts of all who approach it without prejudice against it; and such as know anything of extemporaneous prayers are aware of a mannerism, sameness, poverty, and inequality in them, which must ever leave them immeasurably behind a collection of the best pieces that have come from the best divines during a series of ages. The scholarly member of the Church of England looks also with unmingled satisfaction upon the catholic character of his ritual. He knows it to be no creature of the Reformation, nor, indeed, of any one period, however venerable, but to be rooted in the apostolic age, and to be connected with religious antiquity during all its more unsuspected stages. Nor are Anglican terms of conformity less worthy of approval than other leading features of the system. They demand no assent to doctrines which have been anxiously but vainly sought by many competent and pious enquirers after truth, in all the Church's most venerated monuments, both inspired and uninspired. They omit no leading principle which the first four general councils have sanctioned, and which have, therefore, long received among Christians the seal of orthodoxy. They do not dogmatise upon some of the more mysterious dispensations of Providence, so as to repel either of the great parties that divide the Christian world upon such questions. On the contrary, one of these parties remarks, that when the Articles were originally framed, Calvin was only rising into notice, and was not consulted; whence his peculiar system has, at furthest, but an obscure approval in them. The other of these parties maintains that the Articles really were composed in a Calvinistic spirit, but that this was not embodied with sufficient fulness and precision. Hence this party would, in Elizabeth's latter years, have greatly narrowed the terms of conformity, by forcing the celebrated Lambeth Articles upon the national church.⁴ Now, without any expression of opinion as to which of these two parties judges more correctly of the

⁴ The *Lambeth Articles* were framed in 1595. See the Editor's *Elizabethan Religious History*, p. 467.

spirit in which the Articles were originally framed, it is at least evident from the conduct of them both, that the Church of England offers a doctrinal test drawn up in that judicious spirit of comprehension which befits the standard of a national belief. Nor in any thing will a candid enquirer be enabled to deny that this discreet avoidance of extremes has been the successful aim of those invaluable divines to whom Englishmen owe the details of their established religious system.⁵

⁵ The earliest professed historian of the English Reformation was Nicholas Sanders, who perished in Ireland, engaged in a rebellion against Queen Elizabeth, in 1580. He had previously published, in his long and elaborate work on the papal supremacy, entitled *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesie*, various statements of recent religious movements in his country. After his death, appeared his well known small volume, *De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani*. This is the great source of Romish views upon the English Reformation. All his representations were treated by contemporary Protestants as libels, and answers to them promptly appeared in the *Προλεγόμενα* of Ackworth, the *Fidelis Servi Subdito Infideli Responsio* of Clerk, and the *Anti-Sanderus*. All these answers are rare, and are wanting in that fulness and precision which their subjects require, but they are valuable so far as they go. In the seventeenth century, Heylin wrote a professed *History of the English Reformation*, in small folio. It is a valuable work, but wanting in fulness and references. Bp. Burnet next appeared as the professed historian of this memorable movement, and his voluminous work is of the highest value, on account of the immense mass

of documents by which its statements are substantiated. Immediately after him the laborious and candid Strype published his *Memorials*, *Cranmer*, and *Cheke*, which, besides the first volumes of his *Annals* and *Parker*, all illustrate the same period that Burnet has taken. He too has equalled his composition by the documents to support it. Various corrections to Burnet were supplied by the learned Wharton, who enjoyed the immense advantage of daily access to the library and records at Lambeth, under the title, *A Specimen of some Errors and Defects in the History of the Reformation of the Church of England*; by *Anthony Harmer*. Other deficiencies in Burnet were supplied in the unfriendly *Histoire du Divorce*, by the abbé Le Grand, written expressly to depreciate him. Dissenting views of the English Reformation may be seen in the first volume of Neal's *History of the Puritans*; Romish views, in Dodd's *Church History of England, chiefly with regard to Catholics*, in three volumes, folio, now reprinting, with improvements by Mr. Tierney, in 8vo. Dr. Lingard's *History of England*, also, though professedly a civil history, yet being written with sectarian objects, must be considered as a work purely ecclesiastical.

CHAPTER VI.

* HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

§ 1. Increasing unpopularity of Romanism.—§ 2. Martyrdom of Mylne.—§ 3. The Congregation.—§ 4. Knox.—§ 5. The first Covenant.—§ 6. Duplicity of the Queen Regent.—§ 7. Decisive conduct of the Congregation.—§ 8. Altered policy of the regent.—§ 9. Outlawry of the preachers.—§ 10. Outrages at Perth and Cupar.—§ 11. Destruction of the cathedral of St. Andrew's.—§ 12. Further havoc of ecclesiastical buildings.—§ 13. Reverses of the Congregation.—§ 14. Interference of England.—§ 15. Death of the regent.—§ 16. Treaty of Edinburgh.—§ 17. Protestantism irregularly established by Parliament.—§ 18. Refusal of the royal assent.—§ 19. The Book of Discipline.—§ 20. Order for the demolition of ecclesiastical buildings.—§ 21. Return of Mary, Queen of Scots.—§ 22. Her personal indiscretions favourable to the Reformation.—§ 23. Provision for the reformed preachers.—§ 24. Establishment of the Scottish Reformation.—§ 25. Its peculiar circumstances.

§ 1. It was not until Knox finally returned to his native country, on the second of May, 1559, that the Scottish reformation made an unimpeded progress. Many circumstances favourable to it had latterly occurred, and among them, two that were very differently intended.¹ Mary of Guise, mother of the young queen, although of a family that sought party influence through Romish partialities, and deeply imbued with such herself, had courted the Scottish protestants for the sake of their assistance in her designs upon the regency. Having obtained this object of her ambition², and subsequently the matrimonial crown for her son-in-law, she entered upon a new line of policy. Thus a powerful party, long encouraged, became alarmed and exasperated, a species of vicissitude highly conducive to its ultimate success. At the same time, Mary of England made many active reformers seek refuge in Scotland from the fierce persecution that she raised among her own subjects. These exiles not only laboured for the propagation of a protestant belief, but were en-

¹ Robertson's *History of Scotland*,
 Lond. 1809, i. 339.

² In May, 1554. *Ibid.* 344.

abled also to place in strong and odious contrast with it, the system which drove themselves from home, and their friends to the stake.³ While Romanism was thus daily sinking under an accumulation of unpopularity, an injudicious attempt was made to raise it by one of those theatrical shows to which it so largely stands indebted. St. Giles had passed for the patron saint of Edinburgh, and on the anniversary of his festival, in 1556, preparations were made for a grand procession.⁴ The statue of him that had been immemorially venerated, was already destroyed by protestant zeal, but another was procured in time for the exhibition. The day, however, although the procession was graced by the regent herself, ultimately proved one of wanton riot, in which order was restored with difficulty, and pageantry, long reputed sacred, hopelessly fell into contempt, amid the clamorous mirth of a licentious rabble. In the next year, the regent was assailed by such loud complaints against the reformed preachers, that she summoned them to appear before her, as chargeable with sedition, inhibiting, by proclamation, the stay in Edinburgh of any strangers who came without permission. The preachers readily obeyed the summons, but their lay friends cared nothing for the proclamation. They assembled, in great numbers, from different quarters, and filled the streets with a warlike demonstration that justly struck a panic into the feeble government. The palace being tumultuously entered, Mary was under the necessity of hearing the language of defiance to her face, and of promising to recal the proclamation against such intimidating assemblages.⁵ This was a surrender at discretion. It could now be doubted by none, that the government was unequal to the protection of Romanism. This conviction acted immediately on every side. The reformers naturally felt more emboldened, and their opponents became paralysed. A blow was now struck that Scottish popery never recovered.⁶

§ 2. Its unpopularity steadily increased until the execution of

³ "In that cruel persecution, used by that monster, Mary of England, were godly men dispersed in divers nations, of whom it pleased the goodness of God to send some unto us for our comfort and instruction." Knox's *History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*. Glasgow, 1832, p. 83.

⁴ This outrage has been sometimes placed in 1558, but 1556 is undoubtedly the true date. Cook's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*. Edinb. 1819, ii. 14.

⁵ *Ibid.* 15.

⁶ Russell's *History of the Church in Scotland*. Lond. 1834, i. 195.

Walter Mylne. This martyr had been in Germany when young, and afterwards became incumbent of Lunan in Angus⁷, but his opinions were protestant, and he was condemned as a heretic, in 1538, by Cardinal David Beaton, then archbishop of St. Andrew's.⁸ Mylne, after condemnation, escaped to the continent, where he married. Returning to his own country, he long lived in seclusion, but it seems not so as to prevent a select circle from knowing him as a minister of religion. He was now beyond eighty, and no folly could be greater than that of dragging him forward from his limited sphere to inflict, by his death, that injury upon Romanism which otherwise he never could have inflicted in a span of life necessarily so brief as his. Nor did this indiscretion seem likely in the existing archbishop of St. Andrew's, John Hamilton, who succeeded to that see, on the assassination of Cardinal Beaton, in 1546. Hamilton had shown little activity against the reformers, and hence was generally considered a prelate of great prudence and moderation.⁹ His appearance as a persecutor, was probably owing to the palpable increase of protestantism under lenient measures, and a resolution taken, in concert with other persons in authority, to seek its repression by making some severe example. None, however, could be more odious and unfortunate than that afforded by the burning of an aged clergyman, whom the common course of nature must have speedily removed. It has been thought that this inhuman folly was encouraged by hopes of finding the victim's waning powers unequal to the difficulties of a spirited defence, or to the firm facing of an agonizing death.¹ When brought out for trial, his appearance indeed, from feebleness produced by age and hardship, struck every spectator.² Mylne showed, however, when risen from his prayers, no symptom of superannuation, either bodily or mental. Nor were his faculties or courage found at all impaired, when he was placed upon the fatal pyre. On the contrary, his conduct, as before, was worthy of any age and any cause. His death, accordingly, filled up the measure of discredit which had so long threatened ruin to Scottish Romanism. Popular veneration immediately signalized the spot on which his blood was shed, by a heap of stones, and although this was promptly removed, another was not slow in

⁷ Cook, ii. 42.

⁸ Note to Knox, 109.

⁹ Robertson, i. 373.

¹ Cook, ii. 42.

² Abp. Spotswood's *History of the Church of Scotland*. Lond. 1677, p. 95.

rising in its place. Nor could menaces, or denunciations of spiritual vengeance, deter the populace from thus attesting their veneration for Mylne, and their hatred of those who dragged him to the stake.³ The Scottish Lowlands had long been slipping from the papal grasp. They now were irrecoverably gone.

§ 3. The reformation had not, however, to depend upon mere popular support, which may present a front of irresistible enthusiasm at intervals, but is notwithstanding precarious, and incapable of resisting a steady opposition. Romanism was brought into collision, soon after its authority sank, with a powerful party, that numbered adherents in every branch of the community. The views of this were essentially religious in the main, and it became popularly known as the *Congregation*. Its affairs naturally fell into the hands of such members, as from superior wealth, intelligence, and hereditary influence, were fittest both for business, and for organizing confederacies. These aristocratic Protestants appear under the designation of *Lords of the Congregation*; and they formed a sort of standing committee, at the head of a powerful political party, hostile to the French influence, and in confidential communication with England. When this body had become thoroughly conscious of its strength, it ventured upon the signing of a formal bond, by which the subscribers pledged themselves to maintain, at the hazard of their lives, the opinions that they had espoused. This instrument, which has been termed by some *the first Covenant*⁴, was signed at Edinburgh, on the 3rd of December, 1557, by three earls, and many of inferior quality. Its language would generally be considered now as arrogant, uncharitable, and intolerant, the subscribers calling themselves *the congregation of Christ*, their opponents *the congregation of Satan*, and announcing no dubious intention of waging internecine war against all adherents to the Romish faith. Nothing political, undoubtedly, appears in this memorable document.

³ Knox, 109.

⁴ Russell, i. 198. Dr. McCreie considers a solemn bond to maintain the reformed religion, made by the gentlemen of Mearns, while Knox was upon his short visit to Scotland, to have been really *the first Covenant*. (*Life of Knox*, Edinb. 1818, i. 180.) Upon this view, which seems correct, Knox himself was

the author of these *Covenants*, for which his country became so famous. When the more conspicuous bond, mentioned in the text as *the first Covenant*, was signed, he was abroad, but his friends were actually corresponding for his return, and probably, meant to follow in their bond a precedent of his own when among them.

Had it no names appended of superior degree, it might pass for an idle ebullition of self-satisfied, encroaching fanaticism. But when signed by men of quality, with a numerous party at their backs, it evidently became a manifesto of great national importance. Henceforth, accordingly, *the Lords of the Congregation* were found a body with which the feeble government had no effective means of contending. The aristocratic covenanters lent a dignity to religious dissent, kept up union among the Protestants, and assumed all the functions of a well-ordered political confederacy.

§ 4. As this body, though necessarily acting by the maxims of secular policy, was universally religious in its complexion, and, no doubt, principally so in its aims, it could not work effectually upon the country without an ecclesiastical leader. Its importance, accordingly, was no sooner firmly established than it became anxious for the return of John Knox, who was then at Geneva. That illustrious reformer was born in East Lothian in 1505, of moderate parentage. He received his education in the grammar-school of Haddington, and in the university of St. Andrew's. He appears to have shown early indications of superior talent, for, though a person with few advantages of birth, he was admitted into orders before the canonical age. Within a few years afterwards, he became imbued with Protestant opinions, and in 1542 he openly professed them. Before this decisive step was taken, he withdrew from St. Andrew's into the south of Scotland, finding it impossible to remain any longer in a place which was completely under Cardinal Beaton, and where, indeed, he had already made himself obnoxious by bold attacks upon the Established Church. Having now formally set it at defiance, proceedings were instituted against him as a heretic, and he was degraded from the priesthood. It is added, that Beaton employed assassins to waylay him, and that he only escaped by means of a gentleman, seated at Langniddrie, in East Lothian, in whose family he lived as tutor.⁵ This engagement he made subservient to the propagation of his religious opinions. The lads of the house, and another gentleman's son confided to his care, were catechised publicly in a neighbouring chapel, and the instructor occasionally gave himself a still wider scope by reading a chapter in the

⁵ McCrie's *Knox*, i. 38.

Bible, adding such expositions as it suggested. The disqualification inflicted on him as a teacher of religion was thus rendered nugatory. But it did not slumber. Beaton, when surprised by assassination, was meditating new severities against Knox. His successor, Hamilton, appears to have followed up the cardinal's measures for punishing him, and he sought safety by absconding. As he might not long elude pursuit, he thought of taking refuge in Germany: England, with Henry on the throne, offering no sufficient prospect of security to a man of impetuous passions, who indulged in unsparing reprobation of every thing Romish. He resolved, however, at Easter, 1547, upon repairing with his pupils to the castle of St. Andrew's, in which Beaton's assassins continued to defy the powerless government of their country.⁶ Though armed against the cardinal by private vengeance⁷, and really men of licentious habits⁸, this resolute garrison consisted of zealous protestants. Rough, once a Dominican friar at Stirling, who took a benefice near Hull, under Edward, and was burnt in Smithfield in 1557⁹, acted as their chaplain. Knox contented himself, at the beginning of his residence at St. Andrew's, with much the same sort of course, as a tutor publicly teaching religion to his pupils, that he had followed at Langniddrie. He soon received applications to take a more effective share of Rough's labours; but these he resisted, until overcome by what is known among un-episcopal Christians as a public call.¹ Henceforth he acted at St. An-

⁶ Knox, 64.

⁷ Norman Leslie, eldest son to the Earl of Rothes, had repeatedly shown great attachment, and rendered considerable services to Cardinal Beaton. When that unfortunate prelate returned to St. Andrew's from the shire of Angus, into which he had gone to be present at his illegitimate daughter's marriage with the eldest son of the Earl of Crawford, Leslie came to ask him a favour, and Beaton refused. A scene of violence followed, which led Leslie to plan the assassination of his former friend, being especially assisted by his uncle, John Leslie, who had vowed vengeance against Beaton, after the martyrdom of Wishart. Cook, i. 301.

⁸ "It is melancholy to discover from the page of history, that the most violent religious fervour has often been conjoined with dissolute and disgraceful

conduct. This was remarkably the case with those who had been besieged, and who wished to be venerated as the champions of reformed religion. They no sooner recovered their liberty" (by an armistice), "than they committed the most scandalous excesses, and were guilty of actions, which the most strenuous advocates of the cause in which they were engaged have not attempted to excuse." *Ibid.* 321.

⁹ Strype's *Memorials*, iii. pt. ii. 45.

¹ Rough made this call from the pulpit, from previous concert with the congregation, to which he appealed, and which immediately approved, "Whereat the said John abashed, burst forth in most abundant tears, and withdrew himself to his chamber; his countenance and behaviour from that day till the day that he was compelled to present himself to the public place of preaching, did

drew's as a regular preacher, so long as the garrison held out. After its capitulation to the French, on the 31st of July, 1547, he was conveyed prisoner to France, and sent to the galleys, with some of his companions, in defiance of the terms made. As a galley-slave, he was detained, it seems, for nineteen months, and his hardships in that miserable condition did irreparable injury to his constitution.² When released, it is not known by what means, he went to England, then, under Edward, rendered completely Protestant, and his great powers for the pulpit recommended him as a preacher, salaried by government, for the northern parts. While stationed at Berwick, he formed a matrimonial engagement with Margery Bowes, of an ancient family, in the bishopric of Durham, by which this connexion was much disapproved; but the young lady's mother favoured it.³ Knox remained in England until the measures of Mary's government rendered a longer stay highly dangerous. After some wanderings on the Continent he came to Geneva, about the middle of the year 1554, and formed a close intimacy with Calvin. He was, however, called away, in the following November, from that city, to act as preacher to the congregation of English exiles at Frankfort. He there came into collision with that portion of them which would not abandon the English liturgy, and was by their means driven away from the place in the spring of 1555, some passages in his *Admonition to England*, offensive to the imperial family, being formally laid before the magistrates.⁴ He now repaired again to Geneva, and thence he went, in the latter part of 1555, into Scotland. He entered the country secretly, and preached for some time in

sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man saw any sign of mirth of him, neither yet had he pleasure to accompany any man, many days together." (Knox, 64.) The great reformer's own account of his connexion with St. Andrew's at this time, has been given in the text. But there are reasons for believing that in acting as he did, he was largely swayed by motives that sway ordinary men. The truth is, that the besieged conspirators made a treaty with the English government, March 9, 1547, by which they were to receive supplies both of men and money. Of the latter no less a sum than 1180*l.* actually was paid to an agent of theirs in London. Knox, therefore, and the lairds, whose sons were under him, might

fairly rely upon the ultimate success of an undertaking, which had so completely baffled their own government, and which was so powerfully supported from abroad. Russell, i. 181.

² That Knox was a galley-slave during nineteen months, is asserted in one of his own letters, preserved by Calderwood. The printed Calderwood, however, gives only nine months, but it is not a complete work, only portions of one. McCrie's *Knox*, i. 76.

³ *Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1569*. Lond. 1840. p. 372.

⁴ There is an authentic contemporary account of these transactions, briefly known and cited as *Troubles at Frankfort*. It was reprinted in 1642, and again in the *Phoenix*, in 1707.

private houses of the gentry; but his discourses soon found topics for general discussion, and rendered his return suspected before it was publicly known. His visit contributed importantly to strengthen the Protestant party, by marking it as a body of dissentients, Knox having denounced the mass as an idolatrous abomination, which none of his hearers could attend any longer, as most of them had done heretofore. Irritated and alarmed, the clergy summoned him to Edinburgh, and he knew his position too well to decline obedience. He went with an intimidating array of friends, before whom his accusers justly quailed. Foreseeing what must happen, if the business really came on, they met beforehand and dismissed it, on the ground of some informality in the summons. Yet Knox, in spite of his great popularity and powerful supporters, probably found himself in no very comfortable situation; hence he accepted an invitation to undertake the office of pastor to the English congregation at Geneva⁵, and again became a resident in that city, towards the end of the summer of 1556. While at that safe distance, the Scottish clergy wreaked impotent vengeance upon him, by his formal condemnation as a heretic, and by burning him in effigy: cowardly and childish indiscretions, of which he took full advantage in his continental study.⁶ Knox remained at Geneva about two years, and had two sons born to him there. It was, probably, the most peaceful period of his whole life since youth. Its even tenour was, however, interrupted by an invitation to return from the Lords of the Congregation, written in March, 1557. Calvin recommended the acceptance of this overture, and the Scottish reformer set out for Dieppe, where he arrived in the following October. There he met with a sore disappointment. His friends at home, when at leisure

⁵ "Influenced by motives which have never been fully comprehended." (Russell, i. 193.) Knox had no abode or appointment in Scotland that wore a sufficient air of firmness, and he might see reasons for distrusting the strength of his party. Hence, as he was now a married man, he was very likely to relish the offer of a settled home, in a place to which he was much attached.

⁶ In *The Appellation of John Knox*, &c. which may be seen subjoined to his *History*. Dr. Russell suggests that when Knox was summoned, the second time, his opponents might not have known of his withdrawal from Scotland. But this

does not seem very likely; for although he entered the country secretly, and merely removed from place to place, during his stay, his latter proceedings were public enough, and the public eye must have been pretty completely upon him. His clerical adversaries appear, therefore, to have imitated their brethren in other places, where such conduct was rather less absurd, because the parties had more power over those who really were within reach. Hence to condemn one who did not appear, and to burn him afterwards in effigy, might serve at least as a warning. At Edinburgh, in Knox's case, it was a farce.

to reflect coolly upon the invitation that they had given, suspected it of indiscretion, and begged Knox, by letter, to postpone his return. His reply rebuked the timidity, or lukewarmness that impeded him, and to this reproof was, probably, owing that Protestant bond, signed in December, 1557, which has been called *the first Covenant*. Still the subscribers felt either unable or unwilling to venture upon that open defiance of the government which was likely to hang upon Knox's presence among them. They do not seem, indeed, to have retracted their advances collectively, but individuals counselled postponement, and none encouraged a bolder line of policy. After lingering, accordingly, some uncomfortable weeks at Dieppe, he returned to Geneva, in the beginning of 1558.⁷ Besides his clerical duties, he there employed himself, in concert with others, upon that English version of Scripture which Puritan partialities eventually rendered so popular in Britain, and which was known, from the place where it was arranged, and originally printed, as the *Geneva Bible*.⁸ He also published, with additions, an address that he had made to the Queen Regent⁹, when last in Scotland, and his *Appellation* from the Edinburgh sentence fulminated against him in his absence. His most remarkable and unfortunate publication was, however, that which vented his irritation from the chief disappointments that had crossed him. Mary of Guise drove him from Scotland, her namesake from England. He now sought his revenge by publishing *The first blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment (government) of Women*: an ebullition of which he saw cause to repent when Elizabeth mounted the English throne. Hence two future *blasts*, though threatened, were never sounded.¹⁰

§ 5. While Knox was thus employed abroad, his friends at home were steadily proceeding towards an ecclesiastical revolution. Their first step after signing the bond at the close of 1557, which has been called *the first Covenant*, was to assert

⁷ McCrie's *Knox*, i. 217.

⁸ This version is also popularly known as the *Breeches Bible*, from the peculiar rendering of Genesis iii. 7. The first edition of it was printed at Geneva, in 1560. The reprints are numerous. Cotton's *List of Editions of the Bible*. Oxf. 1821, p. 14.

⁹ Printed at the end of his *History*.

¹⁰ This famous *Blast* may be seen among Knox's pieces, at the conclusion of his *History*. He refers his writing

of it to the persecution of Mary, whom he terms a *bastard*, considering her mother's marriage as null. An answer was published to it by Aylmer, eventually bishop of London, on Elizabeth's accession, entitled *An Harborow for faithful Subjects*. In the second *Blast*, Knox went so far as to draw up the heads on which he meant to treat. Of the third *Blast* nothing seems ever to have been done.

the expediency of using the *book of Common Prayer* in all parishes on Sundays and holydays; and the necessity of preaching, or expounding Scripture, “privately in quiet houses,” until satisfactory public preaching could be established by authority.¹ The *book of Common Prayer* intended seems unquestionably to have been Edward’s English service.² The confederates, therefore, took upon themselves to proclaim the expediency of substituting the English ritual for the Roman throughout Scotland; and they went on so far as to add, that if the parochial minister should not be qualified to read this new service, the best qualified parishioner should do it for him. This provision certainly shows that gross ignorance must have been not very uncommon among the clergy, and it is also worthy of remark, as an evidence, that an abhorrence of liturgical forms was no original feature in the Scottish Reformation. The preaching, or expounding, pronounced necessary, was of course intended to be completely Protestant. Thus a private confederacy, with no constitutional, or recognised character whatever, undertook to decide upon innovations of great extent and importance, as expedient, or necessary for the whole kingdom.

§ 6. The confederates knew that they might safely venture upon these assumptions, because the queen regent was yet interested in courting them. The clergy naturally saw in such language the proclaimed intention of subverting the Romish establishment, and of raising upon its ruins one completely Protestant, and they urged these facts upon Mary. Her French policy was, however, still incomplete, and she would hear of nothing likely to cross it. When assailed, accordingly, by strong remonstrances, after the martyrdom of Mylne, she declared that cruelty to have been perpetrated without her knowledge, and greatly to her grief. The Congregation then requested liberty to use the vulgar tongue in public worship, to hear expositions of Scripture from qualified persons present, to have baptism and the eucharist administered in the vulgar tongue, to have the latter administered in both kinds, and to have clerical irregularities redressed according to the New Testament, the fathers, and the laws of Justinian. Even these requests were graciously received by the regent. She promised protection to the Protestant preachers, until Parliament should have considered their case, and allowed a vernacular service, on

¹ Cook, ii. 36.

² *Ibid.* 36.

condition that it should not be publicly used in Edinburgh or Leith: a restriction represented as necessary to preserve tranquillity. By such a measure of concession, the clergy were much exasperated, but they soon became so convinced of their weakness, that they offered to permit vernacular prayers, and administrations of baptism and the eucharist, if the mass, purgatory, invocation of saints, and prayers for the dead, were spared. This proposed compromise the Congregation did not deign to notice, but merely reiterated its demands: a defiance which betrayed the clerical body into an unseemly demonstration of impotent anger.³

§ 7. When Parliament met about the end of November, 1558, the Lords of the Congregation were desirous of introducing such laws concerning the prosecution of heresy, as would effectually protect their party. The regent at once saw the defenceless condition to which such legislation would reduce her own creed, and became anxious to divert the blow. She could not, however, dispense with that Protestant support which had so long served her ambitious aims, and accordingly descended again to her accustomed dissimulation. To propose that modification of the existing law, which the Congregation sought, she represented as highly undesirable at that particular time, however just and reasonable in itself, the clergy being likely to resent it, and try every artifice of party to defeat it. By this representation the lords were for a time silenced, but either under the natural impatience of conscious strength, or beginning to suspect that Mary was merely making them her dupes, they presented a protestation to Parliament, before its dissolution, embodying strong aspersions on the Established Church, claiming immunity for such as should resist laws in its favour, the peaceable redress of grievances inflicted by it having been denied, and protesting against any blame from popular tumults that might arise from the national impatience under such inveterate and obstinately-defended evils. This document has been commended by presbyterian writers, as rational, though energetic, but it amounts, in fact, to a threat of physical force.⁴ Mary must have seen the paper in no other light: but still doubting whether the time had come to throw off the mask, she professed great respect for the claims which the Congregation had advanced, and promised to take them into her serious con-

³ Cook, 51.

⁴ Cook, 54.

sideration. The Parliament showed a different spirit. When it was proposed to enter the memorial upon its records, the proposal was rejected.⁵

§ 8. This rejection could not fail to have its weight upon the regent herself, who was now upon the point of abandoning dissimulation. Her objects in favour of France were gained, and her brothers were anxious that no more advantages should come to Protestantism by her means. The posture of Romish interest was, in fact, completely altered. No longer was Mary of England maintaining the papal cause at home, by the unsparing use of fire and fagot, and certain to shrink from any contact with Protestants abroad. Elizabeth was now on the English throne, with claims to it based on the Reformation. Hence domestic encouragement afforded to the Scottish enemies of Rome portended no less than the complete emancipation of Great Britain from papal trammels. Neither Mary nor her brothers could endure such a prospect, but when these latter pressed for a decided alteration of her policy, her heart naturally fluttered with fear and shame. As a preliminary to the new policy enjoined by France, she dropped her old habits of courtesy towards the Lords of the Congregation, and met them with an air of distant haughtiness.⁶ She then tried to win support by gay entertainments and seductive condescension.⁷ Afterwards she summoned an assembly of the best-informed clergy, and proposed to place the Protestant demands under their examination. This body met in March, 1559, and received through the regent the claims of the Congregation. It was, however, now less inclined for concession than the clerical body had shown itself last year, and Protestantism was evidently on the eve of an arduous struggle. A proclamation was issued, a little before Easter, commanding strict adherence to the Romish worship⁸, orders were given for observing that festival at court with all its ancient formalities⁹, agents were

⁵ *Ibid.* 58. "These our protestations publicly read, we desired them to have been inserted in the common register; but that, by the labours of our enemies, was denied us." Knox, 112.

⁶ "How soon that all things pertaining to the commodity of France were granted by us, and that peace was contracted betwixt king Philip and France, and England and us, she began to spew forth and disclose the latent venom of

her double heart. Then began she to frown and look frowardly to all such as she knew did favour the evangel of Jesus Christ." Knox, 113.

⁷ Cook, ii. 63.

⁸ *Memoirs of Sir James Melvil.* Lond. 1683, p. 24.

⁹ "She commanded her household to use all abomination at Pasch; and she, herself, to give example to others, did communicate with that idol in open au-

sent in various directions to recommend mass, and on their total failure, all the more eminent reformed preachers received notice that they must attend at Stirling on the 10th of May, to answer for their conduct, before a Parliament to be holden there.¹

§ 9. This order was met by a remonstrance, against which Mary stood firm. She was then told that her summons would be obeyed, and that the gentry of every county would attend their preachers to Stirling. This was evidently meant for no idle threat, for the protestants of several districts immediately repaired to Perth. But although their numbers were considerable, they had come unarmed, and Mary, confiding in the brightening aspect of foreign politics, thought herself able to defy them. Still such a concourse was embarrassing, and she sought to prevent its progress to Stirling by resorting to her old professions of moderation. Deceived by these, one of the protestant gentlemen who waited upon her, persuaded his friends to remain at Perth. By many this advice was not cordially approved, from suspicions of the regent's good faith, but it prevented the meditated advance, and even caused the gentlemen to dismiss most of their followers to their several homes. This relief to the regent's mind was, however, counteracted by her knowledge, that the protestants at Perth were actually regulating public worship according to their own opinions.² Mary was violently angry, and would have had the innovation immediately suppressed. The town-provost pleaded inability, and she could only answer by irritating menaces.³ To make them good, she evidently thought her deep dissimulation likely to

dience: she controuled her household, and would know where every one received their sacrament." Knox, 112.

¹ "She sent forth such as she thought most able to persuade, at Pasch, to cause Montrose, Dundee, St. Johnstone." (Perth), "and other such places that had received the evangel, to communicate with the idol of the mass; but they could profit nothing; the hearts of many were bent to follow the truth revealed, and did abhor superstition and idolatry. Whereat she, more highly commoved, did summon again all the preachers to compar at Stirling, the 10th of May, the year of God 1559." *Ibid.* 113.

² "In the town of Perth, they openly professed the new tenets; their preach-

ers enforced them in public assemblies; and the foundation of the Scottish protestant church was there actually laid." (Cook, ii, 70.) In strict accuracy this might seem to have been done elsewhere, though perhaps upon a smaller scale. "Edinburgh was the first place in which this order" (of appointing elders and deacons) "was established; Dundee, the first town in which a reformed church was completely organised, provided with a regular minister, and favoured with the dispensation of the sacraments." (McCrie's *Knox*, i, 230.) The Edinburgh election of elders and deacons is referred to 1557.

³ Knox, 113.

prove quite sufficient. It really did lull suspicion. The 10th of May arrived, and the preachers, not expecting to be wanted, had made no preparations for attending at Stirling. They were, however, duly called, and none answering, were outlawed as contumacious.⁴

§ 10. Eight days before this perfidious folly, Knox landed at Leith. He stayed only two days in Edinburgh, and then hastened to Dundee, where he joined a party which was going to Perth to protect the preachers. He was at the latter place on the 11th of May, when news came of the outlawry denounced against the preachers at Stirling on the day before. He preached a "sermon which was vehement against idolatry," or, in other words, which was a violent attack upon the mass. Under the excitement caused both by this and the news from Stirling, a priest, with more courage than discretion, made preparations for celebrating the reprobated service. Being interrupted by the indignant exclamations of a boy, he gave him a violent blow, and the lad, in return, threw a stone at him with such force that it knocked an image down. A tumult immediately followed, in which the church was cleared of every thing that passed for a monument of idolatry. This mischief was no sooner known abroad than all those in the town whom age, indiscretion, or indigence, dispose to riot, ran together, and sacked three monasteries.⁵ A similar outrage soon followed in the small town of Cupar.⁶

⁴ This is said by Knox to have been done at the regent's "commandment." He does not, however, say, as others have said, that Mary induced the confederates to disperse by promising to drop proceedings against their preachers, only that she promised to "take some better order." What was said, seems, therefore, to have been evasive, meant to be understood, as it was, but amounting to no definite pledge. Such language, it must be owned, is false substantially, whatever it may be verbally. Hence Mary's character here can hardly have suffered under any great degree of misrepresentation.

⁵ Knox lays this mischief upon the "rascal multitude," wholly acquitting "earnest professors" of any share in it. He also asserts that "no honest man was enriched thereby to the value of one groat." But he says "the first invasion was upon the idolatry; and thereafter

the common people began to seek some spoil." He then relates how well the Franciscan friary was found to be furnished with bedding, linen, and provisions. The Dominican friary, he admits, was not equally well supplied, but still better "than became men professing poverty." Upon the Carthusian convent, the third house destroyed, he merely says, that "the prior was permitted to take with him even so much gold and silver as he was well able to carry:" and upon the people generally he declares, that "their conscience so moved them, that they suffered these hypocrites to take away what they could of that which was in their places." Yet he confesses that "the spoil was permitted to the poor." Upon the whole, it seems clear that these houses were plundered of their stores of provisions, which was probably their chief wealth. As to other things, the unfortunate inmates were allowed to

§ 11. To repress the spirit which had so dangerously shown itself at Perth, the queen regent promptly moved upon that city, with a force rendered formidable by the presence of French auxiliaries.⁷ The Congregation was rather unprepared for such celerity, but it organized means of resistance sufficiently early to keep the royal troops at bay, until more effectual reinforcements came up from the country. A capitulation was then agreed upon⁸, before a hostile blow, and Mary entered Perth on the afternoon of the following day. She was, however, very far from adhering, with honourable fidelity to her engagements.⁹ Thus the country was kept in a fever of agitation, and gradually so armed against the Government as to be rendered irresistible. During this anxious period of preparation, the rabble that infests all towns, felt its mischievous energies unfettered, and the cathedral of St. Andrew's, with several other buildings, which had long ornamented the kingdom, were soon reduced to heaps of ruins.¹

§ 12. Even before the chief of these excesses had been committed, peaceable and cautious spirits became disgusted and alarmed. Hence when the regent appeared before Perth, on the 18th of May, some of the more moderate protestants were under her standard.² Those who were in that city felt fully the dangers of their situation, and accordingly, before they left it on the 30th of May, they seem to have made a rough agreement in writing to stand by each other.³ This instrument was regularly

carry off what they claimed as personal effects, which was, undoubtedly, better treatment than persons in their situation generally obtain, and this is something favourable to the character of the sacking party, but it is, notwithstanding, hardly entitled to the degree of reputation for disinterestedness, which Knox evidently meant for it, and which modern Scottish writers are equally willing to claim.

⁶ Cook, ii. 82. "Which the curate took so heavily, that the night following, he put violent hands on himself." Spotswood, 122.

⁷ May 18. Cook, 93.

⁸ May 29.

⁹ Knox, 124.

¹ McCrie's *Knox*, i. 270. The cathedral of St. Andrew's was ruined, June 11. The archbishop left the city on the morning of that day, Cook, ii. 118.

² McCrie's *Knox*, i. 261.

³ This appears to be the only way for reconciling dates. It is pretty clear that the treaty was signed, May 29, and that the Congregation left Perth, May 30, the regent making her entrance on the afternoon of that day. But then it is added, that the new bond was signed at Perth on the following day; which is impossible, the parties being no longer there. Dr. Cook, therefore, supposes "that a resolution to form the deed was adopted on the 30th, that a commission was then given to the noblemen, who, though attached to the protestants, were, from their connexion with the court, or in consequence of the treaty, to remain with the regent, to subscribe the deed; and that, accordingly, in compliance with the wishes of the Congregation, they wrote the bond in the name of the whole, and subscribed it on the 31st." *Hist. Ref. in Scotl.* ii. 109.

executed on the next day, the last of the month, and has been termed *the second Covenant*.⁴ Needless importance was immediately given to it by the regent's injudicious and unjustifiable use of her success. Men were naturally disposed anew to join the insurgent party when they saw conditions which had reduced its present efficiency shamelessly disregarded. Thus a fierce and sullen spirit of hatred and defiance for authority spread rapidly over the country. The Congregation took full advantage of this, moving in military order through all the districts most favourable to its views, and making Vandalic havoc of those noble piles within its line of march, which superstition, undoubtedly, but inspired by liberality and taste, had extorted in the course of ages from a poverty-stricken nation. Mary, quite unequal to contend with such a force, backed by the enthusiasm of nearly all the Lowlands, was obliged even to let Edinburgh fall into the hands of the Congregation. That militant body of religionists there, however, showed much of the spirit of ordinary revolvers. The royal palace of Holyrood house was broken into: the instruments of coinage were taken away; an act for which the recent coinage of base money was afterwards pleaded in justification. Such reprehensible conduct following a succession of outrages upon public buildings, and being supported by a soldiery that inspired any thing rather than confidence⁵, augmented the rising dissatisfaction of all who dreaded anarchy more than popery. Mary observed with natural joy the tide turning in her favour, and judiciously sought to take advantage of it, by issuing a proclamation with very moderate professions, and which fairly treated the armed bands of the Congregation as dangerous and disloyal insurgents.⁶ There was now a decided reaction in the public mind, and the Congregation, deeply sensible of it, sent messengers to Mary with a letter protesting loyalty. She received the overture with dignified calmness, although it was not without offensive accompaniments, and procrastination being evidently to her interest,

⁴ Russell, i. 217.

⁵ "The common soldiers, moreover, who fought under the banner of the Congregation, contributed, by their disaffection, to strengthen the returning popularity of the dowager. They put to death a servant of the earl of Argyle, who endeavoured to re-establish order

among them; they insulted several persons of rank, who showed a desire to soothe their minds; and they ventured even to declare, that, for a proper reward, they were ready to suppress the reformation, and set up the mass." Russell, i. 220. Knox, 165.

⁶ Cook, ii. 142.

a negotiation was entered into. While this was in progress, Henry of France prematurely died, and his daughter-in-law, the young queen of Scots, became queen consort. Obviously this was likely to place the insurgents in a worse position than ever, their sovereign being now actual sharer of the French throne. They were led, however, by a spirit of absurd superstition, to a very different conclusion; viewing Henry's unexpected death as the providential removal of an active persecutor. Hence their slackening efforts were still further relaxed. The regent knew her own and her daughter's position better. While, accordingly, the Lords of the Congregation were indolently contemplating the weakening of their party, and the melting away of their forces, she was watching her opportunity to strike a decisive blow. Feeling the time come, she suddenly left Dunbar, where had lately been her residence, on the evening of July 23, and early next morning halted, in considerable force, within two miles of Edinburgh. Her opponents were quite unprepared, and a little vigour would have laid them prostrate at her feet. Tenderness of human life, or, it may be, irresolution, again drove her to negotiate, and a party, which trembled for existence, was enabled to preserve it by treaty. Mary's error became immediately apparent. The Lords of the Congregation had no sooner withdrawn from Edinburgh to Stirling than they again assumed an attitude of defiance, by signing another bond.⁷

§ 13. On her part, Mary was equally on the alert. She fortified Leith, and urgently wrote to France for more assistance. The desired reinforcements arrived, one thousand strong, in the middle of August, and in the following month more were landed, with some divines from the Sorbonne, whose services were thought likely, probably by Mary's brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, to remove Scottish prejudices against Romanism. This portion of the French importation was, however, a total failure, in spite of the impressive manner with which these selected foreigners performed the theatrical formalities of Romish worship. The troops were not found of such light importance, and the Congregation often looked upon Leith with serious concern. Finding Mary quite intractable under the protection of a fortified town, and an imposing foreign force, the Lords of the Con-

gregation took upon themselves to suspend her formally from the regency by an instrument, dated on the 10th of October, 1559, and proclaimed next day, by sound of trumpet, at the market-cross of Edinburgh.⁸ But the confederates had over-calculated their resources. They had not ventured upon an act, which really was little or nothing short of treason, without securing the co-operation of England, where they represented urgently the necessity of pecuniary aid to keep themselves in the field. Elizabeth answered this appeal in her usual spirit of cautious parsimony. One thousand pounds was sent to Berwick, and an agent of the Congregation received it there, with all the secrecy, as was thought, that such a case required. But it proved otherwise. Mary had received intelligence of the English remittance, and succeeded in intercepting it. Want of pay now bred a mutiny among the Congregation's army, desertions thinned their ranks, an attack upon Leith miscarried, an unsuccessful skirmish rendered French discipline painfully conspicuous, distrust and dejection paralysed every movement, and on the 6th of November, the men who had so lately insulted the regent by a formal pretence to suspend her authority, evacuated Edinburgh, and withdrew to Stirling.⁹

§ 14. This retreat was instantly embittered by the public scorn and the exultation of opponents, which ever add a sting to ill success.¹ But it proved highly advantageous to Scottish Protestantism. The Lords of the Congregation could see no prospect of retrieving their affairs without Elizabeth's effective aid, and to her they sent an earnest application. It was altogether against her interest to suffer Scotland to become a province of France, into which situation it was apparently sinking. Hence, however little inclined by nature to encourage rebellion, she could not suffer the Congregation to be suppressed. Hitherto she had not gone further than the maintenance of a secret correspondence, and the transmission of that moderate remittance

⁸ Cook, 198.

⁹ *Ibid.* 233.

¹ "The despicable tongues of the wicked railed upon us, calling us traitors and heretics; every one provoked another to cast stones at us. One cried, 'Alas, that I might see;' another, 'Fie, give advertisement to the Frenchmen, that they may come, and we shall help, to cut the throats of these heretics.'

And thus as the sword of dolour passed through our hearts, so were the cogitations and former determinations of many hearts then revealed; for we never could have believed, that our natural countrymen and women could have wished our destruction so unmercifully, and have so rejoiced in our adversity: God move their hearts to repentance." Knox, 169.

that had relieved the regent instead of the lords. But on the 27th of February, 1560, a treaty was regularly executed at Berwick, by which England bound herself to assist the Congregation in expelling the French from Scotland.² An English fleet had been cruising off the Frith of Forth more than a month before, professedly despatched in pursuit of pirates, but really sent from an understanding with the Congregation, and exerting from the first a most auspicious influence over its affairs. On the 28th of March an English army actually entered Scotland³, and soon after effected a junction with the forces of the Congregation. The whole body then marched upon Leith, from which the queen regent, now broken in health, and devoured by anxiety, retired for greater security into the castle of Edinburgh.⁴ Elizabeth was not, however, very cordial in her contact with rebellion, and hence the confederates were annoyed by a constant exchange of communications between her agents and the queen dowager.⁵ Thus, they could not look upon their position, in spite of the imposing attitude now given it by England, with unmingled confidence, and accordingly, on the 27th of April, they signed at Leith another bond; which was their last.⁶

§ 15. Their distrust of Elizabeth, however, proved unnecessary. It was her obvious interest to maintain them, and all the world soon saw that she meant to do so effectually. On the other hand, France became apprehensive of a protracted contest. The national finances appeared unequal to a distant war demanding the hazard and expense of a long sea-voyage; besides which, the Huguenot party at home left little opportunity for concerting measures to suppress a similar party abroad. Hence the French court became sincerely desirous of peace, and it was concluded at Edinburgh on the 6th of July, 1560.⁷ The queen regent, Mary of Guise, did not live to see this termination of her anxieties. On the 10th of the preceding month, death released her from a position which she had, at one time, earnestly coveted, but which she must have long found all but intolerable.⁸ Her memory has been coarsely assailed by Knox, and undoubtedly

² Knox, 191.

³ Cook, ii. 274.

⁴ Ap. 4. *Ibid.* 280.

⁵ *Ibid.* 284.

⁶ Knox, 196.

⁷ Cook, ii. 304. The author pro-

nounces "this contest, the most interesting in which Scotland was ever engaged."

⁸ "The queen regent, partly out of sickness, and partly of displeasure, died in the castle of Edinburgh." Spotswood,

she sought personal objects, and relief under the difficulties of a very perplexing situation, by resorting to a policy often thought refined, but really not reconcileable with strict integrity. The worst part of it, although not the part most offensive to contemporaries, was unquestionably that subserviency to the Protestants, while she wanted them for her views upon the regency, and for her daughter's French objects, which made them consider her as little else than one of themselves.⁹ Probably she had no suspicion of any blemish to her character from such obliquities, but might consider them as the mere exigencies of a political position. In private life she certainly manifested a disposition highly amiable¹; and the near approach of death, which generally brings out the best features of the human character, placed her in a light which bespoke the real Christian. At that awful period the Romish prejudices in which she had been reared, upon which her brothers built their fame, and which had given a colour to her whole life, lost much of their intensity, and she heard with complacency sound religious principles, even from Protestant lips.² At the same time, there can be no doubt that she died in the papal communion³; but her

⁹ "The good opinion we had of her sincerity, not only caused us to spend our goods, and hazard our bodies at her pleasure, but also by our public letters written to that excellent servant of God, John Calvin, we did praise and commend her for excellent knowledge of God's word, and good will towards the advancement of his glory; requiring of him, that, by his grave counsel and godly exhortation, he would animate her grace constantly to follow that which godly she had begun. We did further sharply rebuke, both by word and writing, all such as appeared to suspect in her any venom of hypocrisy, or that were contrary to that opinion which we had conceived of her godly mind." Knox, 113.

¹ Cook, ii. 292.

² She desired to see some of the leading protestants, and expressed to them her regret that her administration had been such as to make them seek foreign aid. They seem to have behaved as became Christians and gentlemen, but their attachment to reformed opinions would not allow them to let the opportunity slip, without recommending her to see one of their own ministers. She consented, and Willock was introduced,

to whom she professed her belief in the essentials of Christianity, saying, however, nothing, as it seems, inconsistent with Romanism.

³ "Some say she was anointed of (after) the papistical manner, which was a sign of small knowledge of the truth, and of less repentance of her former superstition: yet however it was, Jesus Christ got no small victory over such an enemy. For, albeit, before she had avowed, that in despite of all Scotland, the preachers of Jesus Christ should either die or be banished the realm; yet she was not only compelled to hear that Jesus Christ was preached, and all idolatry openly rebuked, and in many places suppressed, but also she was constrained to hear one of the principal ministers of the realm, and to approve the chief head of religion, wherein we dissent from all papists and papistry." (Knox, 199.) This laboured account, which is the fountain-head of the protestant colouring commonly given to the last moments of Mary of Guise, really amounts to very little. It is pretty clear that the dying queen received extreme unction. By "one of the principal ministers of the realm," Willock seems to be meant. But

estimable qualities in private life, and the pious liberality of sentiment with which she encountered death, have effectually embalmed her memory in Scottish history.⁴

§ 16. By the treaty in progress when she died, Protestant objects were thought to be secured. Yet it is remarkable, no express provision for them was made, the commissioners having declined the subject. It was, however, stipulated that a certain number of noblemen should be chosen by the parliament, which was to meet in August, to lay before Mary and her husband what should appear advisable as to religion. This vague, or more probably evasive, clause was quite satisfactory to the Lords of the Congregation.⁵ The treaty left, in fact, Scotland pretty completely in their hands⁶, and Romish worship generally ceased, its ministers finding themselves quite unprotected, and all but universally obnoxious. On the other hand, Protestant services were performed wherever means for them were attainable.⁷ Thus most of the kingdom seceded openly and irretrievably from the papal church. Nor were people anxious as to the future. The nation had embraced so completely reformed opinions, that it viewed a reference to parliament, as tantamount to their permanent recognition. The convened estates, it was reckoned, could only echo the popular voice, and this had already sealed the condemnation of Romanism.⁸

§ 17. The parliament which so largely filled public expectation, met as arranged, on the 10th of July, but its deliberations were not actually to commence until the beginning of August. Its legality came first under discussion, no representative of the crown being present. On the other hand, however, there was the largest attendance of legislators ever known.⁹ The lesser barons, or gentry, had usually declined parliamentary duties, feeling them both uninteresting and expensive. But now they came in considerable numbers, and not, it is

he came to her by the advice, or it might be, importunity, of the protestant noblemen, with whom, unquestionably, she wished to speak from a desire to acknowledge her errors as a politician. To Willock she seems to have made no further concession, than to admit "that there is no salvation, but in and by the death of Jesus Christ." No well-informed Romanist would be likely to disclaim this doctrine, especially on the threshold of eternity.

⁴ Abp. Spotswood charges Knox with gross misrepresentation and injustice in her case. 147.

⁵ Cook, ii. 315.

⁶ Russell, i. 223.

⁷ M'Crie's *Knox*, i. 327.

⁸ Cook, ii. 316.

⁹ "Although from religious or political motives, some of the most considerable men of the country did not appear." Cook, ii. 324.

thought, without such an array of followers as had of late generally controuled discussion by a demonstration of physical force.¹ A body of this kind was pretty sure to decide in favour of its own legality, but this was not done until after considerable debate.² At one of the earlier sessions was presented a petition from some of the leading Protestants, for the legal abolition of popery, and a reformed establishment in its room: objects which are enforced by characterising the Romish clergy in the usual strain of libellous illiberality.³ This was followed on the 17th of August by a *Confession of Faith*, which is an elaborate statement of the opinions entertained by Knox and his party, but makes nearer approaches in some respects to the ancient landmarks of theology than the presbyterianism of later times cordially approves.⁴ This new standard of national belief received the sanction of Parliament, with little or nothing of inquiry or debate.⁵ Several of the prelacy, both secular and regular, were, however, in their places, and one of them, at least, the primate, was far from deficient in professional information. Still, neither he nor any other of his bench said any thing against this legislative transfer of the country to a rival church. Opposition might have seemed hopeless, but undoubtedly some show of it was required by a mere regard for appearances. Hence it hardly seems illiberal to surmise that

¹ Russell, i. 229. The unusual attendants are there characterised as “the lower class of freeholders and commissioners of boroughs.” Afterwards it is said, “Above a hundred of the lesser barons, as they were called, shaking off their wonted indifference, or parsimonious habits, repaired to the capital, accompanied, there is reason to believe, by a large band of adherents.”

² Dr. Cook considers the legality of this Parliament established by the treaty which stipulated that it should be assembled, and by virtue of which both the French and English forces had actually been withdrawn. To this treaty Mary and her husband were parties. *Hist. Ref.* ii. 325.

³ The document may be seen in Knox, 206.

⁴ “The reformers in Scotland denied transubstantiation, but they admitted what they called a spiritual presence.” (Cook, ii. 363.) In this they followed Calvin, who (*Inst.* l. iv. c. xvii. § 33,)

maintains a spiritual manducation, and asserts this to be opposed, not to a true and real, but only to a carnal presence. Mr. M’Gavin, the editor of Knox, also observes in his note on c. xxi. of the *Confession of Faith* (p. 216), “Here the doctrine of baptismal regeneration is plainly stated.” Calvin (*Inst.* l. iv. c. xvi. § 4) teaches that regeneration is the thing figured by baptism. The whole *Confession* may be seen in Knox, p. 208.

⁵ “After having been presented to the Lords of the Articles, it was publicly read in Parliament, and it was upon a subsequent day adopted with as little hesitation as if it had been a collection of intuitive truths. No questions were asked, no explanations were sought, and no sufficient time was given for trying it by the test of reason, or comparing it with Scripture. An act was at once passed, by which it was solemnly pronounced to be the standard of protestant belief in Scotland.” Cook, ii. 332.

interested motives had some weight in keeping the prelates mute. The abbots, it is considered, were tempted by the prospect of having their benefices converted into temporal lordships, which they might succeed in retaining. Many of the bishops had families, and are said to have been bent upon enriching them by long leases, and alienations.⁶ However these things may be, it certainly is very little creditable to the Scottish prelacy, that, without changing its own theology, it should have left opposition to a different system wholly to three temporal peers; who alone, of all the individuals then in Parliament, voted against the *Confession of Faith*.⁷ An assembly that so easily made this important innovation, could not be expected to treat Romanism with much mercy. The papal jurisdiction, accordingly, was abolished; acts in favour of the church were repealed; and mass was prohibited under penalty of confiscation, or bodily suffering, for the first offence; of banishment, for the second; the third was made capital.⁸

§ 18. The ancient ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland being thus overthrown, and a new one erected in its place, a messenger was despatched to France to acquaint Mary and her husband with the change. On his arrival, he found himself charged with a most unsatisfactory errand. The French court no longer felt any embarrassment upon Scottish affairs. Its own army had been safely withdrawn from a dangerous position in the country. England had also removed her troops, and Elizabeth was complaining of the expense which she had sustained in keeping them in the field. It was, therefore, very doubtful, with such as weighed her cautious and parsimonious habits, whether she would soon move another army across the border, unless urged by some very powerful motive. Hence the Scottish sovereigns treated immediately the communication made to them with indignant contempt, and the bearer of it was upbraided with the acceptance of a commission that he ought to have been ashamed to undertake. It is undeniable that the French court had sufficient grounds for assuming this attitude. The late Parliament, it is true, though not holden by any express royal warrant, sat in virtue of a treaty to which the crown was a party. It might be, therefore, in itself,

⁶ *Ibid.* 333.

⁷ *Ibid.* 334.

⁸ *Ibid.* 736.

a legal assembly : but the legality of its sweeping measures of ecclesiastical innovation was a very different question. The *Accord*, as the assent of the royal plenipotentiaries to the late assembling of Parliament has been called, merely authorised that body to prepare a plan of religious pacification for the consideration of the crown. The legislative body, however, passed acts which wholly overthrew the ancient church-establishment, and sent them over to France for the royal ratification.⁹ This might very reasonably, under such circumstances, be denied : and although some of the Scottish leaders affected indifference, professing that the sovereign was consulted rather from customary form than from any weightier cause¹, yet upon the whole, people became uneasy as they pondered the news from France.² While the Scottish public felt thus uncertain as to the future, Mary's youthful husband unexpectedly died.³ This occasioned general joy among her subjects, and with great reason. While Francis II. lived, his weak understanding fell completely under her direction. She again was guided by her uncles, the princes of Lorraine, who had long taken a deep interest in Scottish affairs, and were bigoted adherents of the Roman church. Now, the chief influence was transferred to her mother-in-law, Catharine de' Medici, who had been violently jealous of Mary's power over Francis, and who gained herself immediately a similar or greater power over Charles IX., the feeble child, that nominally reigned. Mere hatred of a long-envied daughter-in-law was sure to render Catharine careless of Scottish affairs, at least for a time. The Congregation, therefore, was fully justified in looking upon the death of Francis as most auspicious to its views. Had his life been prolonged, the able princes of Lorraine would have gradually found means, in all probability, for surmounting domestic difficulties, and bringing the power of France to bear efficiently upon the Scottish *Congregation*.⁴

§ 19. The *Accord* had allowed Parliament to nominate twenty-four persons, from whom a council of twelve was to be chosen, by which the functions of government might be ad-

⁹ Russell, i. 233.

¹ "All that we did was rather to show our dutiful obedience, than to beg of them any strength to our religion, which from God has full power, and needeth not the suffrage of man, but in so far as

man has need to believe it, if that ever he shall have participation of the life everlasting." Knox, 222.

² Cook, ii. 344.

³ Dec. 4, 1560.

⁴ Robertson, ii. 38.

ministered, until some other arrangement should be made by royal authority.⁵ The proposed committee of twelve seems actually to have been nominated for this purpose, although the crown stood aloof, and it meditated upon some plan for establishing the principles contained in the *Confession of Faith*, immediately that the legislature separated.⁶ Five or six divines, one of whom was Knox, were appointed to prepare a system of ecclesiastical discipline for the national acceptance.⁷ The labours of this body produced the *First Book of Discipline*, towards the close of 1560. In the January next following, Knox presented this *Book* to the convention which met in consequence of the French king's death, requesting sanction for it from the national estates.⁸ But his application was received with very little cordiality. Had he merely sought acquiescence in some form of polity conformable to the *Confession of Faith*, he would have found no difficulty in obtaining ready attention. He knew, however, that ministers of religion must have adequate means of subsistence, like other men; that a supply of them completely qualified, could not be maintained without schools and colleges; and that poverty had large claims upon the endowments of religion. He was, moreover, no real enemy to that subordination of ministers, which ecclesiastical history showed to have ever prevailed in the church. He would not, indeed, broadly claim the establishment of an order of Protestant bishops. But he did this indirectly, by prescribing the appointment of *Superintendents*; a feature in his system which has proved sorely embarrassing to presbyterians of later times.⁹ For these various purposes

⁵ The treaty of Edinburgh stipulated, "that, during the queen's absence, the administration of government should be vested in a council of twelve persons, to be chosen out of twenty-four named by Parliament, seven of which council to be elected by the queen, and five by the Parliament." Robertson, ii. 26.

⁶ Knox merely says, "The Parliament dissolved; consultation was had, how the kirk might be established in a good and godly policy; which by the papists was utterly defaced." (223.) Dr. Russell ascribes this "consultation" to the council of twelve, whom the convention of states had been pleased to nominate, in virtue of the *Accord*, or concessions, so often mentioned." (i. 236.) Dr. McCrie

ascribes it to "the Privy Council." (Knox, ii. 4.) Dr. Cook to "the Council in Scotland." *Hist. Ref.* ii. 345.

⁷ Knox names only five, but Dr. Russell six, inserting Willock, of whom Knox says nothing.

⁸ Cook, iii. 34.

⁹ "Calderwood, Petrie, and some other writers of later date, have taken infinite pains to represent the appointment in question" (that of superintendents) "as merely introductory to the more perfect system of parity by which it was at length succeeded." (Russell, i. 245.) "That Knox had not that abhorrence of episcopacy, which, soon after his days, was unhappily introduced into Scotland by men who disregarded, or denied his fun-

he proposed to provide, by means of the ecclesiastical revenues immemorially belonging to the national church. Nor was he contented with claiming such estates alone as had endowed the seculars. Monastic and chantry property were also to swell the fund for maintaining religion, learning, and poverty.¹ Nothing could be more offensive to the Lords of the Congregation than claims like these. Their cherished authorities, Knox and his fellows, were immediately painted in disparaging and ridiculous colours. Hitherto, their suggestions had been ardently re-echoed as deeply religious and nobly patriotic. Now these admired preachers were sneeringly described as liable to be carried away by *devout imaginations*.² Knox really appears to have been so far deluded, as to have given his noble supporters credit for a

damental principle, is very apparent." (Cook, ii. 384.) Robertson rather encourages the notion that Knox adopted the episcopal principle from views merely temporary. "On the first introduction of his system, Knox did not deem it expedient to depart altogether from the ancient form. Instead of bishops, he proposed to establish ten or twelve superintendents in different parts of the kingdom. These, as the name implies, were empowered to inspect the life and doctrine of the other clergy. They presided in the inferior judicatories of the church, and performed several other parts of the episcopal function. Their jurisdiction, however, extended to sacred things only; they claimed no seat in Parliament, and pretended no right to the dignity or revenues of the former bishops." (*Hist. Scotl.* ii. 43.) This representation of Knox's views is evidently fallacious. Undoubtedly, while engaged in his study upon the scheme for a new system of ecclesiastical polity, he did not see thoroughly the selfishness of his chief lay supporters, but an observer so keen could not have overlooked man's natural cupidity. Had he, therefore, merely sought temporary expediency, he was likely to have thought of nothing so soon as a formal confirmation of existing acquisitions from the church, and an opening for new confiscations. He was, however, acquainted with ecclesiastical history; he must have known something of the unreasonableness to which ministers are liable from persons not of their own order, and he felt pressing the necessity of placing the ministry upon a permanent and respectable

footing. It is remarkable too, that the compilers of the *Book of Discipline* were distinguished by prelatical principles to the end of their days. Winram, for example, died superintendent of Strathern; Willock was superintendent of the West; Spotswood was many years a superintendent, and as we learn from his son, the ecclesiastical historian, continued hostile to presbyterian parity; Douglas became archbishop of St. Andrew's; and Row was one of the three who afterwards defended the cause of diocesan episcopacy at the conference appointed by the General Assembly in 1575." (Russell, i. 240.) Spotswood was admitted superintendent of Lothian so early as March 9, 1561, that is, within about two months of the presentation of the *Book of Discipline* to the Convention.

¹ "And because we know that the tenth reasonably taken, as is before expressed, will not suffice to discharge the former necessity; we think that all things doted to hospitality, and annual rents both in burgh and land pertaining to the priests, chanterries, colleges, chapellanries, and the friaries of all orders, to the sisters of the scenes, and such others, be retained still in the use of the kirk or kirks within the towns and parishes where they are doted." *First Book of Discipline*, ch. 8. M'Gavin's *Knox*, 504.

² "Some approved and willed the same to have been set forth as a law; others perceiving their carnal liberty and worldly commodity somewhat impaired thereby, grudged, insomuch that the name of the *Book of Discipline* became odious unto them. Every thing

degree of disinterestedness, which certainly was in very few of them, and which, in fact, is far from abundant in human nature. He bitterly upbraided a selfish spirit, already revelling in church plunder, and eagerly appetent of more, which would bind ministers down to hopeless, crippling poverty, overlook the claims of learning, and leave indigence to the niggardly conscience of precarious charity. Stung by his reproaches, or fearing to weaken their party, several of the leading Protestants signed the *Book of Discipline* within a few days of its virtual rejection by the convention, as an earnest of their disposition to make it the basis of a national establishment at some future period.³ Yet even this adhesion handled pecuniary questions in a very cautious manner. Some of the ancient clergy had joined the reformers. The subscribers to the *Book* limit their approbation of it by a condition, that these dignitaries should enjoy their benefices during life, and make provision out of them for the people's religious wants.⁴ In the question of money, indeed, Knox had the mortification to find himself powerless. Great men applauded heartily and vociferously when his eloquence opened any prospect of an increase to their estates. He was a mere heated fanatic when talking of irregular

that repugned to their corrupt affections was termed in their mockage, *devout imaginations*. The cause we have before declared; some were licentious, some had greedily gripped the possessions of the kirk, and others thought they would not lack their part of Christ's coat: yea, and that before that ever he was hanged, as by the preachers they were often rebuked. The chief great man that had professed Christ Jesus, and refused to subscribe to the *Book of Discipline*, was the lord Erskine; and no wonder, for besides that he has a very Jezebel to his wife, if the poor, the schools, and the ministry of the kirk had their own, his kitchen would want two parts and more of that which he now unjustly possesses. Assuredly, some of them have wondered how men that profess godliness could of so long continuance, hear the threatenings of God against thieves, and against their houses, and knowing themselves guilty of such things as were openly rebuked, and that they never had remorse of conscience, neither yet intended to restore any thing of that which long they had stolen and ref. There were

none within the realm more unmerciful to the poor ministers than they were that had the greatest rents of the kirks. But in that we have perceived the old proverb to be true, *Nothing can suffice a wretch*, and again, *The belly has no curs.*" Knox, 223.

³ Jan. 27, 1561. *Ibid.* The Convention did not formally reject the *Book of Discipline*: it adjourned the consideration of it, "probably, as the gentlest way of rejecting it; and it was not till after this assembly was dissolved, that the noblemen and gentlemen, whose names have been published, subscribed. They subscribed, however, not in their individual capacity solely, for the above declaration is entitled an act of secret council, and hence the *Book of Discipline* had the authority of the executive power in Scotland." Cook, iii. 37.

⁴ "Yet even while they thus far gratified the compilers of the *Book of Discipline*, it may be concluded, from the declaration which they annexed to it, that they had not lost sight of the patrimony of the church." *Ibid.*

acquisitions to be surrendered, and visions of approaching gain to be foregone.

§ 20. However disappointed the reformed preachers might have been by the selfish opposition of their more distinguished supporters, their own condition remained so uncomfortably indigent, that they could not let agitation subside. They were, besides, under considerable apprehension of reviving energy in the Romish party. The young queen's arrival in Scotland might soon be expected, and of her good will to befriend the religion in which she had been bred, there was no question. The Romanists, accordingly, were every where in higher spirits, boasting that better times were at hand, and that rebellious heresy was fast approaching the penalty so richly deserved. These combined causes of uncasiness occasioned an address to the council and to the convention of estates, for the destruction of all monuments of idolatry, the punishment of open professors of popery, the maintenance of ministers, and criminal proceedings against despisers or abusers of the sacraments. Whatever difficulties might be in the way of some among these requests, there was none against the first. The whole accordingly, received a formal assent⁵, and a commission was issued, assigning to particular persons of distinction, districts for purgation from monuments of idolatry.⁶ This authority, so palatable to peer, burgher, and peasant, received prompt and more than complete attention.⁷ The entire mass of Scottish monastic erections was now stripped and ruined. Wanton mischief did much of the work, but a sordid spirit of spoliation was busy also. Timber, lead, bells, and moveable property of various descriptions, were purloined, or put up to sale. Even tombs were rifled. Many articles, however, which, though intrinsically valuable, that age had not learned to value, were treated as useless lumber. This was the ordinary fate of books and registers, which, with Vandalic stupidity, were seldom thought fit for any thing but to feed the flames.⁸ In behalf of this infamous crusade against the noblest works of art that Scotland had to boast, the English precedent under Henry VIII. is not unfairly pleaded.⁹ But it

⁵ Knox, 237. "The lords of the council, yielding to the pressure of circumstances, and probably hoping that they would afterwards find some pretext for rendering their petition nugatory, passed an act granting all that was re-

quired." Cook, iii. 49.

⁶ *Ibid.* 50.

⁷ "The intention of the council, however, was much exceeded." *Ibid.* 51.

⁸ Russell, i. 257.

⁹ Cook, iii. 50.

was a bad example to follow. There might be good reason, and there were, in both countries, for suppressing monachism. For devastating its noble monuments, plundering its moveable appliances, and seizing its fixed estates, the principal reasons, in either case, undoubtedly, were the popular appetite for playing with destruction, an eagerness for petty plunder in those whose avarice could gain no higher range, and a sordid eye to their own permanent advantage, in the leaders of a party, or the minions of a court.

§ 21. This miserable havoc was hardly completed when Mary, queen of Scots, again trod her paternal shore.¹ She came with a store of very good advice, and with an evident inclination to follow it. Nor would her presence have failed of operating most injuriously upon Protestantism, if she could have stooped to the temporary baseness of pretending some regard for it, or even to that of wholly ceasing from the open profession of Romanism.² Men are so smitten by the smiles of those who dispense pecuniary favours, and by the contact with grandeur, that persons with such advantages, or seeming advantages, at command, have means of compassing ends which are altogether above the reach of the world generally. But then such means, to be rendered completely available, require occasionally the deepest dissimulation, and a perfect mastery over that pride which lurks at the bottom of almost all human hearts, and naturally takes a very vigorous hold upon those who are by station most tempted to it. Mary's early Scottish policy exemplified these observations. There can be no doubt that she abhorred the Protestant leaders, but she showed every disposition to conciliate them and to respect their opinions. This conduct from their own sovereign, who also was queen dowager of the most refined and opulent of European nations, operated immediately and violently upon the rude Lords of the Congregation. One of them, newly come to wait upon her, and inveighing in the usual strain against idolatry, was told by a zealot of his party that his ardour would be likely to cool, when he had been "sprinkled with court holy water."³ It was Mary's determination to indulge herself openly from the first with lustral water and the like, that marred her policy. She disclaimed an intention to control the religious habits of her subjects by a proclamation, which authorised the

¹ Aug. 19, 1561, after an absence of nearly thirteen years. Robertson, ii. 57.

² Cook, iii. 62.

³ *Ibid.* 69.

reformed worship, and forbade the Romish⁴, but she very reasonably claimed liberty to regulate her own chapel, and she had either too much spirit or too much principle, or both, to suppress this claim, until skilful time-serving should have rendered it impregnable. On the contrary, she attended mass on the first Sunday after her arrival in Edinburgh. It was not intended for any ostentatious service, but it was not celebrated without a threatening demonstration to prevent it, or without agitating the town with a subsequent storm of intolerant indignation.⁵ Undeterred by this opposition, Mary proceeded in the regular profession of her religion, but her subjects were equally persevering in their avowals of a disposition to treat attendance at mass as a capital offence; and thus her increasing influence over the nobles was rapidly counteracted by the decrease of their own popularity. The grinding poverty in which the Protestant ministers were kept, probably, added to the hopelessness of an accommodation.⁶ Men who were debarred wholly from the indulgences of life, and could hardly command its necessaries, but had, at the same time, a prodigious influence over the populace, were not likely to pine in silence, while others who had gained fortune by their means, were adding to it the cheering sunshine of court favour. Hence the country daily resounded with warnings against the disgrace and danger of suffering idolatry in any

⁴ Aug. 31, Cook, iii. 67.

⁵ "Nothing was understood but mirth and quietness till the next Sunday, which was the 24th of August, when preparation began to be made for that idol, the mass, to be said in the chapel. Which perceived, the hearts of all the godly began to bolder; and men began openly to speak, *shall that idol be suffered again to take place within this realm? It shall not.* The lord Lindsay, then but master, with the gentlemen of Fife, and others, plainly cried in the close, *The idolater priest should die the death, according to God's law.* One that carried the candle was evil afraid; but then began flesh and blood to show the self. There durst no papist, neither yet any that came out of France, whisper: but the Lord James, the man whom all the godly did most reverence, took upon him to keep the chapel door. His best excuse was, that he would stop all Scotsmen to enter into the mass; but it was, and is sufficiently known, that the door was kept that none should have

entrance to trouble the priest; who, after the mass, was committed to the protection of Lord John of Coldingham, and Lord Robert of Holyrood-house, who then were both protestants, and had communicated at the table of the Lord. Betwixt them, too, was the priest conveyed to his chamber; and so the godly departed with grief of heart, and at afternoon repaired to the abbey in great companies, and gave plain signification, that they could not abide, that the land, which God by his power had purged from idolatry, should in their eyes be polluted again." Knox, 248.

⁶ "The teachers, who swayed the minds of their countrymen, were most unwisely left to depend upon the precarious and scanty benevolence of men whose eagerness to enrich themselves and their families, had contributed no less powerfully than their regard for religious truth, to decide their attachment to the reformation." Cook, iii. 97.

quarter.⁷ As an expedient for gaining some degree of peace, Mary, unhesitatingly, consented⁸ to an indirect but formal recognition of the Protestant ministers. Her own pecuniary resources, like those of her predecessors generally, were found miserably inadequate to the exigencies of her station. It was proposed to recruit the royal exchequer, by taking one-third of the ecclesiastical revenues, the several incumbents being allowed to retain the remaining two-thirds. The gross estimated produce of this royal third was an annual revenue of nearly fifty thousand pounds⁹, a sum in that age and country of no mean importance: but out of it the crown was to provide stipends for the Protestant ministers. Their body was thus doubly satisfied. It had some prospect of independence, and it obtained, even from an unfriendly sovereign, something like an acknowledged station in the country. Nor had the Romish incumbents any great cause for dissatisfaction. Two-thirds of their incomes were placed upon a footing of greater security than had latterly been a matter of safe calculation, and they were relieved from that prospect of maintaining their Protestant rivals, with which they were threatened at the beginning of the year, by those distinguished persons who subscribed the *Book of Discipline*. It was, however, these noble individuals themselves, and other leaders of their party, who were found ultimately the chief gainers by the arrangements now made. The ecclesiastical property which they had succeeded in getting into their possession during the late troubles, was confirmed to them, and thus a legal title was given to estates, which really came into their hands as the mere prize of dexterous rapacity.¹

§ 22. The Protestant ministers had no such good fortune. Arrangements were made by a committee of council, for providing them with suitable stipends, but these were upon a very slender scale², and were, besides, most irregularly

⁷ "The malediction of God, that has stricken, and yet will strike, for idolatry." Knox, 248.

⁸ Cook, iii. 102. This was in December, 1561. Knox admits the ease by which this concession was gained, saying of those whom he calls "the queen's flatterers," that "the rod of impiety was not then strengthened in her and their hands, and so began they to practise how they should please the queen, and

yet seem somewhat to satisfy the faithful." 258.

⁹ Cook, iii. 107.

¹ *Ibid.* 109.

² "To many of them a hundred merks, a little more than five pounds, were allotted, to none more than three hundred merks, and the whole annual expense of the establishment of the protestant church in Scotland, with the exception of a separate allowance to four of the

paid.³ Hence their discontent still showed itself in violent attacks upon the mass, which was represented as not only impious in itself, but also as a cloak and protection for the foulest immoralities.⁴ The nobility generally would not sanction any interference with the queen's liberty of conscience, and this point, accordingly, was conceded.⁵ Knox and the other preachers, however, were scandalised, taunting their patrician adherents with an interested connivance at idolatry, giving insolent hints of resistance⁶, and professing to believe that heavenly wrath must soon "strike the head and the tail, the inobedient prince and the sinful people."⁷ But Mary acted with so much prudence that all this violence daily lost ground. She did, indeed, as her position became better established, venture upon a more conspicuous profession of Romanism, an exercise of her discretion which occasioned some disturbances.⁸ At the same time, she would not venture, upon cool reflection, to infringe the terms of the proclamation issued within a few days of her return, and suffer any open celebration of Romish rites out of her own chapel. When, accordingly, delusive appearances of a change in their favour had emboldened the primate, and a few other clergymen, at Easter, 1563, to attempt a revival of the prohibited mass, for which some of them were promptly apprehended by their neighbours, she consented, after a little hesitation, to have them prosecuted and imprisoned.⁹ It was impossible to prevent a sedative effect from so much discretion, in spite of the violence of a popular zeal against popery, the precarious condition of a poverty-stricken Protestant clergy, and rooted habits of rebellion in a large portion of the nobility. Had Mary, therefore, been a mere politician, it is hardly doubtful that she might have eventually succeeded in improving the situations both of herself and her reli-

superintendents, and to Knox, exceeded very little the sum of twenty thousand pounds." *Ibid.* 107.

³ "The poor ministers, readers, and exhorters, cried out to the heavens, as their complaints in all assemblies do witness, that neither were they able to live upon the stipends appointed, neither could get payment of that small thing which was appointed." Knox, 262.

⁴ Supplication to the queen and council from the kirk-assembly, Midsummer, 1562. *Ibid.* 271.

⁵ At a conference of some eminent

laymen and ministers, seemingly, in November, 1561. *Ibid.* 255.

⁶ "Albeit that nothing be more odious to them than tumults and domestical discords, yet will men attempt the uttermost, before that in their own eyes they behold that house of God demolished, which, with travail and danger, God hath in this realm erected by them." Supplication: *ut supra*, 272.

⁷ Supplication: *ut supra*.

⁸ Cook, iii. 91.

⁹ Knox, 287.

gion. But as a woman she was highly indiscreet at best. Soon after her unhappy marriage with Darnley, the royal authority seemed likely to gain ground, which caused some peers openly to attend mass, and friars were allowed to preach once more.¹ On Rizzio's murder², Romish hopes were finally overclouded. The lords, who had been once so long supreme in the national affairs, but latterly were exiles in England, returned into their country³, and soon after were pardoned. Mary's infamous marriage with Bothwell⁴ restored all their former importance, and a new alliance with the preachers effectually confirmed it. She never would ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, or formally recognise the Protestant religion otherwise than as a temporary system which awaited parliamentary examination. Bothwell, however, sought popular support by gaining her assent to a legislative act which exempted Protestants from legal harm.⁵ This great advantage to the reformed cause was only the prelude to still greater. The queen's personal indiscretions placed Protestantism in a posture to demand all that it desired. The government, accordingly, established on her forced abdication⁶, made immediately the concessions which she had perseveringly and skilfully eluded.⁷ The regent Murray's first parliament gave them legal validity, re-enacting all the religious provisions of the celebrated convention of 1560; that bold body which was empowered by the treaty of Edinburgh to lay a plan of ecclesiastical reform before the sovereign, and which, instead, presented statutes abolishing popery, and establishing Protestantism, for the royal assent.⁸ These, it was true, had been ever since the law of Scotland, and had ordinarily been respected by none more strictly, except so far as her own household was concerned, than by Mary herself. But her legislative assent was never given to them, and there could be no doubt of her intention to set them aside, on the first opportunity, as mere usurpations, illegally forced upon a reluctant sovereign, which really

¹ *Ibid.* 339. Cook, iii. 213. This was about the close of 1565.

² March 9, 1566. Robertson, ii. 152.

³ March 10, 1566. *Ibid.* 153.

⁴ May 15, 1567. *Ibid.* 218.

⁵ In the parliament opened April 14, 1567. *Ibid.* 205.

⁶ July 24, 1567. *Ibid.* 240.

⁷ July 25, 1567. The demands were

transmitted on that day, seemingly, from the general assembly to the confederated lords, with whom were associated many gentlemen, and commissioners from boroughs. The whole body unhesitatingly assented. Cook, iii. 289.

⁸ The parliament which thus established the Scottish reformation, met Dec. 15, 1567. *Ibid.* 302.

was very much their character. It was, therefore, a point of the utmost importance gained by Protestantism when these provisions were formally admitted into the national statute-book. This finally established the Scottish reformation. Its confession of faith now became legally the national standard of belief, and Romanism was no longer kept down by the mere force of a proclamation, which the sovereign must have been anxious to retract. It could not be openly professed without the commission of a statutable offence.

§ 23. Again, however, the reformed preachers found a wide difference between the agitation of pecuniary questions on their own behalf, and on that of their aristocratic supporters. These latter entered heartily into the propriety of converting estates from Romish uses to their own, but they never could see the propriety, or even justice, of surrendering any thing from such acquisitions to the humbler labourers, by whose popularity they had been so much benefited. The cries, therefore, of distress, which incessantly sounded from the houses of ministers, were even now, in the final triumph of their cause, met by a very imperfect measure of relief.⁹ It is thought that the regent Murray would have gladly treated his clerical friends with greater liberality. But his friends who bore the sword would hear nothing of interference with land or tythe, now passed, though most irregularly, from the Church to themselves.¹ Hence all that could be obtained from parliament for the poverty-stricken preachers was, that the whole thirds, formerly paid into the exchequer, should henceforth be paid to collectors nominated by themselves, with an undertaking that they were to receive their arrears.² This arrangement was, however, treated as a temporary compromise; intended only to last until the protestant establishment could gain full possession of the tythes,

⁹ "But notwithstanding their known indigence, and the warm remonstrances of the assembly of the church, which met this year, the parliament did nothing more for their relief than prescribe some new regulations concerning the payment of the thirds of benefices; which did not produce any considerable change in the situation of the clergy." Robertson, ii. 250.

¹ "The regent, however desirous he was to gratify the preachers, and to redeem the pledge, which his party had

given to them, found, that in the infancy of his administration, this was impossible; that the attempt would exasperate his enemies, and would even sow dissension among the steadiest of his friends." Cook, iii. 396.

² Cook, iii. 397. The act provides, that the remainder of the thirds, after paying the ministers, should be applied to the use of the king. The ministers appear to have been satisfied with this arrangement. M'Crie's *Knox*, ii. 161.

which were claimed as its legal patrimony, and admitted to be such in the body of the statute.

§ 24. Of the Scottish reformation thus brought to a close³, it is observed, with just exultation, that it was a mighty change unstained with blood.⁴ Knox and his friends were, indeed, ever talking that “the idolater must die the death;” in other words, that attendance at mass must be treated as a capital offence. But happily, want of power, or other restraining circumstances, caused all this demonstration of sanguinary intolerance to evaporate in ferocious menace. In some respects, however, Scotland shows far from advantageously in the course of her emancipation from Rome. Her principal reformer, Knox, though possessed of many very valuable qualities, was so vain, rough, intolerant, and overbearing, that even the rudeness of the age in which he lived can scarcely find a sufficient excuse for him. Still, he must be ranked among great men. He had a lofty contempt of danger and compromise, which were incalculably serviceable in the struggle that owed success principally to his master-mind. Nor was he possessed by that disregard of ecclesiastical antiquity, which eventually prevailed in Scotland. On the contrary, though coming to the struggle as a simple presbyter, and ever in active opposition to the whole prelacy, he would not venture to overthrow the old system completely; but by parcelling out the country among superintendents, he laid an intelligible foundation for a reformed diocesan episcopacy. Nor should it be forgotten that his theological views were not so widely at variance with established authority as those that have since generally prevailed among his followers. Nor had he that antipathy to liturgical forms which afterwards became so characteristic of his countrymen. On the contrary, it seems to have been the practice, at the outset of the Scottish reformation, to read king Edward’s English service-book.⁵ Subsequently, the Genevan liturgy was used.⁶

³ Dec. 29, 1567. Cook, iii. 309.

⁴ *Ibid.* 315.

⁵ Cook, ii. 35, 36.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 137. “It is worthy of remark too, that during this period, the worship of the Church was chiefly liturgical, and that the service used for several years after the reformation was the Prayer-book of Edward VI. In 1557, as has already been noticed, the Lords of

the Congregation ordained, that, in every parish, the Common Prayer should be read weekly on Sunday, and other festival days, with the lessons of the Old and New Testament. A similar injunction is repeated in the first Book of Discipline: *In great towns we think it expedient that every day there be either sermoun, or Common Prayer, with some exercise of reading the Scriptures.* It is not to be

§ 25. The principal misfortune of the Scottish reformation was its progress throughout in opposition to the crown, the functions of which were, indeed, almost completely suspended by it.⁷ This gave it a suspicious tinge of politics, and occasioned several evils which a friendly executive would have restrained, or prevented. The Lords of the Congregation wore very much the aspect of rebellious leaders, their adherents repeatedly came forward as destructive, riotous mobs. Answerable to these appearances were many things actually done. The great men were shamefully greedy and tenacious of church-plunder, their followers were often stimulated by a vulgar appetite for petty spoil and wanton mischief. Precedents in England and elsewhere, may be fairly pleaded, as they are, to palliate these unpleasing fruits of a mighty struggle for a purer faith; but Scotland carried them to an excess, because her efforts for emancipation from Rome, were essentially rebellious movements, wanting, therefore, the controlling hand of established power. It may be added, as some excuse for patrician rapacity, that the higher Scottish were all but incredibly poor.⁸ As for the accounts of the riches possessed by the Romish priesthood, and of its deep moral depravity, they must be received as the interested testimony of enemies, and of enemies who had adopted an extreme austerity in estimating religious obligation. There can be no doubt, that an undue portion of the national wealth had passed in Scotland, as in all other countries of western Europe, to the church. But it is far from clear that a half-civilized

concealed, however, that the reformed preachers did not entirely restrict themselves to set forms; for while they recommended the use of the liturgy on those less solemn occasions, when they themselves, it may be presumed, did not officiate, they remarked, that *on the day of public sermon we do not think the Common Prayer needful to be used, lest we should foster the people in superstition, who come to the prayers, as they come to the mass; or give them reason to think that those are no prayers which are conceived before and after sermon.* It is clear, notwithstanding, that Knox individually continued to use a liturgical service in the worship of God. He entertained objections to the English book, as it stood in the reign of the sixth Edward, and therefore employed the influence which he justly possessed over his brethren, to introduce, in

place of it, the form used at Geneva, and which, in consequence, has been frequently called by his name, and also known by the title of the *Old Scottish Liturgy.*" Russell, i. 254.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 291.

⁸ "In the commencement of Mary's reign, the poverty of the Scottish barons filled Sadler, the English ambassador, with amazement. He was constantly assailed by the most urgent petitions for pecuniary aid from his master; and when, from the decided part which the government at length took against Henry, he was instructed to leave Edinburgh, and take up his residence with the noblemen attached to England, he replied, that it was impossible, for so mean were their houses, and so confined their accommodations, that none of them could receive him." Cook, ii. 205.

country would suffer from such excess. It would not be the evil that is commonly supposed, even in communities highly improved. On the contrary, properties open to merit, or good fortune, in every rank, are likely, under most circumstances, to serve the community at large, quite as much, or more, than if locked up within a narrow circle of private families. In ancient Scotland, as in every country similarly conditioned, there can hardly be a question, that the ecclesiastical estates were far more improved, and had produced a far larger proportion of public works to benefit and ornament the kingdom, than the contiguous inheritances of gentlemen.⁹ As for morals, the ancient Scottish clergy naturally partook of that grossness which belonged to their age. Some of them, too, had considerable wealth, and of course, availed themselves of its indulgences, which commonly passes for a crime with austere tempers that have no such opportunity. Of incontinence they really seem to have been extensively guilty, but probably, neither they nor their contemporaries, entertained those just views of that vice which prevail in communities placing no restraints upon marriage.¹ Upon the whole, nothing could be more desirable, and even necessary, than the national repudiation of popery, because it is a false and pernicious system, based upon paganism, injurious to intellectual progress, and adverse to genuine Christianity; but its expulsion owed something to calumny in most places, and in Scotland to rebellion also. Nor were those who effected it there, sufficiently regardful of catholic antiquity, in laying the foundations of a better system. Hence their immediate successors adopted innovations which seem to have been never contemplated by themselves.

⁹ "The cathedrals, the chapels, the universities, and even the first public roads and bridges, were due to the patriotism of the prelatical orders; who, if they did possess an undue share of wealth, applied it assuredly with much more wisdom than the lay dignitaries by

whom they were succeeded; to most of whom riches appeared only as the means of indiscriminate profusion, or of carrying on mutual hostilities." Russell, i. 278.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 280.

SECTION II.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Extension of the Christian church.—§ 2. Zeal of the pontiffs in this respect.—
 § 3. Propagation of Christianity in India, Japan, and China.—§ 4. Zeal of the
 protestants on this subject.—§ 5. The enemies of Christianity.—§ 6. Advantages
 of the revival of learning.—§ 7. The study of the Greek and Latin classics every
 where flourished.—§ 8. The state of philosophy.—§ 9. Mode of teaching theo-
 logy.—§ 10. Religion purified, and morals reformed.

§ 1. IN extending the empire of Christ, the Spaniards and Portuguese, if we may believe their own historians, were equally active and successful.¹ Undoubtedly, some sort of knowledge of Christianity was carried by them to both North and South America, to a part of Africa, and to the maritime parts and islands of Asia, which were subjugated by their fleets. And a large number of the inhabitants of these regions, who had before been destitute of all religion, or were sunk in the grossest superstitions, ostensibly assumed the name of Christians. But these accessions to the Christian church will not be highly appreciated, or rather will be deplored, by those who consider that these nations were coerced, by barbarous and abominable laws and punishments, to abandon the religion of their ancestors; and that all were enrolled as Christians, who had learned to venerate immoderately their stupid instructors, and to take part by gestures and words in certain useless rites and forms. Such a judgment has been pronounced, not merely by those whom the Romish church calls *heretics*, but also by the best and most solid members of the Romish community, Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and others.

¹ See, among many others, Jos. Fran. Lafitan's *Histoire des Découvertes et Conquêtes des Portugais dans le Nouveau Monde*, tom. iii. p. 420. He derives his accounts from the Portuguese writers. The other writers on this subject, are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Lux*

Salutaris Evangelii toti orbi exoriens, cap. 42, 43, 48, 49. [A copious list of authors, who treat of both the civil and religious state of Spanish America in particular, may be seen prefixed to Dr. W. Robertson's *History of the Discovery and Settlement of America*. Tr.]

§ 2. The Roman pontiffs, after losing a great part of Europe, manifested much more solicitude than before to propagate Christianity in other parts of the world. For no better method occurred to them, both for repairing the loss which they had sustained in Europe, and for vindicating their claims to the title of common fathers of the Christian church. Therefore, soon after the institution of the celebrated society of Jesuits, in the year 1540, an especial charge was laid upon it to train up a succession of suitable men, whom the pontiffs might send into even the remotest regions as preachers of the religion of Christ. With what fidelity and zeal the order obeyed this injunction, may be learned from the long list of histories which describe the labours and perils encountered by vast numbers of its members while propagating Christianity among the pagan nations.² Immortal praise would undoubtedly belong to them, were it not manifest from unequivocal testimony, that many of them laboured rather to promote the glory of the Roman pontiff, and the interests of their own sect, than to serve Jesus Christ.³ It appears also, from authors of high credit and authority, that the Indians were induced to profess Christianity by the *inquisition*, established by the Jesuits at Goa in Asia, and by their arms and penal laws, rather than by their exhortations and reasonings.⁴ This zeal of the Jesuits excited the emulation not only of the Franciscans and Dominicans, but likewise of other religious associations, and led them to renew this almost neglected work of missions.

§ 3. Among the Jesuits who took the lead in the arduous work of missionaries, no one acquired greater fame than *Francis Xavier*, commonly called the apostle of the Indies.⁵ Possessing

² See Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exorientis*, cap. xxxii. p. 550, &c.

³ See Christ. Eberh. Weismann's *Oratio de Virtutibus et Vitiis Missionar. Roman.* in his *Orati. Academica*, p. 286, &c. [Compare also his *Introduct. in Memorabilia Eccles. Histor. Sacrae N. T.* tom. ii. p. 684, &c. Schl.]

⁴ See the *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. ii. p. 171. 207, &c.

⁵ Pope Benedict XIV., at the request of the king of Portugal, in the year 1747, conferred on Xavier the dignity and title of *Protector of the Indies*. See *Lettres Eclésiastiques et Curieuses des Missions Etran-*

gères, tom. xliii. Pref. p. xxxvi. &c. The body of Xavier was interred at Goa, and is there worshipped with the greatest devotion, he being enrolled amongst the saints. A magnificent church is erected to him at Cotala in Portuguese India, where he is likewise devoutly invoked by the people. See the *Lettres Eclésiastiques des Missions*, tom. iii. p. 85. 89. 201, tom. v. p. 38—48, tom. vi. p. 78. [Francis Xavier was a younger son of a respectable family in the South of France, and born about A. D. 1506. He was educated at Paris, where Ignatius Loyola found him, teaching with reputation, and persuaded him to join his new society of

genius in no ordinary degree, and a very high degree of activity, he proceeded to the Portuguese East Indies, in the year 1542, and in a few years filled no small part both of the continent and the islands with a knowledge of the Christian religion, or rather, of the Römish. Thence he proceeded, in the year 1549, to Japan, and with great celerity, laid the foundation of that very numerous body of Christians, which flourished for many years in that extensive empire. Afterwards, when attempting a mission to China, and already in sight of that powerful kingdom, he closed his life at the island of Sancian, in the year 1552.⁶ After his death, other missionaries of the order of Jesuits entered China; among whom the most distinguished was *Matthew Ricci*, an Italian; who so conciliated the favour of some of the chief men, and even of the emperor, by his great skill in mathematics, that he obtained, for himself and companions, liberty to explain the doctrines of Christianity to the people.⁷ He, therefore, may justly be considered as the founder and chief author of the numerous body in China, which still worships Christ, though harassed and disquieted by various calamities.⁸

Jesuits. In 1540, the king of Portugal requested some members of that society to be sent to his capital. Xavier and Simon Rodriguez were sent the next year: and from Lisbon, Xavier took ship, in 1541, for the East Indies, with the commission of papal legate and missionary. He arrived at Goa, in 1542, and laboured with success in converting the natives, and reforming the lives of the Portuguese, for about seven years. During this period he travelled extensively in Hindostan, twice visited the pearl fishery on the coast of Ceylon, and made repeated and extensive voyages among the islands to the east of the bay of Bengal. At length, in 1549, he went to Japan, and there spent two years and a half, with no great success as a missionary. He then returned to Goa; and immediately prepared for a mission to China. He arrived on the Chinese coast, in the autumn of 1552, fell sick of a fever, and there expired. His remains were afterwards removed to Goa, and there interred. His life was written by the Jesuit Horatus Tursellinus, in vi. books, Rome, 1594, 12mo. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. iii. p. 652, &c. *Tr.*]

⁶ See the writers referred to by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti*

orbi exoriens, cap. xxxix. p. 677, &c. Add, Jos. Fran. Lafitau's *Histoire des Découvertes et Conquêtes des Portugais dans le Nouveau Monde*, tom. iii. p. 419. 424, tom. iv. p. 63. 102, &c. *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. i. p. 92, &c.

⁷ Jo. Bapst. du Halde's *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, tom. iii. p. 84, &c. ed. in Holland.

⁸ That certain Dominicans had gone into China before Ricci, is certain. See Lequien's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 1354. But these had effected nothing of importance. [Three Italian Jesuits, Matthew Ricci of Macerata in Ancona, Pasio of Bologna, and Roger a Neapolitan, after devoting some years to the acquisition of the Chinese language in India, were by Alexander Vinignano, superintendent of the Jesuits' mission at Macao, in the year 1582, attached to an embassy sent to a governor in China. Ricci was acute, learned, modest, of winning address, persevering and active. His knowledge of mathematics recommended him to the Chinese. He exhibited a map of the world, with which they were much taken. Connecting himself with the Bonzes, or idolatrous priests, he assumed their dress and manners, and studied under their guid-

§ 4. Those who had withdrawn themselves from the jurisdiction of the pontiffs, possessing no territories beyond the bounds of Europe, could attempt scarcely any thing for the extension of the empire of Christ. Yet we are informed, that in the year 1556, fourteen missionaries were sent from Geneva to convert the Americans to Christ.⁹ But by whom they were sent, and what success attended them, is uncertain. The English, moreover, who near the close of the century sent out colonies to North America, planted there the religion which they themselves professed; and as these English colonies afterwards increased and gathered strength, they caused their religion to make progress among the fierce and savage tribes of those regions. I pass over the efforts of the Swedes for the conversion of the Finns and Laplanders, no small part of whom were still addicted to the absurd and impious rites of their progenitors.

§ 5. There was no public persecution of Christianity in this century. For those mistake the views and policy of the Mahomedans, who suppose that the Turks waged war upon the Christians, in this age, for the sake of promoting their religion in opposition to that of Christ. But private enemies, both to all religion, and especially to the Christian, as many have represented, were lurking here and there in different parts of Europe; and they instilled their nefarious dogmas, both orally

ance seven years. He then assumed the garb of a Chinese man of letters; and wrote tracts on the Christian religion, and particularly a catechism. Many persons of rank put themselves under his instruction, and he at length gathered a congregation of Christians. After twenty years' labour, he gained access to the emperor; to whom he presented pictures of Christ and the virgin Mary, and a clock; and obtained liberty to visit the palace, with his associates, at pleasure. He now made converts very fast, from all ranks of the people. Sin, one of the principal mandarins, and his granddaughter, Candida, with her husband, became converts; and themselves built thirty churches, in the provinces where they lived; and assisted the missionaries to procure the erection of ninety more, besides forty chapels for prayer, in another province. They also caused numerous religious tracts to be printed,

and translations of comments on the Scripture, and even the great *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas. They gathered the foundlings, with which China abounded, and brought them up Christians. Ricci's two companions, Pasio and Roger, were early recalled; but when he began to be successful, assistants were sent to him, who continued to labour after his decease, which took place in the year 1610. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. iii. p. 677, &c. Tr.]

⁹ Bened. Pietet's *Oratio de Trophæis Christi*; in his *Oratt.* p. 570. I have no doubt, that the celebrated admiral Coligni was the man, who sent for these Genevan teachers to come to him into France. For that excellent man, in the year 1555, projected the sending of a colony of protestants to Brazil and America. See Charlevoix's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, tom. i. p. 22, &c. [and Thuanus, *Historia Generalis*, lib. xvi. Tr.]

and in books, into the minds of the credulous. In this miserable class are reckoned several of the peripatetic philosophers who illumined Italy; in particular, *Peter Pomponatius*; and besides these, among the French, *John Bodin*, *Francis Rabelais*, *Michael de Montagne*, *Bonaventure des Perieres*, *Stephen Dolet*, and *Peter Charron*; among the Italians, the sovereign pontiff, *Leo X.*, *Peter Bembus*, *Angelus Politianus*, *Jordan Brunus*, and *Bernardin Ochin*; among the Germans, *Theophrastus Paracelsus*, *Nicholas Taurellus*, and others.¹ Nay, some tell us, that in certain parts

¹ The reader may consult Jac. Fred. Reimmann's *Hist. Atheismi et Atheorum*, Hildesh. 1725, 8vo. Jo. Fran. Buddæus *Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione*, cap. i. Peter Bayle's *Dictionnaire Histor. et Crit.* in various articles; and others. [Pomponatius was born at Mantua in 1462, taught philosophy at Padua and Bologna, and died about A. D. 1526. In a treatise on the immortality of the soul, he denied that reason could decide the question; and maintained that it was purely a doctrine of faith, resting on the authority of revelation. In a treatise on incantations, he denied the agency of demons in producing strange occurrences; and explained the efficacy of relics, &c. by the influence of the imagination. In a tract on fate, free-will, and predestination, he declared himself utterly unable, satisfactorily, to solve the difficulties of the subject; commented on the usual explanations; showed their insufficiency; and wished others to investigate the subject more fully. At the same time he pronounced the stoic and the Christian exposition of the subject the most plausible; and submitted himself to the authority of the church. Many account him an atheist; and the inquisition condemned his principles. See Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, art. *Pomponace*; and Stäudlin's *Gesch. der Moralphilosophie*, p. 584.—John Bodin was a French jurist, civilian, and man of letters; and died A. D. 1596, aged 67. His works were numerous, consisting of translations of the Latin classics, law and political writings; and an unprinted dialogue between a catholic, a Lutheran, an indifferentist, a naturalist, a reformed, a Jew, and a Turk, on the subject of religion. He here appears a free-thinker. See Bayle, l. c. art. *Bodin*.—Rabelais was a great wit, and a distinguished burlesque writer. Born about the year 1500, he became a

Cordelier, led a scandalous life, became a Benedictine, forsook the monastic life in 1530, and studied physic; was employed as a physician, and librarian, by cardinal du Bellay; went to Rome, returned, and was curate of Meudon, from the year 1545, till his death in 1553. His works, consisting of his *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua*, are comic satires, full of the burlesque; and were printed in 5 vols. 8vo. Amsterd. 1715; and 3 vols. 4to, ibid. 1741. His satire on the monks excited their enmity, and caused him trouble. But he does not appear to have been in speculation a deist, or a heretic; though his piety may be justly questioned.—Montagne was a French nobleman, born in 1533, well educated in the classics at Bordeaux; succeeded to the lordship of Montagne in Perigord, and to the mayoralty of Bourdeaux, where he ended his life, A. D. 1592. His great work is his *Essays*, often printed in 3 vols. 4to, and 6 vols. 12mo. He there appears to be sceptical in regard to scientific or philosophical morals; but he was a firm believer in revelation, which he regarded as man's only safe guide. See Stäudlin, l. c. p. 606, &c.—Des Perieres was valet de chambre to Margaret, queen of Navarre, and was a wit and a poet. A volume of his French poems was published after his death, which was in 1544. Previous to his death, he published in French a pretended translation of a Latin work, entitled, *Cymbalum Mundi*, which consists of four dialogues, not very chaste, ridiculing the pagan superstitions in the manner of Lucian. See Bayle, l. c. art. *Perieres*.—Dolet was a man of learning, though indiscreet and much involved in controversies. After various changes, he became a printer and a bookseller at Lyons; and having avowed lax sentiments in religion, he was seized by the inquisition, and burnt,

of France and Italy, there were schools opened, from which issued swarms of such monsters. And no one who is well

upon the charge of atheism, A. D. 1546, at the age of 37. What his religious opinions were, it is not easy to state. He professed to be a Lutheran. See Bayle, l. c. art. *Dolet*, and Rees's *Cyclopædia*.—Peter Charron was born at Paris, in 1541, studied and practised law several years, and then became a catholic preacher in very high estimation for his pulpit talents. He died at Paris, A. D. 1603. He was a philosophical divine, bold and sceptical. He did not discard revelation, yet relied more upon natural religion. His most noted work was *De la Sagesse*, in three books; first printed at Bordeaux, in 1601. See Bayle, l. c. art. *Charron*; and Stäudlin, l. c. p. 612, &c.—*Leo X.* was a man of pleasure, and gave no evidence of genuine piety. Du Plessis, and other protestants, have reported remarks, said to have been made by him in his unguarded moments, implying, that he considered the Christian religion a fable, though a profitable one; that he doubted the immortality of the soul, &c. See Bayle, l. c. art. *Leo X.*, note (I.) p. 83.—*Bembus* was secretary to *Leo X.*, a man of letters, a facetious companion, a poet, and historian. He also is reported to have spoken equivocally of a future state, and to have despised Paul's epistles, on account of their unpolished style. See Bayle, l. c. art. *Bembus* and art. *Melancthon*, note (P).—*Politian* was a learned classic scholar in the preceding century, and is reported to have said that he never read the Bible but once, and he considered that a loss of time. He was also reported to have given the preference to Pindar's poems before those of David. On these rumours he has been classed among free-thinkers. See Bayle, l. c. art. *Politien*.—*Jordan Brunus* was a Neapolitan free-thinker. He attacked the Aristotelian philosophy, and denied many of the plain truths of revelation. Driven from Italy for his impieties, he travelled and resided in Germany, France, and England; and returning to Italy, he was committed to the flames in the year 1600. See Bayle, art. *Brunus*.—*Bernardin Ochlin* was an Italian, born in 1487, at Sienna. He early became a Franciscan, first of the class called Cordeliers, and then a Capuchin, of which last order he was the general from A. D. 1537—1542. He

was now a very austere monk, and a distinguished preacher. But in the year 1541, meeting with John Valdes, a Spanish civilian, who had accompanied Charles V. to Germany, and there imbibed Lutheran sentiments, Ochlin was converted to the same faith. The change in his views soon became known; and he was summoned to Rome to give account of himself. On his way thither, he met with Peter Martyr, a man of kindred views, and they both agreed to flee beyond the reach of the papal power. They went first to Geneva, and thence to Augsburg, where Ochlin published a volume of sermons, married, and lived from 1542 till 1547. From Augsburg both Ochlin and Martyr were invited into England by archbishop Crammer, and were employed in reforming that country. But on the accession of queen Mary, in 1553, they were obliged to quit England. Ochlin returned to Strasburg, and in 1555 went to Bâle, and hence to Zurich, where he became pastor to a congregation of Italian protestants till 1563. He now published a volume of dialogues, in one of which he represented polygamy as lawful, in certain cases, and advanced some other opinions which gave offence. The magistrates of Zurich banished him from the canton. He retired to Bâle in mid winter, and being refused an asylum there, he travelled with his family to Poland, where he met the like reception, and set out for Moravia; on his way, he and family were taken sick, two sons and a daughter died, he recovered so far as to pursue his journey, but died three weeks after at Slavkaw, A. D. 1564, aged 77. He is said to have impugned the doctrine of the Trinity, and the Anti-trinitarians claim him as one of their sect. His works were all written in Italian, and consisted of six volumes of Sermons, Commentaries on the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, a Treatise on the Lord's Supper, another on Predestination and Free-will, &c. See Bayle, l. c. art. *Ochlin*.—*Theophrastus*, or as he called himself, *Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Paracelsus Bombastus von Hohenheim*, was a vain, unlearned, but ingenious alchemist, physician, and philosopher of Switzerland, born in 1493. He travelled much, was a short time professor of physic at Bâle, and died at

acquainted with the state of those times will reject these statements in the gross; for all the persons that are charged expressly with so great a crime cannot be acquitted altogether. Yet, if the subject be examined by impartial and competent judges, it will appear that many individuals were unjustly impeached, and others merited only a slighter stigma.

§ 6. That all the arts and sciences were in this age advanced to a higher degree of perfection, by the ingenuity and zeal of eminent men, no one needs to be informed. From this happy revival of general learning, the whole Christian population of Europe derived very great advantages to themselves, and afterwards imparted advantages to other nations, even to the remotest parts of the world. Princes and states perceiving the vast utility of the advancing state of knowledge, were every where at much expense and pains to found and protect learned associations and institutions, to foster and encourage genius and talent, and to provide honours and rewards for literary and scientific men. From this time onward, that salutary rule took effect, which still prevails among the larger and better part of the Christian community, of excluding all ignorant and illiterate persons from the sacred office and its functions. Yet the old contest between piety and learning did not cease; for extensively, both among the adherents to the Roman pontiff and among his foes, there were persons,—good men perhaps, but not duly considerate,—who contended more zealously than ever, that religion and piety could not possibly live, and be vigorous, unless all human learning and philosophy were separated from it, and the holy simplicity of the early ages restored.

§ 7. The first rank among the learned of that age was held by those who devoted themselves to editing, correcting, and explaining the ancient Greek and Latin authors, to the study of

Saltsburgh in 1541. He was the father of the sect of Theosophists, a sort of mystics, who pretended to derive all their knowledge of nature immediately from God. See Rees's *Cyclopadia* and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. iii. p. 145, &c.—Tanrellus (Ech-slein), a philosopher and physician of Mompelgard, who taught at Bâle and Altorf, lived at a time when Aristotle reigned with boundless sway in all the

universities; and wishing to free himself from the tyranny of the Stagirite, he ventured as a man of independence to correct some of Aristotle's opinions concerning God, providence, the human soul, &c. He thus became embroiled with the friends of Aristotle as his opposers, and was suspected of atheism. But Dr. Faurlein has defended him, in a *Dissert. Apologetica*. See Schlegel's note. *Tr.*]

antiquities, to the cultivation of both those languages, and to elegant composition, both in prose and verse. There still exist numerous works that are the admiration of the learned, from which it appears that the finest geniuses in all parts of Europe prosecuted these branches of learning with the greatest ardour, and even considered the preservation of religion and civil institutions, and the very life of all solid learning, to depend on these studies. And though some of them might go too far in this thing, yet no candid man will deny that the prosecution of these studies first opened the way for the improvement of the minds of men, and rescued both reason and religion from bondage.

§ 8. Those who devoted themselves principally to the study and improvement of philosophy, were indeed less numerous than the lovers of elegant literature; yet they formed a body neither small nor contemptible. They were divided into two classes. The one laboured to investigate the nature and truth of things by contemplation or speculation; the other recurred also to experiments. The former either followed after their guides and masters, or they struck out new paths by their own ingenuity and efforts. Those who followed masters either fixed their eye on *Plato*, to whom many now, especially in Italy, gave the preference, or they followed *Aristotle*. The professed followers of *Aristotle*, again, were greatly divided among themselves. For, while many of them wished to preserve the old method of philosophizing, which was falsely called the peripatetic by the doctors that still reigned in the schools, others wished to have *Aristotle* taught pure and uncontaminated, that is, they wished to have his works themselves brought forward and explained to the youth. Different from both were those who thought that the marrow should be extracted from the lucubrations of *Aristotle*, illumined with the light of elegant literature corrected by the dictates of sound reason and correct theology, and thus be exhibited in separate treatises. At the head of this last class of peripatetics was our *Philip Melancthon*. Among those discarding the dogmas of the ancients, and philosophizing freely, were *Jerome Cardanus*, *Bernhard Telesius*, and *Thomas Campanella*; men of great and splendid genius, yet too much devoted to the fictions and visions of their own fancies. To these may be added *Peter Ramus*, an ingenious and acute Frenchman, who, by publishing a new art of reasoning, opposed

to that of *Aristotle*, and better accommodated to the use of orators, excited great commotion and clamour. From nature itself, by means of experiments, critical observation, and the application of fire to develop the primary elements of bodies, *Theophrastus Paracelsus* endeavoured to discover and demonstrate latent truths. And his example was so alluring to many, that a new sect of philosophers soon rose up, who assumed the names of *Fire Philosophers* and *Theosophists*, and who, attributing very little to human reason and reflection, ascribed every thing to experience and Divine illumination.²

§ 9. These efforts and this emulation among men of genius, besides proving highly beneficial in many other respects, remedied every where among Christians, though they did not entirely cure, that barbarous, uncouth, and vile method of treating religious subjects, which had prevailed in the preceding centuries. The Holy Scriptures, which had been either wholly neglected, or interpreted very unsuitably, now held a far more conspicuous place in the discussions and the writings of theologians; the sense and the language of the books were more carefully investigated; the subjects were far more justly and lucidly analyzed; and the dry and insipid style which the old schools admired, was exploded by all the better informed. These improvements were not indeed carried so far that nothing was left for succeeding ages to correct and amend; much remained that was imperfect. Yet he must be ungrateful to the men of that age, or a very incompetent judge, who shall deny that they laid the foundation of all those excellences by which the theologians of subsequent times have distinguished themselves above those of the former ages.

§ 10. Hence the true nature and genius of the Christian religion, which even the best and most learned had not before sufficiently understood, were placed in a clearer light, and drawn forth as it were out of a well. There is indeed error enough still existing every where: yet even those Christian communities at this day, whose errors are the greatest and most numerous, have not such crude and inconsistent views of the nature and design of Christianity, and of the duties and obligations of Christians, as were formerly entertained even by such as claimed to be

² For the elucidation of these matters, James Brucker's *Historia Philosophicæ Criticæ* will be found very useful. We here only summarily touch upon the subject.

rulers of the church and chief among its teachers. This improved state of religion, moreover, had great influence in correcting and softening the manners of many nations that were before coarse, unpolished, and rude. For although it is not to be denied that other causes also contributed to introduce gradually, and to establish that milder and more cultivated state of society which has prevailed in most countries of Europe since the times of *Luther*; yet it is very clear that religious discussions, and the better knowledge of many doctrines and duties to which they gave rise, have contributed very much to eradicate from the minds of men their former ferocity of character. Nor shall we go wide of the truth while we add, that since that time, genuine piety likewise has had more friends and cultivators, though they have always and every where been overwhelmed by the multitude of the ungodly.

SECTION III.

THE PARTICULAR HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

PART I.

THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF THE ROMISH OR LATIN CHURCH.

§ 1. The Roman pontiff and his election.—§ 2. His power circumscribed.—§ 3. Disagreement respecting it.—§ 4. Diminution of the Romish church.—§ 5. Plans of the pontiffs for remedying this evil. Missions.—§ 6. The Egyptians and Armenians.—§ 7, 8. Nestorians, Indians.—§ 9. Internal state of the Romish church regulated and fixed.—§ 10. Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits.—§ 11. Nature and character of this order.—§ 12. Its zeal for the pontiffs.—§ 13. The Roman pontiffs.—§ 14. The clergy.—§ 15. Their lives.—§ 16. The monks. Old orders reformed.—§ 17, 18. New orders.—§ 19. The state of learning.—§ 20. Philosophy.—§ 21. Theological writers.—§ 22. Principles of the Romish religion.—§ 23. The council of Trent.—§ 24. Substance of the Roman faith.—§ 25. Exegetic theology.—§ 26. Interpreters of scripture.—§ 27. Dogmatic theology.—§ 28. Practical theology.—§ 29. Polemic theology.—§ 30. Controversies in the Romish church.—§ 31. Their greater controversies.—§ 32. First controversy.—§ 33. The second.—§ 34. The third.—§ 35. The fourth.—§ 36. The fifth.—§ 37. The sixth.—§ 38. Controversy with Michael Baius.—§ 39. Controversy with the Jesuits, Less and Hamel.—§ 40. Molinist controversy.—§ 41. Congregations on the aids.—§ 42. Ceremonies and rites.

§ 1. THE Romish or Latin Church is a community extending very widely over the world, the whole of which is subject to the single bishop of Rome; who claims to be hereditary successor to the office and to all the prerogatives of *St. Peter*, prince of the apostles, the supreme bishop of the Christian church universal, finally the legate and vicegerent of *Jesus Christ*. This mighty prelate is chosen, at this day, by a select number of the Roman clergy; namely, six *bishops* in the vicinage of Rome, fifty rectors or *presbyters* of churches in Rome, and fourteen overseers or *deacons* of Roman hospitals or *deaconries*; all of

whom are called by the ancient appellation of *cardinals*. These *cardinals*, when deliberating upon the choice of a new pontiff, are shut up in a kind of prison, which is called the *conclave*, that they may the more expeditiously bring the difficult business to a close. No one, who is not a member of the college of *cardinals*, and also a native Italian, can be made head of the Church; nor can all those cardinals who are Italians.¹ Some are excluded on account of their birth-place, others on account of their course of life, and others for other causes. Moreover, the Roman emperors², and the kings of France and Spain, have acquired, either legally or by custom, the right of excluding those whom they disapprove, from the list of candidates for this high office. Hence there are very few, in the great body of cardinals, who are *papable*, as the common phrase is, that is, so born and of such characteristics, that the august functions of a *pope* can fall to their lot.

¹ The reader may consult Jo. Fred. Mayer's *Comment. de Electione Pontif. Roman.* Hamb. 1691, 4to. The *Ceremoniale Electionis et Coronationis Pontificis Romani*, was not long since published by Jo. Gerh. Meuschen, Francf. 1732, 4to. [To be eligible, 1st. A man must be of mature age; for the electors then hope, that their turn may come to be elected. Besides, a pope 50 or more years old, will be more likely to rule discreetly and sagaciously. 2dly. He must be an Italian; for a foreigner might remove the papal residence out of the country. 3dly. He must not be the subject of any distinguished prince, but must be a native subject of the holy see; for otherwise he might promote the interests of his hereditary prince, to the injury of the holy see. 4thly. Monks are not readily preferred, lest they should confer too many privileges on their own order. 5thly. Nor are those who have been ministers of state, ambassadors, or pensioners of distinguished princes. 6thly. Nor such as have been much engaged in political affairs. 7thly. No one who has numerous relatives, especially poor ones; on whom he might exhaust the apostolical treasury. From these causes, the choice generally falls, at the present day, upon either learned or devout popes.—There are four methods of choosing a pope. I. *By scrutiny*; that is, by ballot. A golden cup is placed on the altar, into which each

cardinal casts a sealed vote; and to make out a choice, one man must ordinarily have the suffrages of two-thirds of the cardinals. II. *By access*. This method is resorted to, when a candidate has many votes, but not enough to constitute a choice, and a trial is made to bring some of the other cardinals to *access* to his election. It is properly a new scrutiny, though the ballots are of a different form. III. *By compromise*; that is, when the conclave continues long, and the cardinals cannot agree, they transfer the election to two or three cardinals, and agree to abide by their choice. IV. *By inspiration*. When the cardinals have become weary of their long confinement, sometimes one or more of them will clamorously announce an individual as pope, and the party in his favour, being previously apprised of the measure, join in the outcry, till the cardinals in opposition, through fear, join in the general clamour. A pope thus chosen by *inspiration* is particularly revered by the Italians, notwithstanding their belief, that there can be no election by inspiration, unless the cardinals have previously behaved foolishly. *Schl.*—See also *Ries' Cyclopaedia*, art. *Conclave*; and the *Ceremonial* of the election of a pontiff, ratified by Gregory XV., A. D. 1622, in the *Bullarium Magnum*, tom. iii. p. 454—465. *Tr.*]

² [German. *Tr.*]

§ 2. The Roman pontiff does not enjoy a power which has no limitations or restraints. For, whatever he decrees in the sacred republic, he must decree in accordance with the advice of the *brethren*, that is, of the *cardinals*, who are his ministers of state and counsellors. In questions of a religious nature, likewise, and in theological controversies, he must take the opinion and judgment of theologians. The minor matters of business, moreover, are distributed into several species, and committed to the management and trust of certain boards of commissioners, called *Congregations*, over which one or more cardinals preside.³ What these boards deem salutary, or right, is ordinarily approved by the pontiff; and *must* be approved unless there are very cogent reasons for the contrary. From

³ The court of Rome is minutely described by Jac. Aymon, in a book entitled, *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, Hague, 1707, 8vo: and by Jerome Limodoro, *Relation de la Cour de Rome, et des Cérémonies qui s'y observent*, which (translated from the Italian into French) Jo. Bapt. Labat has subjoined to his travels in Spain and Italy; *Voyages en Espagne et Italie*, tom. viii. p. 105, &c. On the Romish congregations or colleges, besides Dorotheus Ascianus, (*De Montibus Pictatis Romanis*, p. 510, &c.) Hunold Plettenburg has a particular treatise, *Notitia Tribunalium et Congregationum Curie Romanae*, Hildesh. 1693, 8vo.— [The congregations are properly boards of commissioners, meeting at stated times, with full and definitive powers within certain limits, to decide summarily all controversies, and to control and manage all business that falls within their respective provinces. They have their own secretaries, keep records of their proceedings, may send for persons and papers, call on professional and learned men for their opinions, and are bound, in certain cases, to consult the pontiff before they come to a decision. The number, and the specific duties, of the several congregations, vary from time to time, as the pope and his council see fit to ordain. Besides these permanent congregations, others are created for special occasions, and expire when their business is closed. Sixtus V., in the year 1587, established fifteen permanent congregations, composed, most of them, of five cardinals each; and none of them of less than three. They were, I. The

congregation of the holy inquisition; the supreme inquisitorial tribunal for all Christendom. In this the pope presided in person. II. The congregation on letters of grace, dispensations, &c. III. The congregation on the erection, union, and dismemberment of churches, bishoprics, &c. IV. The congregation for supplying the ecclesiastical states with corn, and preventing scarcity. V. The congregation on sacred rites and ceremonies. VI. The congregation for providing and regulating a papal fleet, to consist of ten ships. VII. The congregation of the Index of prohibited books. VIII. The congregation for interpreting and executing the decrees of the council of Trent, except as to the articles of faith. IX. The congregation for relief, in cases of oppression in the ecclesiastical states. X. The congregation on the university of Rome; with a general inspection of all Roman Catholic seminaries. XI. The congregation on the different orders of monks. XII. The congregation to attend to the applications of bishops and other prelates. XIII. The congregation on the roads, bridges, and aqueducts of the Romish territory. XIV. The congregation for superintending the Vatican printing establishment. XV. The congregation on the applications of all citizens of the ecclesiastical states, in civil and criminal matters. See the ordinance establishing these several congregations, in the *Bullarium Magnum*, tom. ii. p. 677, &c. Considerable alterations were afterwards made, as to the number, duties, and powers of the Romish congregations. *Tr.*]

such a constitution of the sacred republic, many things must often take place, far otherwise than would meet the wishes of the pontiff; nor are those well informed as to the management of affairs at Rome, who suppose that he who presides there is the cause of all the evils, all the faults, all the contests and commotions that occur there.⁴

§ 3. Respecting the powers and prerogatives of this spiritual monarchy, however, its own citizens disagree very much. And hence the authority of the Romish prelate and of his legates, is not the same in all countries: but in some it is more circumscribed and limited, in others more extensive and uncontrolled. The pontiff himself, indeed, lays claim to the highest supremacy which his courtiers and friends abet him in doing; for he contends, not only that all spiritual power and majesty reside primarily in him alone, and are transmitted, in certain portions, from him to the inferior prelates, but also that his decisions, made from the chair, are correct beyond even the suspicion of error. On the contrary, very many, of whom the French are the most distinguished, maintain, that a portion of spiritual jurisdiction, emanating immediately from *Jesus Christ*, is possessed by each individual bishop, and that the whole resides in the pastors collectively, or in ecclesiastical councils duly called; while the pontiff, separately from the body of the church, is liable to err. This long controversy may be reduced to this simple question: Is the Romish prelate the *lawgiver* of the Church, or only the *guardian* and *executor* of the laws enacted by Christ and by the Church? Yet there is no prospect that this controversy will ever terminate, unless there should be a great revolution; because the parties are not agreed respecting the judge who is to decide it.⁵

⁴ Hence originated that important distinction, which the French and others who have had contests with the Roman pontiff's very frequently make between the *Roman pontiff* and the *Romish court*. The *court* is often severely censured, while the pontiff is spared; and that justly. For the fathers and the congregations, who possess rights which the pontiff must not infringe, plot and effect many things, without the knowledge, and against the will of the pontiff.— [It may be worthy of remark, that, although the Romish church is a political body, which is governed like other kingdoms and

states, yet in this commonwealth every thing is called by a different name. The ghostly king is called the *pope or father*; his ministers of state are called *cardinals*; his envoys of the highest rank are called *legates a latere*, and those of a lower order, *apostolical nuncios*. His chancery is called *dataria*; his boards of commissioners and judicatures are *congregations*; his supreme court of justice is named the *rota*; and his councillors of state are called *auditors of the rota* (*auditores rota*). *Schl.*]

⁵ The arguments used by the friends of the pontifical claims may be seen in

§ 4. The Romish Church lost much of its ancient splendour and glory, from the time that the native aspect of the Christian religion and church was portrayed and exhibited before the nations of Europe by the efforts of *Luther*. For many opulent countries of Europe withdrew themselves, some of them entirely, and others in part, from adherence to its laws and institutions; and this defection greatly diminished the resources of the Roman pontiffs.⁶ Moreover, the kings and princes, who did choose not to abandon the old form of religion, learned from the writings and discussions of the *protestants*, much more clearly and correctly than before, that the pontiffs had set up numberless claims without any right; and that, if the pontifical power should remain such as it was before *Luther's* time, the civil governments could not possibly retain their dignity and majesty. And hence, partly by secret and artful measures, and partly by open opposition, they every where set bounds to the immoderate ambition of the pontiffs, who wished to control all things, both

Robert Bellarmin, and numerous others, who have written in accordance with the views of the pontiffs, and whose works form a huge collection, made by Thomas Roccaerti. Even among the French, Matthew Petitdidier lately defended the pontifical power, in his book *Sur l'Autorité et Infaillibilité des Papes*, Luxemb. 1724, 8vo. The arguments commonly employed, to support the opinion adopted by the French clergy and by those who accord with them, may be best learned from various writings of Edmund Richer and John Lannoi.²

⁶ [Yet the popes still have very considerable revenues; notwithstanding there is no country in the world, where more beggars are to be met with, than in the ecclesiastical states, and while the apostolical treasury is always very poor: for, 1st. The pope has many clerical livings at his disposal; none of which are readily given away. In particular, he disposes of all the livings whose incumbents happen to die at his court; and also the livings of those that die, in what are called the pontifical months. 2dly. He confirms the election of cathedral chapters by the spiritual fountains, with his bulls of confirmation, which always cost large sums. 3dly. He draws the *annates*, or the incomes of the first year of incumbency, in bishoprics and archbishoprics. 4thly. He exacts a cer-

tain sum for the badge of spiritual knight-hood in the Romish church, or from the *pallium* or archbishops and bishops. This is properly a neck cloth, which answers to the ribbon or garter of secular knight-hood, and is worn by distinguished prelates, when they say mass, and on the other solemn occasions. 5thly. There are certain cases reserved for the popes, (*casus reservati*;) in which no father confessor can give absolution or a dispensation, and in which the granting dispensations brings a large revenue to the popes: for example, in matrimonial cases, in the relinquishment of the clerical office, monastic vows, &c. And, finally, the pope has power to impose extraordinary payments and contributions on his clerical subjects, which are called *subsides*. The monks also must pay an annual sum to the pope for his protection, which is called the *collects*. Thus the pope is, in reality, an opulent lord, even since the reformation; or he does not lack means for enriching himself, notwithstanding his public treasury is always poor. For the disposal of all these sums is in his hands; and he can let a portion of them flow into his treasury, or he can bestow them on his relations and dependants, or apply them to establishments that will make his name immortal. *Schl.*]

secular and sacred, according to their own pleasure; nor has the Roman bishop found himself at liberty, as he did in former times, to take vengeance on this boldness, by excommunications or a holy war. Even the countries which still acknowledge the pontiff as the supreme lawgiver of the church, and above the danger of erring, (commonly called *countries of the obedience**,) nevertheless confine his legislative powers within narrow bounds.

§ 5. To repair, in some measure, this very great loss, the popes have laboured much more earnestly than their predecessors had done, to extend the bounds of their kingdom, out of Europe, both among the nations not Christian, and among the Christian sects. In this very important business, first the Jesuits, and afterwards persons of the other monastic orders, have been employed. Yet if we except the achievements of *Francis Xavier* and his associates, in India, China, and Japan, which have been already noticed, very little that is great and splendid was accomplished in this century, the arrangements for this business being not yet perfected. The Portuguese having opened a passage to the Abyssinians, who followed the dogmas and the rites of the Monophysites, there was a fine opportunity for attempts to bring that nation under subjection to the Romish see. Hence, first, *John Bermudez*, was sent to them, decorated with the title of *patriarch* of the Abyssinians; and afterwards this mission was committed to *Ignatius Loyola* and his associates.⁸ Various circumstances, and

⁷ Terræ obedientiæ.

⁸ [Friendly intercourse between the emperor of Abyssinia and the king of Portugal commenced as early as the year 1514, when the former sent an ambassador to the latter. In 1521, the same emperor, David, sent an envoy to the pope at Rome who returned a very kind answer. In 1545, Clandius, the son of David, applied to John III., king of Portugal, to send him several priests and artists. The king applied to Loyola, to designate some of his followers for the enterprise. Loyola did so; and the pope ordained John Nonius Barretus, of Portugal, patriarch of Abyssinia; Andrew Ovidus, a Neapolitan, bishop of Nice; and Melchior Cornerius, of Portugal, bishop of Hierapolis; both the latter to be coadjutors and successors to Barretus. Ten other Jesuits of inferior rank were joined with them. They all sailed from Portugal in the year 1555; but on their

arrival at Goa, they found that the Abyssinian emperor, Clandius, was not disposed to subject his kingdom to the pontiff. Barretus therefore stayed in India, where he was a successful missionary till his death. Ovidus went to Abyssinia, with a few companions, and was there imprisoned. Clandius had been slain in battle, in 1559, and his brother and successor, Adamus, was a violent persecutor of the Christians. After twenty years' labour in Abyssinia, Ovidus died, A. D. 1577. His companions died one after another, till, in 1597, Francis Lupus, the last of them, expired, and left the handful of Roman catholics without a priest. See Nic. Godignus, *De Abassinorum Rebus, deque Æthiopia Patriarchus, Jo. Non. Barreto et Andr. Ovidio*, Lugd. 1615, 8vo, and Od. Raynald's *Annales Eccles.* on the years specified. Tr.]

especially the wars of the nation, which the Abyssinian emperor hoped to terminate favourably by the aid of the Portuguese, seemed at first to promise success to the enterprise. But in process of time it appeared, that the attachment of the Abyssinians to the principles of their progenitors was too strong to be eradicated; wherefore as the century ended, the Jesuits found almost every hope of success ended likewise.⁹

§ 6. To the Copts or Egyptians, who were closely connected with the Abyssinians in religion and ecclesiastical customs, *Christopher Roderic*, a famous Jesuit, was sent by authority of *Pius IV.*, in the year 1562. He returned to Rome with nothing but fair words, although he had laboured to overcome *Gabriel*, then the patriarch of Alexandria, with very rich presents and with subtle arguments.¹ But near the close of the century, in the year 1594, when *Clement VIII.* was head of the Romish church, the envoys of the Alexandrian patriarch, whose name was likewise *Gabriel*, appeared as suitors at Rome; which caused very great exultation at the time among the friends of the Romish court.² But this embassy is justly suspected by ingenuous men, even of the Romish community; and was probably contrived by the Jesuits, for the purpose of persuading the Abyssinians, who generally followed the example of the Alexandrians, to embrace more readily the communion of the Roman pontiff.³ Nothing certainly occurred afterwards in

⁹ See Job Ludolf's *Historia Æthiopicæ*; and the notes on that history, passim. Mich. Geddes, *Church History of Ethiopia*, p. 120, &c. Henry le Grand's *Diss. de la Conversion des Abyssins*, p. 25, which is the ninth of his *Diss.* subjoined to Jerome Lobo's *Voyage Historique d'Abysinie*; Matth. Veyss. la Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiopie*, liv. ii. p. 90, &c.

¹ Franc. Sachinus, *Historia Societ. Jesu*, pt. ii. lib. v., Euseb. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrin.* p. 611. And especially, the *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tom. ii. p. 314, &c.

² The documents of this embassy, emblazoned with a splendid exordium, are subjoined by Cæsar Baronius to the sixth volume of his *Annales Eccles.* p. 707, &c. [p. 691—700,] ed. Antwerp.

³ Eusebius Renaudot, in his *Historia Patriarch. Alexandrin.*, pp. 611, 612,

has endeavoured to re-establish the credit of this embassy, which Baronius so exultingly extols. But he errs very much, when he supposes, that only Richard Simon, relying on the fallacious testimony of George Dousa, has opposed it. For Thomas a Jesu, a Carmelite, did so; lib. vi. *De Conversione Omnium Gentium Procuranda*; and others have done so. See Mich. Geddes, *Church History of Ethiopia*, p. 231, 232. [Whoever reads the documents must be sensible, that they all bear the marks of being the composition of one person, though they profess to be the letters of several different persons. The reader will also be surprised to find how perfectly at home the writer seems to be, when trumpeting the claims of the pontiff to universal lordship, and when detailing the affairs of the Romish church. *Tr.*]

Egypt, to indicate any partiality of the Copts towards the Romans.—A part of the Armenians had long manifested a veneration for the Roman pontiff, without however quitting the institutions and rites of their fathers; of which more will be said when we come to the history of the Oriental church. A larger accession was anticipated from *Serapion*, a man of wealth and devoted to the Romans, who, though the Armenians had two patriarchs already, was created third patriarch in the year 1593, in order to free his nation from oppressive debt. But he was soon after sent into exile by the Persian monarch, at the instigation of the other Armenians; and with him all the delightful anticipations of the Romans came to nothing.⁴

§ 7. In the year 1551, a great contest arose among the Nestorians, or Chaldeans as they are also called, respecting the election of a new patriarch; one party demanding *Simeon Barmamas*, and another *Sulaka*. The latter made a journey to Rome, and was there consecrated in the year 1553, by *Julius III.*, to whom he swore allegiance. *Julius* gave to this new patriarch of the Chaldeans the name of *John*, and sent with him, on his return to his country, several persons well skilled in the Syrian language, for the purpose of establishing the Romish dominion among the Nestorians. From that time onward, the Nestorians became split into two factions, and were often brought into the most imminent peril, by the opposing interests and contests of their patriarchs.⁵ The Nestorians on the sea-coast of India, who are commonly called the *Christians of St. Thomas*, were cruelly harassed by the Portuguese, to induce them to exchange the religion of their fathers, which was much more simple than the Roman, for the Romish worship. The consummation of this business was reserved for *Alexius Menezes*, archbishop of Goa; who, near the close of the century, with the aid of the Jesuits, compelled those miserable, reluctant, and unwilling people, by means of amazing severities, to come under the power of the Roman pontiff. These violent proceedings of *Menezes* and his associates, have met the disapprobation of persons distinguished for wisdom and equity in the Romish community.⁶

⁴ See the *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus, dans le Levant*, tom. iii. p. 132, 133.

⁵ Jos. Simon Asseman's *Bibliotheca*

Orientalis Clementina-Vaticana, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. clxiv. See below in the history of the oriental church.

Matt. Veys, la Croze, *Historiæ du*

§ 8. Most of these missionaries of the Roman pontiff treated the Christians, whom they wished to overcome, unkindly and unreasonably. For they not only required them to give up the opinions in which they differed from both the Greek and the Latin churches, and to recognize the bishop of Rome as a law-giver and viceregent of Christ on the earth, but they also opposed sentiments that deserved toleration, nay, such as were sound and consonant to the Scriptures: insisted on the abrogation of customs, rites, and institutions, that had come down from former times, and were not prejudicial to the truth; and, in short, required their entire worship to be conducted after the Romish fashion. The Roman court, indeed, found at length, by experience, that such a mode of proceeding was indiscreet, and unlikely to extend the papal empire. Accordingly, the great business of missions came gradually to be conducted in a more wise and temperate manner; and the missionaries were directed to make it their sole object to bring these Christians to become subjects of the pontiff, and to renounce, professedly at least, such opinions as had been condemned by the ecclesiastical councils; while all other things received from their fathers, whether doctrines or practices, were to remain inviolate. And this plan was supported by certain learned divines, who endeavoured to prove, though not always successfully and fairly, that there was but little difference between the doctrines of the Greek and other Oriental Christians, and those of the Romish church, provided they were estimated correctly and truly, and not according to the artificial definitions and subtleties of the scholastic doctors. This plan of using moderation was more serviceable to the Romish interests than the old plan of severity; though far less so than its authors anticipated.

§ 9. In guarding the church's frontiers and strengthening her internal arrangements against the force and subtlety of adversaries, no little pains have been taken at Rome, from the age of *Luther*. For that most effectual method of subduing heretics by *crusades* being impracticable, from the total change in Romish affairs, nay, rather in those of all Europe, the church could only be preserved by art and policy. Hence the terrible tribunals of the *inquisition*, in the countries where they were ad-

Christianisme des Indes, l. ii. p. 88, &c. *the Malabar Church*, Lond. 1694, 8vo.
 [Claud. Buchanan's *Christian Researches* *Tr.*]
in Asia, p. 85, &c. M. Geddes, *Hist. of*

mitted, were fortified and regulated by new provisions. Colleges were erected here and there, in which young men were trained by continual practice to the best methods of disputing with the adversaries of the pope. The ingress into the church of books that might corrupt the minds of its members, was rendered extremely difficult, by means of what were called *expurgatory and prohibitory indices*, drawn up by the most sagacious men. The cultivation of literature was earnestly recommended to the clergy, and high rewards were held out to those who aspired to pre-eminence in learning. The young were much more solidly instructed in the precepts and first principles of religion than before; and many other means for the safety of the church were adopted. Thus the greatest evils often produce the greatest benefits. And the advantages arising from these and other regulations, would not perhaps, quite to the present times, have been realized by the Romish church, if the heretics had not boldly invaded and laid waste her territories.

§ 10. As the Roman pontiff's control, defend, and enlarge their empire, principally by means of the religious orders, whom various causes join more closely to them than other clergymen and bishops, it became very necessary, after the unsuccessful contest with *Luther*, that some new society should be established, wholly devoted to the pontifical interests, and making it their great business to recover, if possible, what was lost, to repair what was injured, and to fortify and guard what remained entire. For the two orders of *Mendicants*⁷, by which especially the pontiff's had governed the church for some centuries, with the best effects, had from some several causes lost no small part of their reputation and influence, and therefore could not subserve the interests of the church as efficiently and successfully as heretofore. Such a new society as the necessities of the church demanded, was found in that noted and most powerful order, which assumed a name from *Jesus*, and was commonly called the society of the *Jesuits*; but by its enemies, the society of *Loyolites*, or, (from the Spanish name of its founder) the *Lui-ghists*.⁸ The founder of it, *Ignatius Loyola*, was a Spanish knight,

⁷ [The Dominicans and Franciscans. *Tr.*]

⁸ The principal writers concerning the order of Jesuits, are enumerated by Christopher Aug. Salig, *Historia Augustana Confessionis*, tom. ii. p. 73, &c. [Of

these, the most valuable as general works, are the following:—*Historia Societatis Jesu*, to the year 1625, in 6 vols. bel. by members of the society: viz. pt. i. by Nic. Orlandinus, Antw. 1620. Pt. ii. by Fr. Sacchini, *ibid.* Pt. iii. and iv. by

first a soldier and then a fanatic, an illiterate man, but of an exuberant imagination.⁹ After various changes, he went to Rome,

the same, Rome, 1649. 1652. Pt. v. by Pet. Possinus and Jos. Juvencius, Rome, 1661 and 1710. Pt. vi. by Jul. Cordaro, Rome, 1750. Also, *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jésus*, &c. (by Pierre Quesne, surnommé Benard, to A. D. 1572.) ed. 2nd, Utrecht, 1741, 3 vols. 12mo. *Histoire générale de la Naissance et des Progrès de la Comp. de Jésus* (by Christoph. Coudrette and Louis Adr. le Paige), 6 vols. 12mo. Amsterd. 1761. 1767. Essay of a New History of the Order of Jesuits (in German, to 1565), Berlin and Halle, 1769, 1770, 2 vols. 8vo. General Hist. of the Jesuits from the rise of the order to the present time (in Germ.), by Pet. Phil. Wolf, ed. 2nd, Lips., 1803, 4 vols. 8vo. Pragmatic Hist. of the Order of Jesuits from their origin to the present time (in Germ.), by Jo. Chr. Harenberg, Halle, 1760, 2 vols. 4to. The two last are considered the best summaries. *Tr.*]

⁹ Many biographies of Loyola have been composed by his followers; most of which are rather eulogies of the man, than simple correct statements of facts. They transmute common events into prodigies. [Of this class is Jo. Pet. Maffei, *De Vita et Moribus B. P. Ignatii Loyolæ*; Douay, 1561, 12mo. *Schl.*] Recently a Frenchman, who calls himself Hereules Rasiel de Selve, [an anagram of his real name, Charles le Vier, a bookseller at the Ilague. *Tr.*] has composed a history of Loyola, with a good degree of ingenuousness, if we except his own witty remarks. It is divided into two parts, and entitled, *Histoire de l'admirable Dom. Inigo de Guipuscoa* (which is the Spanish name of Iguatius), *Chevalier de la Vierge et Fondateur de la Monarchie des Inquistes*; printed at the Ilague, 1736, and again 1739, 8vo.—[Ignatius Loyola was born at the castle of Loyola, in the district of Guipuscoa, in Biscay, Spain, A. D. 1491. Trained up in ignorance and vice, at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, he early became a soldier, and bravely commanded Pampeluna, when besieged by the French, in 1521. Here he had his leg broken, and during a long confinement, amused himself with reading romances. A Spanish legend of certain saints being put into his hands, led him to renounce the world, and become a saint. He first

visited the shrine of the holy Virgin at Montserrat in Catalonia; hung his arms on her altar, and devoted himself to her, as her knight, March 24th, 1522. He next went in the garb of a pilgrim to Mauresa, and spent a year among the poor in the hospital. Here he wrote his *Spiritual Exercises*, a book which was not printed till many years after. He next set out for the holy land. From Barcelona he sailed to Italy, obtained the blessing of the pope, proceeded to Venice, and embarked for Joppa, where he arrived in August, and reached Jerusalem in Sept. 1523. After satisfying his curiosity, he returned by Venice and Genoa to Barcelona, where he commenced the study of Latin; and at the end of two years, or A. D. 1526, removed to Alcalá, (*Complutum*), and commenced reading philosophy. His strange appearance and manner of life rendered him suspected, and caused him to be apprehended by the Inquisitors. They released him, however, on condition that he should not attempt to give religious instruction till after four years' study. Unwilling to submit to this restraint, he went to Salamanca; and pursuing the same course there, he was again apprehended, and laid under the same restriction. He therefore went to Paris, where he arrived Feb. 1528. Here he lived by begging, spent much time in giving religious exhortations, and prosecuted a course of philosophy and theology. Several young men of a kindred spirit (among whom was the celebrated Francis Xavier, the apostle of the Indies) united with him in a kind of monastic association in 1534. At first they were but seven in number, but they increased to ten. At length they agreed to leave Paris, and to meet, in January, 1537, at Venice. Loyola went to Spain to settle some affairs, preached there with great effect, and at the time appointed joined his associates at Venice. As they purposed to perform a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, they went to Rome to obtain the papal benediction, and returned to Venice. But the war with the Turks now suspended all intercourse with Palestine, and they could not obtain a passage. Not to be idle, they dispersed themselves over the country, and preached every where. Rome now became their place

and, it is said, was there trained by the instructions and counsels of certain wise and acute men, so that he was enabled to found such a society as the state of the church then required.¹

§ 11. The *Jesuits* hold an intermediate place between the *monks* and the *secular clergy*, and approach nearest to the order of *regular canons*. For while they live like monks, secluded from the multitude, and bound by vows, yet they are exempted from the most onerous duties of *monks*, as stated hours of prayer, and the like; in order that they may have more time for the instruction of youth, writing books, guiding the minds of the religious, and other services necessary to the church. The whole society is divided into three classes; namely, the *professed*, who live in *the houses of the professed*; the *scholastics*, who teach youth in *colleges*; and the *novices*, who reside in houses provided especially for them. The *professed*, as they are called, in addition to the three common vows of monks, are bound by a fourth, by which they engage before God, that they

of rendezvous. While thus employed, Ignatius conceived the idea of forming a new and peculiar order of monks. His companions came into the plan; and in 1540 they applied to Paul III., who confirmed their institution with some limitations, and afterwards, in 1543, without those limitations. Loyola was chosen general of the order in 1541. He resided constantly at Rome, while his companions spread themselves every where, labouring to convert Jews and heretics, to reform the vicious, and inspire men with a religious spirit. His sect increased rapidly; and among the new members were three females. But they gave Loyola so much trouble, that he applied to the pope for a decree releasing them from their vow, and ordaining that the society should never be cumbered with female members any more. After obtaining a confirmation of his order in 1550, from Julius III., he wished to resign his generalship over it; but his associates would not consent, and he remained their general, till his death, July 31st, 1556. He was beatified by Paul V., A. D. 1609, and enrolled among the saints by Gregory XV., A. D. 1622. When Loyola died, his society consisted of over 1000 persons; who possessed about 100 houses and were divided into twelve provinces, Italy, Sicily, Ger-

many, the Netherlands, France, Aragon, Castile, the south of Spain, Portugal, and Brasil, Ethiopia, and the East Indies. See Bayle, *Dict. Hist. Crit. article Loyola*, and Schroeckh's *Kirchen gesch. seit der Reform.* vol. iii. p. 515, &c. *Tr.*]

¹ Not only protestants, but also many Roman Catholics, and they, men of learning and discrimination, deny that Loyola had learning enough to compose the writings ascribed to him, or genius enough to form such a society as originated from him. On the contrary, they say, that some very wise and extraordinary men guided and controlled his mind; and that better educated men than he, composed the works which bear his name. See Mich. Geddes, *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. iii. p. 429. Most of his writings are supposed to have been produced by Jo. de Palanco, his secretary. See M. V. la Croze, *Histoire du Christ, d'Ethiopie*, p. 55. 271. His *Spiritual Exercises (Exercitia Spiritualia)*, the Benedictines say, were transcribed from the work of a Spanish Benedictine, whose name was Cisneros. See Jordan, *Vie de Mr. La Croze*, p. 83, &c. The constitutions of the society, it is said, were drawn up by Lainez and Salmeron, learned men among his first associates. See *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. i. p. 115, &c.

will instantly go whithersoever the Roman pontiff shall at any time bid them; and they have no revenues, but live, like the *Mendicants*, on the bounties of the pious. The others, and especially the residents in the *colleges*, have very ample possessions, and must afford assistance, when necessary, to the *professed*. If compared with the other classes, the *professed* are few in number; and are, generally, men of prudence, skilful in business, of much experience, learned—in a word, true and perfect Jesuits. The others are Jesuits only in a looser sense of the term; and are rather *associates* of the Jesuits, than real Jesuits. The mysteries of the society are imparted only to a few even of the *professed*, aged men, of long experience, and of the most tried characters: the rest are entirely ignorant of them.²

§ 12. The Romish church, since the time it lost dominion over so many nations, owes more to this single society, than to all its other ministers and resources. This being spread in a short time over the greater part of the world, every where confirmed the wavering nations and restrained the progress of sectarians: it gathered into the Romish church a great multitude of worshippers among barbarous and most distant nations

² [The general of the order held his office for life, under certain limitations; was to reside constantly at Rome; and had a select council to advise him, and to execute his orders. His authority over the whole order, and every person, business, and thing, connected with it, was absolute; nor was he accountable to any earthly superior, except the pope. Over each province was a provincial, whose power was equally despotic over his portion of the society. He visited and inspected all the houses of his province, required regular monthly returns to be made to him from every section of the province, of all that was transacted, learned, or contemplated; and then made returns every three months to the general. Every person belonging to the order was continually inspected, and trained to implicit obedience, secrecy, and fidelity to the order. The whole society was like a regular army, completely officered, trained to service, and governed by the will of one man, who stood at the pope's right hand. See the constitution of the society, as published by Hospinian, *Historia Jesuitica*, lib. i. c. 4, &c. The secret instructions to the provincials, and to subordinate organs

and members of the society, were totally unknown, for the most part, to any persons, except those to whom they were addressed. The general rules and artifices, by which individuals were to insinuate themselves every where, and obtain for the society dominion and control over all persons and transactions, were also among the mysteries of the society. Two copies of them, however, the one larger and more minute than the other, entitled, *Privata Monita Societatis Jesu*, and *Secreta Monita*, &c. were said to have been obtained, the first from a ship bound to the East Indies, and captured by the Dutch, and the other found in the Jesuits' college at Paderborn. But the Jesuits have always and constantly denied their genuineness; nor have the world the means of substantiating their authenticity, except by their coincidence with the visible conduct of the Jesuits. According to these writings, which have been repeatedly published during the last two centuries, nothing could be more crafty and void of all fixed moral principle, than the general policy of the Jesuits. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. iii. p. 647, &c. *Tr.*]

it boldly took the field against the heretics, and sustained for a long time, almost alone, the brunt of the war, and by its dexterity and acuteness in reasoning, entirely eclipsed the glory of the old disputants: by personal address, by skill in the dextrous management of worldly business, by the knowledge of various arts and sciences, and by other means, it conciliated the good-will of kings and princes: by an ingenious accommodation of the principles of morals to the propensities of men, it obtained almost the sole direction of the minds of kings and magistrates, to the exclusion of the Dominicans and other more rigid divines³: and it every where most studiously guarded the authority of the Roman bishop from sustaining further loss. All these things procured for the society immense wealth and resources, and the highest reputation; but at the same time, prodigious envy, numerous enemies, and frequently the most imminent perils. All the religious orders, the leading men, the public schools, and the magistrates, united to bear down the Jesuits; and by innumerable books, demonstrated that nothing could be more ruinous, both to religion and to the state, than such a body. In some regions, as France, Poland, and others, they were pronounced to be public enemies of the country, traitors, and parricides, and were banished with ignominy.⁴ Yet the prudence, or if you would rather say so, the cunning of the association, quieted all these movements, and even turned them, dextrously, to the enlargement of its power, and the strengthening of it against all future machinations.⁵

³ Before the Jesuits arose, the Dominicans alone had the control of the consciences of the European kings and princes. These were superseded, in all the courts, by the Jesuits. See Willh. du Peyrat, *Antiquités de la Chapelle de France*, lib. i. p. 322, &c.

⁴ *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tom. iii. p. 48, &c. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. vi. p. 559—648, and in many other places; and a great number of writers, especially those among the Jansenists.—[The Jesuits were expelled from France, A. D. 1594; but permitted to return again at the commencement of the next century. They were expelled from Venice in 1606, from Poland in 1607, and from Bohemia in 1618; to the last named place, however, they were allowed to return two years after. *Tr.*]

⁵ [It was under Lainez, the general of the order next after Loyola, that the spirit of intrigue entered freely into the society. Lainez possessed a peculiar craftiness and dexterity in managing affairs, and was frequently led by it to low and unworthy tricks. His ruling passion was ambition; which, however, he knew how to conceal from the unexperienced, most artfully, under a veil of humility and piety. Under him the society assumed a graver and more manly character, than under his enthusiastic and often ludicrous predecessor; and its constitution was a master-piece of artful policy, rendering it a terrible army, that dared to undermine states, to rend the Church, and even to menace the pope. See the *Versuch einer neuen Gesch. des Jesuiterordens*, vol. ii. *Schl.*]

§ 13. The pontiffs who governed the Latin or Romish church in this century, after *Alexander VI.*, *Pius III.*, *Julius II.*, *Leo X.*, *Adrian VI.*, who have been already mentioned, were *Clement VII.*, of the Medicean family⁶; *Paul III.*, of the illustrious family of Farnese⁷; *Julius III.*, who was previously called *John Maria del Monte*⁸; *Marcellus II.*, whose name, before his pontificate, was *Marcellus Cervini*⁹; *Paul IV.*, whose name was *John Peter Caraffa*¹; *Pius IV.*, who claimed to be a descendant of the Medicean family, and bore the name of *John Angelo de Medicis*²; *Pius V.*, a Dominican monk, whose name was *Michael*

⁶ [Clement VII. was a bastard: but Leo X. removed this stain by his act of legitimation. His political sagacity was such as would better have adorned the character of a minister of state than a minister of Christ. Civil history informs us on what principles he acted with the emperor Charles V. See concerning him, Jac. Ziegler's *Historia Clementis VII.*, in Schelhorn's *Amanitat. Historia Ecclēs. et Littē.* vol. i. p. 210, &c., and Sarpi's *Histoire du Concile de Trente*, tom. i. p. 61, &c. *Schl.*]

⁷ Respecting Paul III. there has in our age been learned discussion between cardinal Quirini, and some distinguished men, as Kiesling, Schelhorn, and others; the former maintaining that he was a good and eminent man, and the latter that he was a crafty and perfidious character. See Quirinus *de Gestis Pauli III. Farnesii*, Brixia, 1745, 4to. [And Schelhorn's *Epistola de Consilio de Emendanda Ecclesia*, Zurich, 1748, 4to. Quirini, *ad Catholicum Aequumque Lectorem Animadversiones in Epistolam Schelhornii*, Brescia, 1747. Schelhorn's *Second Epistle*, 1748, 4to. Kiesling's *Epistola de Gestis Pauli III.*, Lips., 1747. Concerning this pope, in general, and respecting his views in regard to a general council, see Sarpi's *Histoire du Concile de Trente*, tom. i. p. 131, &c. Thus much is clear from the discussions of these learned men, that Paul III. was an adept in the art of dissimulation, and therefore better fitted to be a statesman than the head of the church. His whole conduct in regard to the council forced upon him by the cardinals, proves this. That in his youth he was a great debauchee, appears from his two grandsons, Farnese and Sforza, whom he created cardinals, and of whom the father of the first, and the mother of the last, were his illegitimate children. *Schl.*]

⁸ ["This was the worthy pontiff who was scarcely seated in the papal chair, when he bestowed the cardinal's hat on the keeper of his monkeys, a boy chosen from among the lowest of the populace, and who was also the infamous object of his unnatural pleasures. See Thuanus, lib. vi. and xv. — Hottinger, *Hist. Ecclēs.* tom. v. p. 572, &c., and more especially Sleidan, *Historia*, lib. xxi. folio. m. 609. — When Julius was reproached by the cardinals for introducing such an unworthy member into the sacred college, a person who had neither learning nor virtue, nor merit of any kind, he impudently replied by asking them, What virtue or merit they had found in him, that could induce them to place him (Julius) in the papal chair?" *Mael.*]

⁹ [He reigned only twenty-two days. See Sarpi, l. c. tom. ii. p. 139. *Schl.*]

¹ ["Nothing could exceed the arrogance and ambition of this violent and impetuous pontiff, as appears from his treatment of queen Elizabeth. See Burnet's *History of the Reformation*. — It was he who, by a bull, pretended to raise Ireland to the privilege and quality of an independent kingdom; and it was he also who first instituted the *Index of prohibited books*, mentioned above, § 9. *Mael.*]

² [His family was very remotely, if at all, descended from the Medicean family of Florence. His character seemed to be totally changed, by his elevation to the papal dignity. The affable, obliging, disinterested, and abstemious cardinal, became an unsocial, selfish, and voluptuous pope. So long as the council of Trent continued, which he contrived more by craft and cunning than direct authority, he was very reserved; but after its termination, he showed himself without disguise in his true character. This also may deserve notice, that this pope, in the year

Ghislieri, a man of sour temper, and excessive austerity, who is now accounted by the Romanists a saint³; *Gregory XIII.*, previously cardinal *Hugo Buoncompagno*⁴; *Sixtus V.*, a Franciscan, called *Montalto* before his advancement to the papal throne, who excelled all the rest in vigour of mind, pride, magnificence, and other virtues and vices; *Urban VIII.*, *Gregory XIV.*, *Innocent IX.* (these three reigned too short a time to distinguish themselves.) Some of these were more, and others less meritorious⁵: yet, if compared with most of those that ruled the

1564, allowed the communion in both kinds, in the diocese of Mayence; which allowance also the Austrians and Bavarians had obtained of the pope. (Gudenus, *Codex Diplom. Mogunt.* tom. iv. p. 709.) See Sarpi, l. c. tom. ii. p. 183, &c. *Schl.*]

³ [Pius V. was of low birth, but had risen, as a Dominican, to the office of general commissary of the inquisition at Rome. And as pope, he practised on the cruel principles which he had learned in that school of cruelty. For he caused many eminent men of learning, and among others the noted Palcarius, to be burned at the stake; and showed so little moderation and prudence in his persecuting zeal, that he not only approved all kinds of violence, and let loose his warriors on France, but also employed the baser methods for the destruction of heretics, insurrections, and treason. Yet this method of proceeding had the contrary effect from what was intended, in France, in England, in Scotland, and the Netherlands. That he also laboured to prostrate entirely the civil power before the spiritual, and by unreasonably exempting the clergy from all civil taxation, greatly injured Spain, France, and Venice, may be learned from civil history. By his command, the Tridentine Catechism was composed and published. Clement X. gave him beatification, and Clement XI. canonization; which has occasioned many partial biographies to be composed of this pope. *Schl.*]

⁴ See Jo. Pet. Maffei, *Annales Gregorii XIII.*, Rome, 1742. 4to. [He was elected by means of the Spanish viceroys of Naples, cardinal de Granvelle, and was of a milder character than Pius V. Yet he openly approved the bloody massacre at Paris, on St. Bartholomew's eve, and participated in a treasonable plot against queen Elizabeth. His idea of introducing his reformed kalendar as

pope, drew on him obloquy from the protestants; and his attempt to free the clergy from all civil jurisdiction, also from the French. He published the Canon Law improved and enlarged. *Schl.*]

⁵ Pius V. and Sixtus V. distinguished themselves above the rest; the former by his extreme severity against heretics, and by publishing the celebrated Bull, called *In Curia Domini*, which is, [was till the reign of Clement XIV.] annually read at Rome, on the festival of the Holy Sacrament; and the latter, by his many vigorous, splendid, and resolute acts for advancing the glory and honour of the church. The life of Pius V. has been written by many persons, in our age, since Clement XI. enrolled him among the saints. On the Bull, *In Curia Domini*, and the commotions it occasioned, Giannone has treated, in his *Histoire Civile de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 248, &c. (and still more fully and circumstantially, the author of the Pragmatic History of this Bull. *Schl.*)—The life of Sixtus V., by Gregory Leti, has been often published, and in different languages; but it is deficient in fidelity, in many parts. [Sixtus V. was a complete statesman, and possessing a high degree of dissimulation, he could play any part; and instead of the fruitless attempt of his predecessors to reduce the heretics again to obedience, he endeavoured to increase his power by conquering the kingdom of Naples, by retaining the princes that were still in his interests, and by encroachments upon their power. The Jesuits for whom he had no partiality, hated him. The splendour of the city of Rome, the papal treasury, and the Vatican library, owe much to him. He likewise promoted the Romish edition of the Septuagint in 1587, and the edition of the Latin Vulgate, Rome 1590, in 3 vols. fol. While a cardinal, in 1580, he published at Rome

church before the Reformation by *Luther*, they were all wise and good men. For, since the rise of so many enemies to the Roman power, both within and without, the cardinals have deemed it necessary to be exceedingly cautious, and not commit the arduous government of the church to a person openly vicious, or to a rash and indiscreet young man. And since that period the pontiffs do not, and cannot, assume such despotic power of deciding on the greatest matters according to their own mere pleasure, as their predecessors did; but they must pronounce sentence ordinarily, according to the decision of their senate, that is, the *cardinals*, and of the congregations to which certain parts of the government are entrusted. Moreover, neither prudence, nor the silently increasing power of emperors and kings, and the continual decrease of ignorance and superstition, will permit them to excite wars among nations, to issue bulls of excommunication and deposition against kings, and to arm the citizens, as they formerly did, against their lawful sovereigns. In short, stern necessity has been the mother of prudence and moderation at Rome, as it often has elsewhere.

§ 14. The condition of the clergy subject to the Roman pontiff remained unchanged. Some of the bishops, at times, and especially at the council of Trent, have sought very earnestly to recover their ancient rights, of which the popes have deprived them; and have calculated upon compelling the pontiff to acknowledge, that bishops were of Divine origin, and derived their authority from Christ himself.⁶ But all these attempts have been frustrated by the watchfulness of the Romish court; which never ceases to repeat the odious maxim, that bishops are only the ministers and legates of the vicar of Jesus Christ resident at Rome, and are indebted for all the power and authority they possess, to the generosity and *grace of the apostolic see*. Yet there are some, particularly among the French, who pay little attention to that principle. And what the Romish jurists call *reservations, provisions, exemptions, and expectatives*, which had drawn forth complaints from all the nations before the Reformation, and which were the most manifest proofs of the Romish tyranny, have now almost entirely ceased.

the collected works of Ambrose, in 5 volumes. See Dr. Walch's *History of the Popes*, p. 399. *Schl.*]

⁶ Here may be consulted, Paul Sarpi's *Historia Concilii Tridentini*.

§ 15. Respecting the lives and morals of the clergy, and the reformation of inveterate evils, there was deliberation in the council of Trent: and on this subject some decrees were passed, which no wise man could disapprove. But good men complain that those decrees have, to this day, found no one to act upon them, but are neglected with impunity by all, and especially by those of more elevated rank and station. The German bishops, as every body knows, have scarcely any thing, except their dress, their titles, and certain ceremonies, from which the nature of their office could be inferred. In other countries, very many of the prelates, with the tacit consent of the pope, are more devoted to courts, to voluptuousness, to wealth and ambition, than to Jesus Christ, to whom they profess to be consecrated: and only a very small number regard the interests of the Christian community, and of piety and religion. Moreover, those who are most attentive to these things can scarcely escape invidious remarks, criminations, and vexations of various kinds. Many perhaps would be better and more devout, were they not corrupted by the example of Rome, or did they not see the very heads of the church, with their ministers, devoted wholly to luxury, avarice, pride, revenge, voluptuousness, and vain pomp. The *canons*, as they are called, almost every where continue to adhere to their pristine mode of life, and often consume, not very piously or honestly, the wealth which the piety of former ages had consecrated to the poor. The rest of the clergy, however, cannot every where copy after these preposterous moral guides at their pleasure. For it must be admitted, that since the reformation by *Luther*, much more pains are taken than were formerly, to prevent offences at least against sobriety and external decency, by the lower orders of clergy, so that they may not offend the people by open profligacy.

§ 16. Nearly the same commendation is to be given to the monks. In most of the governors of monasteries there are things which deserve the severest reprehension: nor are idleness, gluttony, ignorance, knavery, quarrels, lasciviousness, and the other once prevalent vices of cloisters, entirely expelled and banished from them. Yet it would be uncandid to deny, that in many countries the morals of the monks are restrained by stricter rules, and that the remaining vestiges of the ancient profligacy are at least concealed more carefully. There have also arisen some who laboured to restore the almost extinct

austerity of the ancient rules, and others who attempted to establish new fraternities for the public benefit of the church. *Matthew de Baschi*, an Italian, an honest but simple man of that society of Franciscans, who consider themselves to obey the precepts of their founder more religiously than the others, and who are commonly called *Observant friars*⁷, thought himself called of God to restore the institutes of *St. Francis* to their original and genuine integrity. His design being approved by *Clement VII.*, in the year 1525, gave rise to the fraternity of *Capuchins*; which experienced the bitter indignation of the other Franciscans, and exhibited a great appearance of gravity, modesty, and disregard for worldly things.⁸ The fraternity derived its name from the *cowl*⁹, a covering for the head sewed on the Franciscan habit, which *St. Francis* himself is said to have worn.¹ Another progeny of the Franciscan order were those called *Recollets* in France, *Reformati* in Italy, and *Barefooted*² in Spain; and who likewise obtained the privileges of a separate association distinct from the others, in the year 1532, by authority of *Clement VII.* They differ from the other Franciscans by endeavouring to live more exactly according to the rules of their common lawgiver.³ *St. Theresa*, a Spanish lady of noble birth, aided in the arduous work by *P. John de Matthia*, who was afterwards called *John de Santa Cruz*, endeavoured to restore the too luxurious and almost dissolute lives of the Carmelites to their pristine gravity. Nor were these efforts without effect; notwithstanding that most of the Carmelites made opposition. Hence the order was divided, during ten years, into two parties, the one observing severer, and the other laxer rules. But as this difference in their manner of life among the

⁷ Fratres de Observantia.

⁸ See Luc. Wadding's *Annales Ordinis Minorum*, tom. xvi. p. 207, 257, &c. ed. Rome. Hipp. Helyot's *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. vii. cap. xxiv. p. 264. And especially Zach. Boverius, *Annales Capucinatorum*. [The founder of the order of Capuchins is not well known. Some give this honour to Matthew Baschi, and others to the famous Lewis de Fossembrun. Bover supposes that Baschi devised the cowl, but that Fossembrun was the author of the reform; and he thence infers, that his order was not the work of men, but, like Melchisedek, without father and without mother. The

order had the misfortune, that its first vicar-general, Bernhard Oehin, and afterwards the third also, turned protestants; which well nigh worked its ruin. Yet it afterwards spread itself over Italy, France, Spain, and Germany, with extraordinary success. *Schl.*]

⁹ Caputium.

¹ See Du Fresne's *Glossarium Latinitat. Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 298, ed. Bened.

² Discalceati. [*Descalzos. Ed.*]

³ Luc. Wadding's *Annales*, tom. xvi. p. 167. Helyot's *Histoire des Ordres* tom. vii. cap. xviii. &c. p. 129, &c.

members of the same family occasioned much animosity and discord, *Gregory XIII.*, in the year 1580, at the request of *Philip II.*, king of Spain, directed the more rigid Carmelites, who were called *Barefooted*, from their naked feet, to separate themselves from the more lax. *Sixtus V.* confirmed and extended this separation, in 1587; and *Clement VIII.*, in 1593, completed it, by giving to the new association an appropriate chief or general. A few years after, when new contests arose between these brethren, the same pontiff, in the year 1600, again separated them into two societies, governed by their respective generals.⁴

§ 17. Of the new orders that arose in this century, the most distinguished is that which glories in the name of *Jesuits*; and which has been already noticed among the props of the Romish power. Compared with this, the others are ignoble and obscure.—The Reformation afforded occasion for various societies of what are called *Regular Clerks*. As all these profess to aim at imitating and bringing back the ancient virtue and sanctity of the clerical order, they tacitly bear witness to the laxity of discipline among the clergy, and the necessity of a reformation. The first that arose were the *Theatins*, so named from the town *Theate* or *Chieti*⁵, whose bishop at that time was *John Peter Caraffa*, afterwards pope *Paul IV.*; who, with the aid of *Cajetan de Thienæis* and some others, founded this society in the year 1524. Destitute of all possessions and all revenue, they were to live upon the voluntary bounties of the pious; and were required to succour decaying piety, to improve the style of preaching, to attend upon the sick and dying, and to oppose manfully and vigorously all heretics.⁶ There were also some convents of sacred virgins connected with this order.—Next in point of time to them were those that assumed the name of *Regular Clerks of St. Paul*, whom they chose for their patron: but who were commonly called *Barnabites*, from the temple of *St. Barnabas* at Milan, which was given to them in the year 1535. This fraternity was approved by *Clement VII.*, in 1532; and confirmed by *Paul III.*, in 1535. It honoured as its founders *Antony Maria Zacharias*, a knight of Cremona, and *Bartholomew Ferrarius*, a knight of Milan; also *Jac. Antony*

⁴ Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. i. cap. xlvii. p. 340, &c.

⁶ Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. iv. cap. xii. p. 71, &c.

⁵ [In the kingdom of Naples. *Tr.*]

Morigia, of Milan. At first they renounced all possessions and property, like the Theatins, living solely upon the gratuitous gifts of the pious; but afterwards they deemed it expedient to hold property and have certain revenues. Their principal business was to labour as preachers in reclaiming sinners to their duty.⁷ The *Regular Clerks of St. Majoli*, also called the *Fathers of Somasquo*, from the town *Somasquo*, where their first general resided, had for their founder *Jerome Æmilianus*; and were approved by *Paul III.*, in the year 1540, and then by *Pius IV.*, in 1543.⁸ These assumed the office of instructing the ignorant, and especially the young, carefully in the precepts of Christianity.—The same office was assigned to the *Fathers of the Christian doctrine*, both in France and in Italy. A distinguished society of this name was collected in France by *Cæsar de Bus*; and it was enrolled among the legitimate fraternities by *Clement VIII.*, in the year 1597. The Italian society owed its birth to *Marcus Cusanus*, a knight of Milan; and was approved by the authority of *Pius V.* and *Gregory XIII.*

§ 18. It would occupy us too long, and not be very profitable, to enumerate the minor fraternities which originated from fear of the heretics who disturbed the tranquillity of the church in one place and another, both in Germany and in other countries. For no age produced more associations of this kind than that in which *Luther*, opposed the Bible to ignorance, superstition, and papal domination. Some of them have since become extinct, because they had no solid basis; and others have been suppressed by the will of the pontiffs, who considered the interests of the church as retarded, rather than advanced, by the multitude of such societies. We also omit the societies of nuns; among whom the *Ursulines* were distinguished for their numbers and reputation. But we must not pass over the *Fathers of the Oratory*, founded in Italy, by *Philip Neri*, and publicly approved by *Gregory XIII.*, in 1577; because they have had not a few men distinguished for their erudition and talents, (among whom were *Cæsar Baronius*, and afterwards *Odoric Raynaldi*, and in our age *James Laderchi*, the celebrated authors of the *Annals of the Church*;) and because they have not yet ceased to flourish.

⁷ Helyot, l. c. tom. iv. cap. xv. p. 100. In this part of his noted and excellent work, Helyot, with great industry and accuracy, prosecutes the history of the

other sects, which we have here mentioned.

⁸ See the *Acta Sanctor. Februar.* tom. ii. p. 217, &c.

The name of the sect is derived from the chapel or *Oratory* which *Neri* built for himself at Florence, and occupied for many years.⁹

§ 19. That both sacred and secular learning were held in much higher estimation among the Romish Christians after the time of *Luther* than before, is known by almost every body. In particular, the Jesuits glory, and not altogether without reason, that the languages and the arts and sciences were more cultivated and advanced by their society in this century, than by the schools and by the other religious fraternities. The schools and universities (whether designedly or from negligence, I will not say,) were not disposed to abandon the old method of teaching, though crude and tedious, nor to enlarge the field of their knowledge. Nor would the monks allow a more solid and elegant culture to be given to the minds of their pupils. Hence there is a great diversity in the Romish writers of this century; some express themselves happily, methodically, and properly, others barbarously, immethodically, and coarsely. Ecclesiastical history was a subject which *Cæsar Baronius* undertook to elucidate, or, if you please, to obscure: and his example prompted many others to attempt the same thing. This labour was rendered necessary by the temerity of the heretics: for they, with *Matthæus Flacius* and *Martin Chemnitz* at their head¹, having demon-

⁹ Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. viii. cap. iv. p. 12. [Raynald's *Annales Eccles. ad ann. 1564*, § 5. The exercises in the oratory were these: When the associates were collected, a short time was spent in prayer; ordinarily silent prayer. Then *Nerius* addressed the company. Next a portion of some religious book was read, on which *Nerius* made remarks. After an hour occupied in these exercises, three of the associates successively mounted a little rostrum, and gave each a discourse of about half an hour long, on some point in theology, or on church history, or practical religion; and the meeting closed for the day. See *Baronius, Annales Eccles.* tom. i. p. 555. *Baronius* was himself an early pupil of *Nerius*, and succeeded him as head of the order. *Tr.*]

¹ The former in the *Centurie Magdeburgenses*, and the latter in his *Examen Concilii Tridentini*.—[*Matthias Flacius*, after his removal from Wittenberg to Magdeburg, with the aid of the two

Magdeburg preachers, *John Wigand* and *Matthew Juxta*, the jurist *Basil Faber*, and *Andrew Corvinus* and *Thomas Holthuters*, published the *Magdeburg Centuries*, between the years 1559 and 1574, in thirteen volumes folio, each volume containing one century. Its proper title is, *Historia Ecclesiastica per aliquot studiosos et pios Viros in Urbe Magdeburgica Centurie XIII.* A new edition was commenced in 1757, at Nuremberg; [but was carried only to the sixth volume, in 4to. An edition, with some abridgment, was published by *Lucius*, Basil, 1624, 13 vols. in 3, large folio. This edition is most current among the reformed, though disapproved by the Lutherans. *Tr.*] *Cæsar Baronius*, a father of the Oratory, [at the instigation of *Philip Nerius*, founder of the society of the Oratory,] undertook to confute this work, which contained strong historical proofs against popery, in a work of twelve volumes folio, each volume likewise embracing one century. His work is en-

strated, that not only the sacred Scriptures, but also the voice of ancient history, were opposed to the doctrines and decrees of the Romish church, prompt resistance became necessary, lest the ancient fables, on which a great part of the claims of the pontiffs rested, should lose all their credit.

§ 20. Both among the French and the Italians, several men of fine talents, who have been named already, undertook to purify and reform philosophy. But their efforts were rendered ineffectual, by the excessive attachment of the scholastic doctors to the old Aristotelian philosophy; and by the cautious timidity of many, who were apprehensive that such freedom of thought and discussion might subvert the tottering interests of the church, and open the way for other and new dissensions. The empire of *Aristotle*, therefore, whose very obscurity rendered him the more acceptable, continued unshaken in all the schools and monasteries. It even became more firmly established, after the Jesuits saw fit to subject their schools to it, and showed by their discussions and their books, that the Aristotelian scholastic subtleties, equivocations, and intricacies, were better suited to confound the heretics, and to carry on controversy with some appearance of success, than the simple and lucid mode of arguing and debating which reason, left to herself, would dictate.

§ 21. A very large catalogue of theological writers in the Romish church, during this century, might be made out. The most famous and most competent among them were, *Thomas de Vio Cajetan*, *John Eck*, *John Cochläus*, *Jerome Emser*, *Laurence Surius*, *Stanislaus Hosius*, *John Faber*, *James Sadolet*, *Albert Pighi*, *Francis Vatablus*, *Melchior Canus*, *Claudius Espenæus*, *Bartholomew Caranza*, *John Maldonate*, *Francis Turrianus*, *Bene-*

titled *Annales Ecclesiastici*, and was published at Rome between the years 1588 and 1607; and afterwards at Mayence, with the approbation of the author. The latest, most splendid, and most complete edition, was published, with Antony Pagi, a French Franciscan's corrections, (entitled, *Critica Historico-Chronologica in Annales Baronii*, 4 vols. fol.) and the continuation of Odoric Raynald, (in 10 vols. fol.) at Lucca, 1738—1756, in 38 vols. fol. These ecclesiastical annals are by no means impartial; yet they contain numerous documents, which cast light on both ecclesiastical and civil history.

Raynald's continuation reaches to the year 1565. James de Laderchi, likewise a father of the Oratory, extended the Annals to the year 1572. The apostate reformed, Henry de Sponde or Spondanus, bishop of Pamiers, likewise composed a continuation of Baronius, to the year 1640, in three volumes, fol. So also the Polish Dominican, Abraham Bzovius, continued Baronius to the year 1572, in eight vols. folio; but he is the most faulty of all that have been named, both in respect to the matter and the spirit of his performance. *Schl.*]

*dict Arias Montanus, Ambrose Catharinus, Reginald Pole, Sixtus Senensis, George Cassander, James Paya Anulrudius, Michael Baius, James Pamelius, and others.*²

² Concerning these, and others designedly omitted, the reader may consult Lewis Ellies du Pin, a doctor of the Sorbonne, in his *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiast.* tom. xiv. and xvi. and the other writers of biography.—[The following brief notices of the writers mentioned by Mosheim may not be unacceptable:—

Of Cajetan, see above, pp. 101, 102, notes^{3, 4}.

John Eckius, or John Mayr, was born at Eck, a village in Suabia, A. D. 1483; was professor of theology at Ingolstadt, vice-chancellor, inquisitor, and canon of Eichstadt; and died 1543. He disputed and wrote much against Luther and the protestants.

The real name of Cochläus was John Dobeneck, surnamed Cochläus, from the Latinized name of his birth-place, Wendelstein, by Nuremberg. He was dean of Frankfort, and canon of Mentz and Breslau, and died in 1552; a most rancorous and uncandid opposer of the reformation.

Emser was of Ulm, in Suabia, and died in 1527. He was a licentiate of canon law, criticised Luther's version of the New Testament, and undertook to make a better.

Sirius was a laborious Carthusian monk of Lubec, and died at Cologne, in 1578. Besides his translations, he published four volumes of the Councils, and seven volumes of lives of the saints; and wrote a concise general history, from A. D. 1500 to 1574, in opposition to Sleidan's Commentaries.

Hosius was of Craeow, and at his death, in 1579, was bishop of Ermeland, cardinal, and grand penitentiary to pope Gregory XIII. He acted a conspicuous part in the council of Trent, was a manly opposer of the reformation, and left works in 2 vols. folio.

Faber was a Suabian, named Heigerlin, but was called Faber, from his father's occupation. He was a Dominican, and opposed the sale of indulgences in Switzerland; yet aided the pope against the protestants, and became bishop of Vienna. None of his writings are now read.

Sadolet was a mild, liberal divine, secretary to Leo X., bishop of Carpen-

tras, and a cardinal. His works were printed at Verona, 1737, 4 vols. fol.

Piglii was a Dutchman, archdeacon at Utrecht, a mathematician, and a man of more reading than judgment; and died in 1542.

Vatablus of Picardy, was a learned professor of Hebrew at Paris, in the reign of Francis I.

Cannus, a Spanish Dominican, professor of theology at Salamanca, bishop of the Canary Islands, provincial of his order in Castile, and died in 1560. His chief work was his *Locorum Commun.* libri xii.

Espenceus was a famous Parisian divine, of great erudition, who died in 1571.

Caranza was a Dominican, confessor to Philip II. of Spain, to queen Mary of England, and to Charles V.; also archbishop of Toledo; yet was charged with heresy, and suffered ten years in the inquisition; and died almost as soon as released, A. D. 1576. He wrote *Summa Conciliorum et Decret. Pontificum.*

Maldonate was a Spanish Jesuit, a distinguished theologian, and scriptural expositor; born, 1534, died, 1582.

Turrianns was also a Spanish Jesuit, but of less talents. He died in 1584.

Montanns was a Spanish orientalist, and editor of the Antwerp polyglot Bible. He also wrote commentaries on the Scriptures; and died in 1598.

Catharinus, of Siena, in Italy, was first a jurist, then a Dominican, bishop of Minorea, and lastly archbishop of Conza, in the kingdom of Naples. He wrote against the protestants, commented on Paul's Epistles, and died in 1553.

Cardinal Pole was of royal English blood, opposed king Henry VIII. in the matter of his divorce, and left England; but returned, as papal legate on the accession of queen Mary, was archbishop of Canterbury, and died on the very day his sovereign did, A. D. 1558. He was learned, discreet, and inclined to moderation. His letters were published by cardinal Quirini, at Brescia, 1744. [Pole's principal work is the treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiastica*, in which Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn are treated with a vulgar scurrility that contrasts most

§ 22. The religion which Rome would have regarded as the only true religion, and to be embraced by all Christians universally, is derived, as all their writers tell us, from two sources, *the word of God written and unwritten*, or the *holy Scriptures and tradition*. But as there are warm contests among the leading divines of that church respecting the legitimate interpreter of this twofold word of God, it may be justly said, that it is not yet clear whence a knowledge of the Romish doctrines is to be learned, or by what authority controversies on sacred subjects are to be decided. The Romish court, indeed, and all that favour the absolute dominion of the pontiff, maintain that no one can interpret and explain the import of either divine word, in matters relating to salvation, except the person who governs the church as Christ's vicegerent; and of course, that his decisions must be religiously obeyed. To give weight to this opinion, first *Pius IV.*, and afterwards *Sixtus V.*, established at Rome the congregation styled the *Congregation for interpreting the council of Trent*³; which decides, in the name of the pontiff, the smaller questions respecting points of discipline; but the weightier questions touching any point of doctrine, it refers to the pontiff himself, as the oracle.⁴ But a very different opinion is enter-

unfortunately with the writer's high breeding, and general mildness and courtesy of outward bearing. His own excuse for that which some people would be apt to represent as an unguarded disclosure of his real character, was, that while the work still remained among his private papers, some person purloined the parts most offensive to Henry. This determined him to publish as he wrote it. *Ed.*]

Sixtus of Siena was born a Jew, became a Franciscan, was accused of heresy, joined the Dominicans, and died in 1569. His *Bibliotheca Sancta*, or Introduction to biblical literature, is the chief foundation of his reputation.

Cassander was born on the island of Cassand, near Bruges, and was a modest, ingenious divine, who studied to bring the catholics and protestants to a better agreement, and incurred the ill-will of both. He died in 1566; and his works were printed at Paris, in 1616, fol.

Andradius was a Portuguese theologian, who attended the council of Trent, and attempted to vindicate its proceedings against Chemnitz's attack.

Baius was doctor and professor of theology at Louvain, chancellor of the university, general inquisitor for the Netherlands, and a strong adherent to the doctrines of Augustine; which brought him into difficulty, as we shall see presently, s. 38. He died in 1589.

Pamelius was a modest and honest theologian of the Netherlands, whose father, Adolphus, baron of Pamele, was councillor of state to Charles V. He died on his way to take possession of his new office of bishop of St. Omer's, A. D. 1587. He edited the works of Tertullian and of Cyriac. *Tr.*]

³ De interpretando Tridentino Concilio.

⁴ Jae. Aymon, *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, pt. v. cap. iv. p. 282, &c. [This congregation affords the pope a fine opportunity to obtrude his court decisions on the catholic world, under the pretence of the council of Trent. It is the duty of the cardinals to explain the language of the council, only in doubtful cases; but they often extend the import of the words so far, that the pope finds the way open to introduce new laws into the church. See Febronius, *De Statu Eccle-*

tained, both by the greatest part of the French, and by other men of eminent learning; who maintain, that individual doctors and bishops may go directly to both sources, and from them obtain, for themselves and for the people, rules of faith and practice; and that the greater and more difficult questions of controversy are to be submitted to the examination and decision of councils. There is no judge that can terminate this controversy: and hence there is no prospect that the Romish religion will ever obtain a stable and determinate form.

§ 23. The council of Trent, which is said to have been summoned to explain, arrange, and reform, both the doctrine and the discipline of the church, is thought by wise men to have rather produced new enormities, than to have removed those that existed. They complain that many opinions of the scholastic doctors, concerning which in former times men thought and spoke as they pleased, were improperly sanctioned, and placed among the doctrines necessary to be believed, and even guarded by anathemas⁵; they complain of the ambiguity of the decrees and decisions of the council; in consequence of which, controverted points are not so much explained and settled, as perplexed and made more difficult⁶; they complain that every

sic, cap. v. § 3, no. 7. *Schl.*—The canonists long debated, whether the decisions of this congregation formed a part of the ecclesiastical law of the catholic church. Those who maintained that they were not law, urged, manswerably, that these decisions were not published; and that rules of conduct not made known, could never be considered as laws by which men were to be judged. To remove this objection, in the year 1739, formal reports of the decisions of the congregation began to be published, reaching back to the year 1718; and the publication of these reports was continued to the year 1769, when thirty-eight volumes, 4to, had been issued, embracing all the decisions of importance, from the year 1718, to the year 1769, inclusive. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Here belong, for example, Peter Lombard's doctrine of *seven* sacraments, the necessity of auricular confession, the canonical authority of the apocryphal books, &c. and by the anathema pronounced against the opposite doctrines, the re-introduction of these supposed heresies into the church, and all attempts

at a religious union in future, are rendered impossible. *Schl.*]

⁶ [The reader need only consult the second article, concerning justification and free will. The council here frequently expresses itself according to the views of Luther; but presently, it takes back with one hand what it had given with the other. This arose from the disputes of the fathers in the council, among themselves. The only way to quiet their contentions was, to publish articles of faith so ambiguous that each party could construe them to agree with its own opinions. Hence it is, that to this day, the council is so differently interpreted in the Romish church. Hence the Spanish Dominican, Dominic Soto, wrote three books, to prove that the council was of his opinion, on the subject of grace and justification; while the Franciscan, Andrew Vega, whose opinions were very different, wrote fifteen to prove directly the contrary. So is it also in regard to the doctrine respecting the penitence necessary to repentance. The Jesuits say, this penitence consists in an

thing was decided in the council, not according to truth and the holy Scriptures, but according to instructions from the Roman pontiff; and that the Romish legates took from the fathers of the council almost all liberty of correcting existing evils in the church⁷: they complain that the few decisions wisely and well made were left naked and unsupported, and are neglected and disregarded with impunity: in short, they think the council of Trent to have considered more carefully what would serve the papal domination, than what all the Christian church. It is not strange, therefore, that even among sons of the Roman church, there should be found those who choose to expound the decrees of the Tridentine council itself according to the sense of the sacred volume and *tradition*; and that the authority of those decrees should be differently estimated in different provinces of the Romish world.⁸

internal fear of God, and a dread of divine punishments, which they call *attrition*. Their opposers maintain, that this is not sufficient, but that true penitence must arise from love to God, and regret for having sinned against Him. This dispute is not decided by the council: for one passage appears to deny what another asserts. And hence John Lauoni wrote a book, *De Mente Concilii Tridentini circa Contritionem, Attritionem, et Satisfactionem, in Sacramento Penitentiae*; and he there shows, that the words of the council may be fairly construed as every one pleases. The doctrines concerning the church, and concerning the power of the pope, and its limits, are for good reasons left undecided. So also the contested doctrines concerning the conception and birth of the Virgin Mary, and the real nature of the worship to be paid to images and to the saints. The doctrine respecting tradition is likewise made very equivocal and obscure. *Schl.*]

⁷ [No pope indeed was personally present in the council, but they still governed it by their legates. Nothing was permitted to be discussed without the consent of the legates; and no conclusion was made, which had not been previously prepared and shaped in the particular congregations [or committees], in which the legates always presided. Hence the satirists said, that the Holy Ghost (by whom, according to the court language of the church, such councils are always guided) was brought from Rome in a

portmanteau, in order to enlighten the fathers. There were in fact several intelligent and thinking men among the fathers of the council; but they were outvoted by the multitude of Italians and dependants of the pope. *Schl.*]

⁸ Some provinces of the Romish church, as Germany, Poland, Italy, [and Portugal,] have received the council of Trent and its decrees entire, and without exceptions or conditions. But others, only under certain limitations and conditions, would subject themselves to it. Of these the principal were the countries subject to the king of Spain, which were long in controversy with the Roman pontiff respecting the council of Trent, and at last embraced it, with a salvo of the rights of the Spanish kings (*Salvis Regum Hispanie Juribus*). See Gianonne, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 235, &c. Others again could never be induced to adopt it. Among these was France. See Hector. Godfr. Masius, *Diss. de Contemptu Concilii Tridentini in Gallia*; which is one among his collected dissertations: and Peter Francis le Courayer's *Discours sur la Réception du Concile de Trente, particulièrement en France*; which is subjoined to the second volume of his French translation of Paul Sarpî's *History of the Council of Trent*, p. 775—789. Yet that part of the council which embraces the doctrines of religion, was tacitly and by practice admitted as a rule of faith among the French. But the other part, which relates to discipline and ecclesias-

§ 24. Recourse must be had to the decrees of the council of Trent, together with the brief confession of faith, which *Pius IV.* caused to be drawn up, by all those who would gain a tolerable knowledge of the Romish religion. A full and perfect knowledge of it is not to be expected. For in the decrees of the council, and in the confession of faith above mentioned, many articles are so nerveless and jointless, that they reel hither and thither; and they were designedly left thus ambiguous, on account of the intestine dissensions of the church. Moreover, not a few things were passed over, in both those works, which yet must not be denied, nor even called in question without giving offence; and some things are there expressed more decently, and better, than daily practice and public usage allows of. Hence reliance must not always be placed on the language used by the council; but rather the import of that language must be qualified and measured by the practices and the institutions that generally prevail.⁹ Add

tical law, has been constantly rejected, both publicly and privately; because it is deemed hostile to the authority and power of kings, no less than to the rights and liberties of the French church. See Lewis Ellics du Pin, *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques*, tom. xv. p. 380, &c. Hungary also is said to have never publicly received this council. See Lorand Sannelof, *Vita Andr. Dudithii*, p. 56. As for the literary history of the council of Trent, the writers of its history, editions of its decrees, &c. see Salig's *History of the Council of Trent* (in German), vol. iii. p. 190—320, and Jo. Chr. Köcher's *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolica*, p. 325. 377, &c.—[As to the reception of the council of Trent in Germany, it did not take place at once. The pope, Pius IV., sent the bishop of Vintimiglia, Visconti, to the emperor Ferdinand I., to persuade him to receive it. But the emperor consented, only on two conditions; that the pope should allow his subjects the use of the cup in the sacred supper, and should not debar the clergy from marriage. The same indulgence was craved by the Bavarians. Pius allowed the first, but denied the second; and Ferdinand acquiesced, and received the council for himself and his hereditary dominions. The whole German nation has never received it; and the popes have never dared to submit its decrees to the

consideration of the diet, and to ask its sanction of them.—This probably will have been the last general council of Christendom; for it is not probable, that the opposing interests of the great, and good policy, will ever again allow of a general council; since the weakness and intrigues of such bodies have been so clearly exhibited by this. The popes also would show themselves not very favourable to another general council, since the right of summoning such a body to meet, and that of presiding in it, would be contested with them; and so many appeals would be likely to be made from their decisions to the general council, if proposed. *Schell.*]

⁹ [“This is true, in a more especial manner, with respect to the canons of the council of Trent relating to the doctrine of *purgatory*, the *invocation of saints*, the *worship of images and relics*. The terms employed in these canons are artfully chosen, so as to avoid the imputation of idolatry, in the *philosophical sense* of that word; for in the *Scripture-sense* they cannot avoid it, as all use of images in religious worship is expressly forbidden in the sacred writings in many places. But this circumspection does not appear in the worship of the Roman catholics, which is notoriously idolatrous in both the senses of that word.” *Macl.*]

to these considerations, that since the time of the council of Trent, some of the pontiffs have explained more clearly and unequivocally, in their particular constitutions or bulls certain doctrines which were stated less lucidly by the council: in which no one appears to have acted more audaciously and unsuccessfully, than *Clement XI.* in his famous bull, called *Unigenitus*.

§ 25. To the correct interpretation and the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, the Roman pontiff has opposed all the obstacles in his power, from the time that he learned what very great damage and loss have accrued to him from this source. At first the shocking license was allowed the disputants, of treating the Scriptures with contumely, and of publicly declaring their authority to be inferior to that of the pontiff and tradition. Next, the old Latin version, called the *Vulgate*, though it abounds with innumerable faults, and in very many places is quite barbarous and obscure was, by a decision of the assembly at Trent, recommended as *authentic*, that is, faithful, exact, and accurate; and thus placed beyond all danger of being impugned. How much this contributed to conceal from the people the true meaning of the Scriptures, must be manifest. In the same assembly, this hard law was imposed, on interpreters, that *in matters of faith and morals*, they must not venture to construe the Scriptures differently from the common opinion of the church, and the consent of the ancient doctors; nay, it was asserted that the *church* alone, or its head and governor, the sovereign pontiff, has the right of determining the true sense of the Scriptures. Finally, the Romish church persevered in strenuously maintaining, sometimes more explicitly, and sometimes more covertly, that the sacred Scriptures were written for none but teachers; and in all places where it could be done¹, ordered the people to be restrained from reading the Bible.

§ 26. For these reasons, the multitude of expositors, whom the example of Luther and his followers incited in this age, to come forward emulously as interpreters of the sacred books, consists for the most part, of men who are dry, timid, and obsequious to the will of the Romish court. Nearly all of them are extremely cautious lest they should drop a single word, at variance with the received opinions; always quote the authority and the names

¹ This could not be done in all countries. The French, and some other nations, read the Scriptures in their native

language; notwithstanding the warm supporters of the Romish supremacy are bitterly opposed to the practice.

of the holy *fathers*, as they call them; and do not so much enquire what the inspired writers actually taught, as what the church would have them teach. Some of them tax their ingenuity to the utmost, to force out of each passage of Scripture that fourfold sense which ignorance and superstition devised, namely, the *literal*, *allegorical*, *tropological*, and *anagogical*. And for so doing they were not without a reason; for this mode of interpretation is most useful for artfully eliciting from the divine oracles, whatever the church wishes to have regarded as the truth. Yet we are able to name some who had wisdom enough to discard these vain mysteries, and to labour solely to ascertain the literal import of the Scriptures. In this class the most eminent were *Erasmus* of Rotterdam, who is well known to have translated the New Testament into neat and perspicuous Latin, and to have explained the books in a pleasing manner: *Thomas de Vio Cajetanus* the cardinal, who disputed with our *Luther* at Augsburg, and whose brief notes on nearly all the sacred books are better than many longer commentaries: *Francis Titelmann*, *Isidorus Clarius*, *John Maldonat*, *Benedict Justinian* (who was no contemptible interpreter of St. Paul's epistles), *John Gagnæus*, *Claudius Espencæus*, and some others.² But these laudable examples ceased to have influence sooner than might be expected. For at the close of the century, there was only one in the university of Paris, namely, *Edmund Richer*, the celebrated defender of the Gallic liberties against the pontiffs, who investigated the literal meaning of the Scriptures; all the other doctors despising the literal sense, in the manner of the ancients, searched after recondite and concealed meanings.³

² Concerning these, the reader may consult Richard Simon's *Histoire Critique du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament*.—[Titelmann was of Hasselt, in the bishopric of Liege, a Capuchin monk, skilful in oriental literature, and died provincial of his order in 1553. He left many commentaries on the books of Scripture, particularly one on the Psalms, which is not entirely useless. See Rich. Simon, *Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test.* l. iii. c. 9, p. 422.—Isidorus Clarius (de Chiara) was bishop of Foligno in Umbria, attended the council of Trent, and belonged to the Dominican order. He published notes on the holy Scriptures, in which he attempts to correct the Vul-

gate. Rich. Simon, l. c. p. 320, expresses an unfavourable opinion of him, and pronounces him a plagiarist.—Benedict Justinianus (Ginstinium) was a Jesuit of Genoa, and died at Rome in the year 1622. He left expositions of Paul's and the Catholic Epistles.—John Gagnæus, a Parisian chancellor, published notes on the N. T., and a paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans, of no great value. He died in the year 1549. *Schl.*]

³ Andrew Baillet, *Vie de Edmund Richer*, p. 9, 10, &c. [Richer was an eminent theological writer, well acquainted with the antiquities of the church, and a bold defender of the rights of bishops against the pope. But he suf-

§ 27. Before *Luther's* time nearly all the schools were occupied by those philosophical theologians who are commonly called *Schoolmen*: so that, even at Paris, which was considered as the seat of all sacred knowledge, persons could not be found, competent to encounter our divines in reasoning from the Scriptures and the writings of the ancient doctors. And even in the council of Trent this extreme penury of *dogmatic* and *biblical* theologians, often produced singular difficulties, as the scholastics were accustomed to measure and define all doctrines, according to the precepts of their lean and meagre philosophy. Pressing necessity, therefore, urged the restoration and cultivation of that mode of treating religious doctrines, which makes more use of the holy Scriptures, and of the decisions of the fathers, than of metaphysical reasoning.⁴ Yet the scholastics could not be divested of that ascendancy which they had long maintained in the schools: nay, they seemed to have acquired new strength, after the Jesuits had joined them, and had decided that dialectics were more efficacious for confronting heretics, than the holy Scriptures and the authority of the fathers. The *Mystics*, as they were not very offensive to the enemies of the church, and were not much inclined to engage in controversy, lost nearly all their influence after the reformation took place. Yet they were allowed to philosophize in their own way, provided they did it cautiously, and neither attacked too freely the decrees and the vices of the Romish church, nor inveighed too vehemently

ferred persecution, which ruined his health, and he died in the year 1631. *Tr.*]

⁴ See C. E. de Boulay's *Reformatio Facultatis Theol. Paris.* anno 1587, in his *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. vi. p. 790, &c. In this reformation, the *Baccalaurei Sententiarum* are distinguished from the *Baccalaurei Biblici*; and, what deserves particular notice, the Augustinian monks (*Luther's* fraternity) were required (p. 794) annually to present to the theological college a biblical bachelor: from which it may be inferred, that the Augustinian family (to which *Luther* once belonged) gave more attention to the study of sacred literature than the other orders of monks. But as the work of Boulay is in the hands of but few, it may be proper to quote the statute entire: "*Augustinenses quolibet*

anno Biblicum presentabunt, secundum statutum, fol. 21, quod sequitur: Quilibet Ordo Mendicantium et Collegium S. Bernardi habeat quolibet anno Biblicum, qui legat ordinarie, alioqui privetur pro illo anno Baccalaureo Sententiarum." It appears from this statute that all the Mendicant orders were bound, according to a decree of the college of theologians, to present annually a biblical bachelor (such as *Luther* was). Yet in this reformation of the college, the duty was required of none but the Augustinians. Who, then, will not make the inference, that the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the other Mendicant orders, wholly neglected biblical studies, and therefore had no biblical bachelors; and that the Augustinians alone, were able to fulfil this statute of the Sorbonne?

against either the futility of external devotion, or the metaphysical and polemic divines.

§ 28. Practical theology, no one among the papists of this century improved successfully; nor could any improve it, without incurring the greatest opposition. For the safety of the church was supposed to forbid such attempts. And in reality, many doctrines and regulations, on which the prosperity of the Romish church depends, would be brought into the greatest danger, if Christian piety in its true nature were uniformly held up to the view of the people. On the other hand, many honest men, and cultivators of piety, even in the Romish church, complain (how truly and justly, in all cases, I will not here inquire,) that the Jesuits, as soon as they arose and began to have the ascendancy in courts and in the schools, first sapped the foundations of all correct practical theology, by their subtle distinctions; and then opened the door for all ungodliness and vice, by the lax and dissolute morality which they inculcated. This infection, indeed, spread unobserved in this century; but in the next, it appeared more manifest, and gave rise to the greatest commotions.—The moral writers of the Romish church, moreover, may all be distributed into three classes, the *scholastic*, the *dogmatic*, and the *mystic*. The first expounded the virtues and duties of the Christian life, by knotty distinctions and phraseology, and obscured them by multifarious discussions: the second elucidated them by the language of the Bible, and the sentiments of the ancient doctors: the third recommended men exclusively to withdraw their thoughts from all outward objects, compose the mind, and raise it to the contemplation of the divine nature.

§ 29. The vast multitude and the capital faults of the papal polemic theologians, no one is ignorant of. Most of them were abundantly fraught with all that is accounted criminal, in those who have no other object than gain and victory. The numerous Jesuits who took the field against the enemies of the Romish church, excelled all the others in subtlety, impudence, and invective. But the chief and *coryphæus* of the whole, was *Robert Bellarmine*, a Jesuit, and a cardinal, or one of the pontifical cabinet. He embraced all the controversies of his church in several large volumes; and united copiousness of argument with much perspicuity of style. As soon, therefore, as he entered the arena, which was towards the close of the century, he drew

upon himself alone the onsets and the strength of the greatest men among the Protestants. Yet he displeased many of his own party, principally because he carefully collected all the arguments of his antagonists, and generally stated them correctly and fairly. He would have been accounted a greater and better man had he possessed less fidelity and industry, and had he stated only the feebler arguments of his opponents, and given them mutilated and perverted.⁵

§ 30. Although the Romish community proudly boasts of its peaceful and harmonious condition, it is full of broils and contentions of every kind. The Franciscans and Dominicans contend vehemently respecting various subjects. The Scotists and Thomists wage eternal war. The bishops never cease to wrangle with the pontiff and his congregations respecting the origin and limits of their power. The French, the Flemings, and others, openly oppose the Roman pontiff himself, and his supremacy; and he inveighs against them as often as he deems it safe and necessary, with energy and spirit, and at other times cautiously and circumspectly. The Jesuits, as they from the beginning, laboured successfully to depress all the other religious fraternities, and also to strip the Benedictines, and others that were opulent, of a part of their wealth; so have they inflamed and armed all these bodies against themselves. Among them the Benedictines and Dominicans are their sharpest enemies: the former fight for their possessions; the latter for their reputation, their privileges, and their opinions. The contentions of the schools respecting various doctrines of faith, are without number, and without end. All these contests, the sovereign pontiff moderates and controls, by dextrous management and authority, so that they may not too much endanger the church: to adjust and terminate them,—which would perhaps be the duty of a vicegerent of our Saviour,—he has neither power nor inclination.

§ 31. Besides these *minor* controversies, which have slightly disturbed the peace of the church, other and *greater* ones, since the times of the council of Trent, have arisen, chiefly through the influence of the Jesuits; which, being gradually increased and continued down to our times, violently agitate the whole Romish community, and rend it into numerous factions. These,

⁵ See Jo. Fred. Mayer's *Eloqa de dubiâ*, Amsterd. 1698, 8vo.
Fide Baronii et Bellarmini ipsis Pontificiis

indeed, the Roman pontiffs labour most earnestly, if not to extinguish, yet to quiet in a degree, so that they may not produce excessive mischief: but minds warmed not so much by zeal for the truth, as by the heat of controversy and the love of party, will not coalesce and become united.

§ 32. Whoever considers these controversies with attention and impartiality, will readily perceive that the Jesuits,— that is, the greater part of them, or the fraternity in general, for in so very extensive a society there are individuals with different views, guard and defend that ancient and rude, but to the pontiffs and the church very useful, system of faith and practice, which prevailed and was inculcated, every where in the Romish church, before the times of *Luther*. For those very sagacious men, whose office it is to watch for the safety of the Romish see, perceive clearly, that the authority of the pontiffs, and the emoluments, prerogatives, and honours of the clergy, depend entirely on this ancient system of religion; and that if this were subverted, or changed, the church must unavoidably suffer immense injury, and gradually crumble to the dust. But, in the Romish church, and especially since the reformation by *Luther*, there are not a few wise and good men, who, having learned very clearly, from the sacred Scriptures and the writings of the ancient doctors, the deformities and faults of this ancient and vulgar system of religion, wished to see it corrected and amended, though in a different way; and urge the extirpation of those unhappy tares, from the field of the church, which has armed the heretics against her. And hence those eternal contests and collisions with the Jesuits, on various subjects. All these contests, however, may be pretty well brought under the six following heads.

There is a dispute (I.) respecting the *extent and magnitude of the power of a Roman pontiff*. The Jesuits and their numerous friends, contend that a pontiff cannot possibly err; that he is the fountain and source of all the power which Jesus Christ has imparted to the church; that all bishops and religious teachers are indebted to him for whatever authority and jurisdiction they may possess; that he is not bound by any enactments of the church and its councils; that he is, in fine, the supreme lawgiver of the church, whose decrees no one can resist without incurring the greatest guilt. But others hold, that he may err; that he is inferior to councils; that he is bound to

obey the church and its laws, as enacted by councils; and that if he offend, he may be deprived of his rank and dignity by a council: from which it follows, that inferior prelates and teachers receive the authority which they possess, from *Jesus Christ* himself, and not from the Roman bishop.

§ 33. There is a dispute (II.) respecting the *extent and the prerogatives of the church*. For the Jesuits, and those who follow them, extend widely the bounds of the church; and contend that many among those who have no connexion with the Romish worship⁶,—nay, among the nations that are wholly ignorant of *Christ* and the Christian religion, may be saved and really are saved: they also hold, that sinners, living within the church, are nevertheless its real members. But their adversaries circumscribe the kingdom of *Christ* within much narrower limits, and not only cut off from all hope of salvation those who live out of the Romish communion, but also separate from the church all the vicious and profligate, though they live in it. The Jesuits moreover, not to mention other differences of less moment, hold that the church never can pronounce an erroneous or unjust decision, either as to fact or principle⁷; but their opponents believe, that the church is not secured from all danger of erring in deciding on matters of *fact*.

§ 34. There is a very warm dispute (III.) respecting the *nature, operation, and necessity of that Divine grace*, without which, as all agree, no one attains to eternal salvation; respecting what is called *original sin*, the *natural power of man to obey the Divine law*, and the *nature of God's eternal decrees* in regard to the salvation of men. For the Dominicans, the Augustinians, the followers of *Jansenius*, and likewise many others, deny that Divine grace can possibly be resisted; deny that there is any thing sound and uncorrupted in man; deny that there is any

⁶ ["They were accused at Spoleto, in the year 1653, of having maintained, in their public instructions there, the probability of the salvation of many heretics. See Le Clerc, *Biblioth. Univers. et Historique*, tom. xiv. p. 320." *Macl.*]

⁷ *Sive de facto, sive de jure*. [As to matters of fact, or matters of doctrine and right. *Tr.*—"Relating to matters of fact, or points of doctrine." *Macl.*—"This distinction with respect to the objects of infallibility, was chiefly owing to the following historical circumstance: Pope Innocent X. condemned five pro-

positions drawn from the famous book of *Jansenius*, entitled *Augustinus*. This condemnation occasioned the two following questions: 1st. Whether or no these propositions were erroneous? This was the question *de jure*, i. e. as the translator has rendered it, the question relating to doctrine; 2nd. Whether or no these propositions were really taught by *Jansenius*? This was the question *de facto*, i. e. relating to matter of fact. The church was supposed by some infallible only in deciding questions of the former kind." *Id.* Note.]

condition annexed to the eternal decrees of God respecting the salvation of men; deny that God wills the salvation of *all* men; and other similar doctrines. On the other hand, the Jesuits, and with them many others, would have it believed that the influence and extent of the sin which lies concealed in man's nature is not so great: that not a little power to do good is left in man; that so much Divine grace is proffered to all men as is necessary for the attainment of eternal salvation, and that by it no violence is offered to the mind; that God has, from eternity, allotted eternal rewards and punishments, not according to his arbitrary pleasure, but according to the conduct and merits of individuals foreseen by him.

§ 35. There is a dispute (IV.) respecting the various *points of morality and rules of conduct*; all the particulars of which it would be difficult to enumerate, and besides, the detail would be out of place here: hence we shall only state the commencement of the long controversy.⁸ Those who take side with the Jesuits, maintain that it is of no consequence by what motives a person is actuated, provided he in fact performs the deeds which the law of God requires; and that the man who abstains from criminal actions through fear of punishment, is no less acceptable to God, than the man who obeys the Divine law through the influence of love to it. But this doctrine appears horrible to a very great majority, who deny, that any services are acceptable to God, unless they proceed from love to him. The former assert, that no one can properly be said to sin, unless he violates some known law of God, which is present to his mind, and correctly understood by him; and therefore, that no one can be justly charged with criminality and sin, who is either ignorant of the law, or doubtful as to its import, or who does not think of it at the time he transgresses. From these

⁸ No one has treated of all the points objected against in the Jesuits' moral doctrines, with more clearness, neatness, and dexterity, and no one has pleaded the cause of the Jesuits with more ingenuity, than the eloquent and well-known Jesuit, Gabriel Daniël, in his *Entretiens de Cléandre et d'Eudore*, which is published in his collected Essays, tom. i. p. 351, &c. and was composed in answer to that great man, and powerful adversary of the moral doctrines of the

Jesuits, Blaise Pascal, whose *Lettres Provinciales* inflicted so great a wound on the Jesuits. Daniël, treats very acutely on *probabilism*, p. 351; on the *method of directing the intention*, p. 526; on *expressions and mental reservations*, allowed of by the Jesuits, p. 562; on *sins of ignorance and forgetfulness*, p. 719, &c. and some other subjects. If the cause of the Jesuits can be defended and revealed plausible, it certainly is so by this writer.

principles, originated the celebrated doctrines of *probabilism*⁹ and of *philosophical sin*¹, which have brought so much ill-fame upon the schools of the Jesuits. The adversaries of the Jesuits detest all these principles strongly; and contend, that neither ignorance, nor doubts, nor forgetfulness, will afford any protection to the sinner at the bar of God. This controversy, respecting the fundamental principles of morals, has given rise to numberless disputes concerning the duties that we owe to God, to our fellow-men, and to ourselves; and has produced two sects of moralists, which have greatly disturbed and distracted the whole Romish church.

§ 36. There is a dispute (V.) respecting the *administration of the Sacraments*, especially those of *penance* and the *Lord's Supper*. The Jesuits, with whom very many agree, maintain, that the sacraments produce their salutary effects *ex opere operato*², as the schools express it; and hence, that no great

⁹ [Moral *probabilism* is properly the doctrine of the Jesuits, that no action is sinful, when there is the slightest *probability* that it may be lawful; and even when it has the approbation of any single, respectable teacher; because it may be supposed, that *he* saw reasons for his opinions, though *we* know not what they were, and can see so many reasons for a contrary opinion. *Schl.*]

¹ [*Philosophical sins*, in opposition to theological, according to the Jesuits, are those in which a man, at the time of committing them, has not God and his law before his mind; and therefore, without thinking of God, transgresses natural or revealed law. These sins the Jesuits held to be *venial*; that is, such as do not draw after them a loss of divine grace, and do not deserve eternal, but only temporal punishment. *Schl.*]

² [By virtue of the mere external act. *Tr.*—By their intrinsic virtue, and immediate operation. *Macl.*—In a note this writer adds: “This is the only expression that occurred to the translator, as proper to render the true sense of that phrase of the scholastic divines, who say that the sacraments produce their effect *opere operato*. The Jesuits and Dominicans maintain, that the sacraments have in themselves an instrumental and efficient power, by virtue of which they work in the soul, independently on its previous preparation or propensities, a disposition to receive the

divine grace; and this is what is commonly called the *opus operatum* of the sacraments. Thus, according to their doctrine, neither knowledge, wisdom, humility, faith, nor devotion, is necessary to the efficacy of the sacraments; whose victorious energy, nothing but a mortal sin can resist.” Dr. Maclaine then refers to two notes, appended by Le Courayer to his French translation of Sarpi's *Council of Trent*. These are to the following purport: that, if the *opus operatum* mean merely to assert for sacramental signs a virtue which they would not have had without their divine institution, it is a reasonable view, and one always entertained in the church, though not expressed in those terms; but if the *opus operatum* be opposed to the necessity of suitable dispositions, it is a worse error than that of the Zuinglians, because productive of a false confidence in the sacraments, and indifference to a due preparation for them; that, it is one thing to make the sacraments produce grace by virtue of certain dispositions, and another thing to make them produce no grace without certain dispositions. (Edit. Lond. 1736, i. 380.) The council of Trent has not, however, entered into these distinctions, but has asserted the *opus operatum* in that general way, which leaves an opening for maintaining any one of the four views mentioned above. Of course, that is likely to be most in favour both with

preparation is necessary to the profitable reception of them; and that God does not require purity of heart, and a soul filled with heavenly love, in such as would derive benefit from them: and they infer, of course, that the priests should at once absolve such as confess their sins to them, and then admit them immediately to the use of the sacraments. Far different are the views of all those who had at heart the advancement of true piety. They think that the priests should long and carefully try those that applied for absolution and admission to the sacraments before they comply with their wishes, because these divine institutions profit none but persons that are purified and filled with that divine love which casteth out fear. And thus originated that noted controversy, in the Romish church, respecting *frequent communion*; which, in the last century, *Anthony Arnauld*³, author of the celebrated book on frequent communion⁴, and the Jansenists, waged with the Jesuits; and which in our times, has been renewed, by the French Jesuit, *Pichon*, to the great dissatisfaction of the French bishops.⁵ For the Jesuits are very careful to urge, upon all who entrust the guidance of their minds to them, the frequent use of the Lord's Supper, as a sure and safe method of appeasing God, and obtaining from him remission of their sins. But for this conduct they are strongly censured, not only by the Jansenists, but also by many other grave and pious men; who inculcate that the sacred supper profits no one, unless his soul is united to God by faith, repentance and love; and thus they condemn the famous *Opus operatum*.⁶

§ 37. There is a dispute (VI.) respecting the right *method of educating Christians*. While those who are anxious to promote *religion*, wished to have people imbued with a correct knowledge of religion from their very childhood; those who look rather to the interests of the *church*, recommend a holy ignorance, and think, that a person knows enough, who knows that he has to obey the commands of the church. The former think, that nothing is more profitable than the reading of the inspired books, and

priest and people which claims a virtue for the former's acts irrespectively of the latter's dispositions. Full information upon this question of the *opus operatum* will be found in Chemnitz's *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, ii. 22. *Ed.*

³ Arnauldus.

⁴ [De la fréquente Communion. *Tr.*]

⁵ See the *Journal Universel*, tom. xiii. p. 148, tom. xv. p. 363, tom. xvi. p. 24, &c.

⁶ [Or efficacy of the mere *external act* of communion. *Tr.*]

therefore wish to see them translated into the popular or vulgar language: the latter prohibit the reading of the Bible, and esteem it pernicious, if published in any other than a learned language, unknown by the people. The former compose various books, to nourish a spirit of devotion, and to dispel errors from the minds of men; they express and explain the public prayers and the solemn formulas of religion, in a language understood by the community; and exhort all to learn from these books, how to be wise, and to worship God rationally and properly: but the latter are displeased with all this; for they fear that people will never make acquisitions of light and knowledge, without a proportionate loss of obedience and submission.⁷

§ 38. Of the preceding controversies, those which we have placed under the *third* head, namely, concerning divine grace, the natural power of men to do good, original sin, and predestination, actually broke out in this century⁸: the others were agitated more in private, and did not break forth in public, till the next century. Nor will this surprise us, if we consider, that the controversies moved by *Luther*, respecting grace and free will, were not explicitly decided in the Romish church, but were in a manner hushed and concealed. *Luther's* doctrines, indeed, were condemned; but no definite and fixed form of doctrine, in regard to these subjects, was set up in opposition to them. *Augustine's* sentiments were also approved; but what the difference was between his sentiments and those of *Luther*, was never stated and explained. The commencement of this sad controversy may be traced to *Michael Baius*, a doctor in the university

⁷ What we have said on the greater controversies in the Romish church, may be illustrated and confirmed from numberless books, published in the last and the present centuries, especially in France and the Netherlands, by the Jansenists, the Dominicans, the Jesuits, and others. Nearly all those that attack the doctrines of the Jesuits and the other partisans of the Roman pontiff, are enumerated by the celebrated French Jesuit, Dominic Colonia: for it is ascertained, that he composed the book, published, without naming the place where, in the year 1735, 8vo, under the title, *Bibliothèque Janséniste, ou Catalogue Alphabétique des principaux Livres Jansénistes ou suspects de Jansénisme, avec des Notes Critiques*. His excessive zeal for the Roman pontiffs, and for the opinions

of the Jesuits, impaired his discretion; yet his book is very serviceable, for acquainting us with those controversies which so greatly disturb and afflict the Romish church. The book was condemned by the Roman pontiff, Benedict XIV.; yet it was republished, not long ago, in a new form, one-fifth larger, with this title: *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes, ou qui favorisent le Jansénisme*; in four volumes, Antwerp, 1752, 8vo. Undoubtedly, the book is very useful, for acquainting us with the intestine divisions of the Romish church, the religious tenets of the Jesuits, and the numerous books published on the controversies I have mentioned: at the same time, it is full of gall, and unjust aspersions upon many learned and excellent men.

⁸ [Sixteenth. *Tr.*]

of Louvain, no less eminent for his piety than for his learning.⁹ As he, like the Augustinians, could not endure that contentious and thorny method of teaching which had long prevailed in the schools; and as he, in following *Augustine*, who was his favourite author, openly condemned the common sentiments in the Romish church respecting man's natural ability to do good, and the merit of good works; he fell under great odium with some of his colleagues, and with the Franciscans. Whether the Jesuits were among his first accusers or not, is uncertain; but it is certain, that they were then violently opposed to those doctrines of *Augustine*, which *Baius* had made his own. Being accused at Rome, *Pius V.*, in the year 1567, in a special letter, condemned seventy-six propositions, extracted from his books; but in a very insidious manner, and without mentioning the name of *Baius*, for the recollection of the evils which resulted from a rash condemnation of *Luther*, was a dissuasive from all violent proceedings. By the instigation of *Francis Tolet*, a Jesuit, *Gregory XIII.* in the year 1580, renewed the sentence of *Pius V.*; and *Baius* subscribed to that sentence, induced either by the fear of a greater evil, or by the ambiguity of the pontifical rescript, as well as of the propositions condemned in it.¹ But others, who embraced the sentiments of *Augustine*, would not do so. For to the present time, numerous members of the Romish community, in particular the Jansenists, strenuously maintain, that *Baius* was unjustly treated; and that the decrees of both *Pius* and *Gregory* are destitute of all authority, and were never received by the church.²

⁹ [Michael de Bay or Baius, D.D., was born at Melin, in the territory of Aeth, in the year 1513, and educated in the university of Louvain; where he was elected, in 1541, principal of a college; and in 1544, lecturer in philosophy. In 1550, he took his doctor's degree, and was appointed professor of the Scriptures. In 1563, he was sent by the king of Spain to the council of Trent, where he acted a conspicuous part. Soon after, charges of heresy were brought against him, which were renewed from time to time, notwithstanding his patient submission and silence, and must have given him much inquietude. Yet he retained his office through life, and was even promoted, for he became dean of St. Peter's, at Louvain, and chancellor of the university. He died in 1589,

aged 76. Tolet, a Jesuit, and his enemy, said of him: *Michaelis Baii nihil doctius, nihil humilius*. His works, chiefly relating to the doctrines of grace, free will, &c. were reprinted at Cologne, 1694, 4to. See Bayle's *Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* art. *Baius*. Tr.]

¹ Here should be consulted, especially, the *Baiana, seu Scripta, quæ Controversias spectant occasione Sententiarum Baii exortas*; subjoined to the works of Baius, as a second part of them, in the edition of Cologne, 1696, 4to. Add also Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. i. p. 457. Lewis Ell. du Pin, *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, tom. xvi. p. 144, &c. *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. p. 161, &c.

² To demonstrate this, is the professed object of the anonymous author

§ 39. It is at least certain, that the doctrines of *Augustine* in regard to grace, were as much esteemed and defended, in the Low-countries, and especially in the universities of Louvain and Douay, after this controversy with *Baius*, as before. This appeared at once, when the two Jesuits, *Leonard Less* and *Hamel*, at Louvain, were found teaching differently from *Augustine*, on the subject of predestination. For the theologians both of Louvain and of Douay, forthwith, expressed a public disapproval of their sentiments; the former in 1587, and the latter in 1588. And as the Belgian bishops were about to follow their example, and consulted about calling councils on the subject, the pontiff *Sixtus V.* interposed, asserting that the cognizance of religious controversies belonged exclusively to the vicar of *Jesus Christ*, residing at Rome. Yet this crafty and sagacious pontiff, prudently declined exercising the prerogative which he claimed, lest he should provoke a worse controversy. Hence his legate, in the year 1588, terminated the disputes at Louvain, by allowing each party to retain its own opinions, but absolutely prohibiting all discussion respecting them, either in public or in private. And the Romish church would have been more tranquil at the present day, if the succeeding pontiffs had imitated this prudence of *Sixtus*, and had not assumed the office of judges in this dubious contest.³

§ 40. The Romish community had scarcely tasted of this repose, when new commotions of the same kind broke out, far more terrible than the preceding. *Lewis Molina*⁴, a Spanish Jesuit, who taught in the Portuguese university of Evora, in a book which he published in 1588, on the union of grace and free will⁵, endeavoured to clear up in a new manner, the difficulties

of the *Dissertation sur les Bulles contre Baius, où l'on montre qu'elles ne sont pas reçues par l'Eglise*, Utrecht, 1737, 2 vols. 8vo.

³ See the *Apologie Historique des deux Censures de Louvain et de Douay, par Mr. Gery*, 1688, 8vo. That the celebrated Paschasius Quesnellius (Pasquier Quesnel) was the author of this book, has been shown by the author of the *Catéchisme Historique et Dogmatique sur les Contestations de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 104. Jean le Clerc, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Controverses dans l'Eglise Romaine, sur la Prédestination et sur la Grâce; dans la Bibliothèque*

Universelle et Historique, tom. xiv. p. 211, &c.

⁴ From him, the name of Molinists, quite to our times, has been given to all such as seem inclined to sentiments opposed to those of Augustine, respecting grace and free will in man. Many, however, unjustly bear this name, as they differ much from the opinions of Molina.

⁵ The true title of this celebrated book is, *Liberi Arbitrii Concordia cum Gratia Donis, Divina Præscientia, Providentia, Prædestinatione, et Reprobatione; auctore Lud. Molina*. It was first printed at Lisbon, 1588, fol.; then,

in the doctrines concerning grace, predestination, and free will, and in some sort to reconcile the discrepant sentiments of *Augustine*, *Thomas Aquinas*, the Semi-Pelagians, and others.⁶ The attempt of this subtle author gave so much offence to the Dominicans, who followed implicitly the teachings of *St. Thomas*, that they roused up all Spain, in which their influence was exceedingly great, and charged the Jesuits with a design to recall and give currency to the Pelagian errors. As a general tempest was evidently gathering, the pontiff, *Clement VIII.*, in the year 1594, enjoined silence on both the contending parties, and promised that, after examining carefully the whole subject, he would judge and decide the controversy.

§ 41. The pontiff, doubtless, expected that the evil would yield to these milder remedies; and that time would calm the feelings of the excited parties. But his hopes were entirely disappointed. The exasperated Dominicans, who had long indulged in great hatred of the Jesuits, did not cease to harass the king of Spain, *Philip II.*, and the pontiff, *Clement VIII.*, until

with enlargement, Antwerp, 1595, 4to. and at Lyons, Venice, and elsewhere. The third edition, further enlarged, was printed at Antwerp, 1609, 4to.

⁶ [The first congregation at Rome, for examining the sentiments in Molina's book, in their third session, Jan. 16, 1598, thus states the fundamental principles of his work:—“(I.) A reason or ground of God's predestination is to be found in man's right use of his free will. (II.) That the *grace* which God bestows to enable men to persevere in religion may become the *gift* of perseverance, it is necessary that they be foreseen as consenting and co-operating with the divine assistance offered them, which is a thing within their power. (III.) There is a mediate prescience, which is neither the free nor the natural knowledge of God, and by which he knows future contingent events, before he forms his decree.” (Molina divided God's knowledge into *natural*, *free*, and *mediate*, according to the objects of it. What he himself effects or brings to pass, by his own immediate power, or by means of second causes, he knows *naturally*, or has *natural knowledge* of: what depends on *his own free will*, or what he himself shall *freely* choose or purpose, he has a *free knowledge* of: but

what depends on the voluntary actions of his creatures, that is, future *contingencies*, he does not know in either of the above ways, but only *mediately*, by knowing all the circumstances in which these free agents will be placed, what motives will be present to their minds, and thus foreseeing and knowing how they will act. This is God's *scientia media*, on which he founds his decrees of election and reprobation.)—“(IV.) Predestination may be considered as either general (relating to whole classes of persons) or particular (relating to individual persons.) In general predestination, there is no reason or ground of it, beyond the mere good pleasure of God; or none, on the part of the persons predestinated: but in particular predestination (or that of individuals), there is a cause or ground of it, in the foreseen good use of free will.” From this statement of the fundamental errors of Molina, it would appear that he embraced substantially the leading principles of the Semi-Pelagians and of the remonstrants of Dort. His *scientia media* was a new name for a thing well known before. See Fleury's *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, continué, livr. clxxxiii. § iv. vol. iii. p. 273, ed. Augsb. and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. iv. p. 296, &c. *Tr.*]

the latter, wearied with their importunate clamours, assembled a sort of council at Rome, to take cognizance of the dispute. Hence, in the beginning of the year 1598, commenced those celebrated consultations, on the contests between the Dominicans and the Jesuits, which from the principal topic of controversy, were called *Congregations on the Aids*, that is, *of grace*.⁷ The president of them was *Lewis Madrucci*⁸, a cardinal of the Roman court, and bishop of Trent; with whom there were ten assessors, or judges, namely, three bishops, and seven theologians of different fraternities. These occupied the remainder of this century, in hearing the arguments of the parties.⁹ The Dominicans most strenuously defended the opinion of their *Thomas*, as being the only true opinion. The Jesuits, although they refused to adopt the sentiments of *Molina* as their own, yet felt that the reputation and the honour of their order required, that *Molina* should be pronounced free from any gross error, and uncontaminated with the errors of *Pelagius*. For it is common with all the monastic orders, to regard any disgrace which threatens or befalls any one of their members, as bringing a stigma upon the whole body; and they will, therefore, exert themselves to the utmost to screen him from it.

§ 42. Of the multitude of vain and useless ceremonies, with

⁷ Congregationes de Auxiliis, *i. e.* gratiæ.

⁸ Madrusius.

⁹ The history of these congregations has been repeatedly written, both by Jesuits and by Dominicans and Jansenists. Among the Dominicans, Jas. Hyacinth Serry, under the fictitious name of Augustinus le Blanc, published his *Historia Congregationum de Auxiliis Gratiæ Divinæ*; Louvain, 1700, fol. In reply to this, Livinus de Meyer, assuming the name of Theodorus Eleutherius, published his *Historia Controversiarum de Divinæ Gratiæ Auxiliis*; Antwerp, 1705, fol. The Dominicans also published the work of Thomas de Lemos, (a subtle theologian of their order, who defended in these congregations the reputation of St. Thomas [Aquinas], against the Jesuits), entitled, *Acta Congregationum et Disputationum, quæ coram Clemente VIII. et Paulo V. de Auxiliis Divinæ Gratiæ sunt celebratæ*; Louvain, 1702, fol. From these historians, a man who possesses the power

of divination, may perhaps learn the facts that occurred. For here are arrayed, records against records, testimonies against testimonies, narrations against narrations. It is therefore still uncertain, whether the Romish court favoured most the Jesuits or the Dominicans: nor is it more clear, which of them most wisely and successfully managed their cause. There is also a French history of these congregations, written with ability; *Histoire des Congregations de Auxiliis, par un Docteur de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris*; Louvain, 1702, 8vo. But this, being written by a Jansenist, a bitter enemy of the Jesuits, states every thing just as the Dominicans would wish to have it stated. [Two of the continuators of Fleury's *Ecclesiastical History*, namely, John Claude Faber, (a father of the Oratory,) and R. -P. Alexander, (a barefooted Carmelite,) have also given a tolerably full and apparently a candid account of the proceedings in these congregations. *Tr.*]

which the Romish public worship was full, the wisdom of the pontiffs would suffer no diminution; although the best men wished to see the primitive simplicity of the church restored. On the other regulations and customs of the people and the priests, some of which were superstitious, and others absurd, the bishops assembled at Trent, it appears, wished to impose some restrictions: but the state of things, or rather, I might say, either the policy or the negligence of the Romish court and clergy, opposed their designs. Hence, in those regions, where nothing is to be feared from the heretics, as in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, such a mass of corrupt superstitions and customs, and of silly regulations, obscures the few and feeble rays of Christian truth yet remaining, that those who pass into them from countries more improved, feel as if they had found their way into midnight darkness.¹ Nor are the other lands, which either proximity to the heretics, or their own good sense, renders rather more enlightened, free from a considerable share of corruptions and follies. If to these things we add the pious, or rather the impious frauds, by which the people in many places are deluded with impunity; the extreme ignorance of the great majority; the devout farces that are acted; and the insipidity and puerilities of the discourses that are publicly delivered; we must be sensible that it is not ingenuous dealing to speak of the Romish religion and ecclesiastical discipline as altogether corrected and reformed, since the time of the council of Trent.

¹ The French who travel in Italy, often laugh heartily at the monstrous superstition of the Italians. And on the other hands, the Italians look upon the French that come among them as destitute of all religion. This may be clearly perceived, among others, from

John Bapt. Labat, a French Dominican's Travels in Spain and Italy, who neglects no opportunity of satirizing the religion of the Spaniards and Italians; nor does he conceal the fact, that he and his countrymen were considered by them as very irreligious.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE GREEK AND ORIENTAL CHURCH.

§ 1. Division of the Oriental church.—§ 2. The proper Greek church.—§ 3, 4. Is chiefly under the patriarch of Constantinople, and divided into four provinces.—§ 5. The patriarch.—§ 6. The religion of the Greeks.—§ 7. They were in vain solicited to unite with the Protestants.—§ 8. Their wretched state.—§ 9. The independent Greek church; that of Russia.—§ 10. The Georgians and Mingrelians.—§ 11. The Oriental churches not connected either with the Greek or the Latin church. The Jacobites.—§ 12. The Copts and Abyssinians.—§ 13. Doctrines and rites of the Monophysites.—§ 14. The Armenians.—§ 15. The Nestorians or Chaldeans.—§ 16. Their patriarchs.—§ 17. Remains of the ancient sects. The Sabians.—§ 18. The Jasidians.—§ 19. The Duruzi or Drusi.—§ 20. The Greeks who have revolted to the Romans.—§ 21. Vain attempt to unite the Russian church to the Roman.—§ 22. Romish Christians among the Monophysites, Nestorians, and Armenians.—§ 23. The Romish missionaries effect little among them.—§ 24. The Maronites.

§ 1. WHAT is commonly called the *Oriental church*, is dispersed over Europe, Asia, and Africa, and may be distributed into three parts: (I.) That which is in communion with the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, and refuses the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff: (II.) That which differs in opinions and in customs, both from the Latin and the Greek patriarchs; and has its own peculiar patriarchs: (III.) That which is subject to the authority of the Roman pontiff.

§ 2. The church which is in communion with the Constantinopolitan patriarch, is properly called the *Greek church*; though it calls itself the *Oriental church*. It is, moreover, divided into two parts: one of which bows to the sovereign power and jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople; while the other, though it is in communion with him, yet will not admit his legates, nor obey his decrees and commands, but is free and independent, and has its own rulers, who are subject to no foreign jurisdiction.

§ 3. The church, of which the Constantinopolitan patriarch is the head, is divided, as it was anciently, into four great pro-

vinces; those of *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*; over each of which is a prelate of the first rank, called a *patriarch*, whom all the inferior bishops, as well as the monks, honour as a father. Yet the chief of all the patriarchs, and the supreme pontiff of the whole church, is the patriarch of Constantinople, by whom the other patriarchs, at the present day, though still elected, are designated, or nominated for election, and approved; nor dare they project or attempt any thing of great importance, without his sanction and permission. Those good men, however, though bearing the splendid title of *patriarchs*, are not able to attempt any thing great, as things are now situated, on account of the feeble state, and the slender revenues of the churches which they govern.

§ 4. The jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople extends widely over European and Asiatic Greece, the Grecian islands, Wallachia, Moldavia, and many other provinces in Asia and Europe now subject to the Turks. The patriarch of Alexandria, at present, generally resides at Cairo, or Misra; and governs the Christian church in Egypt, Nubia, Libya, and a part of Arabia.¹ The patriarch of Antioch resides, for the most part, at Damascus, and governs Mesopotamia, Syria, Cilicia, and other provinces.² The patriarch of Jerusalem styles himself

¹ Of the patriarchate and the patriarchs of Alexandria, the Jesuit Jo. Bapt. Sollerius treats, directly, in his *Commentarius de Patriarchis Alexandrinis*; prefixed to the fifth vol. of the *Acta Sanctor. Mensis Junii*; and Mich. Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 329, &c. Respecting their office, authority, and election, see Euseb. Renaudot, *Diss. de Patriarcha Alexandrino*; in the first vol. of his *Liturgie Orientales*, p. 365. The Greek patriarch [of Alexandria], at the present day, has no bishops subject to him; but only *chor-episcopi*. All the bishops are subject to the Monophysite patriarch, who is the real patriarch of Alexandria.

² On the patriarchs of Antioch, the Jesuits have inserted a treatise, in the fourth vol. of the *Acta Sanctor. Mensis Julii*; which, however, is considerably defective. On the territory of this patriarch, and other things pertaining to him, see Mich. Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 670, &c., and Blasius Tertius, *Siria Sacra o Descrittione*

Historico-Geografica delle due Chiese Patriarcali, Antiochia et Gerusalemme; Rome, 1695, fol. There are three prelates in Syria, who claim the title and the rank of patriarchs of Antioch. The first is of the Greeks, or Melchites (for thus those Syrian Christians are called, who follow the institutions and the religion of the Greeks): the second is of the Syrian Monophysites; the third is of the Maronites. For this last also claims to be the true and legitimate patriarch of Antioch; and the Roman pontiff addresses him with this title. And yet the Roman pontiff creates a sort of patriarch of Antioch at Rome; so that the see of Antioch has, at this day, four prelates, one Greek, two Syrian, and one Latin or Roman *in partibus*, as the term at Rome is. [This phrase is elliptical; entire, it is, *in partibus infidelium*. Patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops *in partibus infidelium*, are such as are created for places, that are at present under the power of unbelievers. *Schl.*]

patriarch of Palestine, Syria, Arabia, the region beyond Jordan, Cana in Galilee, and Mount Sion.³ But these three patriarchs have very slender and poor dominions. For the Monophysites have long occupied the sees of Alexandria and Antioch; and have left very few members of the Greek church, in the countries where they have dominion. And Jerusalem is the resort of Christians of every sect and doctrine, who have their respective prelates and priests; so that the dominion of the Greek patriarch there is confined within very moderate limits.

§ 5. The right of electing the patriarch of Constantinople belongs at this day to the twelve bishops nearest to that city; the right of approving the election, and of imparting to the prelate authority to use his powers, belongs to the Turkish emperor.⁴ But the corrupted morals of the Greeks, and the avarice of the ministers, who, under the emperor, manage public affairs, if they do not entirely subvert, greatly impair the effects of these regulations. For the lust of pre-eminence leads many of the bishops to endeavour to obtain, by bribery, that patriarchal dignity, which they could never attain by the suffrages of their brethren. Thus, not unfrequently, men regularly elevated to the office, are deprived of it; and by the emperor's viziers, that candidate is generally esteemed most worthy of the office, who exceeds his competitors in the magnitude of his presents. Yet things of late are said to be changing for the better; and the patriarchs are represented as living more securely than formerly; since the manners of the Turks have gradually assumed a milder tone. Moreover, this patriarch possesses great authority among a people, oppressed, and from extreme ignorance, sunk in superstition. For he not only summons councils, and by them regulates and decides ecclesiastical affairs and controversies, but likewise, by permission of the emperor, he holds courts and tries civil causes. His power is maintained partly by the authority

³ See Blasius Tertius, *Sirā Sacra*, lib. ii. p. 165. There is also a tract of Daniel Papebroch, *de Patriarchis Hierosolymitanis*, in the third vol. of the *Acta Sanctor. Mensis Maii*. Add Mich. Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 102, &c. [It is well known, from other accounts, that these patriarchs contend with each other, about the limits of their respective dominions. Hence it should not be regarded as a historical contradiction, that the pa-

triarh of Jerusalem should include Syria in his title, while that province stands under the authority of the patriarch of Antioch. *Schl.* This is a sufficient answer to Dr. Maclaine's criticism on this passage of Mosheim. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Jac. Elsner's *Beschreibung der Griechischen Christen in der Turekey*, c. iii. § vi. p. 54, &c. Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 145, &c.

of the emperor, and partly by his prerogative of excluding the contumacious from the communion; which is a punishment immensely dreaded by the Greeks. He is supported, principally, by contributions imposed on the churches subject to his jurisdiction; which are sometimes greater, and sometimes less, according to the exigencies and posture of affairs.⁵

§ 6. The Greeks acknowledge, as the basis of their religion, besides holy Scripture, the first seven councils, which are called *œcumenical* or general. Yet it is a received principle, established by long usage, that no private person may presume to expound and interpret those sources of knowledge for himself; but they all regard as divine and unalterable, whatever the patriarch and his assistants sanction. The substance of the religion professed by the modern Greeks, is contained in *The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Oriental Church*; which was first composed by *Peter Mogilaus*, bishop of Kiow, in a council held at Kiow; and afterwards translated from Russian into Greek, and then publicly approved and adopted by *Parthenius*, the patriarch of Constantinople, and by all the patriarchs, in the year 1643: and lastly, *Panagiota*, an opulent man, and interpreter to the emperor of Turkey, caused it to be printed, at his own expense, in Greek and Latin, with a long recommendation by *Nectarius*, patriarch of Jerusalem, and gratuitously distributed among the Greeks.⁶ From this book it is manifest, that the

⁵ William Cuper, a Jesuit, not long since, composed *Historia Patriarcharum Constantinopolitanorum*, which is printed in the *Acta Sanctor. Mensis Augusti*, tom. i. p. 1—257. Mich. Lequien also, in the whole first volume of his *Oriens Christianus*, treats very fully of the patriarchate and the patriarchs of Constantinople; and in vol. iii. p. 786, &c., he gives account of the Latin patriarchs of Constantinople. [In the *Turco-Græcia* of Martin Crusius, also, vol. ii. p. 105, &c., there is a history of the Constantinopolitan patriarchs, from the year 1454 to 1578, written in modern Greek, by Manuel Malaxi; with a translation and notes by Crusius. *Schl.*—“See also a brief account of the power and revenues of the present patriarch, and of the names of the several sees under his spiritual jurisdiction, in Smith, *de Ecclesiæ Græcæ Hodierno Statu*, p. 48—59.” *Macl.*]

⁶ Lawrence Normann caused this con-

fession, accompanied with a Latin translation, to be printed at Leipsic, 1695, 8vo. In the preface, Nectarius is represented as its author. But this is refuted by Nectarius himself, in his epistle subjoined to the preface. Equally false is the statement, both on the title-page, and in the preface, that the book was now printed for the first time. For it had been previously printed in Holland, in the year 1662, at the expense of Panagiota. A German translation of it was published by Jo. Leonh. Frisch, Franc. and Lips., 1727, 4to. Jo. Christ. Köcher treats directly and learnedly of this Confession, in his *Bibliotheca Theologiarum Symbol.* p. 45, &c., and also speaks, with his usual accuracy, of the other Confessions of the Greeks, *ibid.* p. 53. A new edition of the *Orthodox Confession*, with its history prefixed, was published by Chas. Gottl. Hoffmann, primary professor of theology at Wittenberg, Breslaw, 1751, 8vo. Of Panagiota, to whom

Greeks differ as much from the adherents to the Roman pontiff, whose tenets they every where reject and condemn, as from other Christians; so that those are not slightly mistaken, who think them hindered by some little things only from joining either the one or the other.⁷

§ 7. This the Papists have often found; and our party likewise found it so, in this century, when they invited the Greeks to a religious union with them. First, *Philip Melancthon* sent a copy of the Augsburg confession, in a Greek translation by *Paul Dolsci*, accompanied with a letter, to the Constantinopolitan patriarch; hoping that the naked and simple truth would find access to his heart. But he did not even obtain an answer.⁸ After this, the divines of Tübingen, between the years 1576 and 1581, laboured to make a favourable impression upon the Greek patriarch, *Jeremiah II.*, both by letters, and by sending him a second copy of the Augsburg confession, together with *Jac. Heerbrand's* Compendium of theology, translated from Latin into Greek by *Martin Crusius*. This attempt drew from *Jeremiah* some letters, written indeed in a kind and friendly style, yet of such a tenor as clearly indicated, that to induce the Greeks to abandon the opinions and practices of their ancestors, would be a very difficult thing, and could not be effected by human efforts in the present state of that people.⁹

this confession is indebted for much of its credit, and who was a man of eminence, and a great benefactor to the Greeks, Cantimir treats largely, in his *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. iii. p. 149, &c.

⁷ A full and accurate catalogue of the writers, from whom may be derived a knowledge both of the state and the doctrines of the Greek church, is given by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. x. p. 441, &c. [To this list may now be added Abp. Platon's *Orthodox Doctrine*, or Summary of Christian Divinity; in *The present State of the Greek Church*, by Rob. Pinkerton, New York, 1815, 12mo, p. 29, &c. *Tr.*]

⁸ See Leo. Allatius, *de Perpetua Consensione Ecclesie Orient. et Occident.* lib. iii. c. viii. § ii. p. 1005, &c. [The patriarch of Constantinople, Joseph, sent a deacon of his church, named Demetrius, to Wittemberg, to procure correct information respecting the reformation of which he had heard reports.

Demetrius, after a half year's residence at Wittemberg, returned to Constantinople in the year 1559; and by him it was Melancthon sent the confession and letter to the patriarch. The letter may be seen in Hottinger's *Historia Eccles.* [Pars v. seu] *Sæcul.* xvi. sec. ii. p. 51, and in Martin Crusius, *Turco-Græcia*, p. 557. See also Salig's *Gesch. der Augsb. Confess.* vol. i. p. 721, 723. *Schl.*]

⁹ All the acts and papers relating to this celebrated correspondence were published in one vol. fol., Wittebm. 1584. See Christ. Matth. Pfaff's *Tract. de Actis et Scriptis Publicis Ecclesie Wittemberg.* p. 50, &c. Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, vol. x. p. 517, &c., and others. Emm. a Schelstrate, *Acta Eccles. Orientalis contra Lutheri Hæresin*; Rome, 1739, fol. Jo. Lamy, also, has much to say on this subject, while treating of the Greek patriarch, *Jeremiah II.* in his *Deliciae Eruditorum*, tom. viii. p. 176, &c. [This correspondence with the patriarch was much

§ 8. Ever since the greatest part of the Greeks fell under the hard bondage of the Turks, nearly all learning, human and divine, has become extinct among them. They are destitute, in fact, of schools, and of all the means by which men's minds are polished, and trained in knowledge and piety. That moderate degree of information which some of their teachers possess, is either brought home with them from Sicily and Italy, to which they frequently resort, and where some love of learning still exists, or it is drawn from the writings of the ancients, and from the *Summa* of *St. Thomas*¹, which they have in a Greek translation.² Hence, not only the people, but also those called their watchmen, for the most part, lead licentious and irreligious lives; and, what is much to be deplored, they increase their

facilitated by Stephen Gerlach, chaplain to the imperial German ambassador at Constantinople, David Ungnad. Its commencement, however, was not in 1576, but two years earlier. Indeed, some private letters were sent, as early as the year 1573: for in that year Crusius wrote to Jeremiah, by Gerlach, who also carried a letter of introduction to the patriarch, dated April, 1573. The public, or official correspondence, was commenced by Jac. Andreas, chancellor of the university of Tübingen, in a letter to the patriarch, dated Sept. 15th, 1574.—The patriarch expressly declared his agreement with many articles in the Augsburg confession; but he also declared his dissent from many others: for example, in regard to the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, justification, the worship of images, the number of the sacraments, &c., and he broke off the correspondence, when the divines of Tübingen began to adduce scriptural proofs, respecting the disputed articles. See Schlegel's note here; and Schroeckh's *Kirchengeschichte seit der Reform.* vol. v. p. 386, &c. *Tr.*]

¹ [Aquinas. *Tr.*]

² Such is the opinion of all European Christians, both Roman Catholics and others, respecting the knowledge and learning of the modern Greeks: and they support their opinion, by the evidence of numerous facts and testimonies. But a number of the Greeks, most strenuously repel the charge of ignorance and barbarism brought against their nation; and maintain, that all branches of literature and learning are equally flourishing in modern, as they were in

ancient Greece. The most distinguished of these vindicators of the modern Greeks is Demetrius Cantimir, in his *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. ii. p. 288, &c. To prove that it is a gross mistake to represent modern Greece as the seat of barbarism, he gives a catalogue of learned Greeks in the preceding century; and states that an academy had been founded at Constantinople, by a Greek named Monolax, in which persons very learned in the ancient Greek, teach with success and applause all branches of philosophy, as well as the other arts and sciences. These things are undoubtedly true: but they only show, that in this very widely-extended nation, and which embraces many ancient, noble, and opulent families, there is not an entire destitution of literary and scientific men. This fact was never called in question; but it does not prove, that the nation at large is rich in the liberal arts, and in secular and religious learning. For a people generally barbarous, may still contain a small number of learned men. Moreover, this academy at Constantinople is unquestionably a recent institution; and therefore, it confirms, rather than confutes, the opinion of the other Christians respecting the learning of the Greeks. [What is said above, of the want of schools among the Greeks, may undoubtedly be understood of colleges and higher schools, and not of the inferior and monastic schools. For, that the Greeks of the sixteenth century had schools of the latter description, is clearly to be seen from Crusius' *Turco-Græcia*. *Sch.*]

wretchedness by their own contentions and quarrels. Nearly the whole of their religion consists in ceremonies, which are, in general, useless and irrational. Yet in guarding and maintaining these, they are far more zealous than in defending the doctrines which they profess. Their condition, however, would be still more wretched, if individuals of their nation, who are employed in the emperor's court, either as interpreters, or as physicians, did not check their contentions, and still the impending storms, by their wealth and influence.

§ 9. The *Russians*, the *Georgians* or *Iberians*, and the *Colchians* or *Mingrelians*, all embrace the doctrines and rites of the Greeks, yet are independent, or not subject to the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople. The *Russians*, indeed, formerly received their chief prelate at the hand of the Constantinopolitan patriarch. But towards the close of this century, when the Constantinopolitan patriarch, *Jeremiah II.*, made a journey to Muscovy, in order there to raise money, with which he might drive *Metrophanes*, his rival, from the see of Constantinople; the Muscovite monks, by direction undoubtedly of the grand duke *Theodore*, son of *John Basilides*, beset him with intreaties and menaces, to place over the whole Russian nation a patriarch who should be independent, or *αὐτοκέφαλος*, as the Greeks express it. *Jeremiah* was obliged to consent; and in a council assembled at Moscow, in the year 1589, he proclaimed *Job*, the archbishop of Rostow, first patriarch of the Russians; yet under these conditions, that in future, every new patriarch should apply to the patriarch of Constantinople for his consent and suffrage, and at stated periods should pay to him five hundred Russian ducats. The transactions of the council of Moscow were afterwards, in the year 1593, confirmed in a council at Constantinople, called by the same *Jeremiah*, with the consent of the Turkish emperor.³ But a little past the middle of the next century, *Dionysius* being patriarch of Constantinople, all the four Oriental patriarchs again conceded to the grand duke of Muscovy, that the patriarch of Moscow, should be exonerated from the tribute, and from applying for the confirmation of his election and consecration.⁴

³ See Anthony Possevin's *Moscovia*; near the beginning. Mich. Lequien's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1292, and the Narrative of this transaction, by

the patriarch Jeremiah II. himself, published in the *Catalogus Codic. MSS. Biblioth. Taurinensis*, p. 433—469.

⁴ Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i.

§ 10. The *Georgians* and *Mingrelians*, or, as they were anciently called, the *Iberians* and *Colchians*, are so fallen, since the Mahumedans obtained dominion over those countries, that they can scarcely be numbered among the Christian nations. This is more true, however, of the *Colchians*, who inhabit the woods and the mountains, almost in the manner of wild beasts, than it is of the *Iberians*, among whom there are some slight remains of civilization and piety. These nations have a patriarch, whom they style a *Catholic*, and also bishops and priests; but such as are extremely ignorant, vicious, sordid, and worse almost than the common people; and since they know not themselves what is to be believed, they never think of instructing others. Hence it is rather to be conjectured, than positively known, that the *Colchians* and *Iberians*, at the present day, do not embrace either the sentiments of the *Monophysites* or those of the *Nestorians*, but hold the same doctrines as the *Greeks*. What little religion remains among them, consists wholly in feast days and ceremonies; and even these are destitute of all gravity and decorum; so that it is hard to say, whether their priests make a more decent appearance in eating, drinking, and sleeping, or in administering baptism and the Lord's supper.⁵

§ 11. The Christians of the East, who have renounced the communion of the *Greeks*, and who differ from them both in doctrine and in rites, are of two kinds. The one contend, that in our most holy Saviour there is but one nature: the other conceive that there are two persons in him. The former are called *Monophysites*, and also *Jacobites*, from *Jacobus Baradaus*,

p. 155, &c. Nic. Bergius *de Ecclesia Moscovitica*, pt. i. sec. i. ch. xviii. p. 164, &c.

⁵ See Clemens Galanus *Conciliatio Ecclesie Armenicæ cum Romani*, tom. i. p. 156, &c. Jo. Chardin, *Voyages en Perse et autres Lieux de l'Orient*, tom. i. p. 67, &c., where is Jos. Maria Zampi's *Relation de la Colchide et Mingrelie*. Add Archangel Lambert's *Relation de la Colchide ou Mingrelie*; which is in the *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, tom. vii. p. 160. Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1333, 1339, &c. Yet consult also Rich. Simon's *Histoire Critique des Dogmes et Cérémonies des Chrétiens Orientaux*, cap. v—vi. p. 71, &c., who endeavours [and not unsuccessfully, *Tr.*] to

wipe off some of the injury cast upon the *Georgians* and *Mingrelians*. The *Catholics* of *Georgia* and *Mingrelia* at this day *ἀνεκεφαλοῦ*, or *independent*; yet they pay tribute to the patriarch of *Constantinople*. [Their present rite: the whole baptismal service through, and then apply the water, without repeating the words requisite. They consecrate the eucharist in wooden chalice; cannot if crumbs fall on the ground, put the host into leather bags, and the bread to their girdles; send it by laymen to the sick; and do not accompany it with wax candles, processions, &c. Such are the *indecorum*s complained of by the popish writers. *Tr.*]

who resuscitated and regulated this sect, in the sixth century, when it was nearly extinct.⁶ The latter are called *Nestorians*, because they agree in sentiment with *Nestorius*; and also *Chaldeans*, from the country in which they principally reside. The *Monophysites* are again divided into those of *Asia*, and those of *Africa*. The head of the *Asiatic Monophysites* is the patriarch of Antioch, who resides generally in the monastery of St. Ananias, now called the Zapharauensian monastery, not far from the city of Merdin; but sometimes at Amida, Merdin, (which is properly his episcopal seat,) Aleppo, or other cities in Syria.⁷ As he cannot alone govern conveniently the very extensive community over which he presides, he has an associate in his administration, to whose care are entrusted the eastern churches situated beyond the Tigris. This assistant is called the *maphrian*, or *primate, of the East*; and he formerly resided at *Tugrit*, on the borders of Armenia, but now resides in the monastery of St. Matthew, near the city of Mosul, in Mesopotamia.⁸ At this day all patriarchs of the Monophysites assume the name of *Ignatius*.

§ 12. The *African Monophysites* are subject to the patriarch of Alexandria, who resides at Cairo; and are divisible into the *Copts* and the *Abyssinians*. The *Copts* are those Christians who inhabit Egypt, Nubia, and the adjacent regions. Being oppressed by the power and the insatiable avarice of the Turks, they have to contend with extreme poverty, and have not the means of supporting their patriarch and bishops: yet these obtain a measure of support from such Copts as are taken into the families of the principal men among the Mahumedans, on account of their skill in domestic affairs, and other useful arts, of which the Turks are ignorant.⁹ The *Abyssinians*, though

⁶ We commonly use the name Jacobites, in a broad sense, as including all the Monophysites, except the Armenians: but it properly belongs only to those Asiatic Monophysites, of whom Jacobus Baradaeus was the head and father. See Rieh. Simon's *Histoire des Chrétiens Orientaux*, cap. ix. p. 118, whose narrative, however, needs many corrections.

⁷ See Jos. Sim. Asseman's *Dissertatio de Monophysitis*, § viii. &c., in his *Biblioth. Oriental. Clementino-Vaticana*. Nairon's *Eupolia Fidei Catholicae ex Syrorum Monumentis*, pt. i. p. 40, &c.

Lequien's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1343, &c.

⁸ Asseman's *Diss. de Monophysitis*, § viii. &c.

⁹ Eusebius Renaudot published at Paris, 1713, in 4to, his very learned *Historia Alexandrinorum Patriarcharum Jacobitarum*. He also published *Officium Ordinationis hujus Patriarchæ*, with notes; in his *Liturgie Oriental.* tom. i. p. 467. The state and internal condition of the Alexandrine or Coptic church, are described by Jo. Mich. Vansleb in his *Histoire de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie, que nous appellous celle*

far superior to the Copts in numbers, power, and worldly circumstances, since their emperor is himself a Christian, yet reverence the patriarch of Alexandria as their spiritual father; and do not create their own chief bishop, but always allow a *primate*, styled by them *abuna*, to be placed over them by the Alexandrine patriarch.¹

§ 13. The *Monophysites* differ, in many points both of doctrine and of rites, from the Greeks, the Latins, and other Christians: but the principal ground of their separation from other Christians, lies in their opinion concerning *Jesus Christ*, our Saviour. With *Dioscorus*, *Barsumas*, *Xenaius*, *Fullo*, and others, whom they respect as their masters and founders, they believe, that the divine and human natures in Christ so coalesce, as to become *one*; and therefore they reject the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, and the noted epistle of *Leo* the Great. Yet, to avoid the appearance of following *Eutyches*, with whom they profess to have no connexion, they cautiously define their doctrine, denying all *confusion* and *intermixture* of the two natures; and represent the nature of Christ, as being indeed *one*, yet at the same time *compound* and *double*.² And this explanation shows us, that it is no rash opinion of some very learned men, that the *Monophysites* differ from the Greeks and Latins more in *words* than in substance.³ The modern Jacobites, both of Asia and of Africa, are in general so rude and illiterate, that they defend their distinguishing doctrine, rather by blind perseverance, and the authority of their fathers, than by rational arguments.⁴

des Jacobites-Coptes, Paris, 1667, 8vo. Add his *Relation d'un Voyage en Egypte*, p. 293, &c., where he treats expressly of the monks and monasteries of the Copts. *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus dans le Levant*, tom. ii. p. 9, &c., tom. v. p. 122. Bened. Maillot's *Description de l'Egypte*, tom. ii. p. 64, &c.

¹ See Job Ludolf's *Comment. in Historiam Æthiopicam*, p. 451, 461, 466, Jerome Lobo's *Voyage d'Abissinie*, tom. ii. p. 36. *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions dans le Levant*, tom. iv. p. 277. Mich. Lequien's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 641, &c.

² See Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Clementino-Vaticana*, tom. ii. p. 25, 26, 29, 34, 117, 133, 135, 277, 297, &c.

See the acute defence of the doctrine of his sect, by Abulpharajus, *ibid.* tom. ii. p. 288, &c. The system of religion embraced by the Abyssinians, may be best learned, in all its parts, from the *Theologia Æthiopica* of Gregory the Ethiopian, published by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii terti orbis exorientis*, p. 716, where also the other writers concerning the Abyssinians are enumerated.

³ M. V. la Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 23. Asseman, *loc. cit.* tom. ii. p. 291, 297. Kich. Simon, *Histoire des Chrétiens Orientaux*, p. 119. Jo. Joach. Schröder, *Thesaurus Lingue Armenicæ*, p. 276.

⁴ The Liturgies of the Copts, the Syrian Jacobites, and the Abyssinians,

§ 14. The *Armenians*, though they have the same opinion as the other Monophysites, respecting⁵ our Saviour, yet differ from them as to many practices, opinions, and rites: and hence, there is no communion between them and those who are properly called *Jacobites*.⁶ The whole Armenian church is governed by three patriarchs. Of these, the chief one, who governs the whole of the greater Armenia and the neighbouring provinces, and has forty-two archbishops under him, resides in a monastery at Echmiazin. He might, if he were disposed, live splendidly and luxuriously, on the very ample revenues that he receives⁷: but he is frugal in his table, and plain in his dress; nor is he distinguished from the monks among whom he resides, except by his power. He is usually elected by the suffrages of the bishops assembled at Echmiazin, and is approved by the king of Persia. The second patriarch or *catholic* of the Armenians, resides at Sisi, a city of Cilicia, and governs the churches in Cappadocia, Cilicia, Cyprus, and Syria. He has twelve archbishops under him. This patriarch of Sisi, at present, acknowledges himself inferior to the patriarch at Echmiazin. The third and least of their patriarchs, who has only eight or nine bishops under him, resides on the island of *Aghtamar*, in the middle of the great lake Varasपुरacan; and is accounted, by the other Armenians, an enemy of the church. Besides these, who are properly and truly called patriarchs, there are others among the Armenians,

have been published, with learned notes, by Eusebius Renandot, in the first and second volumes of his *Liturgie Orientales*.

⁵ [The nature of, *Tr.*]

⁶ The chief writer concerning the Armenians, as well in regard to their religion, as other matters, is Clemens Galanus, an Italian Theatine monk; whose *Conciliatio Ecclesie Armenice cum Romana*, was published at Rome, 1650, &c. in 3 vols. fol. The other writers are mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exorientis*, p. 640, &c. To his list must especially be added, Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1362, &c. The recent *Histoire du Christianisme d'Arménie*, by M. V. la Croze, subjoined to his *Histoire du Christianisme d'Abissinie*, Haye, 1739, 8vo, does not correspond with the magnitude and importance of the subject. A far better account would have been given by this gentle-

man, who was so well informed on such subjects, if he had not been labouring under the infirmities of age. Respecting the singular customs and rites of the Armenians, see Gemelli Carreri, *Voyage du Tour du Monde*, tom. ii. p. 146, &c.

⁷ A notice of all the churches subject to the chief patriarch of the Armenians, as communicated by Usean, an Armenian bishop, is subjoined by Rich. Simon, to his *Histoire Critique des Chrétiens Orientaux*, p. 217, [in the English translation, by A. Lovell, Lond. 1685, p. 184, &c.] But we have noticed many defects in it. Respecting the seat, and the mode of life, of the patriarch of Echmiazin, see Paul Lucas, *Voyage au Levant*, tom. ii. p. 247, and Gemelli Carreri, *Voyage du Tour du Monde*, tom. ii. p. 10, &c. See also the other travellers in Armenia and Persia.

who are patriarchs in name only, rather than in reality and in power. For the Armenian archbishop residing at Constantinople, whose authority is acknowledged by the churches in the neighbouring regions of Asia and Europe, is called a *patriarch*. So also the Armenian prelate at Jerusalem, is saluted with the same title; and likewise, the prelate that resides at Kaminié in ^s Poland, and who governs the Armenian churches in Russia, Poland, and the neighbouring countries. And these claim the title and the rank of patriarchs, because they have received, from the great patriarch of Echmiazin, the power of ordaining bishops, and of consecrating, and distributing, every third year, among their churches, the sacred ointment or chrism; which none but patriarchs, among the Oriental Christians, have a right to do.⁹

§ 15. The *Nestorians*, who are also called *Chaldeans*, reside principally in Mesopotamia, and the adjacent countries. These Christians have many doctrines and customs peculiar to themselves: but they are chiefly distinguished from all other sects, by maintaining, that *Nestorius*, was unjustly condemned in the council of Ephesus; and by holding, with him, that there were not only two natures, but also two persons, in our Saviour. In ancient times this was regarded as a capital error; at this day, it is considered, by the most respectable men, even among the Roman catholics, as an error in words, rather than in thought. For these Chaldeans affirm indeed that Christ consists of two *persons*, as well as two natures: but they add, that these two persons and natures are so closely united, as to constitute *one aspect*, or, as they express it, one *barsopa*; which is the same with the Greek πρόσωπον [*person*].¹ From which it appears clearly, that by *aspect*, they mean the same as we do by *person*; and that what we call *natures*, they call *persons*. It is to the honour of this sect, that of all the Christians resident in the East, they have preserved themselves the most free from

^s [Russian. *Tr.*]

⁹ See the *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus dans le Levant*, tom. iii. where is given, (p. 1—218.) a long narrative respecting both the religious and the civil affairs of the Armenians; and which la Croze (than whom no man within our knowledge has bestowed more attention on these subjects) very highly

commends, for fidelity, accuracy, and research. See his *Histoire du Christianisme d'Éthiopie*, p. 345, &c.

¹ It is thus that the inscriptions, which adorn the sepulchres of the Nestorian patriarchs in the city of Mosul, express their sentiments. See Assmann's *Biblioth. Oriental. Veterum*, tom. ii. pt. ii. p. cxxlviii. See also, ibid. p. 210, &c. Rich. Simon's *Histoire de*

the numberless superstitions, which have found their way into the Greek and Latin churches.²

§ 16. Formerly, all the Nestorians were subject to one patriarch or *catholic*; who resided first at Bagdat, and then at Mosul. But in this [sixteenth] century, they became divided into two parties. In the first place, as we have already noticed, in the year 1552, two patriarchs were elected by opposite factions, *Simeon Barmama* and *John Sulaka* or *Siud*. The latter of these, in order to obtain firm support against his antagonist, repaired to Rome, and swore allegiance to the Roman pontiff.³ To the party of this patriarch, who stood connected with the Romish church, was added, in the year 1555, *Simeon Denha*, archbishop of Gelu: and when he afterwards succeeded to the patriarchate, he removed its seat to Ormia, in the mountainous parts of Persia; where his successors, all of whom assume the name of *Simeon*, have continued to reside till the present time. In the last [or seventeenth] century, they remained still in communion with the Romish bishop; but in this [eighteenth] century, they seem to have renounced that communion.⁴ The greater patriarchs of the Nestorians, who stood opposed to this lesser patriarch, have all, since the year 1559, borne the name of *Elias*, and had their residence at Mosul.⁵ Their dominion spreads widely in Asia, and embraces the Nestorians in Arabia, and also those on the coast of Malabar, who are called *Christians of St. Thomas*.⁶

§ 17. Besides these bodies of Christians, in which was something, or at least some appearance, of the religion taught by Christ, there are other sects far worse, scattered over a large part of Asia; which are undoubtedly descended from the Ebion-

la Créance des Chrétiens Orientaux, cap. vii. p. 94, &c. Peter Strozza, *de Dogmatibus Chaldaeorum*, first published, Rome, 1617, 8vo.

² Here should especially be consulted the very learned and copious dissertation of Asseman, *de Syris Nestorianis*; which fills the whole of the fourth volume of his *Bibliotheca Orient. Vaticana*. It was from this, chiefly, that Mich. Lequien took what he says in his *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1078, &c.

³ [He planted himself at Caramit, in Mesopotamia, and styled himself patriarch of the East. His successor, Ebedjesu, attended the council of Trent. The next successor was Abathalla; and after him

was Simeon Denha, who was obliged to quit Caramit.—*Von Ein.*]

⁴ See Jos. Sim. Asseman's *Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana*, tom. i. p. 538, and tom. ii. p. 436.

⁵ A catalogue of the Nestorian patriarchs is given by Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Bibliotheca Orient. Vaticana*, tom. iii. pt. i. p. 611, &c., which he corrected, in tom. iii. pt. ii. p. cml. Add Lequien's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1078, &c.

⁶ Of these, Matt. Veyss. la Croze treats expressly, in his *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*; with which should be compared, Joseph Sim. Asseman, loc. cit. tom. iii. pt. ii. cap. ix. p. ccccxiii.

ites, the Manichæans, the Valentinians, the Basilidians, and other parties, that, in the early ages, set up churches within the church; but which, through the common hatred against them of both Mahumedans and Christians, have sunk into such barbarism, ignorance, and superstition, as to lose nearly altogether the reputation and the rights of Christians. *The Sabians*, as they are called by the Orientals, or the *Mendai Ijahi*, i. e. *Disciples of John*, as they call themselves, or the *Christians of St. John*, as they are called by Europeans, though they perhaps have some imperfect knowledge of *Christ*, seem to be a Jewish sect, and the descendants of the ancient *Hemerobaptists*, mentioned by the early Christian writers. At least, that *John*, whom they call the founder of their sect, was altogether unlike *John the Baptist*, and bore a far stronger resemblance to the *John*, whom the ancients represent as the father of the Jewish *Hemerobaptists*.⁷ They live in Persia and Arabia, especially at Bassora; and regard religion as consisting principally in frequent, solemn ablutions of the body, which their priests administer with certain ceremonies.⁸

§ 18. The *Jasidians*, *Jasidæans*, or *Jezdæans*, of whom many

⁷ See what I have written on this subject, in my Commentaries, *de Rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum*, p. 43, &c.

⁸ See the treatise of Ignatius à Jesu, a Carmelite, who resided long among these Mendæans, entitled, *Narratio Originis Rituum et Errorum Christianorum S. Johannis: cui adjungitur Discursus per modum Dialogi, in quo confutantur xxxiv. Errores ejusdem Nationis*; Rome, 1652, 8vo. Engelb. Kæmpfer's *Amanitatis Eroticæ*, Fascic. ii. Relat. xi. p. 435. &c. George Sale's *Introduction to his English Version of the Koran*, p. 15. Jos. Sim. Asseman's *Biblioth. Oriental.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 609. Thévénou's *Voyages*, tom. iv. p. 584, &c. Barthol. Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 725. Theoph. Siegefr. Bayer composed a particular treatise concerning the Mendæans, filled with much excellent matter; which, when he was about to commit to me for publication, he was suddenly cut off by death. It was Bayer's opinion (as appears from the *Thesaurus Epistolicus Crozianus*, tom. i. p. 21), that they were a branch from the ancient Manichæans; which opinion was also approved by La Croze. See his *Thesaurus Epistol.* tom.

iii. p. 31, 52. But there is nothing in their opinions or customs that savours of Manichæism. Hence other learned men (to whose opinion the celebrated Fourmont, a few years ago, acceded; in a paper published in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. xviii. p. 23, &c.) suppose them descended from the ancient worshippers of a plurality of Gods, and especially of the stars, whom the Arabs call *Sabî*, or *Sabî*, and *Sabon*. But except the name which the Mahumedans are wont to give them, there is nothing at all to support this opinion. The Mendæans themselves say, that they are Jews; and profess to have been removed from Palestine to the places which they now inhabit. This sect has some sacred books, which are very ancient; among others, what they call, *The book of Adam*; and a book written by *John*, the founder of their sect; and some others. As these books were introduced, a few years since, into the library of the king of France, it may be expected, that from them, in due time, a better knowledge of this people will be obtained. [See the first volume of these Institutes, p. 41, note. Tr.]

uncertain accounts are extant, are a vagrant branch or tribe of the fierce and uncultivated nation of the Kurds, who inhabit the province of Persia called *Kurdistan*. They roam among the Gordian mountains, and the desert parts of the country; and are divided into the *black* and the *white* Jezdæans. The former are the priests and the rulers of the sect, and always dress in black; the latter are the common people, whose dress is white. They have a singular religion, and one not yet sufficiently explored: yet it is clear, that it is a compound of Christian principles with numerous fictions originating from other sources. They are especially distinguished from other classes of corrupted Christians, by their sentiments concerning the evil spirit; whom they call *Karubin*, or *Cherubin*, that is, one of the greater ministers of God; and if they do not actually worship him, they at least treat him with respect, neither offering him any insult or contumely themselves, nor suffering others to do it. In this matter, they go so far, that no tortures will induce them to express detestation of the evil spirit; and if they hear any other person curse him, they will kill the party, if they can.⁹

⁹ See Tho. Hyde's *Historia Relig. Veterum Persar.* in the Append. p. 549. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, tom. i. p. 121, tom. ii. p. 249, &c. To this people, journeys for discovery were made with great peril, in the seventeenth century, by the celebrated and learned Jesuit, Michael Nau, (Laur. d'Arvioux *Mémoires ou Voyages*, tom. vi. p. 362, 377,) and after him by another Jesuit, Monierius (*Mémoires des Missions des Jésuites*, tom. iii. p. 291), but how these travellers were received, and what they accomplished, does not appear. Jac. Rhenferd considered the Jezdæans as the offspring of the ancient Sethians (see Gisb. Cuper's *Epistles*, published by Bayer, p. 130); but, in my opinion, as groundlessly as those who judge them to be Manicheans; a supposition which is sufficiently refuted, by their opinion concerning the evil spirit. The name of this sect, Isaac de Beausobre, among others, derives from the name Jesus. See his *Histoire du Manichéisme*, tom. ii. p. 613. I should conjecture, that it is derived rather from the word *Jazid* or *Jezdan*, which in Persian signifies the *good God*; to whom is opposed *Ahriman*, or the *evil deity*: (see Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 484, &c. Cherefeddin

Aly, *Histoire de Timurbec*, tom. iii. p. 81, &c.) so that *Jazidæan* denotes a worshipper of the *good* or *true God*. Yet they may have derived their appellation from the celebrated city Jezd; of which Otter treats, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, tom. i. p. 283, &c. [W. Jowett, in his *Christian Researches in Syria*, &c. ed. Boston, 1826, p. 55, &c., gives us from Niebuhr, the following account of this people, whom he met with, inhabiting a whole village, near Mosul: "They are called Yesidiens, and also Danasin: but as the Turks do not allow the free exercise of any religion in their country, except to those who possess sacred books, (as the Mahomedans, Christians, and Jews,) the Yesidiens are obliged to keep the principles of their religion extremely secret. They, therefore, pass themselves off for Mahomedans, Christians, or Jews; following the party of whatever person makes enquiry into their religion. They speak with veneration of the Koran, of the Gospel, of the Pentateuch, and the Psalms; and when convicted of being Yesidiens, they will then maintain that they are of the same religion as the Somites. Hence it is almost an impossibility to learn anything certain on the subject. Some charge

§ 19. The *Duruzi*, *Dursi*, *Druzi*, [*Druses*,] for their name is written variously, are a fierce and warlike people, inhabiting a large part of the rugged mountains of Libanus. They represent themselves, (how justly, is uncertain,) to be descended from those Franks, who waged war in the eleventh century with the Mahumedans. As they cautiously conceal their religious creed, it is very dubious what their faith and worship are. Yet there are vestiges of Christianity sufficiently manifest in their customs and opinions. Learned men have suspected that the *Druzi*, as well as the *Kurds* that inhabit Persia, formerly held, and perhaps still hold, the doctrines of the Manichæans.¹—The *Chamsi* or *Solarcs* inhabit a certain district of *Mesopotamia*, and are supposed, by some, to be descendants of the *Sansaeans*, mentioned by *Epiphanius*.²—There are many other semi-Christian sects in the East³; and whoever will accurately trace them out, and introduce their sacred books into Europe, will doubtless receive the grateful thanks of all that take an interest in Christian an-

them with adoring the devil, under the name of *Tscillebi*, that is to say, Lord. Others say that they exhibit a marked veneration for the sun, and for fire; that they are downright pagans; and that they have horrible ceremonies. I have been assured that the *Dauasin* do not invoke God only, as the creator and benefactor of all men. They cannot, however, bear to speak of Satan, nor even to hear his name mentioned. When the *Yesidiens* come to Mosul, they are not apprehended by the magistrate, although known: but the people often endeavour to trick them; for when these poor *Yesidiens* come to sell their eggs or butter, the purchasers contrive first to get their articles into their possession, and then begin uttering a thousand foolish expressions against Satan, with a view to lower the price; upon which the *Yesidiens* are content to leave their goods at a loss rather than be witnesses of such contemptuous language about the devil. The *Yesidiens* practise circumcision like the Mohammedans." Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, vol. ii. p. 279, 280. From this account, it appears, that the *Jezeleans* are not that roaming, savage race, Dr. Mosheim supposed; but that they are a plain, frugal, conscientious people, who are afraid to avow their religious sentiments, because they have no sacred books,

which would entitle them to toleration under the Turkish government. *Tr.*]

¹ See Adrian's *Narrative concerning the Druses*; in Paul Lucas' *Voyage en Grèce et Asie Mineure*, tom. ii. p. 36, &c. Thom. Hyde's *Historia Religiosa Veter. Persarum*, p. 491, 554. Paul Ryeaut's *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. i. p. 313, &c. [Modern researches, particularly by Chardin, de Sacy, and Burkhardt, clearly show, that the *Druses* are with no propriety reckoned among Christian sects. They are apostate Mahumedans, followers of the false prophet Hakein, who pretended to be an incarnate deity. He was born at Cairo, A. D. 985, began to reign in Egypt, A. D. 996, and was assassinated in 1020. His charter, or commands to his followers, together with their oath of allegiance to him, are published by De Sacy, in his *Chrestomathie Arabe*, tom. ii. p. 324, &c. See a full account of them in W. Jowett's *Christian Researches in Syria*, ed. Boston, 1826, p. 35, &c., 70, 83. *Tr.*]

² Hyde, *Historia Relig. Veter. Persarum*, p. 555, &c.

³ The Jesuit, Dussé, (*Lettres Et. et Curieuses des Missions Etrangères*, tom. i. p. 63,) relates that, in the mountains which separate Persia from India, there resides a sect of Christians, who brand themselves with the figure of a cross, impressed with a hot iron.

tiquities. For the information which has reached us hitherto from various quarters, is both inconsistent and uncertain.

§ 20. Among most of these sects⁴, the Roman pontiff's missionaries have, with great labour and expense, established societies living in obedience to the papal see. Among the Greeks, both those that are subject to the Turks, and those that are subject to the Venetians, to the Roman emperor, and to other Christian princes, as is generally known, there are every where Greeks that belong to the Latin church, and whose bishops and priests are approved at Rome. For the sake of preserving and enlarging their societies, a college is established at Rome, in which Greek youth, that appear to possess genius and a disposition to study, are supported and instructed in the useful arts and sciences, and are especially taught to reverence the authority of the Roman pontiff. But the most respectable men, even among the friends of the Romish court, do not deny, that these Greeks who are united with Latins, if compared with those who hold the Latin name in abhorrence, are few, and poor, and in a wretched condition; and that among them are many of Grecian faith, who, if opportunity came, would repay to the Latins the greatest kindnesses with the greatest injuries. They also say that the Greeks, who are educated with great care at Rome, by witnessing the faults of the Latins, often become the most ungrateful of all, and the most strenuously oppose the advancement of the Latin interests among their countrymen.⁵

§ 21. For uniting, or rather subjecting to the Romish church that of Russia, the noblest portion of the Greek church, there have been frequent deliberations at Rome; but without success. In this [sixteenth] century, *John Basilides*, grand duke of the Russians, in the year 1580, sent an embassy to *Gregory XIII.*; by which he seemed to exhort the pontiff to resume and to accomplish this business. The next year, therefore, *Anth. Possevin*, a learned and sagacious Jesuit, was despatched to Muscovy. But he, although he spared no pains to accomplish the object

⁴ [Of Oriental Christians. *Tr.*]

⁵ Here may be consulted, besides others, Urb. Cerri's *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 82. &c., where, among other things, it is said, "Ils deviennent les plus violens ennemis des Catholiques, lorsqu'ils ont appris nos sciences et qu'ils ont connoissance de nos imperfections." [They became the most

violent enemies of the Catholics, when they have been instructed in our sciences, and have knowledge of our imperfections.] Other testimonies will be adduced hereafter. A catalogue, though an imperfect one, is given of the Greek bishops who follow the Latin rites, in Lequien's *Oricus Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 860.

of his embassy, yet found himself unable to effect it; nor did the Russian ambassadors, who a little after were sent to Rome, present any thing to the pontiff but vague and inefficient promises.⁶ Indeed, the result showed, that *Basilides* aimed only to secure the favour of the pontiff by flatteries, in order to succeed better in his unfortunate war with the Poles.—But the arguments of *Possevin* and others had so much effect upon the Russians that inhabit Poland, that some of them, in the convention of Bresty, A. D. 1596, entered into an alliance with the Latins. These were subsequently called the *United Greeks*; while the other party, which continued in subjection to the patriarch of Constantinople, were called the *Ununited*.⁷ Moreover, there has been at Kiow, ever since the fourteenth century, a society of Russians subject to the Roman pontiff, and which has had its own *metropolitans* or bishops, distinct from the Russian bishops of Kiow.⁸

§ 22. Among the *Monophysites*, as well Asiatic as African, the preachers of the Romish religion have effected but little that deserves attention. Among the Chaldean or *Nestorian* Christians, a small society, subject to the Roman pontiff, was collected near the middle of the preceding century. Its patriarchs, all of whom take the name of *Joseph*, reside in the city *Amida*, which is also called *Caramit*, and *Diarbeker*.⁹ A part of the Armenians, as early as the fourteenth century, in the pontificate of *John XVII.*, embraced the Romish religion; and over them the pontiff placed an archbishop, in 1318, who was a Dominican monk, and resided at Sultania¹, a city of Aderbijan. The archiepiscopal residence was afterwards removed to Naxivan; and to this day, is occupied exclusively by the Dominicans.² The company of Armenians resident in Poland, and embracing the Romish doctrines, have also their bishop, who resides at Lem-

⁶ See the *Colloquia Possevini cum Moscorum duce*, and his other writings relating to this subject, which are annexed to his *Moscoria*, p. 31, &c., and John Dorigny's *La Vie du Père Possevin*, liv. v. p. 351, &c.

⁷ Andr. Regenvolscius *Historia Ecclesiarum Slavonicarum*, lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 465, &c.

⁸ See Mich. Lequien's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1274, and tom. iii. p. 1126. *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. Februar.

p. 639, &c.

⁹ See Asseman's *Bibliotheca Orient Vaticana*, tom. iii. pl. i. p. 615, &c. Lequien's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1084, &c.

¹ Odor. Raynald's *Annales Eccles* tom. xv. ad an. 1318. § 4.

² Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 1362, and 1103, &c. Clemens Galanus, *Conciatio Ecclesiarum Armenia cum Romana*, tom. i. p. 527, &c.

berg.³ Some of the Theatin and Capuchin monks have visited the Georgians and Mingrelians: but the ferocity and ignorance of those nations opposed such obstacles to the counsels and admonitions of the missionaries, that their labours were attended with scarcely any success.⁴

§ 23. The pompous accounts of their success among these sects, which the Romish missionaries give, can claim but little credit for ingenuousness and truth. For it is ascertained by unquestionable testimony, that all they did in some countries, was merely to baptize by stealth, certain infants whom their parents committed to their care, because they professed to be physicians⁵; and in other countries, they only gathered a poor miserable company, who generally forsook them as soon as their money was gone, and returned to the religion of their fathers.⁶ Likewise, here and there a prelate among the Greeks or other nations, would sometimes promise obedience to the Roman pontiff, and even repair to Rome as an evidence of submission: but avarice or ambition has been the cause. On a change of circumstances, accordingly, such persons at once relapse, or deceive the Romans with equivocal professions. Those who, like the Nestorian prelate at Amida, continue stedfast in their profession, and propagate it to succeeding generations, persevere from no other cause than the uninterrupted liberality of the Roman pontiff. The pontiffs, moreover, are exceedingly indulgent to those sons, whom they adopt from among the Greeks and other Oriental Christians. For they not only suffer them to worship according to the rites of their fathers, though widely differing from those of the Romans, and to follow customs abhorred among the Latins; but they do not even require them to expunge from the public books those doctrines which divide them from Christians generally.⁷ At Rome, if we are not greatly mistaken, a Greek, Armenian, or Copt, is esteemed a good member of the

³ *Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tom. iii. p. 54, &c.

⁴ Urb. Cerri, *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 162, &c.

⁵ Urb. Cerri, *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 164. Gabr. de Chinon, *Relations Nouvelles du Levant*, pt. i. cap. vi. p. 174. This Capuchin monk speaks very ingenuously on many subjects.

⁶ See Jean Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, tom. i. p. 186, tom. ii. p. 53, 75, 206, 271, 349, and especially tom. iii. p.

433, &c. of the last edition in Holland, 4to. For in the previous editions, every thing dishonourable to the Romish missions among the Armenians, the Colchians, the Iberians, or the Persians, was omitted. Gabr. de Chinon, *Relations du Levant*, pt. ii. p. 338, &c., where he treats of the Armenians. Bened. Maillot, *Description d'Egypte*, tom. ii. p. 65, &c., who speaks of the Copts.

⁷ Jos. Sim. Asseman complains, here

Romish church, provided he does not question, but will acknowledge, the sovereign authority of the Romish prelate over the whole Christian church.

§ 24. The whole nation of the *Maronites*, who reside principally on the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus, came under the dominion of the Roman pontiff, from the time when the Latins invaded Palestine.⁸ But as they did so on condition that the Latins should change nothing of their ancient rites, customs, and opinions; hence hardly anything Latin can be found among the Maronites, except their attachment to the Romish prelate.⁹ Moreover, this friendship costs the pontiff dear. For, as the Maronites live in extreme poverty under the

and there, in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis Vaticana*, that not even the books printed at Rome for the use of the Nestorians, Jacobites, and Armenians, are purged of the errors peculiar to those sects; and he contends, that this is the reason why those people renounce the Romish religion, after having adopted it. Add Rich. Simon's *Lettres Choisies*, tom. ii. lettre xxiii. p. 156, &c., who excuses this negligence, or this imprudence, of the Romans.

⁸ The Maronite doctors, and especially such as reside at Rome, take the utmost pains to prove that the Romish religion has always been held and preserved by their nation, pure, and uncontaminated with any error. This, beyond all others, Faustus Nairon endeavours to prove, with great labour, in his *Dissertatio de Origine, Nomine, ac Religione Maronitarum*, Rome, 1679, 8vo. From this book, and from other Maronite authors, De la Roque composed his long and well-written essay, *Sur l'Origine des Maronites, et Abrégé de leur Histoire*; which is printed in his *Voyage de Syrie et du Mont Liban*, tom. ii. p. 28—128, ed. Amsterd. 1723, 8vo. But the most learned men among the Catholics do not give credit to this statement; but maintain, that the Maronites are the offspring of the Monophysites, and were addicted to the opinions of the Monothelites down to the twelfth century, when they united with the Latins. See Rich. Simon's *Histoire Critique des Chrétiens Orientaux*, cap. xiii. p. 146, &c. Eusebius Renanot, *Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrinorum*, pre-

face, p. iii. z. and the history, p. 49, and many other writers. Jos. Sim. Asseman, himself a Maronite, advances a sort of intermediate opinion; *Bibliotheca Orient. Vaticana*, tom. i. p. 496. Moch. Lequien leaves the question dubious, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 1, &c., where he treats professedly of the Maronite church, and of its prelates. In my opinion, no one will readily put confidence in the Maronites, who, like all Syrians, are vain-glorious, if he considers that all the Maronite nation have not yet subjected themselves to the Roman pontiff. For some of this nation, in Syria, stand aloof from communion with the Latins; and in the last century, not a few of them in Italy itself gave the court of Rome no little trouble. Some of them went over to the Waldenses, that inhabited the valleys of Piedmont: others to the number of six hundred, with a bishop and many priests, went over to Corsica, and implored the aid of the republic of Genoa against the violence of the acquisition. See Urb. Cerri *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 121, 122. I know not what could have excited these Maronites to make such opposition to the Roman pontiff, if they did not dissent at all from his doctrines and decrees: for the Romish church allows them freely to follow the rites and customs and institutions of their fathers. See the *Thesaurus Epistol. Gregorius*, tom. i. p. 11, &c. [and vol. ii. of those Institutes, p. 103. *Tr.*]

⁹ Here consult, especially the notes, which Rich. Simon has annexed to his French translation of the *Voyage of*

tyranny of the Mahumedans, the pontiff has to relieve their poverty with his wealth: so that their prelate and leading men may have the means of appeasing their cruel masters, supporting their priests, and defraying the expenses of public worship. Nor is the expense small which is required by the college for Maronites, established at Rome by *Gregory XIII.*, in which young men sent from Syria are imbued with literature and with affection for the Roman see. The Maronite church is governed by a patriarch, residing at *Cannobin*, on Mount Libanus; which is a convent of monks that follow the rule of *St. Anthony*. He styles himself *Patriarch of Antioch*, and always takes the name of *Peter*, to whose see he would fain pass for being the successor.¹

Jerome Dandini, an Italian Jesuit, to Mount Libanus, written in Italian, Paris, 1685, 12mo. See also Euseb. Renandot, *Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrinor.* p. 548.

¹ See Petitquez, *Voyage à Cannobin dans le Mont Liban*; in the *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie*

de Jésus, tom. iv. p. 252, and tom. viii. p. 355. La Rocque, *Voyage de Syrie*, tom. ii. p. 10. Laur. D'Arviens, *Mémoires ou Voyages*, tom. ii. p. 418, &c., and others. [See W. Jowett's *Christian Researches in Syria*, &c., p. 23, &c. ed. Boston, 1826, 12mo. Tr.]

PART II.

HISTORY OF MODERN CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

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§ 1. WE have already described, in our concise way, the origin and progress of that church, which assumes the name of *evangelical*, because it revived the knowledge of the *Gospel*; (that is, of the doctrine of salvation for mankind only through the merits of Christ, long overborne by superstition;) and which does not reject the appellation of Lutheran, because it would not be ungrateful to the man who first dissipated the clouds that obscured the Gospel. Its commencement is to be dated from the time

when *Leo X.* expelled *Martin Luther* and his adherents and friends from the bosom of the Romish church.¹ It acquired a stable form and consistency, in the year 1530, when the public confession of its faith was drawn up, and was presented to the diet of Augsburg. And lastly, it obtained the rank of a legitimate and independent community among the Germans, and was entirely freed from the laws and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, in the year 1552, when *Maurice* of Saxony formed with *Charles V.* the religious pacification at Passau.

§ 2. According to the opinion of this church, all the principles of a correct religious faith and of a holy life, are to be drawn exclusively from the books dictated by God; books, accordingly, so plain and easy to be understood, in things necessary to salvation, that every man of good sense, and competent knowledge of languages, can ascertain their meaning for himself, without an interpreter. This church has, indeed, certain books usually called *symbolical*, in which the principal truths of religion are collected together, and perspicuously stated. But these books derive all their authority from the sacred volume, the sense and meaning of which they exhibit: nor may theologians expound these books otherwise than as the divine oracles allow. The first of these [symbolical] books, is the *Augsburg Confession*, with the *Apology*. Then follow, what are called, the *Articles of Smalcald*; and next the *Catechism* of *Luther*, the *larger* for adults and persons more advanced in knowledge, and the *shorter* intended for children. To these, the greater part add the *Formula of Concord*: which, however, some do not receive; yet without any interruption of harmony, because the few things, on account of which it is disapproved, are of minor consequence, and neither add any thing to the fundamentals of religion, nor detract from them.²

§ 3. Concerning ceremonies and forms of public worship, there was at first some dissension in one place and another. For some wished to retain more, and others fewer, of the immense multitude of the ancient rites and usages. The latter, after the example of the Swiss, thought that every thing should give way to the ancient Christian simplicity and gravity in religion: the former wished some allowance to be made for the

¹ [A. D. 1520. Tr.]

² On the *symbolical* books of the Lutheran church, and the expounders of

them, Jo. Christ. Köcher treats expressly in his *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 114, &c.

weakness and inveterate habits of the people. But as all were agreed, that ceremonies depend on human authority; and that there is no obstacle to the existence of diversity as to rites, in the churches and countries professing the same religion; this controversy could not continue long. All usages and regulations, both public and private, which bore manifest marks of error and superstition, were every where rejected: and it was wisely provided, that the benefits of public worship should not be frustrated by the multitude of ceremonies. In other respects, every church was at liberty to retain so many of the ancient usages and rites that were not dangerous, as a regard to places, the laws, and the character and circumstances of the people, seemed to require. And hence, quite down to our times, the Lutheran churches differ much in the number and nature of their public rites; and it is so far from being a dishonour to them, that it is rather good evidence of their wisdom and moderation.³

§ 4. In the Lutheran church, ecclesiastical affairs are administered by the same authorities that administer civil. This power they claim in part, from the very nature of civil government; and it is in part, I conceive, surrendered to them by the tacit consent of the churches. Yet the ancient rights of Christian communities are not wholly subverted and destroyed; but in some places *more*, in others *fewer*, in all *some* traces of them remain. Besides, the civil authorities are prohibited, by the fundamental principles of the religion which they profess, from violating or changing, at their own pleasure, the system of religion, or any thing essential to it; or from legislatively imposing such creeds and rules of life upon the citizens, as they may see fit. The bodies appointed by the sovereigns to watch over the interests of the church, and to direct ecclesiastical affairs, are composed of civil and ecclesiastical jurists; and bear the ancient name of *Consistories*. The internal regulation of the church, is in form intermediate between the *episcopal* and the *presbyterian* systems; except in Sweden and Denmark, where the ancient form of the church, with its offensive parts lopped off, is retained. For while the Lutherans are persuaded that divine law makes no distinction, as to rank and prerogatives, among the ministers

³ See Balth. Meisner, *de Legibus*, lib. Adam Scherzer's *Breviarium Hülseanae*
iv. art. iv. quæst. iv. p. 662—666. Jo. *Enuecatum*, p. 1313—1321.

of the Gospel; yet they think it to be useful, and indeed necessary, to the preservation of union, that some ministers should hold a rank, and possess powers, superior to others. But in establishing this difference among their ministers, some states are governed more, and others less, by a regard to the ancient polity of the church. For that which is determined by no divine law, may be ordered variously, without any breach of harmony and fraternal intercourse.

§ 5. Each country has its own *liturgy*, or form of worship; in accordance with which, every thing pertaining to the public religious exercises and worship, must be ordered and performed. These liturgies are frequently enlarged, amended, and explained, as circumstances and occasions demand, by the decrees, and statutes of those who hold supreme authority. Among them all there is no diversity in regard to things of any considerable magnitude or importance; but in regard to things remote from the essentials of religion, or from the rules of faith and practice prescribed in the sacred Scriptures, there is much diversity. Frequent meetings for the worship of God are every where held. The services in them consist of sermons, by which the ministers instruct the people, and excite them to piety, the reading of the holy Scriptures, prayers and hymns addressed to the Deity, and the administration of the sacraments. The young are not only required to be taught carefully the first principles of religion, in the schools, but are also publicly trained and advanced in knowledge by the catechetical labours of the ministers. And hence, in nearly all the provinces, little books, commonly called *Catechisms*, are drawn up by public authority, in which the chief points of religious faith and practice are explained by questions and answers. These the schoolmasters and the ministers follow as guides in their instructions. But as *Luther* left a neat little book of this sort, in which the first elements of religion and morality are nervously and lucidly expressed; throughout the church the instruction of young children very properly commences with this; and the provincial *catechisms* are merely expositions and amplifications of *Luther's shorter catechism*, which is one of our *symbolical* books.

§ 6. As to holy days, in addition to that which is sacred to the memory of the Saviour's resurrection, and which occurs every week, the Lutheran church celebrates all those, which the piety of former ages consecrated to those distinguished

events, that constitute the basis of the divine authority of the Christian religion⁴: nay, that it might not offend the weak, it has retained some of those which superstition, rather than religion, appears to have created. Some communities also observe religiously the days anciently devoted to the ambassadors of *Jesus Christ*, or the *Apostles*. The ancient regulation, which has come down to us from the earliest age of the church, of excluding the ungodly from the communion, the Lutheran church endeavoured to purify from abuses and corruptions, and to restore to its primitive purity. And in this [sixteenth] century no one opposed the wise and temperate use of this power by the ministers of our church. But in process of time it gradually became so little used, that at the present day scarcely a vestige of it, in most places, can be discovered. This change is to be ascribed, in part, to the faults of the ministers, some of whom have not unfrequently perverted an institution, in itself most useful, to the gratification of their own resentments; while others, either from ignorance or indiscretion, have erred in the application of it; in part also, to the counsels of certain individuals, who conceived, that for ministers to have the power of excluding offenders from church communion, was injurious to the interests of the state, and to the authority of the magistrates; and in part, lastly, to the innate propensity of mankind to licentiousness. This restraint upon wickedness being removed, it is not strange that the morals of the Lutherans should have become corrupted, and that a multitude of persons living in open transgressions should every where lift up their heads.

§ 7. The prosperous and adverse events in the progress of the Lutheran church, after the full establishment of its liberties and independence, may be stated in a few words. Its growth and increase have been already stated: nor could it easily, after what is called the religious peace, extend further its borders. Towards the close of the century, the archbishop of Cologne, *Gebhard*, count of Truchsess, was disposed to unite with this church; he married accordingly, and attempted the religious reformation of his territories. But he failed in his great design, which was repugnant to the famous *Ecclesiastical Reservation*

⁴ [“Such, for example, are the *nativity, death, resurrection, and ascension* of the Son of God; the descent of the Holy

Spirit upon the apostles on the day of Pentecost, &c.” *Matl.*]

among the articles of the religious peace; and he was obliged to resign his electoral dignity and his archbishopric.⁵ Neither, on the other hand, could its enemies greatly disturb the peace and prosperity of the church. Yet it was apparent, from various indications, that a new war upon them was secretly plotted; and that the principal object aimed at, was to annul the peace of Passau, which was confirmed at Augsburg, and to cause the Protestants to be declared public enemies. Among others, *Francis Burekhard* sufficiently manifested such a disposition, in his celebrated work *de Autonomia*, written in 1586; and also *John Pistorius*, in his *Reasons* by which *James*, marquis of Baden, professed to be influenced, in abandoning the Lutheran party.⁶ These writers, and others of the like character, commonly assail the religious peace, as being an iniquitous and unjust thing, because extorted by force and arms, and made without the knowledge and against the pleasure of the Roman pontiff, and therefore null and void; they also attempt to demonstrate, from the falsification or change of the Augsburg Confession, of which they say *Melancthon* was the father, that the Protestants have forfeited their rights conferred on them by that peace. The latter of these charges gave occasion, in this century and the following, to many books and discussions, by

⁵ See Jo. Dav. Köhler's *Diss. de Gebhardo Truchsessio*, and the authors he cites. Add Jo. Peter a Ludewig's *Reliquia Manuscriptorum, omnis aevi*, tom. v. p. 383, &c. *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. D. 1748, p. 484. [Gebhard was of Truchsess in Waldburg. After his change of faith, he married, first privately, Agnes, countess of Mansfield; and he allowed the Protestants the free use of their religion, yet with the proviso, that the rights of the archiepiscopal see should remain inviolate. But the chapter, at the head of which was Frederick of Sachsenlaueburg, refused obedience to him, in the year 1583, and were supported in their disobedience by the Spaniards. On the other hand, Gebhard obtained the promise of assistance from the Protestants assembled at Heilbron and Worms; yet only the palgrave, John Cassimir, fulfilled the promise. For Gebhard was of the reformed religion, and the contention between the reformed and the Lutherans was then carried to a great height: otherwise, probably, this business would have had

a very different termination. The chapter applied to Pope Gregory XIII., and having obtained the deposition of their archbishop, made choice of prince Ernest of Bavaria, who was already bishop of Freysingen, Hildesheim, and Liege. The archbishop, indeed, sought to support himself. But Augustus, elector of Saxony, hated the reformed too bitterly, and needed the aid of the imperial court in the affair of the Henneberg inheritance too much to be disposed to aid the archbishop; and John Cassimir, who was threatened with the ban of the empire, dared not lead out *all* his forces, for fear of being abandoned by the other Protestant princes, and becoming a prey to the Spanish and Bavarian army. Gebhard was, therefore, compelled, as he would not accept the terms proposed in the congress at Frankfort, to retire from the territory of the archbishopric: and he died in Holland, A. D. 1601. *Schl.*]

⁶ See Christ. Aug. Salig's *Geschichte der Augsbürgischen Confession*, vol. i. book iv. ch. iii. p. 767.

which our theologians placed it beyond all doubt, that this Confession had been kept inviolate and entire, and that the Lutherans had not swerved from it in the least.⁷ But none felt more severely the implacable hatred of the papists, against the new religion, as they call that of the Lutherans, than those followers of this religion, who lived in countries governed by princes that followed the Romish religion; and especially the Lutherans in the Austrian dominions, who, at the close of this century, lost the greatest part of their religious liberties.⁸

§ 8. While the adherents of the Roman pontiff were thus plotting the destruction of the Lutherans by force and by stratagem, *they* omitted nothing which might contribute in any way to strengthen and establish their own church. Traces of past calamities were fresh in this age, which made men more than usually careful to prevent the like again: and to confess the truth, there was more zeal for religion then, among men of distinction, and those in high stations, than at the present day. Hence the original confederacy for the defence of religion, which had been formed among the German princes, and of which the elector of Saxony was the head, was strengthened and made more efficient; and foreigners, especially the kings of Sweden and Denmark, were invited to afford it their support. And as all were convinced that the church could not exist and prosper unless its teachers were educated men, and unless literature and science every where flourished; hence nearly all the princes exerted

⁷ Here Salig may especially be consulted, *Gesch. der Augsb. Confess.* vol. i. It must be admitted, that Melancthon did alter the Angsburg confession, in some passages. It is also certain, that in the year 1555, he introduced into the Saxon churches, in which his influence at the time was very great, a form of the confession very different from its original form. But the Lutheran church [in general] never approved this rashness, or imprudence, of Melancthon; nor was *his altered confession* ever admitted to a place among the *symbolical* books. [Melancthon, doubtless, looked upon the confession as his own production, which he had a right to correct and improve; and he altered, in particular, the tenth article, which treats of the Lord's Supper, from a love of peace, and an honest desire to bring the Protestants into a closer union with each

other, so that they might oppose their common enemies with their united strength. But his good designs were followed by bad consequences. *Schl.*]

⁸ See Bernhard Raupach's *Evangelical Austria*, written in German. [*Evangelisches Oesterreich.*] vol. i. p. 152, &c. vol. ii. p. 287, &c. [This was attributed especially to the influence of the Jesuits, who found ready access to the Austrian and Bavarian courts. At Vienna, Peter Canisius rendered himself very conspicuous; and, on account of his great pains to hunt up heretics, and drive them to the fold of the church, the Austrian Protestants called him the Austrian *hound*; but those of his own community, called him the second Apostle of the Germans. See *Versuch einer neuen Geschichte des Jesuitenordens*, vol. i. p. 372, 407, 468, and vol. ii. in various places. *Schl.*]

themselves to set up the strongest barriers against ignorance, the mother of superstition. Their zeal in this matter is evidenced by the new universities founded by them at Jena, Helmstadt, and Altorf, and among the reformed at Franeker, Leyden, and other places; by the old universities reformed, and adapted to the state and necessities of a purer church; by the numerous schools that were opened in nearly all the cities; and by the high salaries for those times given to literary and scientific men, as well as the high honours and privileges conferred upon them. The expense of these salutary measures was defrayed, for the most part, out of the property which the piety of preceding ages had devoted to churches, to convents of monks and canons, and to other pious uses.

§ 9. Thus nearly every branch of human science and knowledge was cultivated and improved. To the Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, all who aspired to the sacred office were required to give attention: and in these languages, it is well known, great men appeared among the Lutherans. History was cultivated and adorned by the names of *Melancthon*, *John Cario*, *David Chytræus*, *Reinerius Reineccius*, and others. Of ecclesiastical history, in particular, *Matthias Flacius* may properly be called the father; for he and his associates, by composing that immortal work, the *Magdeburg Centuries*, threw immense light on the history of the Christians, which before was involved in darkness, and stained with innumerable fables. With him is to be joined *Martin Chemnitz*, to whose *Examination of the Council of Trent* the history of religious opinions is more indebted, than many at this day are aware. The history of literature and philosophy, the art of criticism, antiquities, and other kindred studies, were indeed less attended to; yet beginnings were made in them, which excited those who came after, to prosecute successfully these pleasing pursuits. Eloquence, especially in Latin, both prose and poetic, was pursued by great numbers, and by those worthy of comparison with the best Latin writers; which is proof, that genius for scholarship and literature, was not wanting in this age; but that it was the circumstances and troubles of the times, which prevented men of talent from attaining the highest excellence in every species of learning. *Philip Melancthon*, the common teacher of the whole Lutheran church, by his instructions, his example, and his influence, enkindled the ardour of all those who acquired fame by the

cultivation of literature and ingenuous arts; nor did scarcely an individual of those who prosecuted either divine or human knowledge, venture to depart from the footsteps of this great man. Next to him, *Joachim Camerarius*, a doctor of Leipsic, bestowed no slight labour in rendering all branches of literature, but especially the more elegant, popular and perfect.

§ 10. Philosophy met with various fortune among the Lutherans. At first, both *Luther* and *Melancthon* seemed to discard all philosophy.⁹ And if this was a fault in them, it is chargeable to the account of the doctors of the schools who had abused their barbarous method of philosophizing, as well as the precepts of *Aristotle*, to pervert and obscure exceedingly both human and divine knowledge. Soon, however, these reformers found, that philosophy was indispensably necessary to restrain the licentiousness of the mind, and to defend the territories of religion. Hence *Melancthon* explained nearly all the branches of philosophy in concise treatises, written in a neat and perspicuous style: and these treatises were for many years used in the schools and universities, and expounded to the youth. *Melancthon* may not improperly be called an *eclectic* philosopher. For, while in many things he followed *Aristotle*, and did not utterly despise the old philosophy of the schools, he at the same time drew much from his own genius, and also adopted other things from the doctrines of the Platonics and Stoics.

§ 11. But this simple mode of philosophizing, which *Melancthon* had devised, did not long prevail exclusively. For some acute and subtle men, perceiving that *Melancthon* assigned the first rank among philosophers to *Aristotle*, thought it best to go directly to the fountain; and therefore expounded the Stagirite himself to the students in philosophy. Others who perceived that the Jesuits, and other advocates for the Roman pontiffs, made use of the barbarous terms and the subtilties of the old scholastics in order to confound the protestants, thought it would be advantageous to the church, for her young men to be initiated in the mysteries of the Aristotelico-scholastic philosophy. Hence, near the close of the century, there had arisen three philosophical sects, the *Melancthonian*, the *Aristotelian*,

⁹ See Christ. August. Heumann's *Acts of the Philosophers*; written in German, art. ii. pt. x. p. 579, &c. Jo. Herm. ab Elswich, *Dissert. de Varia Aristotelis*

Fortuna in Scholis Protestantium; which he has prefixed to Jo. Launoi, *de Fortuna Aristotelis in Acad. Parisiensi*; § viii. p. 15. § xiii. p. 36, &c.

and the *Scholastic*. The first gradually decayed; the other two insensibly became united, and at length got possession of all the professorial chairs. But the followers of *Peter Ramus* attacked them in several countries, and not always unsuccessfully: yet they were at last, after various contests, obliged to retire from the schools.¹

§ 12. The same fate was afterwards experienced by the *Fire-Philosophers*², or the Paracelsists, and other men of like character, who wished to abolish altogether the peripatetic philosophy, and to introduce their own, into the universities in place of it. At the close of the century, this sect had many eloquent patrons and friends, in most countries of Europe; who by their writings and their actions, endeavoured to procure glory and renown to this kind of wisdom. In England, *Robert a Fluctibus*, or *Fludd*, a man of uncommon genius, adorned and illustrated this philosophy, by extensive writings, which to this day find readers and admirers.³ In France, *Riverius*, besides

¹ Jo. Herm. ab Elswich, *de Fatis Aristotelis in Scholis Protestantium*, § 21, p. 54, &c. Jo. Geo. Walch's *Historia Logices*, lib. ii. cap. i. sec. iii. § 5, in his *Parerga Academica*, p. 613, 617, &c. Otto Fred. Schützius, *de Vita Chytræi*, lib. iv. § 4, p. 19, &c. [Ramus was professor of eloquence at Paris, and wished to combine eloquence with philosophy. But as it would not coalesce with the scholastic philosophy, he devised a new species of philosophy, which might be used in common life, at courts, and in worldly business. He separated from philosophy all idle speculations, which are useless in common life, and rejected all metaphysics. This innovation produced great disturbance at Paris. The Aristotelians opposed it most violently. And the king appointed a commission to investigate the controversy; from which Aristotle obtained the victory. From France, this philosophy spread into Switzerland and Germany. At Geneva, Beza would have nothing to do with it. At Basil, it found more patrons. The most zealous adherents to Luther, who with him hated Aristotle, nearly all took the side of Ramus. Hence, in our universities there was often fierce war between the Aristotelians and the Ramists, and which frequently cost blood among the students. Indeed the Calixtine contest originated from Ramism. *Schl.*]

² Philosophi ex igne.

³ See Auth. Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniens.* vol. i. p. 610, and *Histor. et Antiquit. Academiæ Oxoniensis*, lib. ii. p. 390. Peter Gassendi's examination of Fludd's philosophy, an ingenious and learned performance, in his *Opp.* tom. iii. p. 259, &c. [Fludd's appropriate work is entitled *Historia Macrocosmi et Microcosmi*; Oppenh. 1617, 1619, 2 vols. fol., and another, *Philosophia Mosaica*, Gouda, 1628, fol. He was a doctor of physic at Oxford, and died in 1637. Fludd, and those of his class, assumed as a first principle, that men can never arrive at true wisdom, until they learn the ways of God in his works of nature; moreover, nature can be learned only by the analysis of fire. Hence they were called Fire-Philosophers: and they were all chemists. They combined their philosophical wisdom with theology. God who is unchangeable, said they, acts in the kingdom of grace, just as He does in the kingdom of nature: so that whoever understands how natural bodies are changed, in particular the metals, understands also what passes in the soul in regeneration, sanctification, renovation, &c. Thus they erected a sort of theology upon the basis of their chemical knowledge; and of course, no one can understand them, unless he is a chemist, or at least has a chemical dictionary before him. *Schl.*]

others, propagated it at Paris, in spite of an opposition from the university there.⁴ Through Germany and Denmark, *Severinus* spread it with uncommon zeal⁵; in Germany, also, after others, *Henry Kunrath*, a chemist of Dresden, who died in 1605⁶; and in other countries, others established it and procured it adherents. As all these combined the precepts of their philosophy with a great show of piety towards God, and seemed to direct all their efforts to glorifying God, and establishing harmony among disagreeing Christians, they of course readily found friends. Just at the close of the century, they drew over to their party some persons among the Lutherans, very zealous for the promotion of true religion, as *Valerius Weigel*⁷, *John Arndt*⁸ and others; who feared, lest too much disputing and

⁴ Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. vi. p. 327, and *passim*.

⁵ Jo. Möller's *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. i. p. 623, &c. [This Danish physician, who spent a great part of his life in travelling, was one of the strongest supporters of Paracelsus; and first reduced his ideas to a system, in a work entitled, *Idea Medicinæ Philosophicæ.* Schl.]

⁶ Jo. Möller's *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 440, &c. [His principal work is entitled *Amphitheatrum Sapientiæ æternæ solius, veræ, Christiano-Kabbalisticum, Divino-Magicum, Physico-Chymicum*, &c. Hanan, 1609, fol., and Francf. 1653. Schl.]

⁷ [This singular man was pastor of Tschoppau, in Meissen, and died in 1588. After his death he was, perhaps unjustly, pronounced a heretic; partly, because his language was not understood, and partly, because much that appeared in his writings was not his, but was added by his chantor, who published his works after his death. He appears to have been an honest, conscientious man, without bad intentions, yet somewhat superstitious. See, respecting his life and writings, Godfrey Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, vol. ii. book vii. ch. xvii. and Zach. Hilliger's *Diss. de Vita, Fatis, et Scriptis Weigelii*; Wittemb. 1721. Schl.]

⁸ [Of the history and life of this divine, to whom our church and the cause of piety are so much indebted, nothing need here be said, since his writings are in every one's hands, and many editions of them contain a biography of him. It is well known that his writings gave occasion for violent contests; and for a

long time, public opinion was divided respecting his orthodoxy and merits. The chancellor of Tübingen, Lucas Osianler, and many others, could find gross heresies in his writings: but the provost, Bengel, saw in him the Apocalyptic angel, with the everlasting Gospel. *Iliacos intra muros peccatur ex extra.*—If a man will read Arndt's writings, with the feelings of a dispassionate historian, he will hear one speaking in them, who is full of the spirit of Christianity, who abhors scholastic theological wrangling, speaks for the most part more forcibly, and more like the Bible, on practical Christianity, than his contemporaries do; yet he often sinks into a mysticism, which is not the mysticism of the Bible, but of Valerius Weigel, and of Angela de Foligny, from whose writings he borrows largely. In proof of this, read only the third and fourth books of his *True Christianity*; where also many chemical terms occur, such as the Theosophists use; and to which Arndt had accustomed himself, having been a physician in early life, and retaining in after life a fondness for chemical writings. And for this reason, it is probably not so wise, in our times, when we have so many ascetic works that are more easy of comprehension and better adapted to our age, to always recommend to common Christians the writings of Arndt. For the people of his times, his books were very valuable; but we should not, therefore, be ungrateful to those of our own age which God has vouchsafed to us. Respecting him, see Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, vol. ii. book xvii. ch. vi. § 5, &c., and Weismann's

reasoning should divert men from the true worship of God, to run after the noisy and perplexing trifles of the ancient schools.

§ 13. Towards the side of the same party, leaned also *Daniel Hofmann*, a celebrated theologian in the university of Helmstadt, who, in the year 1598, openly assailed all philosophy with great violence; and, relying principally on certain passages and sentences in *Luther's* works, maintained that philosophy was the enemy of all religion and all piety; and moreover, that there was a twofold truth, philosophical and theological, and that philosophical truth was false in theology. Hence arose a fierce contest between him and the philosophers of the university in which he taught, namely *Owen Günther*, *John Caselius*, *Conrad Martini*, and *Duncan Liddel*; and some out of the university likewise took part in it, by their writings. *Henry Julius*, duke of Brunswick, to put an end to the commotion, took cognizance of the cause, calling in the divines of Rostock for counsel; and in the year 1601, ordered *Hofmann* to retract what he had written and spoken disrespectfully of philosophy and the philosophers, and to publicly acknowledge that sound philosophy was in harmony with theology.⁹

§ 14. The theology, which is now taught in the Lutheran schools, did not at once attain its present form, but was improved and perfected progressively. Of this fact, those are aware, who understand the history of the doctrines concerning the holy Scriptures, free-will, predestination, and other subjects, and who have compared the early systems of theology written by Lutherans, with those of more recent date. For the vindicators of religious liberty did not discover all truth in a moment; but, like persons emerging from long darkness, their vision improved gradually. Our theologians were also greatly assisted in correcting and explaining their sentiments, by the controversies they were involved in, both the external, with the papists, the disciples of *Zwingle* and *Calvin*, and others, and the internal, of which we shall speak hereafter. Those who, like *James Benignus Bossuet* and others, make this a reproach against the

Historia Eccles. N. Test. tom. ii. p. 1174, &c. *Schl.*]

⁹ An accurate account of this controversy, and a list of the writings published on both sides, are given by Jo. Möller, in his life of Owen Günther,

Cimbria Litterata, tom. i. p. 225, &c. See also Jo. Herm. ab Elswich, *de Fatis Aristotelis in Scholis Protestant.* § xxvii. p. 76, &c. Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, book xvii. ch. vi. § 15, p. 947, &c.

Lutherans, do not consider, that the founders of the Evangelical church never wished to be regarded as inspired men, and that the first virtue of a wise man is, to discover the errors of others, and the second is, to find out the truth.

§ 15. The first and principal care of the teachers of the reformed religion was, to illustrate and explain the sacred Scriptures; which contain, in the opinion of the Lutheran church, all celestial wisdom. Hence there were almost as many expositors of the Bible among the Lutherans, as there were theologians eminent for learning and rank. At the head of them all stand *Luther* and *Melancthon*; the former of whom, besides other portions of the divine records, expounded particularly the book of Genesis, with great copiousness and sagacity; the expositions of the latter on *Paul's* epistles, and his other labours of this kind, are well known. After these a distinguished rank among the biblical expositors was attained by *Matthias Flacius*, whose *Glosses* on the holy Scriptures, and *Key* to them, were very useful for understanding the sacred writers; by *John Bugenhagen*, *Justus Jonas*, *Andrew Osiander*, and *Martin Chemnitz*, whose *Harmonies* of the Gospels were of great value; by *Victorinus Strigelius*; and by *Joachim Camerarius*, who in his Commentary on the New Testament, acted the part merely of a grammarian, as he himself informs us; or in other words, calling in the aid of polite literature, in which he was well versed, he investigated and explained simply the import of the words and phrases, entirely neglecting theological discussions and controversies.

§ 16. All these interpreters of the holy volume abandoned the uncertain and fallacious method of the ancients, who took no notice of the literal sense, and laboured to extort from the holy oracles, by the aid of the fancy, a kind of recondite meaning, or, in other words, to divert them, without reason, to foreign applications. On the contrary, it was their first and great aim, to ascertain the import of the words, or what it is they express; adopting that golden rule of all sound interpretation which *Luther* first introduced, namely, that all the sacred books have but one only, and that the literal sense. Yet it must be confessed, that very many did not wholly lay aside the inveterate custom of extracting secret and concealed meanings from the language of the inspired writers, but were too sharp sighted in applying the oracles of the Old Testament

prophets to our Saviour, and in eliciting from ancient history prefigurations of future events. Moreover, all the expositors of this century, may, I conceive, be divided into two classes. Some followed the example of *Luther*, who first explains the import of the sacred text, in a free and artless style, and then makes application of them to theological controversies, to doctrines, and to practical duties. But others were better pleased with *Melancthon's* method; who first divided the discourses of the inspired writers into their constituent parts, or analysed them, according to rhetorical principles; and then closely and minutely surveyed each part, yet rarely departing from the literal meaning, and but sparingly touching upon doctrines and controversies.

§ 17. *Philip Melancthon* first reduced the theology of the Lutherans to a regular system, in his *Loci Communes*: and this work, afterwards enlarged and amended by the author, was in such estimation during this century, and even longer, that it served as the common guide to all teachers of theology, both in their lectures and in their written treatises.¹ The very title of the book shows, that the doctrines of revealed religion are not in it artificially arranged, and digested into a philosophical system; but are proposed in an unconstrained and free manner, such as the author preferred. His mode of stating and explaining truth, especially in the earlier editions, is very simple, and unencumbered with the terms, the definitions, and distinctions of the philosophers. For this first age of the Lutheran church, as well as *Luther* himself, wished to discard, and to avoid altogether, the subtleties and syllogisms of the dialectic and scholastic doctors. But the sophistry of their adversaries, and their perpetual contests with them, in process of time caused this artless mode of teaching to be almost wholly laid aside. Even *Melancthon* himself led the way, by introducing gradually into his *Loci Communes* many things taken from the armory of the philosophers, with a view of meeting the fallacies of those who dissented from him. Subsequently, when the founders of the church were no more, and the Jesuits with others resolutely attacked the purified church with the old scholastic arms, this crafty mode of warfare had such influence upon our theologians, that they restored the

¹ See Jo. Fran. Buddeus, *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, lib. ii. cap. i. § 13, vol. i. p. 381, and the authors named by him.

thorny mode of explaining divine truth, which *Luther* and his companions had discarded; and employed, in the explication of religious doctrines, all the intricacies and barbarism of the scholastic philosophy. Several very distinguished and excellent men, near the close of the century, were exceedingly dissatisfied with this change, and bitterly lamented the loss of the ancient simplicity; but they could not prevail at all on the teachers in the universities, to return to *Luther's* sober and artless method of teaching. For they said, necessity must govern us, rather than examples and authorities.

§ 18. That practical theology should be restored to its purity, by the very persons who exploded a corrupt doctrinal theology, might readily be supposed, by such as understand the intimate natural connexion between them. And more may be learned respecting real piety, from the few writings of *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Weller*², and the two *Riviers*³, not to mention others, than from all the volumes of the *casuists*, and the *moralizers*⁴ as they were barbarously called. And yet, in this department also, the whole truth did not at once show itself to those excellent men. It appears rather, from the various controversies respecting the extent of Christian duties which were agitated in this century, and from the answers which even great men gave to questions proposed to them respecting the divine law, that all the first and fundamental principles of Christian duty were not fully settled; nor was it universally understood, how far the law of nature and the precepts of Christianity coincide, and wherein they differ, or what there is in revealed religion consonant to the dictates of reason, and what that lies above reason. If the heat of their numerous enemies had allowed the Lutheran doctors more leisure and more opportunity to cultivate and diffuse religion, they would doubtless have been free from these faults, and would not have fallen below the more modern

² [Jerome Weller was born at Freyberg in Meissen, was long familiar with Luther at Wittenberg, and died the superintendent and inspector of schools in his native place, A. D. 1572. He was a practical theologian, and left many edifying and enlightened writings, which prove him a man of great experience. *Schl.*]

³ [There were two *Riviers*, both called John: the one was of Westphalia, and a famous schoolmaster of his times, who taught at Cologne, Zwickau, Annaberg,

Schneeberg, and Freyberg; and was afterwards informant and counsellor to Augustus, elector of Saxony; and at last inspector of schools at Meissen. He died in 1553, and left many moral writings in Latin. The other John Rivier was of Venice, and lived near the same time; but whether he wrote any thing on morals, I know not. See Teissier's *Eloges des Hommes Savans*, tom. i. p. 153, &c., and Melch. Adam's *Vite Germanor. Philosophorum*, p. 60, &c. *Schl.*]

⁴ *Moralisantes.*

teachers. And the same answer may be given to those who think it strange that no one among so many excellent men,—not even *Melancthon*, who seemed formed by nature for such an undertaking,—should have thought of collecting and arranging the first principles of morals, and forming a system of practical religion, but should have included all his instructions under the heads of *the law, sin, free-will, faith, hope, and charity*.

§ 19. To designate any one as a noted theologian of that age, is the same as to say that he was an ardent and energetic polemic. For the misfortunes of the times, and the multiplicity of contests, both internal and external, required all to take up arms. Among these defenders of the truth, all who were contemporary with *Luther*, or lived near his times, chiefly studied simplicity; and did not assail their adversaries with any other authorities than those of holy Scripture, and of the early teachers of the church. Those who flourished in the latter part of the century, came forth armed with the weapons of the Aristotelian philosophy; and therefore are less lucid. The cause of this change is to be sought for in their adversaries, especially the papists. For these having learned by sad experience, that a plain and explicit mode of reasoning was ruinous to their cause, involved themselves and their opinions in all the obscurities and artifices of the scholastic doctors. And this led our theologians to think that they must fight with the same weapons with which they were attacked. Moreover, all disputants of this age, if we except *Melancthon*, to whom Providence had given a mild and modest spirit, are thought at this day to have been much too bitter and acrimonious; and no one more so than *Luther* himself, who is known to have inveighed against his adversaries in the coarsest manner, without regard to rank or dignity. Yet this fault will appear much alleviated, if it be estimated according to the customs of those times, and if compared with the brutality and cruelty of his opponents. Is it not allowable to designate malignant railers and ferocious tyrants, who labour to destroy, and actually do destroy, with fire and sword, the holy souls which they cannot vanquish in argument, by applying to them the epithets appropriate to their crimes?

§ 20. The internal history of the Lutheran church, and of the changes that took place in it, if we would render it easy of comprehension, and make the causes of events intelligible,

must be divided into three periods. The first extends from the commencement of the reformation to the death of *Luther*, in 1546. The second embraces what occurred between the death of *Luther* and that of *Melancthon*, in 1560. The third period contains the remainder of the century.—In the first period, every thing among the Lutherans took place according to the will and pleasure of *Luther*; who being a man of great energy of character, and possessing unbounded influence every where, suppressed without difficulty all the commotions and disturbances that arose, and did not suffer nascent sects to attain maturity and acquire strength in his new community. Therefore, so long as *Luther* lived, the internal state of the church was tranquil and peaceful; and such as were meditating alterations, had either to be still, or to leave the church, and seek a settlement elsewhere.

§ 21. The very infancy of the new church was disturbed by a set of men, fanatical and void of self-control, who turned the world upside down, and pretended that a divine inspiration had marked them out as founders of a new kingdom of Christ free from all sin. The leaders of this turbulent and discordant tribe were *Thomas Münzer*, *Nicholas Storch*, *Mark Stübner*, and others, partly Germans, and partly Swiss; who greatly disquieted some parts of Europe, especially Germany, and raised tumults among the ignorant multitude, in some places very great, in others less, but every where formidable.⁵ The history of these people is very obscure and perplexed: for it has not been methodically written, nor could it easily be so, if one were disposed to narrate it; because, every where, men of this sort, of dubious sanity, and differing variously from each other in opinions, roamed about, nor did the state of the times produce diligent recorders of such tumultuous proceedings. This is certain, that the worst members of this motley company combined together in that seditious band which produced the rustic war in Germany, and in that which afterwards disturbed Westphalia, and settled itself at Munster; while the better members, terrified by the miseries and slaughter of their companions, at

⁵ Jo. Baptist Ott has collected much relating to these events, in his *Annales Anabaptist.* p. 8, &c., and with him may be joined nearly all the historians of the Reformation. [The war of the peasants in 1525, was noticed in sec. i. ch. ii. § 21,

p. 124, &c. above: and that of the *Anabaptists* in Westphalia, A. D. 1533, *ibid.* ch. iii. § 10, p. 153. The rise of the sect of Menmonites will be considered in the 6th chapter of this second part of the present section. Tr.]

length joined themselves to the sect called *Mennonites*. The zeal, vigilance, and resolution of *Luther*, prevented his community from being rent asunder by this sort of people, and the fickle and credulous populace from being deceived and led astray by them, as would undoubtedly have been the case, if he had possessed less energy of character.

§ 22. *Andrew Carlstadt*, a Franconian, *Luther's* colleague, a man neither ill-disposed nor unlearned, but precipitate, was too ready to listen to this sort of men; and accordingly, in the year 1522, while *Luther* was absent, raised no little commotion at Wittemberg, by casting the images out of the churches, and by other hazardous innovations. But *Luther* suddenly returning, his presence and discourses brought back peace. Departing now from Wittemberg to Orlamund, *Carlstadt* not only opposed *Luther's* opinions respecting the Lord's Supper, but in many other things besides, discovered a mind not averse from fanatical opinions.⁶ He was, therefore, expelled from Saxony, and went over to the Swiss; among whom he taught, first at Zurich, and then at Bâle; and as long as he lived, he showed himself inclined to the side of the Anabaptists, and of the men that made pretensions to divine visions.⁷ This second commotion, therefore, *Luther* happily terminated in a short time.

⁶ See Val. Ern. Löscher's *Historia Motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, pt. i. cap. i. Daniel Gerdes, *Vita Carolostadii*, in his *Miscell. Gröningens. Novis.* tom. i., and most of the historians of the Reformation.

⁷ ["This affirmation of Dr. Mosheim wants much to be modified. In the original it stands thus: *Dum vivit vero Anabaptistarum et hominum divina visa jactantium partibus amicum sese ostendit; i. e. as long as he lived, he showed himself a friend to the Anabaptists, and other enthusiasts, who pretended to divine inspiration.* But how could our historian assert this without restriction, since it is well known that Carlstadt, after his banishment from Saxony, composed a treatise against enthusiasm in general, and against the extravagant tenets and the violent proceedings of the Anabaptists in particular? Nay more; this treatise was addressed to *Luther*, who was so affected by it, that, repenting of the unworthy treatment he had given to Carlstadt, he pleaded his cause, and obtained from the elector a permission

for him to return into Saxony. See Gerdes, *Vita Carolostadii*, in *Miscell. Gröningens.* After this reconciliation with *Luther*, he composed a treatise on the eucharist, which breathes the most amiable spirit of moderation and humility; and, having perused the writings of Zwingli, where he saw his own sentiments on that subject maintained with the greatest perspicuity and force of evidence, he repaired, a second time, to Zurich, and from thence to Basil, where he was admitted to the offices of pastor and professor of divinity, and where, after having lived in the exemplary and constant practice of every Christian virtue, he died, amidst the warmest effusions of piety and resignation, on the 25th of December, 1541. All this is testified solemnly in a letter of the learned and pious Grynæus of Basil to Pitisens, chaplain to the elector Palatine, and shows how little credit ought to be given to the assertions of the ignorant Moreri, or to the insinuations of the insidious Bossuet." *Macl.*]

§ 23. A man of similar turn of mind, was *Caspar Schwenckfeld*, of Ossigk⁸, a Silesian knight, councillor to the duke of Liegnitz; who, with *Valentine Crautwald*, a learned man living at the court of Liegnitz, saw many deficiencies in *Luther's* opinions and regulations; and undoubtedly, if *Luther* and others had not strenuously resisted him, would have produced a schism, and a sect of considerable magnitude. For he led a blameless and upright life, recommended and laboured to promote piety among the people, with peculiar earnestness; and by these means so captivated very many, even learned and discreet men, both among the Lutherans and the Zwinglians, that they though it their duty to patronize him, and to defend him against his adversaries.⁹ But in the year 1528, he was banished by the duke, both from the court and the country; because *Zwingle* had declared, that *Schwenckfeld's* sentiments respecting the Lord's Supper, were not different from his own. From this time, he wandered through various provinces, and experienced various fortunes, till his death in 1561.¹ He left a

⁸ [Ossing. *Von Ein.*]

⁹ See Jo. Conrad Fuesslin's *Centuria I. Epistolarum a Reformatore Helvet. Scripturibus*, p. 169. 175. 225. *Museum Helvet.*, tom. iv. p. 445, &c.

¹ See Jo. Wigand's *Schwenckfeldianismus*, Lips., 1586, 4to. Conrad Schlüsselfeld's whole tenth book of his *Catalogus Hæreticorum*, Francf. 1599, 8vo. But the history of *Schwenckfeld* is most studiously investigated and accompanied with vindications of him, by Godfrey Arnold, *Kirchen- und Ketzehistorie*, book xvi. ch. xx. p. 720, &c. [vol. i. p. 835—856, and p. 1246—1292, ad. Schaffhausen, 1740, fol. *Tr.*] and by Chr. Aug. Salig, *Geschichte der Augsb. Confession*, vol. iii. book xi. p. 951, &c. [*Schwenckfeld* was born in the year 1490, and was employed in the courts of Münsterberg and Liegnitz, and held a canonry at Liegnitz. He aided the reformation in Silesia: but *Luther's* reformation, in his view, did not go far enough. He not only wished for a stricter church discipline, but he also found some fault with certain points of doctrine. As early as the year 1524, he commenced an attack upon the Evangelical church, by his essay on the Abuse of the Gospel to carnal security; and the year following, he brought forward his new opinion respecting the eucharist. According to

the epistle of the superintendent of Liegnitz, Simon Grunewus, to Abraham Scultetus of Heidelberg, (in the *Supplem. ad Ind. I. Histor.* no 28, of Seckendorf's *Historia Lutheranismi*), it was not merely the duke that banished *Schwenckfeld* from Silesia, but also Ferdinand, king of the Romans. He seems to have drawn on himself the hatred of this lord, chiefly, by his opinion concerning the eucharist; which he defended, in the year 1529, by a writing printed at Liegnitz, with a preface by Capito. From Silesia he retired to Strasburg, where he was supported for some time by the preachers, Matthew Zell and Capito. Afterwards he resided in several imperial cities of Suabia; and died at Ulm, in 1561, after having obtained many followers in Alsace, the territory of Würtemberg, and other places. His writings were at first printed separately, but after his death, collectively, at two different times, namely, in 1564, in 2 parts, or four vols. fol., and in 1592, in 4 large volumes, 4to. The greater part of them were also published in 1566, fol., under the title of *Epistolarum edentium von Gott hochbegnadigten theueren Mannes Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossing, &c. Besides these, he left various manuscripts, which are in the Wolfenbüttele library, and which Salig consulted. One tole-*

little community in his native Silesia; which the papists, in our own times, ordered to quit the country, but which the king of Prussia, in the year 1742, permitted to return to its ancient settlements.²

§ 24. *Schwenckfeld* merits praise for good intentions, piety, and zeal in spreading it; but not for discretion, sound judgment, and intelligence. The good man was ever inclining to the side of those who are called fanatics, and fancied himself taught by the Spirit of God. From *Luther* and the other professors of the reformed religion, he differed principally, on three points: for I pass over inferences from his principles, and minor points of doctrine.—(I.) In regard to the Lord's Supper; he inverted the words of Christ, *This is my body*; and would have them understood thus: *My body is this*, that is, is such as this bread, which is broken and eaten; or, it is real food for the soul, nourishes, satisfies, delights it. And, *my blood is this*, namely, like wine, which refreshes and strengthens the soul. And this singular doctrine, he said had been divinely communicated to him; which alone shows how weak his mind and discernment were.³ (II.) In regard to the

rable and devotional tract, is on the Love of God, and was printed at Amsterdam, 1594, 8vo.—Crautwald was a professor and a pastor at Liegnitz, a promoter of the reformation, but who afterwards took sides with *Schwenckfeld*, participated in his views of the eucharist, and published various writings under the name of Valentine Cratoald. Other adherents to *Schwenckfeld* were Jo. Sigm. Werner, court preacher to the duke of Liegnitz; who was displaced in 1540, after being sent by the duke to Wittemberg, to be better instructed by *Luther* and *Melancthon*. He now retired to the county of Glatz, where he established a school at Rengersdorf, and composed a Catechism and a Postille, under the name of *Sigm. Rengersdorf*. The Catechism is still regarded by the *Schwenckfelders* as one of their best elementary books; and the Postille is often used in their religious worship. Besides these, in the middle of the following century lived one *Daniel Frederic*, who, in 1643, published the Secret of self-examination. See, concerning him, *Godfr. Arnold*, l. c. vol. iv. sec. ii. no. 24. *Schl.*]

² On the Confessions of the *Schwenckfelders*, see *Jo. Chr. Köcher's Biblioth.*

Theol. Symbolicæ, p. 457. [Most of the *Schwenckfelders* joined the body, after the death of *Schwenckfeld*, when the concealed protestants in Bohemia, the county of Glatz, and Silesia, obtained possession of his writings, which were spread abroad in great numbers; and they established congregations, principally, in the territories of Liegnitz, Hirschberg, and Goldberg. But as they were often severely persecuted, under the Austrian government, especially since the year 1718, and were harassed by the Jesuit missionaries; hence the greater part of them retired to Pennsylvania, where they set up congregations, and held communion with other fanatical parties. Others, who remained in the vicinity, being invited back, returned when the country fell under the Prussian government. See *Baumgarten's Geschichte der Religions-Parteyen*, p. 1059, &c. *Schl.*]

³ [He also discarded infant baptism; though he did not require those baptized in infancy to be rebaptized; and therefore differed in this from the Anabaptists. Hence *Grunæus* informs us, (in *Secken-dorf's Hist. Lutheranismi, Supplem. ad Ind. I.* no. 28.) that in the year 1526,

efficacy of the word of God: he denied, that there is efficacy in the external word, as written down in the inspired books, to heal, illuminate, and regenerate the minds of men. This efficacy he ascribed to the *internal word*, which he said was *Christ* himself. But of this internal word, he expresses himself, in his usual manner, without uniformity and clearness; so that it is not easy to decide, whether he held the same views with the Mystics and the Quakers, or differed from them. (III.) In regard to the human nature of *Christ*: it displeased him to hear the human nature of Christ denominated a *creature*, or created existence, in what theologians call its state of exaltation: for this language he thought below the dignity and majesty of Christ's human nature, since it had become united with the divine nature in one person. This opinion appeared to resemble what is called the Eutychian doctrine. But *Schwenckfeld* would not be considered a Eutychian; and on the contrary, accused those of Nestorianism, who called the human nature of *Christ* a *creature*.⁴

§ 25. As *Luther* taught that the *gospel*, or the doctrine of a salvation procured for mankind by *Jesus Christ*, should be inculcated on the people, and censured and chastised the papists for confounding the law and the Gospel, and promising men salvation from obedience to the law; *John Agricola*, a native of Eis-

infant baptism was nearly done away among the *Schwenckfelders*. *Schl.*—The Lutheran writers thus tax *Schwenckfeld* with discarding infant baptism. The fact was, he placed no reliance upon any outward rites, for the salvation of the soul; and was strongly opposed to the prevailing idea, that water baptism was necessary to the salvation of any one. Baptism in the blood of Christ, or spiritual baptism, was every thing, in his estimation. And he deemed it proper, though not essential, that this spiritual baptism should precede water baptism. See Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzehistorie*, book xvi. ch. xx. § 13, 14, vol. i. p. 842, &c., and p. 1271. Neither does Grunæus, (in the passage in Seekendorf, mentioned by Schlegel,) intimate, that *Schwenckfeld* treated infant baptism with any greater neglect or disrespect than he did the Lord's Supper, and other external rites. His words are these; "Eo vero anno, 1526, progredi cœpit fanaticorum insania, ut administratio sacrae cœnæ aliquandiu plane

intermissa, paedobaptismus quoque penitus prope fuerit exterminatus." *Tr.*]

⁴ [Likewise in respect to the church, he held singular opinions. He regarded it as a visible community of believers only; and therefore held, that no hypocrite should be tolerated in the Christian church; that an absolute purity, not only of the church generally, or as a body, but also of all the individual members of it, was possible; and, therefore, wished to restore the ancient church discipline in all its rigour. He likewise taught, that all the ministrations of unconverted preachers were inefficient; and that the whole efficacy of the sacred ministry depended on the gracious state of the preachers, or on the Spirit and internal word of God residing in them. On the whole, *Schwenckfeld* possessed too little true philosophy, to state correctly and to substantiate his views; and too little acquaintance with their original languages, to expound the Scriptures correctly. He first learned Greek from Crautwald. *Schl.*]

leben, and a celebrated divine of the Lutheran church, but whimsical and fickle, thence took occasion, in the year 1538, to teach that the law should be wholly excluded from the church, and never be taught to the people; and that the gospel alone should be taught, both in the schools and from the pulpit. Those who agreed in this with *Agricola*, were called *Antinomians*, or *enemies of the law*. But this sect also was suppressed in its very origin, by the energy and influence of *Luther*: and *Agricola*, through fear of so great a man, confessed and renounced his error. It is said, however, that the lion whom he dreaded, or *Luther*, being dead, he returned to the opinion he had renounced, and drew some persons to embrace it.⁵

§ 26. The opinions of the *Antinomians* were most pernicious if we may believe their adversaries. For they are said to have taught, that a person may live as he lists, and break the law by sinning at his pleasure, provided he holds to Christ, and embraces his merits by faith. But any one who considers the whole subject fairly, will readily perceive that *Agricola* did not teach such impious and absurd doctrines, though he might sometimes utter harsh expressions, that were liable to misinter-

⁵ See Caspar Sagittarius, *Introductio ad Historiam Ecclesiast.*, tom. i. p. 838, &c. Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Islebens*, tom. ii. p. 1567, [and art. *Agricola*, tom. i. p. 100.] Conrad Schlüsselburg, *Catalogus Hæreticor.* lib. iv. Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzehistorie*, book xvi. ch. xxv. p. 813, &c. [By the writers of those times, he is generally called Master Eisleben. He was a pupil of Luther; and in 1530, when the Augsburg confession was presented, he aided Luther in defending it. His character was not the best. He was a restless, fiery, contentious man, negligent in duty, and more of a courtier than was becoming in a minister. He was a rector and preacher; and after his dismissal, read lectures at Wittenberg. Perhaps rivalry between the two colleagues, Melancthon and *Agricola*, and the desire of the latter to obtain the pre-eminence, rather than honest zeal for reseuing the truth from perversion, occasioned this contest. *Agricola* thought Melancthon, in the articles which he drew up for visitation of the churches, had deviated from the sentiments of Luther and other reformers; that he held the use of the

law to be indispensable, under the New Testament, and for conversion; and he wrote some propositions in opposition; which are printed in Luther's Works, (ed. Altenb., vol. vii. p. 310.) and bear the title, *Positiones inter Fratres Sparsæ*. Luther confuted them, in six discussions; and *Agricola* was now held to retract; which he did at Wittenberg. They on leaving Wittenberg, in 1540, and entering into Berlin, where he possessed good will of the electoral prince, raised high degree, and was employed in furthering the reformation, he did not cease, occasionally, to advance his propositions. Upon occasion of the *Interim*, he fell into the opposite error, of the meritorious nature of good works. Among his adherents, James Schenk, superintendent at Freyberg, in Meissen, was the most famous. He was dismissed in 1538, on account of his Antinomian opinions, when, appearing to retract, he was called to Leipsic; but again bringing them forward, he was dismissed the second time. See also Jo. Geo. Walch's *Einführung in die Streitigkeiten der Evangelisch. Luth. Kirche*, ch. ii. § 10, p. 115. Schl.]

pretation and perversion. By the law, *Agricola* understood the ten commandments of Moses; which he viewed as a law enacted especially for the Jews, and not for Christians. The term Gospel he used in a broad sense, as including, not only the doctrine of Christ's merits, and salvation by faith, but likewise all that Christ and his apostles inculcated respecting holiness of life and the duties of men. Removing, therefore, unsuitable modes of expression, and mere integuments, he seems really to have meant no more than this; that the ten commandments of Moses were promulgated especially for the Jews, and of course might be neglected and laid aside among Christians; and that it would be sufficient to explain distinctly, and inculcate on the people, what Christ and his disciples had taught us, in the books of the New Testament, respecting both the way of salvation, and repentance, and a holy life. Most of the doctors of that age express their views with little precision and uniformity, nor are their definitions accurate; hence it often happens, that they are understood by others, in a way never contemplated by themselves.

§ 27. On *Luther's* death, in 1546, *Philip Melancthon* became the head and leader of the theologians in the Lutheran church. He was undoubtedly a great and excellent man, but much inferior to *Luther* in many respects⁶, especially in strength of mind, fortitude, and influence over others. For he was mild and gentle, excessively fond of peace and tranquillity, timid and shrinking before the resentment or wrath of the powerful; in short, one that could secure the attachment and love of others, but who was not competent to terrify, repress, and hold in check the authors of disturbance and of new opinions. He also dissented from *Luther* on some subjects. For (I.) he thought that, for the sake of peace, many things might be given up and be borne with, in the Romish church, which *Luther* thought could by no means be endured; indeed, he did not hesitate to admit, that the ancient form of church government, and even the supremacy of the Roman pontiff, might be retained on certain conditions, and provided that no violence was done to

⁶ ["It would certainly be very difficult to point out the many respects, in which Dr. Mosheim affirms that *Luther* was superior to *Melancthon*. For if the single article of courage and firmness of mind be excepted, I know no

other respect in which *Melancthon* is not superior, or at least equal, to *Luther*. He was certainly his equal in piety and virtue, and much his superior in learning, judgment, meekness, and humanity." *Muel.*]

the truth as clearly taught by the Holy Scriptures. (II.) He considered certain opinions maintained by *Luther* against the papists, for instance, concerning faith as the *sole* ground of justification, the necessity of good works in order to salvation, and the inability of man to convert himself to God, capable of some softening down, so as to close the door against new errors. (III.) Though his opinion coincided with *Luther's* as to the Holy Supper, yet he thought the controversy with the Swiss, on that subject, to be of no such moment as to make the parties unable to maintain brotherly affection; that it would be a sufficient provision for peace and concord, if the doctrine in regard to the Lord's Supper were stated in ambiguous terms and phrases, on which each party could put its own construction.—These opinions he did not indeed wholly dissemble and conceal during *Luther's* life-time, but he proposed them with modesty, and always gave way to *Luther*, whom he honoured and feared. But when *Luther* was dead, all that he had before taught cautiously and timidly, he brought forward much more openly and explicitly. Now, all these things caused the Lutheran church, while he stood at the head of her theologians, to lose that peace which had been enjoyed under *Luther*, and to become in some measure the scene of many and fierce contests and commotions.

§ 28. The commencement of these calamities was in the year 1548, when *Maurice*, the new elector of Saxony, directed *Melancthon* and the divines of Wittemberg and Leipsic to assemble at Leipsic, and consider, how far the noted *Interim* which *Charles V.* wanted to obtrude upon Germany, might be received. *Melancthon*, partly through fear of the emperor, and partly from his native mildness and moderation, here decided, with the concurrence of the other divines, that in things of an intermediate kind, or *indifferent*⁷, the emperor's will might be obeyed.⁸

⁷ In rebus mediæ generis, seu *Adiaphoris*.

⁸ The paper containing the opinion of *Melancthon* and the other divines, respecting things indifferent, or the result of their deliberations, is commonly called *The Leipsic Interim* (*Das Leipziger Interim*); and was republished by Jo. Erdm. Bieck, in his work entitled *Das dreifache Interim*, Leipsic, 1721, 8vo. [This *Interim* is properly an appendage to the result of the Diet of Leipsic, Dec. 22,

1548. In it the theologians define what they regard as *indifferent* liturgical matters, which might be admitted, to please the emperor, and at his command. Among them were the papal dresses for priests, the apparel used at mass, the surplice; and many customs evidently indicative of worship paid to the host, such as tolling and ringing bells at the elevation of the host. Besides *Melancthon*, there were present at this diet, Paul Eber, Bugenhagen, and George Major,

Among things of an intermediate kind, or *adiaphora*, *Melancthon*, however, and his associates reckoned many things, which *Luther* deemed of great importance, and which, therefore, his genuine followers could not account *indifferent*; for instance, the doctrine of justification before God by faith *alone*, the necessity of good works in order to salvation, the number of the sacraments, several ceremonies contaminated with superstition, extreme unction, the dominion of the Roman pontiff and of bishops, certain feast days long abrogated, and other things. Hence arose the violent contest, called the *Adiaphoristic controversy*⁹; which was protracted many years, and in which, the defenders and advocates of the old doctrines of *Luther*, (at the head of whom was *Matthias Flacius*, of Illyricum,) opposed with immense fervour the Wittenberg and Leipsic divines, especially *Melancthon*, by whose counsel and influence the whole had been brought about; and accused them of apostasy from the true religion. On the other hand, *Melancthon*, and his disciples and friends, defended his conduct with all their strength.¹ In this sad and perilous controversy, there were

of the Wittenberg divines, and Pfeffinger of Leipsic; likewise the bishop of Merseberg, prince George of Anhalt, and Justus Meinius. This *Leipsic Interim* must be distinguished from that of Augsburg, and the still older one of Regensburg, of both which notice has already been taken. *Schl.*]

⁹ [*Adiaphoristic*, from ἀδιάφορος, *indifferent*. *Melancthon*, and those who thought with him, were called *Adiaphorists*. *Tr.*]

¹ Conrad Schlüsselburg, *Catalogus Hæreticorum*, lib. xiii. Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzehistorie*, book xvi. ch. xxvi. p. 816. Chr. Aug. Salig's *Historie der Augsburgischen Confession*, vol. i. p. 511, &c. *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. D. 1702, p. 339. 393. Lucas Osiander, *Epitome Historie Eccles.*, cent. xvi. p. 502, &c. [From the records of these contests, (many of which are given by Schlüsselburg especially,) it appears, that, besides the points already mentioned, they contended about the use of Latin formulas of worship, and about chanting them; whether the prayers in public worship, and particularly at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, should be read, or be sung; respecting the ob-

servance of various times of worship, as vespers, matins, the canonical hours, and the days devoted to St. Mary and the Apostles. The most of these, though previously abolished, had already been again introduced, in electoral Saxony and Brandenburg, by prince Maurice, in order to please Charles V., and likewise in most of the imperial cities; among which Nuremberg stood prominent, because there most of the preachers were Philippists. *Schl.* — The representations of Dr. Mosheim, in the text, would seem to imply, what was by no means the fact, that *Melancthon* rejected the doctrine of justification by faith *alone*, held to salvation by works, and admitted seven sacraments, &c. Schlegel's representations, on the contrary, would seem to imply, that *Melancthon* only conceded the lawfulness of yielding to the imposition of certain ceremonies and forms of worship. According to Schroeckh (*Kirchengesch seit der Reformation*, vol. iv. p. 690, &c.) the Augsburg *Interim*, which the emperor would force upon his subjects, contained nearly the whole system of the Romish theology, both as to faith and practice; yet expressed throughout in the most accommodating

two principal points at issue. *First*: whether the things that *Melancthon* deemed of an intermediate kind, or *indifferent*, actually were so; which his adversaries denied. *Secondly*: whether it is lawful, in things indifferent, and not essential to religion, to give way to the enemies of truth.

§ 29. The *adiaphoristic* controversy was the fruitful parent of other contests equally pernicious. In the first place, it produced the contest with *George Major*, a divine of Wittemberg, respecting the necessity of good works to salvation. *Melancthon* had long been accustomed to concede, and in the consultation at Leipsic respecting the *Interim*, in 1548, he with his associates confessed, that it might be said, without prejudice to the truth, that *good works are necessary to salvation*. But as the defenders of the old Lutheran theology censured this declaration, as contrary to the doctrine of *Luther*, and highly useful to the popish cause; *Major*, in the year 1552, defended it against *Nicholas Amsdorf*, in a tract expressly on the subject of the necessity of good works. And now broke out again, a fierce and bitter contest, such as all the religious controversies of that age were, between the more rigid Lutherans and the more lax. And in the course of it, *Nicholas Amsdorf*, a strenuous vindicator of *Luther's* doctrines, was carried so far by the heat of controversy, as to maintain, that good works are *pernicious* to salvation: which imprudent admission furnished fresh matter for controversy. *Major* bitterly complained, that his opinion was misrepresented by his opponents; and at last, that he might not appear to continue the war, and disturb the

and unexceptionable language. *Melancthon*, and the other divines, endeavoured so to modify this *Interim*, that the protestants might conscientiously yield to it, under the present circumstances. They therefore altered and interpolated the doctrinal articles, and sifted and modified those relating to worship and ceremonies. They allowed the pope to remain at the head of the church; but without conceding to him a divine right, and without allowing him to be the arbiter of faith. The seven sacraments were permitted to remain, as religious rites; but not under the denomination of sacraments, nor as efficacious to salvation, in the popish sense. The mass was represented, as merely a repetition

of the Lord's Supper. Good works were allowed to be necessary to salvation; yet not as the meritorious ground of justification, but only as an essential part of the Christian character. Salvation was wholly by grace, through faith in the merits of Christ. Thus they supposed, they secured all the essential articles of religion, and only yielded to be saddled with a load of cumbersome and injudicious ceremonies, rather than incur the vengeance of the emperor, and expose the whole reformation to danger. *Melancthon's* actual belief is to be learned from his *Loci Communes*, or *System of Theology*; no essential part of which, as he supposed, was given up in the *Leipsic Interim*. *Tr.*]

church unreasonably, he gave it up. Yet the dispute was continued, and was terminated only by the *Form of Concord*.²

§ 30. From the same source arose, what is called the *synergistic*³ controversy. The *Synergists* were nearly the same as the Semi-Pelagians; i. e. they were persons who supposed, that God is not the *sole* author of our conversion to him, but that man *co-operates* with God in the renovation of his own mind. On this subject, *Melancthon* differed, at least in words, from *Luther*; and in the Leipsic conference, he did not hesitate to say, *that God so draws and converts adults, that some agency of their wills accompanies his influences*. The pupils and friends of *Melancthon* adopted his language. But the strenuous Lutherans conceived, that this sentiment corrupted and subverted *Luther's* doctrine of the *servitude* of the will, or of man's impotence to amend himself, and to perform any good actions; and they, therefore, violently assailed the persons whom they denominated *Synergists*. In this contest, the principal champions were *Victorin Strigel*, who the most openly and ingeniously defended the Melancthonian doctrine, and *Matthias Flacius*, who defended the old opinion of *Luther*. Of these men, we shall give account shortly.⁴

§ 31. In the midst of these tumults and commotions, the dukes of Saxe-Weimar, (sons of that *John Frederic*, whose un-

² Schlüsselburg, *Catalog. Hæreticor.*, lib. vii. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie*, b. xvi. ch. xxvii. p. 822, &c. Jo. Musæus, *Praelect. in Form Concord.* p. 181, &c. Arn. Grevius, *Memoria Jo. Westphali*, p. 166, &c. [Schlegel here inserts a long note, showing that neither Melancthon nor Major held to justification on the ground of merit, or of good works, though they held good works to be necessary, in some sense, to a man's salvation. It seems, the parties misunderstood each other; and that both used very unguarded language, which led them into furious conflicts, for which there was no sufficient cause. *Tr.*]

³ [From *συνέργεια*, *co-operation*. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Schlüsselburg, *Catalogus Hæreticor.*, lib. v. Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie*, b. xvi. ch. xxviii. p. 826, &c. Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Synergistes*, tom. iii. p. 2898. Christ. Aug. Salig, *Historie der Augsb. Confession*, vol. iii. p. 474, 587, 880, &c. Musæus, *Praelect. in Formam Concord.* p. 88. [Me-

lancthon, in his first writings, as well as *Luther* at first, maintained, according to St. Augustine, an irresistible operation of divine grace, in accordance with God's unconditional decrees; and he so taught in the first edition of his *Læci Communes*. But afterwards, in the third and eighteenth articles of the altered *Augsburg Confession*, he taught, that, for our conversion, we need only the *assistance* of God and his Spirit; and that, though weak and hard pressed, we can ourselves commence and effect it. In his *Examen Ordinandorum*, he maintains, that there are *three* causes of conversion, God, the word of God, and free will; and he seems to ascribe to free will and to human ability, an appropriate natural power, though in a feeble manner, to bring about conversion. Many of his pupils hereupon went still farther; and especially, *Victorin Strigel*, one of his most able pupils, distinguished himself in this controversy. *Schl.*]

successful war with *Charles V.*, brought on him so many evils and the loss of his electoral dignity,) founded and opened a new university at Jena. And as the founders wished this school to be the seat of the true reformed religion of *Luther*, they called to it teachers and theologians, who were distinguished and famous for their love and zeal for the genuine theology of *Luther*, and for their hatred of all more moderate sentiments. And as none was more celebrated in this respect than *Matthias Flacius*, a most strenuous adversary of *Philip Melancthon*, and of all the Philippists or moderate party, he was made professor of theology at Jena, in the year 1557. But this turbulent man, whom nature had fitted to sow discord, and to promote contention, not only cherished all the old controversies, with incredible heat, but likewise stirred up new ones, and so involved the divines of Weimar and those of electoral Saxony with each other, that the discerning were afraid of a schism and the rise of sects among the Lutherans.⁵ And undoubtedly, the Lutheran church would have been split into two communities, if his counsels had had the effect intended. For he recommended to his lords, the dukes of Weimar, in the year 1559, to order a *confutation* of all the errors that had been broached among the Lutherans, and especially of those with which the Melancthonians were taxed, to be drawn up, published, and subjoined to the other formulas of faith in their territories. But this attempt to rend the Lutheran church into opposing parties, proved abortive, because the other princes, who were truly Lutheran, disapproved the book, and feared it would be the cause of greater evils.⁶

⁵ See the memorable epistle of Augustus, the electoral prince, respecting Flacius and his attempts; published by Arn. Grevius, *Memoria Joh. Westphali*, p. 393, &c.

⁶ See Chr. Aug. Salig's *Historie der Augsb. Confession*, vol. iii. p. 476, &c. [A *confutation* was actually drawn by Strigel, Erhard Schnepf, and a preacher of Jena. When it was ready the theologians of Jena, and the superintendents of the whole land, were called to Weimar, to examine it. Flacius advised, that the writers of it should not be admitted into the assembly, urging that the theologians would then express their opinions more freely, and that the presence of the writers, whose opinions might easily be

known from the book itself, might occasion controversy and disunion. But the duke would not allow this advice, and the writers were called to the council. There was now quarrel after quarrel; for Flacius and others found much to censure in the *confutation*, and the writers of it would not allow it to be altered. The superintendents next collected together various *confutations*, out of which an abstract was afterwards made, which being amended by Flacius, Erasmus Sarearius, Joachim Mörlin, and John Aurifaber, was printed in 1559, with an edict of the duke, and was afterwards admitted into the *Corpus Doctrinæ Thuringicun*: but Strigel, from the first, strenuously opposed this form of a con-

§ 32. This extremely contentious man threw the Weimarian church, and the university of Jena, of which he was a professor, into commotion, by his attacks upon *Victorin Strigel*, his colleague, a pupil and friend of *Melancthon*.⁷ *Strigel* taught, in many points, according to the principles maintained by *Melancthon*; he denied, in particular, that the human mind is altogether inactive, while God moves and draws it to repentance. *Flacius* therefore so successfully accused him of *synergism*, before the court of Weimar, that he was put into close custody, by order of the prince. From this calamity he delivered himself, in 1562, by publishing an exposition of his views; and he was restored to liberty and to his office. Yet the contest did not here subside, because he was thought rather to have concealed his error under ambiguous expressions, than discarded it. Wherefore, lest he should be involved in new troubles, he retired from Jena, first to Leipsic, and then to Heidelberg; where he died, leaving posterity in doubt, whether he ought to be classed among the true followers of *Luther* or not.

§ 33. But *Flacius* set this controversy with *Strigel* on foot, greatly to his own injury, and to the great injury of the whole Lutheran church. For while pursuing his adversary intemperately, he fell himself into a sentiment so monstrous and wrong, that his own friends regarded him as a *heretic* and a corrupter of true religion. There was a formal dispute between him and *Strigel*, at Weimar, in 1560, respecting the natural power of man to amend himself and to do good, which *Strigel* seemed to exalt too much. In this conference, *Strigel*, who was well skilled in philosophy, with a view to cramp *Flacius*, asked him, whether original sin, or the vitiosity of the human soul, was to be classed among *substances* or among *accidents*? *Flacius* most imprudently replied, that it should be reckoned among *substances*; and to the end of his life he maintained this portentous sentiment, that *original sin is the very substance of a man*, with so much zeal and pertinacity, that he would sooner part with all his honours and privileges than with this error. The greatest part of the Lutheran church condemned the Flacian doctrine, and judged

futation. See *Narratio Action. et Certamin. Matth. Flacii*, in Schlißelburg's *Catal. Hæreticor.* tom. xiii. p. 802, &c. *Schl.*]

⁷ See the biographers of *Strigel*; and, besides the others above mentioned, Bayle, in his *Dictionnaire*, tom. iii. p. 1262.

it to be nearly allied to Manichæism. But the high rank of the man, his learning, and his reputation weighed so much with many, that even some very learned persons embraced his cause, and eagerly defended it; among whom *Cyriac Spangenberg*, *Christopher Irenæus*, and *Cælestine* were the most celebrated.⁸

§ 34. It is almost impossible to express how much this new contest afflicted those Lutheran countries in which it raged, and how much detriment it brought to the Lutheran cause among the papists. For it spread also to the churches that had a dubious toleration in papal lands, especially in the Austrian dominions; and it so excited the teachers who were surrounded by papists, that they became regardless of all prudence and all danger.⁹ There are many who think that *Flacius* fell into this error through ignorance of philosophical distinctions and ideas, and that he failed more from using a term not familiar to him, than in point of fact. But *Flacius* himself seems to refute this; for, in numerous passages, he declares, that he understood well the force of the word *substance*, and that he was not ignorant of the consequences of his doctrine.¹ Be this, however, as it may, it is beyond all doubt, that unbridled obstinacy was in the man, since he would rather ruin his own fortune, and disturb the peace of the church, than discard an unsuitable term, and a sentiment made up of contradictions.

§ 35. Finally, the well-known mildness of *Melancthon*, which *Andrew Osiander* contemned, gave rise to those contests, which the latter excited in the Lutheran church, in 1549. For if *Luther* had been alive, *Osiander* would doubtless not have dared to bring forward and defend his new opinions. This man, distinguished for pride and the love of singularity, after removing from Nuremberg, where he had been a pastor, to the

⁸ See Conrad Schlüsselburg's *Catalogus Hæreticor.* lib. ii. Jo. Balth. Ritter's *Life of Flacius*, in German, Franck. 1725, 8vo. Christ. Aug. Salig's *Historie der Angsb. Confess.* vol. iii. p. 593. Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzehistorie*, b. xvi. ch. xxix. p. 829. Jo. Musæus, *Praelection. in Formdam Concord.* p. 29, &c. Geo. Luckerfeld's *History of Spangenberg*, in German, 1728, 4to. On the dispute at Weimar, see *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. D. 1740, p. 383, &c.

⁹ Bernh. Raupach's *Zweifache Zugabe*

zu dem *Evangelisch. Oesterreich*, p. 25, 29, 32, 34, 43, 64, who treats of the Austrian Flacians, and particularly of Irenæus; *Presbyterol. Austriaca*, p. 69, &c. Respecting Cælestine, see *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. D. 1748, p. 314, &c.

¹ See the letters of Jo. Westphal, (a friend of Flacius, and who endeavoured to persuade him to give up the term *substance*,) addressed to Flacius, and the answers of Flacius; published by Arnold Grevius, in his *Memoria Joh. Westphali*, p. 186, &c.

university of Königsberg, on account of the *Interim*, first publicly taught opinions very different from *Luther's* respecting penitence and the divine image; and afterwards, from the year 1550, was so daring as to correct the public opinion of the Lutheran church, respecting the mode of obtaining justification before God. Yet it is easier to tell what he did not believe, than what he did believe: for according to the custom of the age, *Osiander* expressed his views neither with clearness, nor with uniformity and consistency. Comparing all that he has said, this seems to have been his opinion: The *man* Christ Jesus could not have merited for us righteousness before God, by his obedience to the divine law: and therefore it cannot be, that we become righteous in the sight of God, by embracing by faith, and applying to ourselves, this righteousness of the *man* Jesus; but a man obtains righteousness by that eternal and *essential* righteousness which resides in Christ as God, or in that *divine nature* which was united with the human. And a man becomes a partaker of this divine righteousness, by means of faith. For by faith, Christ *dwells* in men; and with Christ, also his divine nature. And this righteousness being present in the regenerate, on account of it God regards them, though sinners, as if they were righteous. And moreover, this divine righteousness of Christ excites the faithful to cultivate personal righteousness and holiness. The principal theologians of the Lutheran church, and among them *Melancthon* especially, and his colleagues, impugned his doctrine. Yet *Osiander* had also great men to support his cause. But after his death², the controversy gradually subsided.³

² [A. D. 1552. *Tr.*]

³ See Conrad Schlüsselburg's *Catalogus Hæreticor.* lib. vi. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzehistorie*, b. xvi. ch. xxiv. p. 804, &c. Christ. Hartknoch's *Preussische Kirchenhistorie*, b. ii. ch. ii. p. 309, &c. Chr. Aug. Salig's *Historie der Augsb. Confession*, vol. ii. p. 922. The opinion of the divines of Wittenberg, respecting this controversy, may be seen in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. D. 1739, p. 141, &c., and that of the divines of Copenhagen, in the *Dänischen Bibliothek*, pt. vii. p. 150, &c., where is a long catalogue of the writers on this controversy. Add pt. viii. p. 313, &c. On the arrogance of *Osiander*, see Hirsch's *Nürnberg. Interims-Historie*, p. 44. 58. 60., &c. [An-

drew *Osiander*, or *Hosemann* as his name was in German, was born at Sonnenhausen in Franconia, 1498; studied at Leipsic and Altenburg, under great poverty; and then at Ingolstadt. He possessed superior native talents; and became very learned, particularly in Hebrew, mathematics, and theology. He was eloquent; yet proud, self-sufficient, and contentious. In 1522, he became first preacher in a church at Nuremberg; and was there very active, and highly respected, notwithstanding he advanced some singular opinions. He supposed, the second person in the Trinity was that image of God, after which man was fashioned; that the Son of God would have become incarnate, if man

§ 36. His colleague, *Francis Stancari*, an Italian, and professor of Hebrew at Königsberg, a turbulent and passionate man, in attempting to confute the error of *Osiander* respecting the mode of obtaining justification before God, fell into another opinion, which appeared equally false and dangerous. *Osiander* maintained, that the *man* Christ was under obligation to keep the divine law, on his own account; and therefore he could not, by obeying the law, procure righteousness for others; and of course, it was not as man, but only as God, that Christ expiated the sins of mankind and procured us peace with God. *Stancari*, on the contrary, excluded the divine nature of Christ from the work of redemption and atonement, and maintained that the office of a mediator between God and men, pertained exclusively to the human nature of Christ. Finding himself to be odious, on account of his doctrine, he left Königsberg, and retired first to Germany, and then to Poland, where he died in 1574. He likewise excited considerable commotion in Poland.⁴

had not sinned; and that repentance consisted in abhorrence of sin, and forsaking it, without including faith in the Gospel. He also refused to pronounce the general absolution in public worship; which involved him in controversy. While at Nuremberg, he wrote his famous *Harmony of the Gospels*. The margrave, Albrecht of Brandenburg, had been converted by his preaching, and, therefore, became strongly attached to him. Having founded the university of Königsberg in 1544, Albrecht placed *Osiander* at the head of the theological department, in 1548. His colleagues disliked having a foreigner placed above them; and his bold avowal of singular opinions soon gave them occasion to break with him. He considered the *justification*, spoken of in the New Testament, to be equivalent to *sanctification*; or to be, not a forensic act of God, acquitting men from liability to punishment, but a gracious operation, which conferred personal holiness. And in this sense he used the term, in his theological writings. Legal justification, through the imputed righteousness of Christ, he would denominate *redemption*; and this he supposed always preceded what he called justification. The *mode* of justification, in his sense of the term, he supposed to be, by the *indwelling of Christ* in the soul, producing there a moral change. See *Arnold*, l. c. and

Schroeckh's Kirchengesch. seit der Reformat. vol. iv. p. 572, &c. *Tr.*]

⁴ See *Chr. Hartknoch's Preussische Kirchengeschichte*, b. ii. ch. ii. p. 340, &c. *Schlüsselburg's Catalogus Hæreticor.* lib. ix., the whole of it. *Peter Bayle, Dictionnaire*, art. *Stancarus*, tom. iii. p. 2649, &c. Before he came to Königsberg, in 1548, he lived a while among the Grisons and the Swiss; and among them he occasioned disputes; for he approved several Lutheran sentiments, particularly those respecting the efficacy of the sacraments, which were offensive to the Grisons and the Swiss. See *Museum Helveticum*, tom. v. p. 484. 490, 491. [and *De Porta's Historia Reformat. Ecclesiar. Ræticar.* lib. ii. p. 89. 121. *Tr.*] On the commotions he excited in Poland, in 1556, see *Bullinger*, in *Jo. Comr. Fuesslin's Centuria I. Epistolar. a Reformatior. Helvet. Scripturarum*, p. 371. 459, &c. [*Stancarus* is said to have contributed to the spread of Socinian sentiments in Poland; by maintaining, that it was only the human nature of Christ that made the atonement, and by arguing, that if the divine nature of Christ mediated between God and man, then his divine nature must have been inferior to that of God. From the first, the Socinians inferred, that there was no need of any nature but the human, in the Mediator; and from the second, they inferred, that

§ 37. All good men, friendly to the new church, were the more desirous of a termination of so many bitter contests, because they saw them turned by the papists to their own advantage. But while *Melancthon*, the principal cause of the disputes, continued alive, nothing scarcely could be done to terminate them. But when he died, in 1560, something could be attempted, with more safety, and with better prospects. Therefore, after other efforts, *Augustus*, prince elector of Saxony, and *John William*, duke of Weimar, in the year 1568, ordered the best theologians of both parties to assemble at Altenburg, and discuss in a friendly manner their principal controversies; so that it might better appear in what way they could be settled. But the warmth of the disputants, and other causes, prevented any good effects from this conference.⁵ It was therefore thought best to try some other method of restoring harmony: and it was resolved, that a *formula* or book should be drawn up by wise and moderate theologians, in which the whole of these controversies should be examined and decided; and that this book, when approved by all the Lutheran princes and churches, should be annexed to the Symbolical books of the Lutheran church. To this great and difficult work, *James Andreae*, a theologian of Tübingen, at that time in very high estimation, was appointed in the year 1569, by authority of his prince the duke of Würtemberg, and of *Julius*, duke of Brunswick. With these princes, *Augustus* of Saxony, and other princes of the Lutheran communion, concurred: and supported by such authority, *Andreae* repeatedly travelled over Germany, and consulted with the ministers of the courts, and with theologians, respecting the best method of drawing up the *formula*, so that it might secure the assent of all.

§ 38. This business was hastened forward by the rash temerity of *Caspar Peucer*, the son-in-law of *Melancthon*, a physician and professor of natural philosophy at Wittemberg⁶,

He could not, at any time, be equal with God the Father. See Bayle. l. c. note G.]

⁵ See Casp. Sagittarius, *Introductio ad Histor. Ecclesiast.* pt. ii. p. 1542. [The subjects discussed were, the Majoristic, Synergistic, and Adiaphoristic contests. The debaters were, in part, Misnian, and in part Thuringian divines. As all the transactions were in writing, the con-

ferences were protracted to a great length: and on one single expression in the article on justification, the discussion lasted five months. *Schl.*]

⁶ ["This Peucer, whom Dr. Mosheim mentions without any mark of distinction, was one of the wisest, most amiable, and most learned men that adorned the annals of German literature during this century, as the well known history of his life, and

and others, theologians at Wittemberg and at Leipsic, and pupils of *Melancthon*: for they, relying on the approbation and countenance of *George Cracovius*, the chancellor of Dresden, and others in the Saxon court, both civilians and clergymen, endeavoured in 1570, by various clandestine arts, to abolish the doctrine of *Luther* concerning the Holy Supper, in Saxony, and to introduce in its stead the opinion of *Calvin* respecting both the Lord's Supper and the person of Christ. What *Melancthon's* final sentiments concerning the eucharist were, appear uncertain⁷: though it is abundantly proved, that he would willingly have united the Saxons and the Calvinists, but was prevented by his timidity from directly attempting such a union. His son-in-law, with his associates above named, openly assented to [the doctrines of] *Calvin*, as appears from their writings; and thus they showed more courage and resolution than their father-in-law and preceptor, but less of prudence. Therefore, in the year 1571, in a German book entitled *The Foundation (die Grundfeste)*, and afterwards by other writings, they explicitly declared their dissent [from *Luther*], respecting the doctrine of the sacred supper, and the person of Christ: and the more readily to accomplish their wishes, they introduced into the schools a new *Catechism*, drawn up by *Petzel*, favourable to the doctrine of *Calvin*. These commotions and disputes having arisen in the Lutheran church, *Augustus* of Saxony ordered his theologians and superintendents to assemble at Dresden, in 1571, and declare their sentiments respecting the sacred supper. They did so; but deceitfully: and returning home, they zealously pursued the plan which they had formed, and by teaching and writing, and in other

the considerable number of his medical, mathematical, moral, and theological writings, abundantly testify." *Macl.*]

⁷ [This is certain, that in his last years, *Melancthon* was more inclined towards the doctrine of the Reformed respecting the Holy Supper: but it is also equally certain, that he did not receive their whole doctrine on this subject. See his Reflections, in Latin, published by *Pezel*, Neustadt, 1600, 8vo. Here he writes, one year before his death, p. 385, in a letter to Dr. Jo. Crato, concerning the Supper: "Verm est, Filium Deum adesse mysterio et in eo efficacem esse, και τον ἕρπον κοινωνίαν εἶναι τοῦ σά-

ματος, ut Paulus discrete locutus est. Scio enim, te virum doctum recte cogitare, quid *κοινωνία* significet. Hac nunc breviter scripsi, nec volo spargi in populum." And in p. 390, writing to Abraham Hardenberg, he cites a passage from *Macarius' Homilies*, which he thus translates: "In ecclesia offertur panis et vinum *antithyon* carnis et sanguinis ipsius: et accipientes de pane visibili *spiritualiter* comedunt carnem Domini." And he subjoins: "Scio te libenter tam vetus testimonium lecturum." This letter is dated Feb. 9, 1560. See also *Löscher's Historia Motuum*, vol. ii. p. 30, and especially p. 39, &c. *Schl.*]

ways endeavoured to extinguish the old Saxon doctrine concerning the sacred supper. The prince elector *Augustus*, when fully informed of this by numerous witnesses, summoned the celebrated convention of Torgau, in 1574; and having clearly learned the views of those *Crypto-Calvinists*, as they were generally called, imprisoned some of them, banished others, and compelled others to change their sentiments. On none of them did he animadvert with greater severity, than on *Pencer*, who had acted a leading part in the transaction. He was kept in constant and close prison, till the year 1585; and then, being liberated at the intercession of the prince of Anhalt, whose daughter Augustus had married, he retired to Zerbst.⁸

§ 39. The plans of the *Crypto-Calvinists* being frustrated,

⁸ See Conr. Schlüsselburg's *Calvinistic Theology*, in German, book ii. p. 207, book iii. prof. and p. 1—22, 52, 57, 69, b. iv. p. 246, &c. Leonh. Hutter's *Concordia Concors*, cap. i—viii. Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzehist.* book xvi. ch. xxxii. p. 389—395. Val. Ern. Löschler's *Historia Motuum inter Lutheranos et Reform.* pt. ii. p. 176, pt. iii. p. 1, &c. Add, on the other side, Caspar Pencer's *Historia Carcerum et Liberationis Divinæ*; published by Christ. Pezel, Tiguri, 1605, 8vo. [Likewise Jo. Rudolph Kiesling's Continuation of the *Historia Motuum*, Schwabach, 1770, ch. i. § 9, 10. The Catechism of Pezel was printed at Wittenb. 1571, and entitled, *Catechesis, continens Explicationem Decalogi, Symboli, Orationis Dominicæ, Doctrinæ de Pœnitentiâ et Sacramentis.* The theologians of Jena and Lower Saxony wrote against this catechism. See Waleli's *Bibliotheca Theol. Selecta*, tom. i. p. 485. The *Crypto-Calvinists* defended it, the same year, in a treatise entitled, *Grundfeste von der Person und Menschwerdung unseres Herrn Jesu Christi, wider die neuen Marcioniten, Simonstener, &c.* In reply, the divines of Lower Saxony wrote, *Die widerhöhlte christliche gemeine Confession und Erklärung, &c.* At the convention of Dresden, the *Consensus Dresdensis* was drawn up, through the intervention of the court party, and especially of the court preacher, *Schütze* or *Sagittarius*. It met with the greatest opposition from the foreign churches; and the house of Brunswick, with the duke of Wurtemberg, made strong representations against it to the prince elector. Upon this, in 1574, followed the *Erequisis per-*

spicua controversiæ de Cœna Domini; in which indeed they sought to keep up an appearance of coincidence with our symbolical books; but very manifestly took pains to defend the Melanethonian doctrine concerning the holy Supper. The electoral prince, prompted by so many complaints of foreign princes, who were apprehensive that the religious peace might be assailed by the Catholics, under the pretence of this contest, at last took measures to check the evil. He commanded certain articles to be drawn up, by the general adoption of which the religious contests might be terminated. These were actually formed in the diet of Torgau, 1574, and may be found in Hutter's *Concordia Concors*, p. 184, &c. They were, however, by the foreign theologians, to whom they were sent for examination, deemed insufficient to remove the contests. But mild as these first articles of Torgau were, (and they must not be confounded with the articles of Torgau, in 1576,) yet many hesitated to subscribe to them; and many that did subscribe, afterwards revoked their subscriptions. And now resort was had to those harsh measures, which never can be justified; to imprisonments and banishments, and to the forcible introduction of certain theological statements that were opposed to the statements of the Philippists. For Philippists [or Melanethonians] is the proper appellation for these *Crypto-Calvinists*: since they, for the most part, admitted the *real presence* in the eucharist, and questioned only the *omnipresence* of Christ's human nature. *Schl.*]

the prince elector, and those who agreed with him, urged forward anxiously and pressingly the business of the *Formula of Concord*, already mentioned. Therefore, after various consultations, in the year 1576, *James Andreæ* especially, in a convention of many divines at Torgau, called by *Augustus*, composed the treatise, intended to give peace to the Lutheran church, and to guard it against the opinions of the Reformed; and which, from the place, received the name of the *Book of Torgau*. This book being examined, amended, and elucidated by most of the theologians of Lutheran Germany, the subject was again submitted to certain select divines assembled at Bergen, an old Benedictine monastery near Magdeburg; and after all the suggestions from various quarters had been carefully weighed, the famous *Formula of Concord* was brought to its perfected state. *James Andreæ* had for assistants at Bergen, at first, *Martin Chemnitz*, and *Nicholas Schnecker*, and afterwards, also *Andrew Musculus*, *Christopher Cörner*, and *David Chytræus*. The Saxons first received this new rule of the Lutheran religion, by order of their prince, *Augustus*: and the greatest part of the Lutheran churches afterwards followed their example, some sooner and some later.⁹ The effect of this celebrated

⁹ The writers on the *Formula of Concord*, are mentioned by Jo. Geo. Walch, *Introductio ad Libros Symbolicos*, lib. i. c. vii. p. 707, and by Jo. Christ. Köcher, *Bibliotheca Theologicæ Symbol.* p. 188. A catalogue of unpublished documents relating to its history, is extant in *Den Unschuld. Nachricht.* A. D. 1753, p. 322. The principal historians of it are Rudolph Hospinian, a Swiss theologian, *Concordia Discors*: and Leonh. Hutter, *Concordia Concors*, and by comparing the accounts of both, it will be easy to discriminate the true from the false, and to understand the reasons of what took place. [See J. F. Balthasar's *Geschichte des Torgischen Buches nebst andern zur Historie des Concordienbuches gehörigen Nachrichten*, Greifsw. 1741, &c. 4to, and Semler's edition of the Book of Torgau, from a contemporary manuscript document, with a compendium of the most noticeable parts of this manuscript collection; 1760, 8vo. In tracing the history of the *Formula of Concord*, we should consider the preparatory events. These were (I.) The Suabian Concord, or *Formula Concordiæ inter Suevicæ et Saxonice*

Ecclesiæ; which was formed in 1574. By the Saxon churches must here be understood those of Lower Saxony, and in particular the *Ecclesiæ Tripolitane*, or the churches of Hamburg, Lubeck, and Lunenburg, whose preachers were strenuous Lutherans; the duchies of Brunswick and Lunenburg; and the cities of Brunswick and Magdeburg. All these united with the Suabian, and especially the Wurtemberg theologians, against those of electoral Saxony; and sent their Formula to the prince elector of Saxony, in order to show him, that his theologians had departed from the Lutheran doctrine, and that he could no longer be the chief director of the affairs of the Protestants. Then followed (II.) the convention held at Torgau, in 1574. Next followed, by order of Lewis, duke of Wurtemberg, (III.) the convention of Maulbronn, in 1576; where the Wurtemberg divines, Lucas Osiander and Balth. Bidenbach, with the concurrence of some foreign divines, drew up what is called the *Formula of Maulbronn*; in which they state the orthodox faith of our churches, and on what conditions they would unite

Formula, as is well known, was, to decide and terminate the many controversies, which had drawn the Lutherans, especially after *Luther's* death, into disagreeing parties; and also, to exclude from the Lutheran community the opinions of the Reformed, respecting the holy Supper and the person of Christ.

§ 40. Yet the book, which was to have restored harmony among the Lutherans, and which actually did so in many places, furnished also new ground of discord. In the first place, the Reformed, and those who either favoured the Reformed, or at least wished to be at peace with them for the sake of the common good, when they perceived, that by this *Formula*, every hope of healing the schism was at an end, and that the Reformed were entirely excluded from all communion with the Lutherans, violently attacked, and censured in bitter writings, both the *Formula* and its authors. Beyond the bounds of Germany, the Swiss, (of whom *Rudolph Hospinian* was the chief,) and the Belgians¹; and in Germany, those of the Pala-

with the divines of electoral Saxony, and recognise them as members of our church. Afterwards came (IV.) the Lichtenberg convention, in Feb. 1576, in electoral Saxony; at which the Formula of Maulbronn was examined, and pronounced too rigorous. Then followed (V.) the convention of Torgau, in June of the same year, after the suspected divines of electoral Saxony were removed. Here the Book of Torgau was compiled from the Suabian Concord and the Maulbronn Formula; and this was the real basis of that Formula of Concord, which was afterwards sent to all the German courts and churches, to collect suggestions and amendments. After the suggestions of the foreign theologians were received, in the year 1577, at the cloister of Bergen, the proper *Formula of Concord* was formed from the Book of Torgau. The principal person concerned in it was James Andrea, who was occupied many years in the business, took a number of journeys, and showed extraordinary zeal in the whole affair, yet incurred many reproaches, by the ambiguous expressions which he employed. And by his influence it was, that the opinions of the Suabian divines, respecting the person of Christ, the communication of the attributes [of Christ's divine nature to his human], (*communicatio idiomatum*) and the omnipresence of Christ's human

nature, which before had been only private opinions, were received into the Formula of Concord, as doctrines of the whole Lutheran church. With him was joined Nicholas Schnecker, a native of Herspruck, in Franconia, who was at that time superintendent at Leipsic; a learned and persevering man, who had endured much persecution from the Philippists. The two others that were associated with James Andrea, were still more learned, and at the same time much disposed to peace, Martin Chemnitz and David Chytraeus, both pupils of Melancthon. The first was then superintendent at Brunswick, and had few equals in learning and facility in writing. He was a venerator of Melancthon, and endeavoured in many respects to find out a middle path, and to check the violence of Andrea. Hence, he and Andrea may be considered as the proper composers of the instrument. Chytraeus was of Rostock. Musculus and Corner were of Frankfort on the Oder, and were famed for their zeal for Luther's doctrines; yet these had no great concern with the Book of Torgau. *Schl.*

¹ Peter Viller's *Epistola Apologetica Reformatarum in Belyo Ecclesiarum ad et contra Auctores libri Bergensis dicti Concordiæ*, with the notes of Lew, Gerh. a Renesse; republished by Daniel Gerdes, in his *Sermonium Antiquarium*, or

minate², of Anhalt, of Baden, and others, waged furious war upon the *Formula*. This imposed upon the Lutheran divines, and especially those of Saxony, the disagreeable task of defending it and its authors in various treatises.³

§ 41. Even among the Lutherans themselves, some of the most distinguished churches could not be persuaded, either by entreaties or arguments, to receive the *Formula*, and add it to their guides in doctrinal instruction. It was accordingly rejected by the Hessians, the Pomeranians, the Nurembergers, the Holstenians, (through the influence of *Paul Von Eitzen*, the superintendent general), by the Silesians, the Danes, the Brunswickers or Julians, and others.⁴ But all these were not influenced by the same motives and arguments. Some of them, as the Holstenians, were led by their respect and reverence for *Melancthon*, to abhor a book, in which the opinions of so great a man were censured and confuted. Others were not only partial to *Melancthon*, but they also believed, that some of the sentiments condemned in the *Formula*, were nearer the truth than the prevailing views. Some were kept from approving the *Formula*, by their secret attachment to the opinions of the Reformed; and some by hopes which they had indulged, that

Miscellanea Gröningens. Novis, tom. i. p. 125, &c. Add *Unschuld. Nachricht*. A. D. 1747, p. 957, &c.

² The palsgrave, Jo. Casimir, forthwith, in the year 1577, called a convention of the Reformed at Frankfort, for the purpose of repelling this *Formula*. See Henry Alting's *Historia Eccles. Palatinae*, § clxxix. p. 143, &c.

³ See Jo. Geo. Walch's *Introductio in Libros Symbolicos Lutheranor.* lib. i. c. vii. p. 734, &c.

⁴ On the fate of the *Formula of Concord* in Holstein, see *die Dänische Bibliothek*, vol. iv. p. 212, &c., vol. v. p. 355, vol. viii. p. 333—468, vol. ix. p. 1, &c. Henry Mühlis, *Dissert. Histor. Theolog. Diss. i. de Reform. Holsat.* p. 108, &c. Arn. Grevius, *Memoria Pauli ab Eitzen*; who, however, only touches upon this subject. The transactions in Denmark relative to the *Formula*, and the causes of its rejection, may be learned from the above mentioned *Dänische Bibliothek*, which contains numerous documents, vol. iv. p. 222—282; and from Eric Pontoppidan's *Annales Eccles. Danicæ Diplomaticæ*, tom. iii. p. 456, &c., who also shows, (p. 476, &c.) that, what, Jo.

Herm. von Elswich and others endeavour to make doubtful, was a real fact, namely, that king Frederic II., on receiving a copy of the *Formula*, threw it into the fire, and burnt it. Respecting the rejection of the *Formula* by the Hessians, see the documents in *der Dänische Bibliothek*, vol. vii. p. 273—364, vol. ix. p. 1—87. Add Tielemann's *Vite Theologor. Marpurgens.* p. 99, &c. Respecting the countries of Liegnitz and Brieg, see the *Unschuld. Nachricht*. A. D. 1745, p. 173, &c. [It cannot be denied, that there were faults preceding this *Formula of Concord*, which gave to many Lutheran churches a reasonable excuse for procrastinating or even refusing to subscribe to it. It was published too hastily, before the suggestions of all the churches had been received; whence many, as, e. g. the churches of Pomerania and Holstein, believed that the *Formula* was sent to them only for form's sake. It was thought, the Saxons assumed a power, in the whole transaction, which did not belong to them; that they sought a kind of control over the Lutheran churches, which no one would in this sense concede to them. *Schl.*]

the Reformed and the Lutheran churches might form an alliance.⁵ Some either actually feared, or at least pretended to fear, that the peace and harmony of the Lutheran church might be injured, by adding a new symbolical book to their old ones. And others offered other reasons for their dislike of it.

§ 42. *Julius*, duke of Brunswick, had been a kind of second father of the *Formula of Concord*; and had contributed to the fabrication of it, both by his counsels and by liberal contributions. And when drawn up, he had commanded all the ministers of religion in his dominions to receive it, and subscribe their names to it. But after the *Formula* was published, *Julius* changed his mind, and permitted his divines at Helmstadt, *Tilemann Heshusius* and the others to oppose it, and to exclude it from a place among the symbolical books of his territories. The principal grounds on which the divines of *Julius* rejected the *Formula*, were, (I.) That the printed copy differed in some part from the written *Formula* which the Brunswickers had approved. (II.) That the doctrine of free-will was incorrectly explained in the *Formula*; and that some of the harsher and unsuitable phrases of *Luther* were employed in it. (III.) That the *ubiquity*, (as it was then termed,) or the boundless presence of Christ's *human nature*, which the

⁵ [It was the fact, that the *Formula of Concord* cut off all prospects of a union of our church with the Reformed, and opposed a bar to all attempts at pacification. At that time, the points in controversy with the Reformed, were only two; namely, respecting the doctrine of the Supper, and the person of Christ. The first pervaded the whole Lutheran church; the second did not; for before the *Formula of Concord*, it was only the Swabian divines that defended the omnipresence of Christ's human nature, on the ground of a communication of attributes. *Luther* never attempted to prove his doctrine concerning the Supper, from the doctrine *de communicatione idiomatum*: but solely from the Scriptures. And if, when *Zwingle* (who would parry his proofs from Scripture) brought him on to the subject of the person of Christ, he derived the ubiquity of Christ's human nature, from its personal union with the divine nature; yet he never maintained, that the man Christ was *always* and *everywhere* present; but merely, that

he *could* be present, wherever the execution of his mediatorial office, and the fulfilment of his promises, required; and of course, at the celebration of the holy Supper. And in this, the theologians of Upper and Lower Saxony followed him. But the theologians of Swabia and Alsace maintained an absolute omnipresence: and their statements were transferred to the *Formula of Concord*, (yet so that the other opinion was not explicitly excluded,) and thus were made articles of faith: the doctrine of election by grace, also, was previously a private opinion of Calvin; and was transformed by the synod of Dort into an article of faith, to all that received the degrees of that synod. Thus the points of controversy between us and the Reformed, were increased by the *Formula of Concord*. They were also rendered more virulent, because we censured as heretical, and condemned, a church that hitherto wished to be a sister to us. *Schl.*]

Lutheran church had never adopted as her doctrine, was taught in it. Besides these reasons, perhaps other and secret ones influenced duke *Julius* not to adopt the *Formula*. There were various negotiations with him, and with his theologians, to remove these difficulties; and particularly in the year 1583, a convention of theologians from the electoral Palatinate, Saxony, Brandenburg, and Brunswick, was held at Quedlinburg, for the purpose of terminating this dissent: but *Julius* remained inflexible in his purpose, and wished to have the cause of the *Formula* referred to a council of the whole Lutheran church.⁶

§ 43. In Saxony itself, not a few detested in their hearts that *Formula*, which they subscribed with their hands; holding fast the doctrines which they had received from *Melancthon* and his friends. These, on the death of *Augustus*, and the accession of *Christian I.*, who from his childhood had been imbued with the milder sentiments of *Melancthon*, and is said to have been too friendly to the doctrines and institutions of the Swiss, again lifted up their heads, and seemed to be plotting against the *Formula of Concord*, in order to open the way for Calvinistic opinions and regulations to be introduced among the Saxons. And they found much support from men of the

⁶ See Leonh. Hutter's *Concordia Concors.* cap. xlv. p. 1051. Phil. Jul. Rehtmeyer's *Braunschweig Kirchenhistorie*, vol. iii. ch. viii. sect. i. p. 483. and the writers mentioned by Christ. Matth. Pfaff, *de Actis et Scriptis Ecclesie Wurttemberg.* p. 62, and in his *Historia Litterar. Theolog.* pt. ii. p. 423. On the conference at Quedlinburg and its Acts, see also the *Dänische Bibliothek*, pt. viii. p. 595, &c. [This court appears, in this matter, to have been actuated by political considerations. For the objections of the theologians to the *Formula* might admit an answer. The first objection, respecting the discrepancy between the printed and the written copies of the *Formula*, was founded on fact. There really were words and phrases interpolated in some of the statements, which were not in the written copy. The other party did not deny the fact; but said, they were minute things, and not alterations of the doctrine, but merely changes in the phraseology, introduced for the sake of perspicuity. And this was actually true. Dr. Mosheim once compared the subscribed copy with the

printed; and, as he asserted, the doctrine in both was the same. So that, if they had been disposed, they might easily have compromised this point. So also the two other points were not so very important. The Helmstadt theologians would not concede the ubiquity; yet they held it possible, that *Christ*, as man, should be in various places at the same time. Now, how far is one who concedes this, from believing the ubiquity? The grand difficulty was this. The electoral Saxons had, in the whole business, assumed too much to themselves, and had acted as lawgivers to the church. It was perceived, that if this matter was allowed to pass thus, the elector of Saxony would personate the pope, and his principal clergy the cardinals, and would in future prescribe laws to the whole Lutheran church. They would, therefore, maintain against the Saxons, their right to think for themselves in matters of religion, and would show, that they conceeded to Saxony the direction of religious affairs, only under certain restrictions. *Schl.*]

first rank, and especially from *Nicholas Crell*, the prime minister of state. Through their influence, first some laws were enacted, which might prepare the minds of the people to acquiesce in the contemplated revolution; and then, in the year 1591, the *Formula of exorcism*, as it is called, was required to be omitted, in the administration of baptism.⁷ Moreover, not only was there a new German *catechism* published, which was favourable to the designs of these patrons of the Reformed doctrines, but also, a new edition of the German Bible, with the notes of *Henry Salmuth*, adapted to the object in contemplation, was prepared in 1591, at Dresden. And now violent commotions, and seditions of the people, breaking out every where, the government animadverted severely on the ministers of religion, who opposed the designs of the court. But the sudden death of *Christian*, which took place this very year, frustrated all these machinations. The theologians, by whom the business had been principally managed, were, after the death of the elector, punished with imprisonment and exile; and *Crell*, the prime director of it, received in 1601, the fruit of his temerity, by being brought to capital punishment.⁸

§ 44. At the end of the century, *Samuel Huber*, a Swiss of Berne, indiscreetly awakened a new controversy at Wittemberg, where he taught theology. Fired with hatred of the Calvinistic doctrine of absolute decrees, he maintained that the whole human race were, from eternity, elected of God to salvation; and he accused his colleagues, together with all the Lutheran church, of being Calvinists; because they taught that those only are elected, who God foresaw would die in the faith. Learned men are at this day agreed, that *Huber* swerved from the common Lutheran doctrine, rather in words, than in meaning: for, what the Lutherans maintain respecting the love of God, as embracing the whole human race, and excluding no one absolutely from eternal salvation, this he would explain in a new manner, and in new phraseology. But this age having learned from numerous examples, that new phraseology and new modes of explaining doctrines produced as lasting and as pernicious disturbance, as new errors, urged *Huber* to adopt the

⁷ See Jo. Melchior Kraft's *Geschichte der Exorcismi*, p. 401, &c.

⁸ See Godfr. Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzehistorie*, pt. ii. b. xvi. ch. xxxii.

p. 863, and the writers mentioned by Herm. Ascan. Engelcken, *Diss. de Nic. Crellio, ejusque Supplicio*; Rostoch. 1724.

old and the universal method of teaching, in preference to his own. And when he declared that he could not do so, and his patrons here and there threatened to produce disturbance, he was compelled to relinquish his office, and go into exile.⁹

§ 45. That the controversies here recounted, and others of less magnitude, were very injurious to the public interests of the church founded by *Luther*, no one, well informed in the history of those times will deny. Moreover, the method of discussing and terminating controversies in that age, if estimated according to the modern views of good men, contained much that was inconsistent with equity, moderation, and charity. And while *they* are unjust, who load with reproaches the authors of those evils indiscriminately, and boldly pronounce them destitute of all reason and virtue; those are still more *unjust*, who cast all the blame on the victors, and pronounce the vanquished to be saints, and deserving of a better fate. That men recently led out of the thickest darkness into the light, should not at once discern and distinguish all objects as they do who have long been in the light, is not at all strange. Besides, that age was unpolished, and not only tolerated but even applauded many things in morals, and in the mode of living, acting, and contending, which modern times, improved by experience and education, disapprove and reject. But with what views and intentions the individuals contended, whether they acted maliciously or ingenuously, and in good faith, belongs not to us to decide, but to Him who knows the hearts of men.

§ 46. The theologians, among the Lutherans who illustrated the various branches of sacred learning, form a very long list. Besides *Luther* and *Melancthon*, who excelled all the rest in genius and learning, the more distinguished were, *Hieronymus Weller*, *Martin Chemnitz*, *John Brentius*, *Matthias Flacius*,

⁹ The writers on this controversy are mentioned by Christ. Matth. Pfaff. *Introduction in Histor. Litterar. Theolog.* pt. ii. lib. iii. p. 431, &c. [See, in particular, Godf. Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzer-historie*, book xvi. ch. xxx. vol. i. p. 952, &c. It must not be supposed, by the incautious reader, that Huber believed in the final salvation of all men. He used the words *deceit* and *election*, as equivalent to *gracious invitation*. This he supposed, in the eternal counsels of

God, extended to all men equally, and without distinction. But to make *their calling and election sure*, they must repent and believe; which, he supposed, the greater part of mankind *will not do*, and of course will be damned to all eternity. This he expressly stated in the Confession of his faith, which he published in 1595. See Arnold, l. c. p. 953, and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. iv. p. 664. *Tr.*]

*Urban Regius, George Major, Nicholas Amsdorf, Erasmus Sarcerius, John Matthesius, John Wigand, Francis Lambert, James Andreae, David Chytraeus, Nicholas Selnecker, Martin Bucer, Paul Fagius, Casper Cruciger, Victorin Strigel, Cyriacus Spangenberg, Matthew Judex, Tilemann Heshusius, Joachim Westphal, John Æpinus, Andrew Osiander, and many others.*¹

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH.

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§ 1. THE church which wishes to be called the *Reformed*, or the *Evangelical Reformed* church, but which was formerly known to its opponents, as the *Zwinglian* or the *Calvinistic* church,

¹ For an account of these, Melchior Adam's *Vitæ Theologorum*, the historical and literary [and biographical] Dictionaries, Lewis Ellics du Pin's *Bibliothèque des Auteurs séparés de la Communion de l'Eglise Romaine*, and others, may be consulted. The lives of many of them have been separately written, with care,

in our age: e.g. the life of Hieronymus Weller by Laemmel, of Flacius by Ritter, of Heshusius and Spangenberg by Leuckfeld, of Fagius by Feuerlin, of Chytraeus by Schütze, of Westphal by Arn. Grevius, of Bucer by Verporten, of Æpinus by Grevius, &c.

and is now called by many the *Calvinistic Reformed*¹, differs in character from nearly all others. For all other Christian churches are united by a certain common bond of doctrine and discipline: but this is not the case with the *Reformed church*. It has not one form of religion, but various forms not slightly differing in some things, nor does it follow one uniform rule of divine worship, nor finally is it governed, every where in the same way. Of course, this church does not require of its ministers, that they should all hold and teach the same things; but allows very many points of doctrine, and those of no little consequence, to be variously stated and explained, provided the great first principles of religion and piety remain inviolate. This church may, therefore, be called a great community, made up of various kinds of churches; which the moderation of all, in tolerating dissent, keeps from splitting into different sects.²

¹ [In England and America, the term *Reformed* is commonly applied to all the different sects, which, in this century, separated from the Romish church: and the term *Protestant* is used with the same latitude. But the Lutheran writers use the term *Reformed*, to denote all the larger sects, except their own, which separated from the Romish church during this century. In this sense Dr. Mosheim here uses it. It would have been more accurate, however, had he said the *Reformed Churches*; for the sects he includes, do not pretend to be *one church*, or *one sect*. They are, and they profess to be, as distinct from each other, as any or all of them are from the Lutheran church. See the following note. *Tr.*]

² [“These observations are designed to give the Lutheran church an air of *unity*, which is not to be found in the *Reformed*. But there is a real fallacy in this specious representation of things. The *Reformed church*, when considered in the true extent of the term *Reformed*, comprehends all those religious communities that separated themselves from the church of *Rome*, and, in this sense, includes the Lutheran church as well as the others. And even when this epithet is used in opposition to the community founded by Luther, it represents, not a single church, as the Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Independent, but rather a *collection of churches*; which, though they be invisibly united by a belief and pro-

fession of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, yet frequent separate places of worship, and have each a visible centre of external union peculiar to themselves, which is formed by certain peculiarities in their respective rules of public worship and ecclesiastical government. An attentive examination of the discipline, polity, and worship of the churches of *England, Scotland, Holland, and Switzerland*, will set this matter in the clearest light. The first of these churches, being governed by *bishops*, and not admitting the validity of *presbyterian ordination*, differs from the other three, more than any of these differ from each other. There are, however, peculiarities of government and worship, that distinguish the church of *Holland* from that of *Scotland*. The institution of *deacons*, the use of *forms* for the celebration of the sacraments, and ordinary *form of prayer*, the observation of the *festivals* of Christmas, Easter, Ascension-day, and Whitsuntide, are established in the Dutch church; and it is well known, that the church of *Scotland* differs from it extremely in these respects. But after all, to what does the pretended uniformity among the Lutherans amount? are not some of the Lutheran churches governed by *bishops*, while others are ruled by *elders*? It shall, moreover, be shown, in its proper place, that, even in point of doctrine, the Lutheran churches are not so very remarkable for their uniformity.” *MacL.*]

§ 2. Such was not the original character of this church; but it was thrown into this state by the force of circumstances. The Swiss, with whom it originated, and especially *John Calvin*, who was the second father of it, spared no pains to bring all the congregations that united with them, to adopt the same forms of faith and practice, and the same mode of government; and while they looked upon the Lutherans as brethren that were in error, they were not disposed to grant indulgence and impunity themselves, nor were they willing their associates should grant it, to those who openly favoured the Lutheran views of the Lord's Supper, the person of Christ, predestination, and the kindred subjects. But when fierce contests arose in Britain, both respecting the form of church government, and respecting rites, and some other subjects, between what were called the *Episcopalians* and the *Puritans*, it seemed necessary to extend the church's boundaries, and to reckon among genuine brethren even such as deviated from the opinions and the regulations of the Genevans. And after the Synod of Dort, much greater moderation ensued. For, although the opinions of the Arminians were rejected and condemned, they found their way into the minds of great numbers. The English church, in the time of *Charles I.*, publicly renounced the opinions of *Calvin* respecting the divine decrees³; and studied entire conformity with the opinions and practices of the first ages of Christianity. Some German churches dared not publicly assent entirely to the Genevan views, lest they should be declared to have cut themselves off from the privileges of the Augsburg Confession. Finally, the French exiles, who had long been accustomed to milder views, and had philosophized in the free manner of their countrymen, having become dispersed over the whole Reformed world, allured many to emulate them, by their eloquence and their talents. All these and some other circumstances have gradually instilled such a spirit of gentleness and patience, that at the present day, all, except such as either adhere to the Roman pontiff, or fiercely defend the errors of the Socinians, Anabaptists, or Quakers, can hold their place among the members of the Reformed church. This has taken

³ ["Many members of the church of England, with archbishop Laud at their head, did, indeed, propagate the doctrines of *Arminius*, both in their pulpits, and in their writings. But it is not accurate to say that the *Church of England renounced publicly*, in that reign, the opinions of *Calvin*." *Macl.*]

place contrary to the wishes, and against the opposition of many: but they are far out-numbered and out-influenced by the others, who think that but few things are necessary to be believed, in order to salvation, who allow many doctrines to be variously explained, and who wish to extend the Reformed church as widely as possible.⁴

§ 3. The founder of the Reformed church was *Ulrick Zwingle*, a Swiss, an acute man, and a lover of truth.⁵ He not only wished to have many things suppressed, in the public worship and in the churches, which *Luther* thought might be borne, images for instance, altars, candles, the formula of *exorcism*, the private⁶ confession of sins, with other things, and prescribed the most simple forms of worship; but he likewise taught, on some points of doctrine, in particular respecting the Lord's Supper, very differently from *Luther*. And those who laboured with him in banishing the popish superstitions among the Swiss, approved these singular opinions of *Zwingle*. From these men, all the churches of Switzerland, which separated from the Romish communion, received those opinions. From Switzerland, by the preaching and writings of his pupils and friends, the same tenets spread among the neighbouring nations. Thus the Reformed church, of which *Zwingle* was the parent, was at first small, and of limited extent, but by degrees became an extensive body.

§ 4. The principal cause of the separation of the Lutherans from the Swiss, was *Zwingle's* doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper. While *Luther* maintained, that the body and blood of Christ are truly, though in an inexplicable manner, present in the Holy Supper, and are presented along with the bread and wine in that ordinance, *Zwingle* held, on the contrary, that the bread and wine are only signs and symbols of the absent body and blood of Christ; and he so taught in his public

⁴ There has never yet been published a full and accurate History of the Reformed church. Abraham Scultetus would have given us one, down to his times, in his *Annales Evangelii Renovati*; but only a very small part of that work has been preserved. Theodore Hasens, who projected *Annales Ecclesiæ Reformate*, was cut off by a premature death. James Basnage's famous work, which was last published, Rotterdam, 1725, 2 vols. 4to, entitled, *Histoire de la Religion*

des Eglises Réformées, is not a history of this church, but merely shows, that the peculiar doctrines of the Reformed church are not novel, but very ancient, and have been held in all ages of the church. Lewis Maimbourg's *Histoire du Calvinisme* is filled with innumerable errors, and written with the pen of partiality.

⁵ See above, sec. i. *History of the Reformation*, p. 107, &c.

⁶ [Auricular. *Tr.*]

writings from the year 1524 onwards.⁷ The next year, *John Œcolampadius*, a theologian of Bâle, and one of the most learned men of that age, did the same thing.⁸ Both were opposed by *Luther* and his friends, and especially by the Suabians, with great firmness and resolution. *Philip*, the landgrave of Hesse, fearing much injury to the incipient cause of the *Protestants*, from these contests, endeavoured to put an end to them by a conference held at Marburg, in the year 1529, between *Zwingle*, *Luther*, and some others. But he could obtain only a truce, not a peace. *Luther* and *Zwingle* came to agreement on many points: but the controversy respecting the Lord's Supper was left for God and time to heal.⁹

§ 5. *Zwingle* had but just settled his church, when, in the year 1530, he fell in a battle of the Zurichers with the Roman catholic Swiss, the defenders of the old religion. He marched out to this war, not for the purpose of fighting, but for the sake of encouraging and consoling the soldiers, though he went armed according to the customs of his country.¹ After his death certain good and moderate men among the Lutherans, especially *Martin Bucer*, laboured with all zeal and diligence, by exhortations, explanations, admonitions, and perhaps also by shrouding the opinions of both parties in ambiguous language, to bring about a compromise of some sort.² That those who undertook this difficult task had good intentions and designs, no one, who is himself honest and candid, will call in question: but whether they took the right and proper method to accomplish their

⁷ Yet, before that year, *Zwingle* had so believed, and taught, in private. See Dan. Gerdes, *Historia Evangelii Renovati*, tom. i. append. p. 228.

⁸ See Jo. Conrad Fuesslin *Centuria I. Epist. Theol. Reformatorum*, p. 31. 35. 44. 49, &c. [See also, above, sec. i. ch. ii. p. 161, and notes. *Tr.*]

⁹ Abrâh. Ruchat, *Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*, vol. i. passim, vol. ii. livr. vi. p. 463, &c. Jo. Henry Hottinger's *Helvetische Kirchengeschichte*, pt. ii. lib. vi. p. 27. 51, &c., p. 483. Val. Ern. Löscher, *Historia Motuum*, pt. i. cap. ii. iii. p. 55, &c. cap. vi. p. 143, &c. Jo. Conr. Fuesslin's *Beyträge zur Schweiz-er-Reformation*, tom. iv. p. 120, &c. [and above, p. 117, note, and p. 127, § 27. *Tr.*]

¹ Those of our church, who formerly reproached *Zwingle*, and the Reformed church, with this death, did not consider the customs of the Swiss nation, in that age. For all the Swiss, when summoned to defend their country, were at that time obliged to march, and not even the religious teachers and ministers were excused. And in the very battle in which *Zwingle* fell, there fell likewise a doctor of Berne, Hieronymus Pontanus. See Fuesslin's *Centuria I. Epistolæ. Theol. Reformator.* p. 84, &c.

² See Alb. Menon. Verpoorten's *Comment. de Martino Bucero et ejus sententia de Cena Domini*, § ix. p. 23, &c. Coburg, 1709, 8vo. Löscher's *Historia Motuum*, pt. i. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 181, and pt. ii. lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 15.

object is less clear. In Switzerland some commotions resulted from these movements of *Bucer*. For some refused to give up the opinion of *Zwingle*; while others embraced the explanations and the modified views of *Bucer*.³ But these commotions had no influence to bring about a peace with *Luther*. Out of Switzerland, however, and among the theologians of Upper Germany, who had adhered to the side of the Swiss, *Bucer's* efforts to settle the controversy had such effect, that, in the year 1536, they sent a deputation to Wittenberg, and connected themselves with *Luther*, abandoning the Swiss.⁴ The Swiss he could not persuade to do so: yet for some years afterwards, the prospect of an agreement was not absolutely desperate. But in the year 1544, when *Luther* published his *Confession of faith respecting the Lord's Supper*, in direct opposition to the opinions of the Swiss; the Zurichers, the year following, publicly defended their cause against him: and by these movements all the efforts of the pacificators were rendered nugatory.⁵

§ 6. The happy death, by which *Luther* was removed in 1546, seemed to dispel this cloud, and again inspired the hope that a compromise might take place. For *Melancthon* and his friends and disciples, desired so eagerly to have the Lutherans and Zwinglians unite, that he did not refuse even a simulated peace, and showed himself in various forms for the sake of obtaining one. On the other side, *John Calvin*, a native of Noyon in France, and a teacher at Geneva, a man venerated even by his enemies for his genius, learning, eloquence, and other endowments, and moreover the friend of *Melancthon*, tempered the offensive opinion of *Zwingle*, and endeavoured to prevail with the Swiss, and especially with those of Zurich, among whom his influence was very great, to adopt his views.⁶ He rejected indeed the idea of the actual *presence* of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper; but he was of opinion that a certain *divine influence* from Christ accompanied the bread and wine, to those who received them with full faith and an honest

³ See Fuesslin's *Centuria I. Epistolar. Theolog.* p. 162. 170. 181, 182. 190. 192. 215.

⁴ Löschner, l. c. cap. ii. p. 205. Abrab. Ruchat, *Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*, tom. v. p. 535, &c. Hottinger's *Helvetische Kirchengesch.* vol. iii. book vi. p. 702, &c. [See p. 140, above, note. Tr.]

⁵ Löschner, l. c. pt. ii. lib. ii. cap. iv. p. 241, &c. [This *Confession* is a different work from *Luther's Large Confession*, published in the year 1528. Tr.]

⁶ Christ. August. Salig's *Historie der Augsburg Confession*, vol. ii. book vii. ch. iii. p. 1075.

heart: and to render this doctrine the more acceptable, he expressed it in nearly the same phraseology, that was used by the *Lutherans* respecting that matter. It was, indeed, the common error of nearly all who assumed the office of pacificators in this contest, or who attempted to restore harmony, that they endeavoured rather to produce agreement in words than in sentiment. But *Melancthon*, though extremely desirous of peace, neither had fortitude enough openly to engage in this perilous enterprise; nor would his opponents allow him tranquillity enough, after the death of *Luther*, to collect himself, and consider from the beginning a very difficult question. Besides, the contention which had been intermitted, was renewed in 1552, by *Joachim Westphal*, a pastor at Hamburg; than whom, after *Flacius*, there was no more strenuous vindicator of the sentiments of *Luther*. For to the *Mutual Consent of the Genevans and Zurichers, in regard to the doctrine of the sacrament*, he opposed a book, written in the caustic style of *Luther*, entitled, *A Farrago of confused and discordant opinions respecting the sacred Supper, collected from the books of the Sacramentarians*; in which he bitterly taxed the reformed with their disagreements on the doctrine of the Supper, and most earnestly contended for the opinion of *Luther*. In a style no less harsh, *Calvin* first replied to him: and soon after, some joining *Westphal*, and others joining *Calvin*, the parties became insensibly excited, and the contest raged even worse than before, and no human power seemed adequate to check it.⁷

§ 7. To these controversies an immense accession was made, afterwards, by the contest respecting the decrees of God in relation to the eternal salvation of men; which was moved by *John Calvin*, and has an obvious tendency to engender abstruse and recondite questions. The first teachers among the Swiss were so far from the views of those who hold that God by his supreme and absolute sovereignty, appointed some to everlasting joy, and others to everlasting pain, from all eternity, and without any regard had to their condition and conduct, that they seemed not far removed from the sentiments of the *Pelagians*; and did not hesitate, with *Zwingle*, to promise heaven to all who lived according to right reason.⁸ But *Calvin*, differing

⁷ Löscher's *Historia Motuum*, pt. ii. Arnold Grevius, *Memoria Joachimi Westphali*, p. 62, 106, &c. Jo. Möller's *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. iii. p. 642, &c.

⁸ See this demonstrated, by many

from them, thought that God, according to his own arbitrament, has defined every human being's future fate, and he pronounced that an absolute decree of the divine will is the sole cause with all men, either of everlasting felicity, or infelicity.⁹ This opinion was propagated by his writings and pupils, in a short time, through the whole body of the reformed; nay, more, it was enrolled among the public doctrines of the church in some regions. The Italian, *Jerome Zanchi*, who was devoted to the views of *Calvin*, gave the first impulse to a deplorable controversy upon this question, at Strasburg, in the year 1560, and it soon afterwards assumed so many new features from the various parties engaged in it, that there is good reason for doubting, whether this difference, or the former one upon the Lord's Supper, did more for exasperating feelings, and confirming separation.¹

§ 8. All prospect of calming the passions, and of settling in some way these great contests, being at an end as respects the Swiss, the only gleam of hope was from the Saxons, the pupils and followers of *Melancthon*, who, it was well known, sought to find some method of producing harmony after the death of their instructor. But having no leader, who could see into the future, and cautiously bend to circumstances, they rendered a wound, which already seemed mortal, absolutely incurable, by their remedies. For while they endeavoured to corrupt the public teachers and the youth, or at least to induce them to tolerate the opinions of the Swiss, by publishing certain books, as has been stated, they drew ruin upon themselves and their project, and gave occasion for the formation of the noted *Formula of Concord*, which condemned the doctrines of the

proofs, in John Daillé's *Apologia pro duabus Ecclesiarum Gallicarum Synodis, adversus Frider. Spanhemium*, pt. iv. p. 946. Jo. Alphon. Turretin, *Epistola ad Antistitem Cantuariensem*; which is printed in the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, tom. xiii. p. 92. Rich. Simon, *Bibliothèque Critique*, under the fictitious name of *Saniore*, tom. iii. cap. xxviii. p. 292. 298. The author of the French notes to the *Formula Concensus Helveticæ*, p. 52, &c. The very learned Daniel Gerdes, indeed, in his *Miscellanea Gröningens.* tom. ii. p. 476, 477, seems to teach the contrary; namely, that Calvin held the same opinions as the first teachers among the Swiss. But he may be refuted by what he himself adduces con-

cerning the disturbances in Switzerland produced by Calvin's opinions.

⁹ [This statement appears quite too strong. Neither Calvin, nor Augustine, nor any other distinguished teacher of the divine decrees, in ancient times, maintained, that God's "absolute decree is the *only cause* of eternal felicity and eternal misery." On the contrary, they maintained, that the sinfulness of men is the sole cause of their eternal misery. Neither did they suppose, that the righteous are saved, without any acts or agency of their own. *Tr.*]

¹ See Löscher's *Historia Motuum*, pt. iii. lib. v. cap. ii. p. 27, &c. cap. x. p. 227. Salig's *Historie der Augsburg Confession*, vol. i. book ii. ch. xiii. p. 441, &c.

Reformed respecting the sacred Supper and the person of Christ. This, being received by the greatest part of the Lutherans among their rules of faith, was an insurmountable obstacle to all efforts of the pacificators.

§ 9. Thus far as to the origin, causes, and progress of the schism, which separates the Reformed from the Lutherans. We must next look into the internal state, the history, and the growth of the Reformed church. The history of the Reformed body, during this century, should be divided into two periods: of which the first extends from the year 1519, when *Zwingle* began to form a church separate from the Romish community, on to the time when *John Calvin* settled at Geneva, and obtained an absolute ascendancy among the Reformed. The latter period embraces the remainder of the century. In the first period, the church, which afterwards assumed the title of *Reformed*, (in imitation of their neighbours the French, who distinguished themselves from the Roman Catholics by this title,) was of no great extent, being almost confined to Switzerland. Some small states, indeed, in the adjacent countries of Suabia and Alsace, as Strasburg, and a few others, adhered to the side of the Swiss²: but these, in the year 1536, by the influence of *Bucer*, abandoned the Swiss, reverted back to the Saxon community, and became reconciled with *Luther*. The other churches that revolted from the Romish pontiff, had either embraced openly the sentiments of *Luther*, or were composed of persons of diverse sentiments, who may be considered as of neither party. And within these narrow limits, the church collected by the efforts of *Zwingle* would perhaps have remained stationary, had not *John Calvin* arisen. For as the Swiss, contented with such things as they have, feel no desire for more extensive territories, so neither did they seem solicitous for the extension of their church.³

² [Among these states were, besides Strasburg, where Wolfgang Fabricius, Capito, and Martin Bucer, were entirely on *Zwingle's* side; Reutlingen, where the pastor Conrad Herman was of *Zwingle's* opinion; Constance, where Ambrose Blauer adhered to *Zwingle*; Augsburg, where Martin Cellarius and Wolfgang Mueulus adhered to the Reformed religion; Memmingen and Lindau, which, with Strasburg and Constance, at first refused to subscribe to the Augsburg Confession, and presented a separate one

called *Tetrapolitana* (that of the four cities). But all these were persuaded by Bucer, to subscribe to the Augsburg Confession, and to accept the Wittenberg agreement. In Strasburg especially, the Reformed lost all public offices, after the contests of Hieronymus Zanchius with John Marbach, John Sturm, and John Pappus; and their community at last fell to the ground. See Löschner's *Historia Motuum*, vol. ii. p. 283, &c. *Schl.*]

³ [Dr. Mosheim is still blinded by

§ 10. In this first age of the Reformed church, nothing else separated it from the Lutheran church, but the controversy respecting the *Lord's Supper*: out of which arose another, respecting the *person of Jesus Christ*: which, however, the whole Lutheran church never made its own controversy. For when the Suabian divines, in their disputes with the Swiss, drew an argument, in proof of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacred Supper, from the doctrine of the communication of the divine attributes, (and among them *omnipresence* in particular,) to the *human* nature of Christ, in consequence of the hypostatic union⁴; the Swiss, to meet this argument, denied the communication of the divine properties to the human nature of Christ; and opposed, in particular, the omnipresence of the *man*, Christ. Hence originated the very troublesome controversy, respecting the *communication of attributes*, and the *ubiquity*, as the Swiss termed it; which produced so many books and subtle disquisitions, and so many mutual criminations. During this period, the Swiss in general followed the opinion of *Zwingle* respecting the Lord's Supper, which differed from that of *Calvin*. For this father of the Swiss church believed, that the bread and wine only *represent* the body and blood of Christ, or are *signs* and emblems of the blessings procured for the human race by the death of Christ; and, therefore, that Christians derived no other benefit from coming to the Lord's Supper, than that of meditation on the merits of

his theory of the *unity* of the Reformed church. See notes³ and ⁴, p. 160, 161, above. What then? did the reformation in England owe its birth and progress to John Calvin? or were the Dutch, or the French, sleeping on in popery, till Calvin arose? Far from it. Simultaneously, there were efforts for reformation in nearly every country of Europe. Luther and Zwingle took the lead, in their own countries; and in them the Reformation first became complete. But several other countries were not far behind; and about the time that they achieved their deliverance from the Roman yoke, John Calvin arose, and, by his superior talents and wisdom, acquired more influence than any other man of his age, among the protestants. Yet he did not so much *extend* the Reformation, as enlighten the Reformed, and contribute by his counsels to the establish-

ment and regulation of the Reformed churches. *Tf.*]

⁴ [Especially Brentinus and James Andreae; the former in his *Sententia de Libello Bullingeri*, Tübingen, 1561, 4to, and still more largely, in his book, *de Personali Unione, et de Divina Majestate Christi*; as also in his *Recognitio Doctrinae de vera Majestate Christi*, Tübingen, 1564, 4to., and Andreae in his *Assertio de Persona et Unione*, 1565, 4to. Also in the Conference of Maulbronn, in 1564, this subject was much discussed; and the Tübingen divines published, in 1565, their *Declaratio et Confessio Majestatis Christi*. Christopher, duke of Würtemberg, sent this production of his divines to Augustus, the elector of Saxony, and requested him to get the opinion of his divines respecting it. But these found much to set aside in this doctrine, which they regarded as novel and dangerous.

Christ, or, as the patrons of this opinion used to express themselves, *the Lord's Supper is nothing but a memorial of Christ.*⁵ *Martin Bucer*, for the sake of peace, laboured to correct and amend this doctrine of the Holy Supper, and to make it appear more like, nay, actually allied, to that of *Luther*. But the remembrance of *Zwingle* was too fresh to allow the Swiss to be drawn off from his opinion.

§ 11. The Reformed church assumed an aspect entirely new, when *John Calvin*, a Frenchman, born at Noyon,— a man with whom few of his age will bear a comparison, for patient industry, resolution, hatred of the Romish superstition, eloquence, and genius,— returned in 1541 to Geneva, from which he had been driven, and obtained the first place in the new church of Geneva⁶, and vast influence also in the republic. This man, possessing a most capacious mind, endeavoured, not only to establish and bless his beloved Geneva with the best regulations and institutions, but also to make it the mother and seminary of the whole reformed Church, that, in fact, which Wittenberg was among the Lutherans; endeavouring from it, as a centre, to enlarge and extend the Reformed church; in short, to set up Geneva as a standard and pattern for settling every member of that church. This was truly a great undertaking, and one not unworthy of a great mind; one likewise, no small part of which he actually accomplished, by his perseverance and untiring zeal. In the first place, accordingly, by his writings, his epistles, and other things, he induced very many persons of rank and fortune to emigrate from France, Italy, and other countries, and to settle at Geneva; and great numbers more to travel to Geneva merely to see and hear so great a man. In the next place, he persuaded the senate of Geneva, in 1558, to establish an academy at Geneva, in which he and his colleague *Theodore Beza*, and

See Hutter's *Concordia Concors*, p. 49, &c. 61, &c. *Schl.*]

⁵ That this was *Zwingle's* real opinion respecting the sacred Supper, is demonstrated by numerous proofs, in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. i. p. 485, &c. 490, tom. iii. p. 631. I will adduce only one short sentence from his book, *de Baptismo*, in his *Opp.*, tom. ii. p. 85: "Cena Dominica non aliud, quam commemorationis nomen meretur." Compare, in various places, *Fuesslin's Centuria I. Epistolar. Theol. Reformatorum*, p. 255.

262, &c. [See above, p. 141, note *Tr.*]

⁶ Calvin was, in fact, superintendent at Geneva; for he presided, till his death, over the body of the clergy, and in the *Consistory* or ecclesiastical judicatory. But when dying, he proved, that it was dangerous to commit to one man perpetually an office of so much authority. See *Jac. Spon's Histoire de Genève*, tom. ii. p. 111, &c. And therefore, after him, the Geneva church had no standing president.

other men of great erudition and high reputation, were the teachers. This new academy acquired in a short time so much distinction and glory, in consequence of its teachers, that students eagerly repaired to it in great numbers, from England, Scotland, France, Italy, and Germany, in pursuit of sacred as well as civil learning. By these his pupils, *Calvin* enlarged every where the Reformed church, and recommended and propagated his own sentiments to more than one nation of Europe. He died in 1564: but his institutions continued vigorous after his decease; and the academy of Geneva, in particular, flourished under *Theodore Beza*, no less than under *Calvin* himself.⁷

§ 12. The theology, taught by *Zwingle*, was altered by *Calvin*, principally in three respects. (I.) *Zwingle* assigned to civil

⁷ The wise and vigorous conduct of *Calvin*, in the church and in the republic of Geneva, is elucidated with many documents never before published, by the learned man who republished, with enlargements, *Jac. Spon's Histoire de Genève*, 1730, 4to. and 8vo. See tom. ii. p. 87, &c. p. 100, &c. and other passages. [*Calvin* was not the first reformer of Geneva, but *William Farel*, a zealous clergyman of Dauphiné, who preached the Gospel with acceptance as early as the year 1532, but was driven from the city by the instigation of the bishop. His successor, *Anthony Froment*, met the same fate. But as the internal state of the city became changed, and the council, which had hitherto been on the side of the bishop, abandoned him, and he left the city in 1533, the two preachers were recalled; and they, in connexion with a third, *Peter Viret*, gathered a numerous church in Geneva; so that in the year 1535, the Reformation became supported by the council. Yet the full organization and establishment of the church was the work of *John Calvin*. He was born in the year 1509; and in his studies, connected law with theology, studying the former at the command of his father, and the latter from his own choice: and from *Melchior Volmar*, a German, and professor of Greek at Bourges, he acquired a knowledge of the evangelical doctrines. After the death of his father, he devoted himself wholly to theology, and publicly professed the reformed doctrine, which he spread in France, with all diligence. His name soon became known in Switzerland as well as

France: and *Farel* and *Viret* besought him, as he was travelling through Geneva, to remain there, and aid them in setting up the new church. But in the year 1538, great dissension arose in Geneva; and *Calvin* and his assistant *Farel*, severely inveighed from the pulpit against the conduct of the council, which resolved to introduce the ceremonies agreed on at Bern, in the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and to reject those which these ministers wished to have adopted; and the consequence was, that *Calvin* and *Farel* were banished from the republic. *Calvin* now spent a considerable time, as a preacher and a professor, at Strasburg; where he lived in great intimacy with *Bucer* and *Capito*, and with them very strenuously defended the cause of the protestants in Germany both orally and in his writings. But in the year 1541, at the repeated and pressing invitations of the Genevans, he returned to them again, and there officiated with great perseverance, zeal, prudence, and disinterestedness, till his death, in the year 1564. His great talents and virtues were shaded by the love of control, by a want of tenderness, and by passionate rigour against the erring. His works have been published in nine volumes, folio: among which, his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, and his exegetical writings, are most valued. *Schl.*—His life was written by *Beza*, and is prefixed to his Letters. See also *Middleton's Evangelical Biography*, vol. i. p. 1, &c. *E. Waterman's Memoirs of J. Calvin*, Hartford, 1813, 8vo. and *Bayle's Dictionary*, art. *Calvin*. *Tr.*]

rulers full and absolute power in regard to religious matters, and, — what many censure him for, — subjected the ministers of religion entirely to their authority. He moreover did not object to grades of office among religious teachers, nor to a superior over the ministers of parishes. But *Calvin* circumscribed the power of the magistrate in matters of religion, within narrow limits; and maintained, that the church ought to be free and independent, and to govern itself by means of bodies of presbyters, synods, and conventions of presbyters, in the manner of the ancient church; yet leaving to the magistrate the protection of the church, and an external care over it: in short, he introduced at Geneva, and he endeavoured to introduce throughout the Reformed church, that form of church government, which is called *Presbyterian*; for he did not allow of bishops and gradations among ministers, but maintained, that by divine appointment^s, they ought all to be equal, and on a level with each other. Hence he established at Geneva, a judicatory or *consistory*, composed of *ruling elders* or *lay presbyters*, and *teaching elders*; and assigned to it great power. He also established conventions or synods: and in these consistories and synods, caused laws to be enacted relating to religious matters. He also, among other things, reinstated the ancient discipline by which offenders were excluded from the church. All these things took place with the consent of the greater part of the senate. (II.) To facilitate a pacification with the Lutherans, he substituted, in place of the Zwinglian doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper, another doctrine in appearance more like that of *Luther*, indeed not greatly differing from it. For while *Zwingle* admitted only a *symbolical* presence of the body and blood of Christ, in the sacred Supper, and promised no other benefit from its celebration, than a remembrance of Christ's death, and of the benefits obtained by that death; *Calvin* admitted a sort of *spiritual presence*; that is, he held, that individuals, possessed of faith and regenerate, are also united in a certain way to the man Christ, and from this union receive an increase of spiritual life. And as he used the phraseology of *Luther* on this subject, and acknowledged, among other things, that *divine grace was conferred and sealed*, by the sacred Supper, he was thought by many to believe in

^s Jure divine.

what is called *impanation*, and to be very near the *Lutherans*.⁹ According to *Zwingle's* opinion, all Christians whatsoever, whether regenerate or in their sins, can be partakers of the body and blood of Christ: but according to *Calvin*, none can except the regenerate and the holy. (III.) The celebrated doctrine of an *absolute decree* of God respecting the salvation of men, which was unknown to *Zwingle*, was inculcated by *Calvin*: that is, he taught that God had no other ground for his electing some persons from all eternity to everlasting life, and appointing others to everlasting punishments, than his own pleasure, or his most free and sovereign will.

§ 13. The first of these three doctrines, neither *Calvin* nor his disciples could persuade all the Reformed churches to adopt; for instance, the Germans, the English, or even the Swiss:

⁹ See Fuesslin's *Centuria I. Epistolar. Theolog. Reformatior.* tom. i. p. 255, 260, 262, 263, &c. *Lettres de Calvin à Mr. Jac. de Falaise*, published a few years since at Amsterdam, p. 84, 85. Calvin himself wrote to Bucer (in Fuesslin, l. c. p. 263.) that he approved of his sentiment. Perhaps he received his own opinion from Bucer. See Jac. Benign. Bossuet's *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, tom. ii. p. 8, &c. p. 14, 19. Courayer's *Examen des Défauts des Théologiens*, tom. ii. p. 72, &c., who endeavours to show, that Calvin's sentiments respecting the Lord's Supper were nearly the same as those of the Roman Catholics. But he is in general very obscure on the subject, and does not express himself uniformly, so that it is difficult to ascertain his real opinion. ["The term *Impanation* (which signifies here the *presence* of Christ's body in the eucharist, *in* or *with* the bread, that is there exhibited) amounts to what is called *Consubstantiation*. It was a modification of the monstrous doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, first invented by some of the disciples of Berenger, who had not a mind to break all measures with the church of Rome, and was afterwards adopted by Lathier and his followers, who, in reality, made sad work of it. For, in order to give it some faint air of possibility, and to maintain it as well as they could, they fell into a wretched scholastic jargon about the nature of *substances*, *subsistences*, *attributes*, *properties*, and *accidents*, that did

infinite mischief to the true and sublime science of gospel theology, whose beautiful simplicity it was adapted to destroy. The very same perplexity and darkness, the same quibbling, sophistical, and unintelligible logic, that reigned in the attempts of the Roman Catholics to defend the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, were visible in the controversial writings of the Lutherans in behalf of *Consubstantiation* or *Impanation*. The latter had, indeed, one absurdity less to maintain; but being obliged to assert, in opposition to intuitive evidence, and unchangeable truth, that the *same* body can be in *many* places at the same time, they were constantly obliged to have recourse to the darkest and most intricate jargon of the schools. The modern Lutherans are grown somewhat wiser in this respect; at least, they seem less zealous than their ancestors about the tenet in question." *Macl.*—The Lutherans of the present day, wisely reject the opinion of Luther, and the doctrine of their symbolical books. Thus Bretschneider writes, in 1819, (*Entwickelung*, &c. p. 715.) "The modern systematic divines either change,—as do Zecharia, Reinhard, Storr,—the *presentia realis* of the body and blood of Christ, into a *presentia operativa*, a presence of Christ, not in substance, but in operation; or they deny altogether,—with Henke, Eckermann, de Wette, Wegscheider,—the presence of the celestial body of Christ, in the sense maintained by the ancients." *Tr.*]

yet he persuaded the French, the Dutch, the Scotch, and some others. The Swiss would not all consent to allow the form of church government established by *Zwingle*, and the prerogatives of the magistrates in matters of religion, to be changed. On the two other points there was very warm debate in Switzerland for a long time. For the inhabitants of Zurich, Bern, and others, would by no means have taken from them the doctrine which they had learned from *Zwingle* respecting the sacred supper.¹ Nor were they easily persuaded to admit the Calvinistic doctrine of *predestination* into the creed of the church.² Yet by the perseverance, the high reputation, and the prudence of *Calvin*, after very warm altercations, a reconciliation between him and the Swiss was effected, first in regard to the Lord's Supper in 1549, and 1554, and afterwards in regard to predestination.³ After this his pupils were so successful as gradually to bring nearly the whole Reformed church to embrace his new opinions; to which event his own writings contributed not a little.⁴

§ 14. Let us next survey the countries in which the Reformed religion, as shaped by *Calvin*, obtained a fixed and permanent residence. Among the German princes, *Frederic III.*, Elector Palatine, in the year 1560, substituted the followers of *Calvin's* doctrines in place of the Lutheran teachers whom he displaced, and ordered his subjects to receive the rites and the opinions, of the Genevans.⁵ His successor, *Lewis*, in the year 1576, rescinded the acts of his father, and restored the Lutheran doctrine to its former dignity and authority. But this again fell, on the accession of *John Casimir* to the government of the Palatine countries, in 1583; for he, with his deceased father⁶,

¹ See Fnesslin's *Centuria Epistolar.* p. 264. *Museum Helveticum*, tom. i. p. 490, tom. v. p. 479. 483. 490, tom. ii. p. 79, &c.

² See *Museum Helveticum*, tom. ii. p. 105. 107. 117. Dan Gerdes, *Miscellanea Gröningens. Nova*, tom. ii. p. 476, 477. I omit the common writers, as Ruchat, Hottinger, &c.

³ See the *Concensus Gener. et Tigurinator.* in *Calvin's Opuscula*, p. 754, &c.

⁴ Dan. Ern. Jablonsky, in his *Epistole ad Leibnitium*, published by Kapp, p. 24, 25, 49, contends that there is no longer any one, among the Reformed, who holds to *Zwingle's* opinion respecting the Lord's Supper. But it is certain

there are many such: and at the present day, his opinion has in a sense revived, in England, in Switzerland, and in other countries.

⁵ Henry Alting's *Historia Eccles. Palatina*; in Lud. Christ. Mieg's *Monumenta Palatina*, tom. i. p. 223, &c. Löscher's *Historia Motuum*, pt. ii. lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 125. Salig's *Historie der Augsburg Confession*, vol. iii. book ix. ch. v. p. 433, &c.

⁶ [In the original, it is not *father*, but *brother*: which is a manifest error of the press. For John Casimir was not the brother of Frederic III., but his son. *Schl.*]

Frederic III., had gone over to the side of the Reformed, and it was necessary again to give Calvinism the pre-eminence.⁷ From that time onward the Palatine church held the second rank among the Reformed churches; and it possessed such influence over the others, that the religious instructions, composed for its use by *Zechariah Ursinus*, and denominated the *Heidelberg Catechism*, were received nearly throughout the whole body.⁸ In the republic of Bremen, *Albert Hardenberg*, a friend of *Melancthon*, in the year 1556, first attempted to propagate the Calvinistic doctrine respecting the Lord's Supper. And although his attempt for the present was unsuccessful, and he was expelled the city, yet it was found impossible to prevent the people of Bremen from uniting with the Reformed church towards the close of the century.⁹ In what manner other portions of the German population were gradually brought to relish the doctrines of *Calvin*, must be learned from those who undertake to write a full history of Christianity.

§ 15. The first among the French who abandoned the Romish religion, are commonly called Lutherans by the writers of those times; and from this name and some other circumstances, the inference has been drawn, that they were all believers in *Luther's* doctrines, and averse from those of the Swiss.¹ To me they appear to have been a mixed company of various sorts of persons. The vicinity however of Geneva, Lausanne, and other cities which embraced the Calvinistic system of doctrines and discipline, and the astonishing zeal of *Calvin*, *Farel*, *Beza*, with others, in fostering, encouraging, and multiplying opponents to the Roman see in France, induced them all, before the middle of the century arrived, to profess

⁷ Altling, *loc. cit.* p. 223, 245. Löscher, l. c. pt. iii. lib. vi. p. 234. But especially Burch. Gotth. Struce's *Pfälzische Kirchenhistorie*; who has learnedly treated of these events, p. 110, &c.

⁸ On the Heidelberg, or Palatine Catechism and Confession, see Jo. Chr. Köcher's *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolica*, p. 593, and 908 [and especially his *Catechetical History of the Reformed churches*; in which he treats particularly of the history of the Heidelberg Catechism; Jena, 1756, 8vo. *Schl.*]

⁹ Salig, *loc. cit.* pt. iii. book x. ch. v. p. 715, and ch. vi. p. 776, &c. Löscher, *loc. cit.* pt. ii. lib. iv. ch. v. p. 134, and

pt. iii. lib. vi. ch. vii. p. 276. Gerdes, *Historia Renovati Evangelii*, tom. iii. p. 157, [and especially his *Historia Motuum Ecclesiasticor. in Civitate Bremensi*, ab anno 1547 ad an. 1561, *Tempore Alberti Hardenbergii suscitatorum, &c Authenticis Monumentis*: Gröningen, 1756, 4to., also reprinted in his *Scrinium Antiquar. seu Nov. Miscell. Gröningens.* tom. v. pt. i. See also the *Brem-und Verdische Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pt. iii. no. 5. *Schl.*]

¹ See Löscher's *Historia Motuum*, pt. ii. cap. vi. p. 46. Salig's *Historie der Augsburg Confession*, vol. ii. b. v. ch. v. and vi. p. 190, &c.

themselves the friends and brethren of the Genevans. By their enemies they were contumeliously denominated *Huguenots*: the origin of which appellation is uncertain. They were however tossed by various tempests and misfortunes, and endured greater calamities and sufferings than any other portion of the protestant church; and this, notwithstanding they could number exalted princes and nobles of the nation among their party.² Even the peace, which they obtained from *Henry III.* in 1576, proved the commencement of a most destructive civil war; in which the very powerful family of *Guise*, being set on by the Roman pontiffs, endeavoured to overthrow and extirpate the Reformed religion, together with the royal family; and on the other hand, the Huguenots, led on by generals of the highest rank, fought for their religion and their kings with various success. These horrible commotions, in which both parties committed many acts which posterity must ever reprobate, were at length terminated by the prudence and heroism of *Henry IV.* The king himself, perceiving that his throne would never be firm and stable if he persevered in spurning the authority of the pontiff, exchanged the purer religion for the old one: on the other hand, however, he published the edict of Nantes in 1598, in which he gave to the Reformed, who he saw could not be subdued, full liberty to worship God in their own way, and the greatest security that was possible.³

² See *Histoire Ecclési. des Eglises Réformées au Royaume de France*, in three volumes, Antwerp, 1580, 8vo, which is commonly ascribed to Theodore Beza. The writers on the Gallic church and its Confession of faith are enumerated by Köcher, *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolica*, p. 299, &c.

³ Elias Benoit, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, tom. i. livr. v. p. 200, &c. Gabr. Daniel's *Histoire de France*, tom. ix. p. 409, &c. of the last Paris edition. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. vi. the whole volume. [For a sketch of the rise and progress of Protestantism in France, till the death of Francis I., in 1547, see note ², p. 133, &c. of this volume. During the reign of Henry II., the son and successor of Francis, from 1547 to 1549, the persecution of the reformed was still more systematic, determined, and unsparing. In 1551, the civil courts were required to co-operate with the spiritual, and to exterminate all heretics. The estates of all emigrants

on account of religion were to be confiscated. No books whatever might be imported from any Protestant country; and to print, or sell, or possess Protestant books was made penal. Many were imprisoned, and put to death. In 1555, the civil courts were forbidden to hear appeals from the ecclesiastical; and all magistrates were to execute the decisions of the latter. The parliament of Paris refused to register this decree: and made a noble remonstrance to the king. In 1557, the king appointed commissioners, to aid the bishops in exterminating all heretics: but the parliament refused to register this decree. In 1558, the cardinal of Lorraine, with the consent of the king, established a limited inquisition. But several of the courts still favoured and protected the Protestants; and the king summoned a meeting called a *mercurial*; and learning that a number of his judges secretly favoured the reformers, he imprisoned several of them, and one was put to death. But amidst

§ 16. The Scottish church honours *John Knox*, a disciple of *Calvin*, as its founder; and from him, as a matter of course, it

all their persecutions, the Protestants multiplied greatly during this reign. Two princes of the blood, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, and a great number of the nobility and gentry, were their friends and supporters. Hence they set up churches every where, had regular preachers, and stated, though generally secret, meetings for worship. In 1559, the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé encouraged and attended meetings of some thousands for worship, in a meadow near Paris, in open day; at the close of which the people publicly marched into the city. In the same year, the Protestants held their first national synod privately at Paris; and there adopted a confession of faith, catechism, and directory for worship, composed by Calvin; and likewise formed a system of church government. Their doctrines were strictly Calvinistic; their worship very simple, and almost without written forms; and their system of government entirely presbyterian. Single churches were governed by *Consistories* (Sessions), composed of the pastors and ruling elders, many of whom were noblemen. From the Consistories, lay appeals to the *Colloquies* or *Classes* (Presbyteries), composed of pastors and elders, deputed from the Consistories, and meeting twice a-year. From these Colloquies, there were appeals to the *Provincial Synods*, composed of all the Colloquies, in a province, and meeting once a-year. *National Synods* were composed of one pastor and one elder from each of the sixteen provincial Synods. This supreme ecclesiastical tribunal did not meet regularly, but as occasion required; and at each meeting, some province was named to call the next meeting. From A. D. 1559, to the year 1659, there were twenty-nine National Synods holden; which heard appeals, answered cases of conscience, revised their rules and regulations, and transacted various concerns of the whole body. (See their acts published by John Quick, entitled *Synodicon in Gallia Reformatu*, London, 1692, 2 vols. fol.)—Francis II., a youth of sixteen, and feeble both in body and mind, succeeded his father, Henry II. in 1559. His mother, Catharine de Medicis, the duke of Guise, and his brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, all decided catholics,

in fact ruled the nation, and endeavoured to crush the reformation. The king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, the admiral Coligni, and others friendly to the protestants, conspired to overthrow the power of the Guises: but they were betrayed, and thus involved themselves and all the protestants in persecution. Many perished: numbers fled the country; and still more were imprisoned, robbed of their property, and variously harassed, during the seventeen months of this reign. In 1560, Charles IX., aged eleven years, succeeded his brother Francis, till 1574. His mother was regent. To secure her power, she now sought the friendship of the king of Navarre, and of the protestants; and even listened herself to the protestant preachers. She needed money: and the states general were assembled in 1561: but they did nothing but wrangle. The catholics demanded the extirpation of all heretics: and the protestants demanded toleration. The court issued a decree forbidding religious disputes, releasing the imprisoned protestants, and allowing toleration to all who would externally conform to the established religion, unless they chose to quit the country. The provincial authorities favourable to the protestants carried the decree into effect: others would not. In July, 1561, there was a fruitless conference of catholic and protestant divines at Poissy, to effect a compromise between the two religions. Though the country was in great disorder, the protestants were prosperous, and continually multiplying. To prevent murders and seditions, the court persuaded the people of both religions to give up their arms, and to trust to the protection of the government. In January, 1562, a national convention met at St Germain, and agreed, that the protestants should be allowed to hold private worship, till a general council should decide all religious disputes. The protestants were not quite satisfied with this; but the catholics were outrageous. Tumults ensued. The king of Navarre, to gain an addition to his territory, abandoned the protestants; and summoned the duke of Guise to the capital, to suppress the tumults. He obeyed; and passing through Vassy in Champaign, found a protestant assembly holding

received from its commencement the doctrines, institutions, and government of the Genevans. And in maintaining these pure and

worship in a barn. His soldiers commenced a quarrel with them, and then murdered two hundred and sixty of their number. A civil war now broke out. The protestants made Orleans their head-quarters, and had the prince of Condé and admiral Coligni for leaders; while the catholics were commanded by the duke of Guise, the king of Navarre, and the constable Montmorency. Much blood was shed, and many towns were taken and ravaged. The king of Navarre fell in battle: the duke of Guise was assassinated, Montmorency and Condé were both taken prisoners. Peace was concluded at Amboise, March, 1563, on the ground of a general amnesty for the past, and free toleration of protestant worship in particular places throughout France. The treaty was not well observed; and the protestants, finding the court determined on their ruin, renewed the war in 1567, under Coligni and the prince of Condé. Montmorency fell, and many other noblemen on both sides. Peace was concluded early in 1568, on nearly the same terms as before. But three months after, hostile movements on the part of the court, caused the war to be renewed with increased violence. The prince of Condé fell in battle, in 1569: but the queen of Navarre, with her son, and the young prince of Condé, all zealous Protestants, now appeared in the field. Peace was concluded in 1570, on the conditions of amnesty for the past, free toleration of the protestants every where, a limited right to except against catholic judges, and the possession of four cities, (Rochelle, Cognac, Montauban, and la Charité,) for two years, to be garrisoned by protestants. To lull the protestants into security, the court now enforced the terms of the treaty with much apparent zeal, proposed a marriage between the young king of Navarre and the king's sister, and at length drew Coligni, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, to appear at court. All this was preparatory to the assassination of the protestants, by order of the king and queen mother, on St. Bartholomew's eve, Aug. 22, 1572. The bloody scene began at midnight, at the signal of tolling the great bell of the palace, and

continued three days at Paris. Coligni was the first victim. With him, five hundred noblemen, and about six thousand other protestants were butchered in Paris alone. Orders were despatched to all parts of the empire, for a similar massacre every where. More than thirty thousand,—some say seventy thousand,—perished by the hand of the royal assassins: and the pope ordered a jubilee throughout Christendom. The protestants were weakened, but not destroyed. Losing all confidence in the government, they entered into combinations for their safety. The prince of Condé escaped from his prison, and went to Germany to form alliances in their behalf. Charles IX. died in 1574, and was succeeded by his brother, Henry III., a dissolute man, and a violent catholic. Civil war raged again: but peace was concluded in 1576. The protestants were to enjoy freedom of worship every where, except at Paris, and within two miles of the king's residence. Courts, half catholics and half protestants, were to be established in the principal cities; and ten cautionary towns were to be given them. The catholics, dissatisfied as usual with concessions of liberty to the protestants, combined with the pope and the king of Spain, and obliged the king to abrogate his decrees for giving effect to the treaty. The war was renewed in 1577; and continued, with some interruptions, till 1580; when the protestants were allowed their former liberties, and their cautionary towns for six years. But in 1584, the catholic chiefs, particularly the Guises, formed a league with Philip, king of Spain, for exterminating the protestants, and transferring the crown of France to the family of Guise, on the demise of the present king. War was of course renewed with the protestants, at the head of whom were the king of Navarre and prince of Condé. The Guises and their allies checked the protestants, but alienated the king, who caused the duke of Guise to be assassinated. Henry III. now found himself so odious to the catholic league, that he was obliged to make peace with the king of Navarre and the pro-

uncontaminated, it ever has been, and still is, so zealous, that in the seventeenth century, it did not hesitate to avenge with the sword the temerity of those who were desirous of introducing something foreign into it.⁴ In England the case was very

testants; and they generously supported him, till his death in 1589. The king of Navarre was the next legal heir to the crown of France, which he assumed, with the name of Henry IV., and was supported by all the protestants, and by the catholics who adhered to the late king. But the leaguers refused to acknowledge him; and he had to contend several years for his crown. At length, in 1595, to put a stop to the civil wars, he professed the catholic religion. Yet he gave free toleration to his protestant subjects. In 1598, he published the edict of Nantes, as the basis of their liberties; and by it, he confirmed to them all the privileges ever before conceded to them; gave them equal civil rights, equal privileges in the universities and public schools; allowed them courts, half protestant and half catholic, in the principal cities; made them eligible to all public offices; and allowed them to establish public worship, in places of a particular description throughout the realm. He also gave them an annual stipend of about forty thousand crowns, for the support of their ministers. And though the catholics murmured, and endeavoured to infringe upon their rights, Henry protected them to the end of his reign, in 1610.—The number of protestants in France, during the last half of this century, was supposed to be from a million, to a million and a half. At one time, (1571,) they claimed to have two thousand one hundred and fifty churches: but many of them were only *family churches*, or the households of the nobles. The number of regular churches, stated in the acts of their national synods, was generally from seven to eight hundred. Some of these were vastly large, and had three, four, and even five pastors; while others were very small, and were joined two or three together under one pastor. They could reckon men of great learning and talents among them. They were in close fellowship with the church of Geneva, and with the Flemish protestants. Their adherence to

their creeds and their discipline was strict. Take an example. In 1578, the Consistory of Rochelle debarred the prince of Condé the communion, because one of his ships had taken a prize after the signing of the last peace; which he continued to hold as a lawful prize, because the capture was made before the forty days assigned for the publication of the treaty had expired. He appealed to the National Synod; which decided against him. See Quick's *Synodicon*, vol. i. p. 122. For the facts in this note, I am indebted chiefly to Gifford's *History of France*, vol. iii. Quick's *Synodicon*, vol. i. and Ingram Cobbin's *Historical View of the Reformed Church in France*, London, 1816. *Tr.*]

⁴ Salig's *Historie der Augsbürg Confession*, vol. ii. b. vi. ch. i. p. 403.— [Some notice of the first dawning of the reformation in Scotland, was given in note³, p. 135, above. James V. died in 1542, and left his crown to an infant daughter, only a few days old, Mary, queen of Scots. At the age of six years, she was affianced to the dauphin of France, afterwards Francis II.; and was sent to be educated in that country, and did not return to Scotland till after the death of her husband, in 1561. During these nineteen years, Scotland was governed by the queen dowager, Mary of Guise, widow of James V., and by a series of regents. At the commencement of this period, the reformed doctrines were spreading slowly, without noise, and with little direct opposition. But in February, 1546, cardinal Beaton, the archbishop of St. Andrew's seized and burnt at the stake George Wishart, a reformed preacher. This excited great indignation: and Norman Leslie, a young nobleman, with an armed force, surprised and murdered the cardinal in his castle, and held possession of it fourteen months. During this time, the reformed doctrines were preached freely at St. Andrew's, and among others, by the famous John Knox. On the reduction of St. Andrew's, Knox and most of the prisoners, were sent out of the country. The same year Henry VIII. died; and the reformation in England went for-

different. This nation never could be persuaded to submit itself entirely to the decisions of Geneva; nor did it long retain

ward rapidly, under Edward VI. This excited the Scotch to emulation; and several of the nobles embraced the reformation. The queen dowager, for political reasons, found it necessary to treat the protestants with indulgence. In 1553, Edward VI. of England died; and was succeeded by his sister Mary, a violent catholic, whose bloody persecutions drove great numbers of her subjects into foreign countries, several of them into Scotland. This also strengthened the reformation there. The Scottish clergy possessed about half the wealth of the country; and the nobles were eager to get their estates; while *they*, ignorant and dissolute, were willing to allow protestant doctrines to spread, so long as they could enjoy their revenues. In 1554, the queen dowager was made regent. Her partialities to the French so disgusted the nation, that, to maintain her power, she had to favour still more the protestants. In 1555, John Knox returned to Scotland; and he and other zealous preachers spread the reformed doctrines with great success. The queen dowager kept many of the bishoprics and richer benefices vacant, in order to enjoy the revenues; and others she filled with persons devoted to her; and both alienated the more zealous catholics, and weakened the power of the clergy. In 1558, the archbishop of St. Andrew's commenced persecution. But the protestants, who were now nearly half the nation, were indignant; and applied to the queen regent, who gave them protection. The next year, however, through French influence, she abandoned the protestants, and took sides with the catholic clergy. In May 1559, she summoned most of the reformed ministers to appear at Stirling, and to answer for their conduct. They set out, attended by noblemen and immense crowds of armed companions. She was afraid to meet them; and sent them a discharge, on condition that they should peaceably return to their homes. They did so; and she then, basely, proceeded to try them; and for their nonappearance, pronounced them all *outlaws*. The protestants, in their rage, attacked the churches and monasteries, destroying images, altars, crosses, &c. The queen resolved to quell them

by force; and a civil war ensued. After various contests, the protestants having been frequently deceived by the queen, determined to remove her from the regency. They also found themselves so strong, that they demanded more than a bare toleration; and being aided by queen Elizabeth, they obtained a complete triumph. The queen dowager died; and the French and English embassies, which met in Scotland in 1560, negotiated a peace, by which the protestants were left at full liberty, and all religious disputes were left to the adjustment of a Scottish parliament. The French and English troops were both withdrawn; and a full parliament was assembled, which overturned the whole system of popery, and established protestantism in its stead. These acts of parliament were sent to France, for the queen's ratification. At the close of this year, Francis II. died; and his queen, Mary, the next year, 1561, returned to Scotland, to take the government of the country into her own hands. The first general assembly of the Scottish church was held in December, 1560. Here a Calvinistic creed and a Presbyterian form of government, as delineated in the First Book of Discipline, were adopted. Five of the pastors were made standing superintendents or visitors of the churches, instead of bishops; pastors and teachers, readers and exhorters, and annual elders and deacons, were the church officers; and church sessions, synods, and general assemblies were to be the judicatories. The clergy in vain attempted to persuade the government to transfer the funds of the catholic churches to the protestant. But the parliament of 1561, undertook to purge the land of idolatry; and "abbeys, cathedrals, churches, libraries, records, and even the sepulchres of the dead, perished in one common ruin." The queen did not ratify the acts of the parliament of 1560, subverting popery; and in opposition to them she set up the mass in her own chapel; yet she allowed the protestants, for the present, free toleration, and also chose her council chiefly from among them. Many of the richer benefices were still held by catholics, while others were in the hands of the protestants; and parliament unanimously

unaltered, what it actually received from that quarter. It is pretty well attested that the greatest part of those Englishmen who first renounced the superstitions of their fathers, were more inclined to the opinions of *Luther*, respecting the holy Supper, the mode of public worship, and the government of the church, than to those of the Swiss. But after the death of *Henry VIII.*, the industry of *Calvin* and his disciples, especially *Peter Martyr*, caused the former opinions to be excluded, and the latter to gain admission into the universities, the schools, the pulpits, and the minds of the majority.⁵ Hence, in the reign of *Edward VI.*, when they came to deliberate what system of doctrine and

decreed, that all the incumbents should continue to enjoy their revenues, yet each paying over a third part of his income to the public treasury. In 1563, the queen had not yet sanctioned the legal abolition of popery, and the protestant nobles did not see fit to urge it. This provoked the ministers, and especially *Knox*, to utter violent denunciations, and to commit some outrages; but the prudence of the nobles prevented any fatal consequences. In 1565, the queen married *Henry, Lord Darnley*, a weak and insolent young man, who soon rendered himself odious to his queen, and to most of the nation. The next year, the queen was delivered of a son, *James*, afterwards *James VI.* of Scotland. In 1566, *Mary*, at the instigation of the French, began to form projects for establishing popery. The next year, *Lord Darnley* was murdered; and *Bothwell*, the queen's favourite, who aspired to the throne, persuaded her to sanction the legal establishment of protestantism. The scandalous marriage of the queen with *Bothwell*, induced the nobles to seize the person of the infant prince *James*, for whose safety they were solicitous. This act, and the loud demands for an investigation of the murder of *Darnley*, produced a civil war; in which the queen was taken, forced to resign her crown to her son, and confined in *Lochleven*. Escaping, she renewed the war, without success; and retiring into England, she threw herself upon the generosity of queen *Elizabeth*; who kept her a prisoner twenty years, and then caused her to be beheaded, on a charge of treasonable practices in England. Being thus delivered from a catholic sovereign, in 1567, the

protestants of Scotland found no difficulty in fully establishing, during the minority of *James*, their own religion, and suppressing entirely that of the catholics. Notwithstanding many were friendly to episcopacy, the presbyterian system of government was universally adopted, as laid down in the *Second Book of Discipline*. Generally, three or four contiguous churches were united, and had one church session in common, from which lay appeals to the provincial synods; and these sessions, which were called *elderships*, afterwards became *presbyteries*, when the individual churches were provided with distinct sessions. *James VI.*, on assuming the government, was a zealous protestant, though somewhat inclined to episcopacy, and disposed to make himself head of the church. He curbed the insolence of the clergy, who claimed liberty to denounce public men and measures from the pulpit, as they had done in the preceding unsettled times. There were warm disputes respecting the boundaries between the civil power and the ministerial prerogative; the expediency of admitting bishops; and the disposition to be made of the old ecclesiastical funds. In 1603, queen *Elizabeth* died, and *James VI.* of Scotland succeeded to the throne of England, under the name of *James I.*—See *Robertson's History of Scotland*; *Mc Crie's Life of John Knox*; and *Ja. Scott's Lives of the Protestant Reformers in Scotland*. Tr.]

⁵ See *Löschner's Historia Motuum*, pt. ii. lib. iii. cap. vii. p. 67, and the authorities he quotes: *Salig's Historie der Augsburg Confession*, vol. ii. b. vi. ch. iii. p. 317, &c. and others.

discipline should be established, the English embraced the communion of the Genevans; yet with this limitation, that it was thought advisable to retain the old organization of the church, (which was very different from that of Geneva,) together with some rites and ceremonies, which most of the Reformed regard as very superstitious.⁶ Yet this diversity, slight as it might then be deemed, and to be borne with, as *Calvin* himself attested, afterwards produced numerous perils, calamities, and wars, to the injury both of the church and the commonwealth of England.

§ 17. The commencement of this lamentable schism, which to this day no means have been able to heal, was with those who fled to save their lives and liberties, in the year 1554, when *Mary* reigned, or rather *ruled*, in England. Some of these celebrated their public worship according to the liturgy established by *Edward VI.*; but others preferred the more simple, and, in their view, more pure worship of the Swiss. The former were denominated *Conformists*, because they conformed their worship to the pattern legally established by *Edward*: the latter were called *Nonconformists*, and also *Puritans*, because they desired greater purity in worship, and did not regard the liturgy of king *Edward* as free from all the dregs of superstition. These appellations have continued in use; and to this day they designate the Christian communities by which Great Britain is divided. When the exiles returned to their country, on the accession of *Elizabeth* to the throne, this controversy being introduced into England, soon became so great and threatening, that the more sagacious even then despaired of any reconciliation. The wise queen did not confine the reformation to the rigorous principles of the Genevans and their followers the Puritans, but she enjoined on those to whom she entrusted this business, to follow the patterns of the early ages, rather than that of the Genevans.⁷ When she had modelled the

⁶ [It is evident from this sentence, that Dr. Mosheim's knowledge of English ecclesiastical history was very limited. It is not true that England "embraced the communion of the Genevans," under *Edward*; although Bp. Hooper, in that reign, brought some low-church notions from Switzerland, and on *Elizabeth's* accession, more such were brought from the same quarter. The theology of Cal-

vin too, was generally received among English divines, during most of *Elizabeth's* reign. But the country itself never stood formally committed to Geneva in any way. *Ed.*]

⁷ "Dr. Mosheim seems disposed, by this ambiguous expression of the *primitive ages*, to insinuate that queen *Elizabeth* had formed a pure, rational, and evangelical plan of religious discipline and

whole church, and especially the public worship, on these principles, she published the celebrated *Act of Uniformity*, requiring all Englishmen to observe her regulations. The *Puritans* urged, that they could not in conscience yield obedience; and bitterly complained, that the defilements of the Roman religion, which had been removed, were brought back again. The more vehement argued, that recent enactments ought to be wholly repealed, and the church moulded after the Genevan fashion; while the more temperate merely desired liberty to worship God themselves, according to their own opinions. The queen determining to show no indulgence to either, employed all the means which penal laws and her own sagacity could afford, in order to suppress the obstinate sect. In this manner the purification of the old religion, by which the English church is equally distinguished from the popish and from all the others that have renounced the dominion of the pontiff, was confirmed and established; and at the same time, a foundation was laid for continual discord, sadly to the injury of a fortunate nation.⁸

§ 18. The first cause, that gave rise to so many strange and calamitous events, was very trivial, and of no consequence to

worship. It is, however, certain, that, instead of being willing to strip religion of the ceremonies which remained in it, she was rather inclined to bring the public worship still nearer to the Romish ritual, (Heylin, p. 124,) and had a great propensity to several usages in the church of Rome, which were justly looked upon as superstitious. She thanked publicly one of her chaplains, who had preached in defence of the *real presence*; she was fond of images, and retained some in her private chapel, (Heylin, p. 124,) and would undoubtedly have forbidden the marriage of the clergy, if Cecil, her secretary had not interposed. (Styrye's *Life of Parker*, p. 107, 108, 109.) Having appointed a committee of divines to review king Edward's liturgy, she gave them an order to strike out all offensive passages against the pope, and to make people easy about the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament. (Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 138.)" *Mael.*

⁸ No one has treated this subject more fully, or more agreeably than Daniel Neal; whose *History of the Puritans or Protestant Non-Conformists*, was published not long since, at London, in four volumes.

The first volume was printed, London, 1732, 8vo, the last volume appeared in 1738. Yet the author, who was himself a Puritan, could not so command his party feelings and his passions, as entirely to avoid sectarian zeal. For while he is full in narrating and emblazoning the wrongs which the bishops inflicted or caused to be inflicted upon the puritans, he frequently extenuates, excuses, or passes silently over the faults of the Puritan sect. The reader may also consult Jo. Styrye's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury under queen Elizabeth*, namely, Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift; which are written with great copiousness and labour. [See also Bogue and Bennet's *History of Dissenters*, vol. i. London, 1809, and Benj. Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. i. Lond. 1813. *Tr.*] — This account of Neal's work must be taken as the partial witness of one who holds the same, or similar opinions. The truth is, that Neal is highly unsatisfactory to members of the Church of England, and that his first volume was promptly, though incompletely, answered by Bp. Madox. *Ed.*

religion and piety. The leaders of the *Puritans* held in abhorrence those garments, which the English clergy wore, for the sake of distinction, in their public assemblies. For these garments having been derived from the papists, were, in their view, the *badges of Antichrist*. From this they proceeded to other matters, of somewhat greater importance. First, they conceived that the constitution of the English church was a departure from the form established by Christ; and maintained, what they had learned from *Calvin* and the Genevans, that all the ministers of religion, by divine appointment, ought to be equal in rank and authority. They had indeed no objections to allowing an individual to bear the title of bishop, and to preside in the meetings of his brethren, for the sake of preserving order; but they would not allow him to claim the prerogatives of the old bishops, to rank among the peers of the realm, to be employed in civil affairs, and be distinguished by wealth and power. The weight of this controversy was not great, so long as the English bishops founded their rank and authority upon the laws of the land and human constitution; but it assumed a far graver character, after the year 1588, when *Richard Bancroft*, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, first ventured publicly to affirm that bishops are an order superior to that of presbyters, not by mere human appointment, but by the will of God.⁹ This sentiment meeting the approbation of great numbers, the consequence was, what might be anticipated, that none were deemed properly admitted into the sacred office, unless they were ordained by a bishop; and that the ministers of those churches which have no bishops, were thought to be without the qualifications necessary for their function, and to be inferior to the popish priests.

§ 19. In the next place, the Puritans conceived that those churches, which from having the sees¹ of bishops are called *cathedrals*, ought to be done away, together with all who live upon their revenues, the archdeacons, the deans, the prebendaries, and the canons: they also disapproved of the mode of worship usually practised in cathedrals; and in particular, denied that instrumental music and chanting were proper in the worship of God. They likewise thought, that not only the

⁹ See Jo. Strype's *Life and Acts of* *of the Puritans*, vol. i. ch. vii. p. 180, &c. *John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury,* Tr.]
p. 121. Lond. 1718, fol. [Neal's *History* ¹ [*Cathedra*, a seat or chair. Ed.]

vicious, but also persons of dubious piety, should be excluded from the church. For it being their opinion that the church is the company of the faithful, they of course held that care should be taken lest any who are destitute of faith should creep into it. They required many alterations in the rites and ceremonies which were enjoined by the authority of the queen and the supreme council.² For instance, they considered all holy days dedicated to the memory of sainted individuals, as unlawful: they would not allow the sign of the cross, in various transactions, but especially in the sacrament of baptism: they were displeased with the employment of sponsors or god-fathers and god-mothers, at the baptism of infants whose parents were still

² Dr. Maclaine supposes the *supreme council* here mentioned to be the noted *high commission court*. But that court was an *executive and visitatorial* body, not *legislative*. It seems, therefore, that Dr. Mosheim intended by the *supreme council*, either the British *parliament*, or perhaps the queen's privy council, which possessed much the same powers as a German prince with his Consistorial council. The queen with her privy council repeatedly published *Injunctions*, or regulations for the church, which she enforced by the episcopal and high commission courts; and these arbitrary decrees of the queen were substituted for acts of parliament, which she more than once forbade to legislate on such subjects; so that she assumed to be the real law-giver of the English church. See Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. ch. iv. p. 167, &c. Yet the account which Dr. Maclaine here gives of the *high commission court*, is worth repeating. "This court," (says he) "took its rise from a remarkable clause in the *act of supremacy*, by which the queen and her successors were empowered to choose persons to exercise, under her, all manner of jurisdiction, privileges, and pre-eminences, touching any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the realms of England and Ireland, as also to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences, enormities whatsoever; provided, that they have no power to determine any thing to be heresy, but what has been adjudged to be so by the authority of the canonical scripture, or by the first four general councils, or any of them; or by any other general councils, wherein the same was declared heresy by the

express and plain words of canonical scripture, or such as shall hereafter be declared to be heresy by the High Court of Parliament, with the assent of the clergy in Convocation. Upon the authority of this clause, the queen appointed a certain number of *commissioners* for ecclesiastical causes, who, in many instances, abused their power. The court, they composed, was called the *Court of High Commission*, because it claimed a more extensive jurisdiction and higher powers, than the ordinary *Courts of the Bishops*. Its jurisdiction reached over the whole kingdom, and was much the same with that which had been lodged in the single person of lord Cromwell, vicar general to Henry VIII. These *commissioners* were empowered to make inquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by all other ways and means which they could devise, that is, by rack, torture, inquisition, and imprisonment. They were vested with a right to examine such persons as they suspected, by administering to them an oath (not allowed of in their commission, and therefore called *ex officio*), by which they were obliged to answer all questions, and thereby might be obliged to accuse themselves, or their most intimate friends. The fines they imposed were merely discretionary; the imprisonment to which they condemned was limited by no rule but their own pleasure; they imposed, when they thought proper, new articles of faith on the clergy; and practised all the iniquities and cruelties of a real *Inquisition*. See Rapin's and Hume's *Histories of England, under the reign of Elizabeth*; and Neal's *History of the Puritans, passim.*" Tr.]

living³; nor would they suffer new-born infants to be baptized by any persons but the priests: they would not have the sacred books of secondary rank, or those commonly denominated the *Apocrypha*, to be read and expounded to the people; the stated forms of prayer, they would not indeed wholly exclude from public worship, but they demanded that the teachers should be allowed to vary from them, and to alter them, as they saw fit, and be permitted to pray to God in their own language, and not merely in the words of others: in short, they conceived that the worship of their country ought to be conformable to the principles and institutions of the Genevans, and that nothing should be tolerated that was akin to the Romish system.

§ 20. These opinions could not well be defended, or impugned, without calling in the aid of certain general principles, which would support the positions adopted; and from which the importance of the controversy may be estimated. Those who took sides with the queen and the supreme council, maintained, I. That the right to *reform* or to abolish and correct errors and defects, both in doctrine and in discipline and worship, belonged to the civil magistrate. The *Puritans*, on the contrary, denied that God had assigned this office to the magistrate; and held with *Calvin*, that it was rather the business of the ministers of Christ to restore religion to its purity and dignity. II. The former considered that the rule of proceeding in reforming the doctrine and discipline of the church, was not to be derived exclusively from the holy Scriptures, but also from the writings and the practice of the early ages of the church. The *Puritans*, on the other hand, maintained, that the divinely inspired books were the only pure source from which could be derived rules for purging and regulating the church; and that the enactments and the doctors of the early ages had no authority whatever. III. The former declared the church of Rome to be a true church, though much deformed and corrupted; they said, the Roman pontiff, indeed, presumptuously claims to be the head and monarch of the whole church, yet he must be acknowledged to be a legitimate bishop;

³ [“Other rites and customs displeasing to the puritans, and omitted by our author, were, *kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, bowing at the name of Jesus, giving the ring in marriage, the*

prohibition of marriage during certain times of the year, and the licensing it for money, as also the confirmation of children by episcopal imposition of hands.” Macl.]

and of course, the ministers ordained by his authority, have the most perfect right to minister in holy things. It was necessary for the English bishops to inculcate such principles, if they would trace back the origin and prerogatives of their office to the apostles of Christ. But very different were the views of the *Puritans*. They constantly maintained that the Romish church had forfeited the title and the rights of a true church; that its bishop was the very *Antichrist*; that all its discipline and worship were vain, superstitious, and opposed to the precepts of the gospel; and of course, that all communion with that church was to be shunned more carefully than the plague itself. IV. The former deemed the best form of the church to be that, which prevailed in the four or five first centuries; indeed, that it was preferable to that established by the apostles themselves; because *they* gave such a shape to the church, as suited its infantile and nascent state, and left to those who should come after them to regulate it more perfectly, when it should become fully established and extended. On the contrary, the *Puritans* contended, that all the principles of church government were laid down in the Scriptures; and that the ambassadors of Christ set forth an unchangeable pattern, which was to be imitated by all succeeding ages, when they directed the first Christian churches to be regulated and governed in the manner then practised in the Jewish congregations.⁴ V. The former contended, that things indifferent, which are neither commanded nor forbidden by the holy Scriptures, such as rites of public worship, attire of priests, festivals, may be settled by the supreme magistrate, according to his pleasure; and that to disobey his laws on these subjects, is as sinful as to violate his laws relative to civil affairs. But the *Puritans* contended, that it was improper and wrong to impose as necessary, things that *Christ* Himself had left free: for thus the liberty, which *Christ* has procured for us, is subverted. They added, that such rites as tend to infect the mind with superstition, can by no means be regarded as indifferent, but must be avoided as impious and profane. And such, in their estimation, were those ancient ceremonies which the queen and the parliament refused to abrogate.⁵

⁴ [Or Synagogues. *Tr.*]

⁵ [“ Dr. Mosheim, in these five articles, has followed the account of this

controversy given by Mr Neal, in his *History of the Puritans*. This latter adds a *sixth* article, not of debate, but of union.

§ 21. This contest of the court and bishops with those who called aloud for a further reformation of the church, would have been far more severe and perilous, if such as bore the common name of *Puritans* had been agreed in their opinions and feelings. But this body was composed of persons of various dispositions and characters, whose only bond of union was their dislike of the religion and discipline established by law; and, therefore, it very soon became divided into sects; some of which were both misled themselves, and misled others, by fanatical imaginations, and others displayed their folly by devising strange and unusual forms for the constitution of churches. Of these sects, none is more famous than that which was formed about the year 1581, by *Robert Browne*, an unstable and fickle-minded man. He did not differ materially from either the Episcopalians or the other Puritans as to the doctrines of religion; but he had new and singular views of the nature of the church and the regulation and government of it. He first distributed the whole body of Christians into small associations, such as those collected by the apostles: for so many persons as could conveniently be assembled in one place, and that of moderate dimensions, he affirmed constituted a church, and enjoyed all the privileges of a church. And each of these small congregations, he pronounced to be independent and free, by divine constitution, from all jurisdiction both of bishops, who, according to the court, and of synods, which, according to the Puritans, have the right of governing the church. The supreme power to provide for the welfare and the peace of these little associations, according to his views, resided in the people; and all the members had equal powers and prerogatives. The congregated multitude, therefore, deliberated on sacred subjects; and whatever was voted by the majority, was considered as legitimately decided. The brotherhood selected certain persons, from among themselves, to teach publicly and to administer ordinances: and, if the interests of

Both parties (says he) agreed *too well* in asserting the necessity of an uniformity in public worship, and of calling in the sword of the magistrate for the support and the defence of their several principles, which they made an ill use of in their turns, as they could grasp the power into their hands. The standard of uniformity, according to the bishops, was the *queen's supremacy*, and

the laws of the land; according to the puritans, *the decrees of provincial and national synods*, allowed and enforced by the civil magistrate. But neither party were for admitting that liberty of conscience, and freedom of profession, which is every man's right as far as is consistent with the peace of the government under which he lives. *Macl.*]

the church seemed to require it, they remanded these teachers of their own creation again to a private station. For these teachers were in no respects more sacred or elevated than the rest of the brethren, except by their power to perform sacred functions, for which they were wholly indebted to the election and consent of the brethren. Moreover, the office of teaching was by no means confined to them: but all the brethren, if they pleased, might prophesy in public, or exhort and instruct the fraternity. Hence, when the appointed preacher of the church had closed his discourse, the brethren severally were at liberty to hold forth, and let others know what they might have been revolving in their minds, or had not clearly apprehended in the discourse of the preacher. In short, *Browne* thought, that the Christian world should now present the same aspect, as that of the churches in the days of the apostles. In maintaining such opinions, he and his associates were so assuming, as to hold that all bonds of harmony, communion, and charity, with churches differently constituted, were to be severed; and to declare that the English church in particular, was above all others to be shunned, as being a spurious church, contaminated with the pollutions of popery, and destitute of all divine influences. This sect, impatient under the injuries it received (perhaps through its own fault) in England, removed to Holland, and settled at Middleburgh, Amsterdam, and Leyden: but it did not long continue. *Browne* himself returned to England, and forsaking his new opinions, obtained a living in the established church.⁶ The other exiles became embroiled by many internal dissensions.⁷ These effects induced the wiser among them to modify the discipline of their founder, and make it more tolerable. In this manner from them originated the noted sect of the *Independents* or *Congregational Brethren*, which still exists. But their history belongs to the next century.

§ 22. In the provinces of the Netherlands, it was long doubtful, whether those who renounced the Romish communion would join the fellowship of the Lutherans or of the Swiss: for each of these had many and strong partizans.⁸ But in the year 1571,

⁶ The rectory of Achurch, in Northamptonshire. *Browne* really does not seem to have altered his opinions; for he never preached at Achurch. *Ed.*

⁷ Dan. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. ch. vi. p. 324. Jo. Hornbeck's *Summa Controversiarum*, lib. x. p. 738,

&c. Fuller's *Ecclesiastical History of Britain*, book x. p. 168. [Benj. Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 366, &c. *Tr.*]

⁸ Löschner's *Historia Motuum*, pt. iii. lib. v. cap. iv. p. 74.

the preference was publicly given to the Swiss. For the *Belgic Confession of Faith*⁹, which was published in this year, was, for the most part, in unison with that adopted by the French Reformed church; and differed from the Augsburg Confession in several respects, and especially on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.¹⁰ The causes of this will readily appear, if we consider the proximity of the French, and the number of them residing in the Netherlands, the high reputation of *Calvin* and the Genevan school, and the indefatigable industry of the Genevans in extending the boundaries of their church. From this period, the Belgians publicly assumed the title of the *Reformed*, instead of that of *Lutherans*, which they had before borne: and in this they followed the example of the French, who had invented and first assumed this appellation. Yet the Belgians, while subject to the Spaniards, had disused the term *Reformed*, to avoid incurring odium, and had styled themselves *Associates of the Augsburg Confession*; because the Spanish court looked upon Lutherans as far better citizens than the disciples of *Calvin*, who, from their commotions in France, were deemed more inclined to sedition.¹

§ 23. The knowledge of a more sound religion was carried into Poland, by the disciples of *Luther*, from Saxony.² After-

⁹ For an account of the Belgic Confession, see Köcher's *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolica*, p. 216. [It was first composed in the Walloon language, by Guy de Bres, and first printed in French, in 1562. Afterwards it was translated into various languages; and was ratified, (together with the Heidelberg Catechism, with which it harmonizes,) by the Synod of Dort, in 1619; and again at the Hague, in 1651. *Tr.*]

¹⁰ Gerhard Brandt's *Historie der Reformatie in en omtrent de Nederlanden*, vol. i. b. v. p. 253, &c.

¹ The words of Brandt, l. cit. p. 254, 255, are these: "Nochtans behielpen siek de Nederlandtsche Gereformeerden met den titel van Augsburgsche Confessie, om dat die te hove niet so onaengenaem was als de Calvinische of Fransche, die de partije doorgans hield te wesen een oproeriger Secte dan de Luthersehe."

² [Polish Prussia was first enlightened by Luther's attack upon Romanism. It was a province that voluntarily submitted to Casimir III. for the purpose of shaking off the tyranny of the

Teutonic knights. A long war with them ended in its formal incorporation with Poland, in 1466. But its former privileges were then secured, and as its town population was chiefly of German origin, that language was usually spoken, and an intimate connexion with the country retained. Wittenberg was a favourite place of education for its youth, and thence Luther's opinions found an immediate entrance into the province. So early as 1518, Knade, a native of Dantzic, threw off the monastic habit, married, and preached publicly in that city against Romanism. He was tried and imprisoned, but after a time released and compelled to leave Dantzic. He found shelter, however, with a nobleman near Thorn, and continued under his protection, to preach protestantism. In 1520, Benchenstein preached the same doctrines in Dantzic, and two years after, Bonhald did the same. Others followed, and a considerable ferment being the consequence, Sigismund I. ordered the town council to maintain the existing religion, and put down innova-

wards, not only the Bohemian brethren, whom the Romish priests had expelled from their country, but likewise some of the Swiss, disseminated their opinions among the Poles: not to mention the Anabaptists, the Anti-trinitarians, and others, who travelled in that country, and there collected congregations.³ Hence there existed here and there throughout Poland three sorts of religious associations, those of the Bohemian brethren, the Lutherans, and the Swiss. In order to oppose with greater vigour their common enemies, they held a convention at Sendomir in the year 1570, and entered into a kind of confederation, on certain terms, comprehended in a confession usually called the *Agreement of Sendomir*.⁴ But as this compromise was deemed too condescending, and in-

tion. This order being rather evaded than obeyed, Dantzic became daily more alienated from Romanism; but popular pretensions gaining a simultaneous accession of strength, the magistrates became alarmed and imprisoned some of the more conspicuous reformers. This occasioned a riot in 1525, which placed the city in the hands of the reforming party; by which Romanism was formally abolished. The king now interfered with an overwhelming force, and in July, 1526, Dantzic was again reduced completely under the dominion of Rome. Other towns of Poland, had, however, caught the infection, and in 1534, a Dominican friar, named Klein, again preached against Romanism in Dantzic. This new reformer threw off the monastic habit in 1537, and being nominated preacher in St. Mary's church, by the civic authorities, he cleared it of the images, and regularly established Lutheranism: the town-council conniving, and the king merely prohibiting violent attacks upon the established religion. At length, however, Sigismund was compelled to interfere, and he sent an episcopal commission to Dantzic, which imprisoned Klein, but was quickly compelled to release him, and which failed of doing any thing effectual. Klein died in 1546, having spent all his latter years unmolested. Simultaneously with these events other towns of Prussia revolted from Rome, and thus when the Bohemian brethren arrived in 1548, the soil was extensively prepared for the growth of their doctrines. Krasinski's *Reformation in Poland*, i. 111, &c. *Ed.*]

³ Löseher's *Historia Motuum*, pt. iii. lib. v. cap. iii. p. 36. Salig's *Historie der Augsb. Confession*, vol. ii. b. vi. ch. iii. iv. v. p. 516. Andr. Regenvolseius, *Historia Ecclesiar. Slavonicar.* lib. i. cap. xvi. &c. p. 71, &c. Solignac's *Historie de Pologne*, tom. v. p. 40, &c. Nath. Fred. Kautz, *Præcipua Relig. Evangelicæ in Polonia Fata*, Hamb. 1738, 4to. [The most eminent among the reformed clergy of Poland, was the famous John a Lasco, who preached some time in London, and returning to Poland, did much to advance the reformation there. See his history and many of his letters, in Dan. Gerdes, *Miscell. Groningens.* tom. i.—v. The protestants of Great Poland were chiefly Bohemian brethren: those of Little Poland embraced the views of the Swiss. Both these became united in 1555; but their union with the Lutherans was not so easily effected. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Dan. Ern. Jablonsky's *Historia Consensus Sendomiriensis*, Berlin, 1731, 4to, and his *Epistola Apologetica*, printed in the same year, and directed against the exceptions of a certain Polish antagonist. [The synod of Sendomir was not exclusively ecclesiastical, several protestant nobles taking part in its deliberations. Anti-trinitarian doctrines had already gained extensive ground among Polish opponents of Romanism, but none with such opinions were admitted at Sendomir. The *Agreement or Consent (Consensus Sendimorensis)* was signed April 14, 1570. It may be seen in Count Krasinski's *Reformation in Poland*, i. 383. *Ed.*]

jurious to the truth, (for in it the opinions, which separate the Lutherans from the Reformed, were expressed in vague and ambiguous language,) it was, not long after, opposed by many of the Lutherans; and in the next century was entirely abrogated; nor have those who desired and laboured to restore it, to this day, met with the success for which they hoped. In both the Prussias⁵, after the death of *Luther* and *Melanethon*, very large congregations of the Reformed religion were gathered by certain persons, which flourish still.⁶

§ 24. The *Bohemian brethren*, as they are called, or *Moravians*, who were descended from the better sort of Hussites, and adopted peculiar regulations, designated especially to guard against the reigning vices; upon hearing of *Luther's* efforts to reform the church, sent envoys to him, as early as 1522, soliciting his friendship; and afterwards, from time to time, they proffered the hand of friendship to the Saxons, and to other members of our community. Nor did *Luther* and his friends find any thing very censurable, either in their doctrines or their discipline; nay, the confession, which they subjected to his judgment, he did not indeed approve in all respects, yet he thought it might be tolerated.⁷ After the death of *Luther*, most of the brethren being expelled their country in the year 1547, many of them, and especially among those that settled in Poland, inclined towards the side of the Reformed. There seemed indeed to be a renewal of the harmony between the Bohemians and the Lutherans, at the time of the *Agreement of Sandomir*, already mentioned; but the influence of this agree-

⁵ [The Brandenburg and Polish. *Tr.*]

⁶ Löschner's *Historia Motuum*, pt. iii. lib. vi. cap. i. p. 216.

⁷ See Jo. Gottl. Carpzov's *Nachricht von den Böhmischen Brüdern*, p. 46, &c. Jo. Christ. Köcher's *Bibliotheca Theologiae Symbolica*, p. 76, &c. [In the year 1552, the brethren sent two delegates to Luther, namely, John Horn and Mich. Weis, to congratulate him on his attaining to a knowledge of the truth. They also sent him, soon afterwards, a book entitled *Instruction for Children*, which they had composed for the benefit of their church. But as they here expressed clearly their opinion of the Lord's Supper, (namely, that Christ himself was not actually present in it,) and

he freely censured this opinion, their intercourse with Luther was for a time interrupted. They were also displeased, that he was more solicitous about purity of doctrine, than the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline. But as they perceived, that it would be for their advantage to be reckoned among the adherents to the Augsburg Confession, they at times sought his communion, and exhibited to him their Confession, which he afterwards caused to be published. See Jo. Amos Comenius *Historia Fratrum Bohemorum*, Halle, 1702, 4to, p. 22, &c., and Jo. Ch. Köcher, *Von den Glaubenskenntnissen der Böhmischen Brüder*, Franckfort, 1741, 8vo. *Schl.*]

ment soon after was greatly weakened, and gradually all the Bohemians united themselves with the Swiss.⁸ The union at first contained the stipulation, that each community should enjoy its own regulations, and should keep up separate meetings for worship: but in the following century, at the councils of Ostrog, A. D. 1620, and 1627, all difference was done away; and the two communities of Bohemians and Swiss became consolidated into one, which took the name of the *Church of the United Brethren*, and retained the form and regulations of the Bohemians, but embraced the doctrines of the Reformed.⁹

§ 25. The descendants of the Waldenses, who lived shut up in the valleys of Piedmont, were led by their proximity to the French and Genevans, to embrace their doctrines and worship. Yet they retained not a few of their ancient rules of discipline, so late as the year 1630. But in this year the greatest part of the Waldenses were swept off by pestilence; and their new teachers, whom they obtained from France, regulated all their affairs according to the pattern of the French Reformed church.¹ The Hungarians and Transylvanians were stirred up to burst

⁸ Besides those who treat professedly of the Bohemian brethren, as *Comenius*, *Camerarius*, and *Lasitius*, the reader may consult Löscher's *Historia Motuum*, pt. iii. lib. v. c. vi. p. 99, &c. Salig's *Historie der Augustan. Confession*, vol. ii. b. vi. ch. iii. p. 520, &c. A. Dr. Regenvolscius, *Historia Ecclesiar. Slavonicarum*, lib. i. cap. xiii. xiv. xv. &c.

⁹ Regenvolscius, loc. cit. lib. i. cap. xiv. p. 120. [On the doctrinal views of the Bohemian brethren, which coincided generally with those of Calvin, Jo. Theoph. Elsner (one of that sect,) wrote an elaborate treatise, entitled: *Brevis Conspectus Doctrinæ Fratrum Bohemorum*; in which he shows what was their belief in the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries; and which is printed in Dan. Gerdes' *Serininum Antiquar. sive Miscellanea Groningana*, tom. vi. p. 381—457. *Tr.*]

¹ Jo. Leger's *Histoire Générale des Eglises Vaudoises*, liv. i. cap. xxxiii. p. 205, 206. Abrah. Scultet's *Annales Renovati Evangelii*, p. 294. Dan. Gerdes, *Historia Evangelii Renovati*, tom. ii. p. 401. [In the year 1530, the Waldenses having heard of the reformation in Switzerland and Germany, sent two of their *barbs* or ministers, Geo. Mord

and Peter Masson, or Latome, to Berne, Basle, and Strasburg, to confer with the reformers there. Their written communication to Eccolampadius at Basle, describes their faith and practice, with great simplicity and candour; and the written answer of Eccolampadius was such as might be expected, kind, affectionate, and fraternal. See them, in Gerdes, *Hist. Renovati Evangelii*, tom. ii. p. 401—417. In their council in Angrogne, A. D. 1532, they adopted a short confession of faith, professedly embracing the doctrines they had firmly believed for four hundred years; yet manifestly a departure, in some particulars, from the principles stated by their deputies to Eccolampadius; and conformed to the new views he had communicated to them, especially in regard to free will, grace, predestination, and several points of practical religion. See this confession, in J. P. Perrin's *History of the Waldenses*, (Eng. translation,) pt. i. b. ii. ch. iv. p. 59, &c. In the same council, they took measures to procure an impression of the whole Bible in their native language; and also a supply of other religious books. See Perrin, l. c. p. 61. *Tr.*]

the bonds of superstition, by the writings and the disciples of *Luther*. Afterwards *Matthew Devay* and others, in a more private way, and then about the year 1550, *Stephen Szegedin* and others, more openly, spread among them successfully the sentiments of the Swiss, respecting the Lord's Supper and the government of the church. This produced here, as in other countries, first, contests among the friends of a purer religion, and at length, an open schism, which time has strengthened rather than diminished.²

§ 26. After the promulgation of the *Formula of Concord*, many of the German churches, which before belonged to the Lutheran communion, united themselves to the Reformed. Among these were the churches of Nassau, Hanau, Isenburg, and others. In the year 1595, the princes of Anhalt, chiefly at the instigation of *Wolfgang Amling*, embraced the Reformed worship in place of the Lutheran; which produced a long contest between the inhabitants of that principality and the Lutherans.³ Upon Denmark also, near the close of the century, the Reformed doctrines made an inroad, especially in regard to the Lord's Supper: for that kingdom abounded in disciples and admirers of *Melancthon*, who were disposed to promote peace among the protestants; at the head of whom was *Nicholas Hemming*, a pious and learned divine of Copenhagen. But the designs of *Hemming* and his friends becoming known prematurely, the other divines, who were unwilling to have Lutheranism set aside, opposed so many obstructions, by means of the king, that those designs miscarried.⁴

§ 27. Moreover, the nations that held communion with the Swiss, did not embrace all the Helvetic tenets and institutions. *They* indeed ardently desired to have it so; but untoward cir-

² Paul Debrezen's *Historia Ecclesie Reformate in Hungaria et Transylvania*, lib. ii. p. 64. 72. 98, &c. Compare the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. D. 1738. p. 1076, &c. Geo. Hamner's *Historia Ecclesiar. Transylvanicarum*, Frauc., 1694, 12mo.

³ Jo. Christ. Bechman's *Historie des Hauses Anhalt*, vol. ii. pt. vi. p. 133, &c. Jo. Mich. Kraft's *Ausführliche Historie von dem Exorcismo*, p. 428. 497, &c. ["Though the princes professed Calvinism, and introduced Calvinist ministers in all the churches, where they had the right of patronage, yet the people

were left free in their choice; and the noblemen and their vassals that were attached to Lutheranism had secured to them the unrestrained exercise of their religion. By virtue of a convention made in 1679, the Lutherans were permitted to erect new churches. The Zerbst line, with the greatest part of its subjects, profess Lutheranism; but the three other lines with their respective territories, are Calvinists." *Macl.*]

⁴ Eric Pontoppidan's *Annales Ecclesie Danice Diplomatici*, tom. iii. p. 57, &c.

cumstances frustrated their wishes. The English, as is well known, perseveringly rejected the ecclesiastical constitution and the form of worship adopted by the other Reformed churches; nor could they be persuaded to receive the common opinions of the Swiss respecting the Lord's Supper and the divine decrees, as the public sentiments of the whole nation.⁵ The churches of the Palatinate, Bremen, Poland, Hungary, and Holland, agreed indeed with the Swiss or French respecting the Lord's Supper, the simplicity of their worship, and the form of church government; but not likewise in respect to *predestination*; which difficult subject they left to the discretion of individuals.⁶ And down to the time of the Synod of Dort, no portion of the Reformed community had required, by any law or public rule, a belief in the opinion of the Gene-

⁵ ["It is true, indeed, that the doctrine of Zwingli, who represented the bread and wine as nothing more than the external *signs* of the death of Christ, was not adopted by the church of England: but the doctrine of Calvin was embraced by that church, and is plainly taught in the thirty-eighth article of its faith. As to what relates to the doctrine of the divine decrees, Dr. Mosheim is equally mistaken. The seventeenth article of the church of England is, as bishop Burnet candidly acknowledges, framed according to St. Augustin's doctrine, which scarcely differs at all from that of Calvin; and, though it be expressed with a certain latitude that renders it susceptible of a mitigated interpretation, yet it is very probable, that those who penned it were patrons of the doctrine of absolute decrees. The very cautions, that are subjoined to this article, intimate that Calvinism was what it was meant to establish. It is certain, that the Calvinistical doctrine of predestination prevailed among the first English reformers, the greatest part of whom were at least Sublapsarians; in the reign of queen Elizabeth, this doctrine was predominant, but after that period it lost ground imperceptibly, and was renounced by the church of England in the reign of king Charles I. Some members of that church still adhered, nevertheless, to the tenets of Calvin, and maintained, not only that the thirty-nine articles were Calvinistical, but also affirmed, that they were not susceptible of being interpreted in that latitude for which the Arminians

contended. These episcopal votaries of Calvinism were called *doctrinal puritans*. See Burnet's *Exposition of the Seventeenth Article*, &c., and Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 579." *Macl.* See also A.M. Toplady's *History of Calvinism*, 2 vols. 8vo. Bp. Tomline's *Refutation of Calvinism*, 8vo. T. Scott's *Remarks on Tomline on Calvinism*, 8vo, and the *Fathers, the Reformers, and the public Formularies of the church of England, in harmony with Calvin*, &c. Philadelphia, 1817, 12mo. p. 108—119. *Tr.*] In estimating this account, it is needful to remember the writer's partialities. Neal has no authority with members of the church of England, Toplady none with the great majority of them. The truth is, that the *Seventeenth Article* does not maintain Calvinistic doctrines with sufficient fulness and clearness to satisfy their friends. Hence the attempt to supply this deficiency by means of the *Lambeth Articles*, under Elizabeth. These would have been unnecessary, had the *Seventeenth Article* been of a complexion decidedly Calvinistic. It says, however, nothing of reprobation, or of irrevocable predestination, and was evidently framed with an eye to the discouragement of speculations upon such subjects. Its principal, if not sole framer, was Abp. Cramer, and there is no evidence, perhaps no probability, of his belief in "the doctrine of absolute decrees." *Ed.*]

⁶ See Hugo Grotius, *Apologeticus eorum qui Hollandie ante Mutationem*, A. D. 1618, *præfuerunt*, cap. iii. p. 54, &c. ed. Paris, 1640, 12mo.

vans respecting the causes of everlasting salvation and damnation. Yet the greatest part of the teachers in most of those countries came spontaneously by degrees into the Genevan views; in consequence, especially, of the reputation and influence of the school of Geneva, to which most of the candidates for the ministry of that age were accustomed to resort for instruction.

§ 28. The inspired books of the Old and New Testaments, are held by the Reformed to be the only source of divine truth; except that the English forbid contempt to be shown to the authority of the church in the first five centuries.⁷

⁷ [“There is nothing in the thirty-nine articles of the church of England which implies its considering the writings of the fathers of the first five centuries, as an authoritative criterion of religious truth. There is, indeed, a clause in the *Act of Uniformity*, passed in the reign of queen Elizabeth, declaring that her delegates, in ecclesiastical matters, should not determine any thing to be heresy, but what was adjudged so *by the authority of Scripture or by the first four general councils*; and this has, perhaps, misled Dr. Mosheim, in the passage to which this note refers. Much respect, indeed, and perhaps too much, has been paid to the fathers; but that has been always a matter of *choice*, and not of *obligation*.” *Macl.*—It was in regard to the constitution and government of the church, rather than in articles of faith, that the church of England paid more deference to the fathers, than the rest of the reformed did: and on this subject, they have actually copied after the practice of the first five centuries, as being obligatory upon the conscience. See § 20. and p. 194 above: and Neal’s *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. ch. iv. p. 183, 184, ed. Portsm. 1816. *Tr.*] The clause referred to by Maclaine, is not in the *Act of Uniformity*, but in the *Act of Supremacy*. Nor is the importance given by it to the first four general councils at all out of harmony with the principles laid down all along by the English Reformers. On the contrary, they appealed constantly from the outset, to the first four general councils, and other documents of primitive theology. By such guides the clergy, under Elizabeth, were directed to study Scripture, and to expound it to their congregations. “The same convocation, which first enforced subscription on the clergy, passed also

the following canon for the regulation of preaching throughout the kingdom, *That the clergy shall be careful never to teach any thing from the pulpit, to be religiously held and believed by the people, but what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old or New Testament, and collected out of that very same doctrine by the Catholic Fathers, and ancient bishops*. This canon, passed 1571, under the auspices of Archbishop Parker, has been often quoted (among others, repeatedly by Bishop Taylor) as expressing the genuine, permanent sense of the Anglican church on the matters in question” (those relating to tradition). (Keble’s *Sermon on Primitive Tradition*, Lond. 1837, p. 80.) It cannot be said in strict accuracy, that this canon was passed by the convocation of 1571. The canons authorised by means of that assembly were signed by the upper house, but not by the lower, nor were they ever authorised by the crown, although their chief framer, Abp. Parker, was very anxious to obtain this authentication for them. (Strype’s *Parker*, ii. 60.) This quasi synodical acceptance of tradition has, therefore, by no means the real importance that is sometimes assigned to it. The church of England, in fact, rejects tradition as an authority for articles of faith, but is willing to use it for throwing light upon scriptural truth. No other use of tradition is authorised by the celebrated canon which the upper house of Convocation sanctioned in 1571. If the fathers teach any articles of faith uncontained in scripture, (which is a moot-point between Protestants and Romanists,) that canon makes nothing of their authority in such a case. It is only doctrine, collected out of the Bible by the Fathers, that Elizabeth’s prelate wished to set up as a guide to parochial teachers. Their sole object was to restrain

And they maintain, equally with the Lutherans, that these books are clear, full, and complete, so far as regards things necessary to salvation; and that they are to be interpreted from themselves⁸, and not after the dictates of human reason or of Christian antiquity. Several of their theologians, indeed, have been thought to extend too far the powers of human reason, in comprehending and explaining the nature of the divine mysteries; and this has led many to represent the Reformed as holding to *two* sources of religious knowledge, the holy scriptures, and reason, or rather the capacity of the human mind. But in this matter, if we do not mistake the fact, both parties err, through eagerness to vanquish and subdue their adversaries. For, if we except the improper phraseology of certain individuals, it will appear, that the Reformed in general believe, as we do, that contradictory propositions can in no way claim acquiescence; and consequently, that doctrines made up of notions absolutely irreconcilable, must be false, and utterly incapable of challenging belief; yet they sometimes, rather contentiously, apply this principle to overthrow those Lutheran tenets which they reject.⁹

§ 29. The Reformed, if we restrict this appellation to those who approve the sentiments of *Calvin*, differ from the Lutherans, in regard to three subjects.—I. The doctrine of the holy supper: in which the Lutherans say, that the body and blood of Christ, are *truly*, though in an inexplicable manner, presented to both the pious and the ungodly; while the Reformed suppose, that the human nature of Christ is present only by the *symbols* of it. Yet they do not all explain their doctrine in the

ignorance and rashness from giving themselves an unbridled licence in theological speculation. Nothing was further from the views of those admirable men who framed her terms of communion, than to open a translated Bible before the many, or the original before the few, and proclaim an unlimited licence of private judgment. Neal's history is valuable as a dissenting comment on the ecclesiastical affairs of the times on which it treats. It did not concern the author to view the church, except as bearing upon Puritanism. His treatment of mere church-questions, accordingly, is generally superficial, and worthy of little attention. He felt, besides, an interest, as an English Protestant Dissenter, in representing the church of his day as something

of an apostate from those genuine principles of his country's reformation, which his own sect really preserved. Views of this kind are still in favour with English Dissenters; but they are the hasty views of partisans, and will not bear to be sufficiently confronted with documentary evidence. *Ed.*

⁸ [Or independently, and by comparing one part with another. *Tr.*]

⁹ ["Our author has here undoubtedly in view the Lutheran doctrine of *consubstantiation*, which supposes the same *extended body* to be totally present in *different places*, at one and the same time. To call this a gross and glaring contradiction, seems rather the dictate of common sense, than the suggestion of a contentious spirit." *Maccl.*]

same manner.—II. The doctrine of the eternal decrees of God, in regard to the salvation of men; the ground of which the Lutherans suppose to be, the faith or unbelief of men in Christ, foreseen by God from eternity; but the Reformed suppose it to be the free and sovereign good pleasure of God.—III. Certain rites and institutions: which the Reformed think, have a tendency to superstition; but some of which the Lutherans consider as worthy of toleration, others, as useful to the Christian populace. Such are, images in churches, sacred garments for the clergy, the private confession of sins, the small circular pieces of bread¹, which are distributed, according to the ancient fashion, in the holy supper, the formula of *exorcism*, as it is called, in the sacrament of baptism; and some other things. These the Reformed would have to be abrogated; because they think that religious worship should be restored to its primitive simplicity, and the old additions to it should be wholly struck off.

§ 30. This short list of topics will be seen to be in fact a long one, by those who are aware, what a multitude of abstruse questions, extending through the whole system of theology, these few differences produced. For the controversy respecting the mode of the presence of Christ's body and blood in the holy supper, has afforded to polemics ample room to expatiate on the mysteries of religion, and to institute subtile discussions respecting the majesty and glory of Christ's human nature, the communication of divine attributes to it, and the proper attitude of the mind in the worship of Christ. The dispute respecting the divine decrees has brought in abundant matter for discussion, upon the divine attributes themselves, particularly justice and goodness, upon the certainty and necessity of all events, upon the connexion between human liberty and divine providence, upon the extent of God's love for men, and of the blessings procured for us by the merits of Christ, upon the nature of that divine influence which renews the mind of men, upon the perseverance of those who are appointed to eternal life in the covenant of God; and various other subjects of no small moment. Nor has the last dissension, respecting rites and institutions, been unprolific. For, besides discussions respecting the origin and antiquity of certain rites, it has produced the by no means contemptible controversies: What kind of things are they, which may be justly denominated indifferent

¹ [Wafers. *Tr.*]

or neither good nor bad? How far is it proper to yield to an adversary, who contends about things in their nature indifferent? How far does Christian liberty extend? Is it lawful, for the sake of the people, to retain various ancient customs and institutions, which have a superstitious aspect yet are capable of a good interpretation? and others of a similar nature.

§ 31. It has been debated, and sometimes with great warmth of feeling, particularly among the English and the Dutch, to whom rightfully belongs the government of the church, and the power of establishing rules and regulations in matters of religion. In these contests, those have come off victorious who maintain, that the authority to regulate sacred affairs is, by the appointment of Christ himself, vested in the church, and therefore ought, by no means, to be committed into the hands of civil magistrates; yet they admit the right of temporal sovereigns, to advise and to succour the church when in trouble, to assemble and preside in the conventions of the church, to see that her officers decree nothing prejudicial to the commonwealth, and to strengthen and confirm with their authority the decrees of the ministers of religion. The kings of England, indeed, from the time of *Henry VIII.*, have declared themselves to be supreme *heads of the church, as well in spiritual, as in temporal things*; and it is manifest, that *Henry VIII.*, and his son *Edward VI.*, attached very ample powers to this title, and considered themselves authorised to do, whatever the Roman pontiffs might do.² But queen *Elizabeth* greatly limited this prerogative, and declared, that the authority of the kings of England did not extend to *religion* itself, and to things sacred, but only to the *persons*, who teach religion and minister in sacred things.³ In England, therefore, the constitution of

² Dan. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. ch. i. p. 11, and others.

³ Peter Fran. le Courayer's *Supplément aux deux Ouvrages pour la défense de la validité des Ordinations Anglicanes*, cap. xv. p. 416, &c. [Courayer's book, I have not seen; but in what respects queen Elizabeth limited the powers of the kings of England as supreme heads of the church, or when, and where, she declared, that the regal power did not extend to *religion itself*, and to *things sacred*, I am unable to determine. Burnet, indeed, (*Hist. of the Reform.* vol. iii. p. 492, ed. Lond. 1825.) says, of the power conferred on Elizabeth, at the

commencement of her reign, by the act of supremacy: "It was in many things short of the authority that king Henry had claimed." But he specifies no particulars; and it is well known, that Henry far transgressed the limits which he pretended to set to his own power as head of the church. Neal says of the power given to Elizabeth, by the above act of her parliament; "Nor is it the whole that the queen claimed, who sometimes stretched her prerogative beyond it." (*Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. ch. iv. p. 168, ed. Portsm. 1816.) Hume says of this act, (*Hist. of Eng.* vol. iv. ch. xxxviii. p. 151, ed. Philad. 1810.) "Though the

the church is very nearly the same as that of the state. The clergy, distributed into two houses, called the upper and lower

queen was there denominated *governess*, not *head* of the church, it conveyed the *same* extensive power, which, under the latter title, had been exercised by her father and brother." And he adds (*ibid.* p. 274), "Scarcely any sovereign before Elizabeth, and none after her, carried higher, both in speculation and practice, the authority of the crown." He likewise says, (p. 290.) "Religion was a point, of which Elizabeth was, if possible, still more jealous, than of matters of state. She pretended that, in quality of supreme head or governor of the church, she was fully empowered, by her prerogative alone, to decide all questions which might arise, with regard to *doctrine, discipline, or worship*; and she never would allow her parliament so much as to take these points into consideration." And the whole history of her reign appears to confirm these statements, which are so contrary to the assertions of Dr. Mosheim. See Hume, *loc. cit.* vol. iv. p. 150, &c., 272, 290, &c., 292, 336, 364, 462.—The powers of the English monarchs, as the heads of the church, from Henry VIII. to Charles I., are thus defined, by Mr. Neal, in his *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. ch. iv. p. 169—172. "They never pretended to be *spiritual persons*; or to exercise any part of the ecclesiastical function, in their own person; they neither preached nor administered the sacraments," &c. "But abating this point, it appears very probable, that all the jurisdiction and authority, claimed by the pope, as the head of the church,—was transferred to the king, by the act of supremacy,—as far as was consistent with the laws of the land then in being; though since, it has undergone some abatements." He then proceeds to the following specifications. "I. The kings and queens of England claimed authority in matters of *faith*, and to be the ultimate judges of what is agreeable or repugnant to the word of God." "II. With regard to *discipline*—the king is the supreme and ultimate judge in the spiritual courts by his delegates, as he is in the courts of common law by his judges." "III. As to rites and ceremonies, the Act of Uniformity (1 Eliz. cap. i.) says expressly, *that the queen's majesty, by advice of her ecclesiastical commissioners, or of her me-*

tropolitan, may ordain and publish such ceremonies or rites, as may be most for the advancement of God's glory, and the edifying of the church. Accordingly, her majesty published her injunctions, without sending them into convocation or parliament, and erected a court of *High Commission*, for ecclesiastical causes, consisting of commissioners of her own nomination, to see them put in execution. Nay, so jealous was queen Elizabeth of this branch of her prerogative, that she would not suffer her high court of parliament to pass any bill for the amendment or alteration of the ceremonies of the church, it being (as she said) an invasion of her prerogative." "IV. The kings of England claimed the sole power of the nomination of bishops; and the deans and chapters were obliged to choose those whom their majesties named, under penalty of a *præmunire*; and after they were chosen and consecrated, they might not act but by commission from the crown." "V. No *convocation*, or synods of the clergy, can assemble, but by a writ or precept from the crown; and when assembled, they can do no business, without the king's letters patent, appointing them *the particular subjects* they are to debate upon; and after all, their canons are of no force without the royal sanction." "Upon the whole it is evident, by the express words of several statutes, (31 Hen. VIII. cap. xvii. 1 Eliz. c. i.) that *all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical as well as civil*, was vested in the king, and taken away from the bishops, except by delegation from him. The king was chief in the determination of all causes in the church; he had authority to make laws, ceremonies, and constitutions, and without him no such laws, ceremonies, or constitutions, are or ought to be of force. And *lastly*, all appeals, which before had been made to Rome, are for ever hereafter to be made to his majesty's chancellor, to be ended and determined, as the manner now is, by delegates." *Tr.]*

Elizabeth thus authentically explained her views of the supremacy, in *An Admonition to simple men, deceived by the malicious*, subjoined to her *Injunctions* of 1559. *Her Majesty neither doth, nor ever will challenge any authority than that was challenged and lately used by the said noble*

houses of *Convocation*, are assembled by the order of the king, and a summons from the archbishop of Canterbury, and they decree, by common consent, whatever the interests of the church are thought to demand: and the king and the parliament give to their decrees the sanctions and authority of laws.⁴ Yet this subject has been much controverted; the king and the parliament putting one construction upon the ecclesiastical constitution, and the rulers of the church, particularly those who

kings of famous memory, king Henry the Eighth and king Edward the Sixth, which is, and ever was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of this realm, that is, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no other foreign power shall, or ought to have, any superiority over them. Upon this Collier observes, “Had this *Admonition*, as ’tis called, been passed into an act of parliament, or the same explanation at least been made by succeeding princes, it might possibly have not been unserviceable.” (*Eccles. Hist.* ii. 433.) The late Mr. Butler also said, “Were it quite clear, that the interpretation contended for” (by those who take the *Injunctions* for their guide) “is the true interpretation of the oath, and quite clear also, that the oath was and is thus universally interpreted by the nation, then the author conceives, that there might be strong ground to contend, that it was consistent with catholic principles to take either the oath of supremacy which was prescribed by Elizabeth, or that which is used at present.” (*Hist. Mem. of the Eng. Cath.* i. 162.) “How odious soever this oath, though thus qualified, has always been at the court of Rome, yet it did not fail to reconcile most of the catholics to queen Elizabeth. Fecknam, abbot of Westminster, and so staunch a catholic, that Mr. Fennell and Father le Quien honour him as a confessor, made no scruple of approving it. For in a confession of faith, signed with his own hand, he declares, that he is ready to take the oath in that sense, when it shall be tendered to him by a lawful authority. Fecknam’s offer, though never put in execution by him, had a great influence upon the rest. For some years before queen Elizabeth’s death, most of the catholic secular priests took the oath to that princess and her

successor; and notwithstanding the clamours of Bellarmin and the Jesuits, they judged, that, by acknowledging the ecclesiastical power of the kings of England, they only attributed to them an authority which might restrain the power of the pope, without any real encroachment upon the functions of the priesthood.” (*Courayer’s Defence of the Dissertation on the Validity of the English Ordinations*, Lond. 1728, ii. 319.) Sir Roger Twisden shows, that, in fact, Elizabeth’s claim of supremacy had been acted upon from the very beginning of the English monarchy, and that a similar claim had been made by the kings of France. (*Hist. Vindic. of the Ch. of Engl. in point of Schism*, 105.) It is obviously fair and reasonable, to take that view of the royal supremacy, which the statute will warrant, which is taken in Elizabeth’s *Injunctions*, was acquiesced in by the more moderate of her Romish subjects, and which is maintained by all the authorities of any weight in the church of England. Against the soundness of such a view, some appearance of a disposition, or some occasional attempt, to strain the royal prerogative, is no bar whatever. Nor are doubts of its soundness expressed or insinuated by writers unfavourable to the church of England, entitled to any great attention. The Romanist, the dissenter, and the infidel, however personally estimable, and generally well-informed, all feel an interest in making out a good case for declining communion with her, and have seldom besides entered more deeply into her peculiar affairs, than is requisite for that very purpose. *Ed.*]

⁴ Jo. Cosin, *De Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Religione et Disciplina*, cap. viii. p. 53: in Tho. Smith’s *Vite Eruditiss. Virorum*, Lond. 1700, 4to. Dav. Wilkins, *De Veteri et Moderna Synodi Anglic. Constitutione*; in his *Concilia Magn. Britanniæ*, tom. i. p. 7, &c.

think the church to be an independent body, giving a different construction of it. And in fact, the ecclesiastical constitution of England has not a fixed and uniform character, but is rather dependent on custom and usage, and the fluctuations of time, than on established laws.

§ 32. The question, what is the best form and organization of a Christian church? produced likewise warm contests, which hitherto no means have been found able to decide. The Genevans, guided by *Calvin*, judged it proper, that the private affairs of single churches, should be directed by a body of elders or *presbyters*, all equals; that matters of a more public and important character should be decided in conventions of delegated elders in the provinces; and that the interests of the whole church, and matters of special difficulty, should be discussed, as anciently, in a council of the whole church.⁵ Nor did the Genevans omit any exertions to persuade all their confederates to embrace this system. But the English judged the old system of church government to be very holy, and therefore not to be changed: this system commits the inspection and

⁵ [Dr. Maclaine thinks Dr. Mosheim has here made a great mistake, in specifying *three* judicatories as provided by the Genevan plan; while, in fact, the Genevan republic had but two ecclesiastical bodies, the *Venerable Company* of the pastors and professors, and the *Consistory*. But there is no need of severe criticism. The *Presbyterian* system is simply this, that single churches should each have a judicatory, composed of all the elders belonging to it; that this judicatory be responsible to one or more higher judicatories, composed of delegated elders; and that the highest judicatory be that of a national synod, constituted in the same manner. Where the state is very small, as that of Geneva, there would be but one delegated body, in which each individual church would be represented. But in larger states, as France, Holland, and Scotland, there would be a gradation of three or four distinct judicatories, each higher composed of delegates from the next lower. In France there were, (1) Consistories, or church sessions, (2) the Elderships or Presbyteries, (3) the provincial Councils, and (4) the national Synods; all formed on this plan. In Scotland, originally, the lowest judicatory was that

of three or four contiguous churches united, then the provincial synods, and last the General Assembly. But, at an early period, each church came to have its distinct session; and this produced a gradation of *four* judicatories in Scotland. But while the Reformed admitted of no higher judicatory than a national council, or considered the church of each country as an independent body, they allowed of a connexion between national churches. Thus the national synods of the French church, in this century, held a continued correspondence by letters and envoys, with the church of Geneva; and also regularly sent representatives to the Reformed church of the Low Countries; and received delegates from them. And in the next century, the Reformed Dutch church invited the Reformed churches of France, Germany, England, &c. to assist them, by their representatives, in the national synod of Dort. So at the present day, in the United States of America, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church annually exchanges delegates with the General Associations of the New-England States; and also holds correspondence with some transatlantic bodies. *Tr.*]

care of certain minor provinces exclusively to the bishop; under the bishops are the presbyters of single churches; under the presbyters are the ministers or deacons; and the common interests of the whole body are discussed in assemblies of the bishops and those next in rank to them. And this system, with some exceptions, is adopted by the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, who belong to the Reformed church.⁶ This single disagreement, as each party traced the origin of its own system to *Jesus Christ* and his apostles, has been most effective in dividing the whole reformed church into sects: and, in fact, it rent the English branch into two factions, to the nation's great injury. But, although many would have had it otherwise, the prudence of certain excellent individuals prevented the evil from spreading abroad, and destroying the fellowship of foreigners with the English. These men disseminated the principle, that *Jesus Christ* prescribed no definite form of government for his church; and therefore that every nation may frame such a system for itself, as the circumstances of the country require, provided it be not prejudicial to the truth, nor tend to the restoration of superstition.⁷

§ 33. *Calvin's* opinion was, that such as led vicious and ungodly lives, ought to be deprived of communion in divine ordinances; and that profligates and slaves to pleasure were also to be restrained by the laws of the state. In this matter he differed from *Zwingli*, who ascribed all power to the magistrates alone, and would not allow to the ministers of religion the right to exclude transgressors from the church, or to deprive them of

⁶ See the *Epistola de Ordinatione et Successione Episcopali in Unitate Fratrum Bohemorum conservata*; in Christ. Matth. Pfaff's *Institut. Juris Eccles.* p. 410.

⁷ Here may be consulted with advantage, the discussions on the subject, between Fred. Spanheim and John van der Waeyen, in the works of Spanheim, tom. ii. lib. viii. ix. p. 1055, &c. The same opinion is said to have been embraced by the British divines who lived near the times of the reformation; and to have been first abandoned by John Whitgift. Dan. Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 140. [This statement is incorrect, as respects bishop Whitgift. Mr. Neal says, (vol. iii. p. 156, ed. Portsm. 1817,) "Most of our first re-

formers were so far in these sentiments," (those of the *Erastians*), "as to maintain, that no one form of church government, is prescribed in scripture, as an invariable rule for future ages; as Crammer, Redmayn, Cox, &c. and archbishop Whitgift, in his controversy with Cartwright, delivers the same opinion: "I deny (says he) that the scripture has set down any one certain form of church government to be perpetual." The chief patrons of this scheme in the (Westminster) Assembly, were Dr. Lightfoot, Mr. Colman, Mr. Selden, Mr. Whitlock; and in the house of commons, besides Selden and Whitlock, Oliver St. John, Esq., Sir Thomas Widdrington, John Crew, Esq., Sir John Hipsley, and others of the greatest names." *Tr.*]

sacred rites.⁸ And so great was the influence of *Calvin* at Geneva, that he was able, though with great perils, and amidst perpetual conflicts with the patrons of licentiousness, to establish there a rigorous system of moral discipline, supported and exercised with the countenance of the laws; and by the ecclesiastical court, or the *Consistory*, to exclude the abandoned, first from the church, and then from the city, or to restrain them by other punishments.⁹ The clergy in the cantons of Switzerland, wished to copy after this discipline of *Calvin*, and to obtain the same power over transgressors; but their desires and efforts were in vain. For the people in the cantons of Berne, Zurich, Bâle, and elsewhere, would by no means allow a removal of the boundaries set by *Zwingle* to the jurisdiction of the church, or the enlargement of its powers and prerogatives.¹

§ 34. That all branches of learning, both sacred and profane, were every where successfully cultivated, among the Reformed in this century, is well known; and the numerous monuments of their excellent geniuses, which still exist, allow no one to be ignorant of the fact. *Zwingle* was disposed to exclude philosophy from the church²: but the succeeding Swiss doctors soon discovered, that in such a world as this, and especially in the disputes on religious subjects, a knowledge of it could not

⁸ See the excellent letter of Rud. Gualther, in Jo. Conr. Fuesslin's *Centuria I. Epistolar. a Reformator. Helvet. scriptar.* p. 478, where he says: "Excommunicationem neque Zwinglius—neque Bullingerus unquam probarunt, et—obstiterunt iis qui eam aliquando voluerunt introducere.—Basiliæ quidem Cœcolampadius, multum dissuadente Zwinglio, instituerat—sed adeo non durabilis fuit illa constitutio, ut Cœcolampadius illam abrogarit," &c. Compare p. 90.

⁹ Nothing caused Calvin more troubles, cabals, and perils, at Geneva, than his determined resolution to purge the church of transgressors, and to restrain and punish such as violated the rules established by the church, or by the *Consistory* which represented the church. See his life, written by Beza, and prefixed to his letters; the notes to the second volume of Jac. Spon's *Histoire de Genève*; and Calvin himself, in his letters, especially in those which he wrote to James de Falais or de Bonrgogne, published at Amsterdam, 1744, 8vo. pp. 126,

127, 132, 153, 157. The party at Geneva, which defended the former licentiousness of morals, not only with their tongues, but also by their actions, and with force of arms, and which Calvin called the sect of the *Libertines*, was very powerful. But Calvin's resolution was also invincible, and his rigorous discipline triumphed.

¹ See, for example, the *Commotions at Lausanne*, in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. ii. p. 119, &c. The disputes on this subject, among the people of the Palatinate, who wished to adopt the Genevan discipline, are described by Henry Altig, in his *Historia Eccl. Palatina*; and by Struve, in his *Pfälzischen Kirchenhistorie*, p. 212, &c.

² *Zwingle*, in the dedication of his book on True and False Religion to Francis I., king of France, says expressly, on p. 12, "Philosophiæ interdictum est a Christi scholis: at isti (*the Sorbonists*) fecerunt eam celestis verbi magistram."

be dispensed with. Hence, when *Calvin* erected the academy of Geneva, in 1558, he at once provided for it a professor of philosophy. But this professor was required to explain in his lectures none but the Aristotelian philosophy, which then reigned in all the schools.³ Nor did the other universities of the Reformed suffer a different philosophy to be taught in them. Yet at Bâle, the system of *Peter Ramus*, for a time, was by some preferred to that of Aristotle.⁴

§ 35. The Reformed church, from its very commencement, had many expositors of the Scriptures, and several of them were ingenious and excellent. *Zwingle's* labours in explanation of most of the books of the New Testament, are not to be despised. He was followed by *Henry Bullinger*, *John Œcolampadius*, *Wolfgang Musculus*, and many others, not his equals indeed in genius and learning, yet all of them meriting some praise. But the first rank among the interpreters of this age is deservedly assigned to *John Calvin*, who endeavoured to expound nearly the whole of the sacred volume; and to *Theodore Beza*, whose New Testament, illustrated with learned remarks of various kinds, especially critical ones, has been often published, and has not to this day lost all the renown and estimation in which it was formerly held. It is an honour to most of these expositors, that, disregarding allegories and mystical interpretations, they endeavour to ascertain the literal import of the language used by the inspired men: but, on the other hand, some of them, and in particular *Calvin*, have been reproached, because they venture to refer to Jewish affairs some predictions of the ancient prophets, which relate to *Jesus Christ*, and place him, as it were, before the eye; and thus have deprived Christianity of important corroboration.⁵

§ 36. The state of dogmatic theology was much the same

³ Theodore Beza's *Epist. Theolog.* xxxvi. p. 156. "Certum nobis ac constitutum est, et in ipsis tradendis Logicis et in ceteris explicandis disciplinis, ab Aristotelis sententia ne tantillum quidem deflectere."

⁴ See Caspar Brandt's *Vita Jacobi Arminii*: and the notes we formerly annexed to it, p. 8, 12, 13.

⁵ See Ægid. Hummels, *Calvinus Judaizans*, Wittemb. 1595, 8vo.; to which David Paræus opposed his *Calvinus Orthodoxus*, Neostadii, 1595, 8vo. [Even the catholics have done Calvin the jus-

tice, to rank him among the good commentators. Richard Simon, in his *Histoire Crit. du Vieux Test.* p. 434, places him above Luther, as to discrimination and soundness of judgment; though he ascribes to Luther more knowledge of the Hebrew. He adds: "Au reste, Calvin ayant l'esprit fort élevé, on trouve dans tous ses Commentaires sur l'Écriture un je-ne-sçai-quoi qui plaît d'abord, et comme il s'étoit principalement appliqué à connoître l'homme, il a rempli ses livres d'une morale qui touche." *Schl.*]

among the Swiss and the other Reformed that it was among the Lutherans. *Zwingle* early collected and digested the principal doctrines of Christianity, in his little book *on true and false Religion*. Afterwards, *John Calvin* produced a much larger and more perfect work of this sort, entitled *Institutes of the Christian Religion*; which long held the same rank and authority in nearly all countries of the Reformed church, that *Melancthon's* Common-Place Book⁶ did among the Lutherans. *Calvin* was succeeded by many writers of Common-Place Books, some more prolix, and others more concise; as *Musculus*, *Peter Martyr*, *Piscator*, and others. The earlier the writer in this department, the less he has of subtilty and philosophical distinctions; and in this they resemble *Calvin*, whose *Institutes* are written in a perspicuous and elegant style, and have nothing abstruse and difficult to be comprehended, in the arguments or mode of reasoning. But after a while, the Aristotelico-Scholastic philosophy, which was every where inculcated, invaded also the fields of theology; and it rendered them barren, thorny, and frightful, by means of its barbarous terms, captious interrogatories, minute distinctions, and great labyrinth of useless matter.⁷

⁶ *Loci Communes*.

⁷ Yet what is called the *scholastic* mode of treating theology, appears to have entered into the reformed church, somewhat later than into our church. At least, it was quite recent in Holland, at the time of the council of Dort [A. D. 1619]. In this council, *John Maccovius*, a professor at Franeker, and initiated in all the mysteries of the philosophic schools, was accused by *Sibr. Lubbert*, of corrupting the truths of revelation. The case being investigated, the judges decided, that *Maccovius* had not indeed perverted Christian doctrines, but that he employed a mode of teaching of less simplicity than was proper: for he followed rather the example of the scholastic doctors, than that of the Holy Spirit. We will give the decision of the council in the language of *Walter Balcanquall*, in his epistle to *Sir Dudley Carleton*, (which is the 350th of the *Epistole Ecclesiasticæ*, published by *Phil. Limboreh*, p. 574.) “*Maccovium*—nullius hæreseos reum teneri—peccasse eum, quod quibusdam ambiguis et obscuris Scholasticis phrasibus usus sit: quod Scholasticum docendi modum conetur in *Belgicis* Aca-

demis introducere.—Monendum esse enim, ut eum Spiritu Sancto loquatur, non eum *Bellarmino* et *Suarezio*.” *Maccovius* did not obey these admonitions; as is manifest from his writings, which are full of scholastic wit and knotty discussions. He, therefore, seems to have first taught the Dutch to philosophise on revealed religion. Yet he had associates, as *William Ames*, and others. And it must be true, that this philosophic or scholastic form of theology, was extensively prevalent among the Reformed, anterior to the synod of Dort, if that be true, which *Simon Episcopius* states in his last oration to his disciples at Leyden; namely, that he had studiously avoided it, and had thereby incurred the violent hatred of the other doctors. He says, (in *Phil. Limboreh's* *Life of Episcopius*, p. 123.) “*Videbam* veritatem multarum et maximarum rerum in ipsa Scriptura sacra, elaboratis humana industria phrasibus, ingeniosis voeularum fictionibus, locorum communium artificiosius texturis, exquisitis terminorum ac formularum inventionibus adeo involutam, perplexam, et intricatam redditam esse, ut *Oedipo* sæpe opus esset ad *Sphingem* illam Theo-

§ 37. Their instructions for regulating the life and conduct, are annexed for the most part, by the Reformed theologians of this age, to their doctrines of faith: which was according to the example of *Calvin*, whom they nearly all follow as their guide. For he, in the last chapter but one of his *Institutes*, treats of the civil power or the *government of the state*; and in the last chapter, of *the life and conduct of a Christian*: but he is less full than the importance and copiousness of the subject demand. Those, in other respects, excellent men, were prevented from labouring to elucidate and systematize this branch of sacred knowledge, by the same causes that diverted our theologians from it; and especially by the tumult of perpetual controversy. It is conceded by eminent divines among the Reformed, that *William Perkins*, an Englishman⁸, first undertook to explain in a more accurate manner the science of practical theology, which *Calvin* and his contemporaries had left in a rude and imperfect state. With him was associated, among the Hollanders, *William Teling*⁹, who wrote however in the Dutch language. In emulation of them, *William Ames*, an Englishman¹, but a theologian of Franeker in Holland,

logicam enodandam. Ita est, et hinc primæ lacrymæ." And, a little after, p. 124, he adds, "Reducendam itaque terminorum Apostolicorum et cuivis obviurum simplicitatem semper sequendam putavi, et sequestrandam, quas Academiæ et Scholæ tanquam proprias sibi vindicant, Logicas philosophicasque speculationes et dietiones."

⁸ [Wm. Perkins was born in 1558, educated at Cambridge, where he became fellow of his college, and also a parish priest. He died in 1602, aged 44. In early life, he was profane, prodigal, and given to intemperance; but when reformed, he became eminent for piety and an exemplary life. He was a Puritan, and as such repeatedly persecuted; was strictly Calvinistic, a very popular and faithful preacher, and a voluminous writer. His works, which were printed at Geneva, 1603, in 3 vols. fol., have been much read and admired on the continent. See Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 129, &c. His chief works on practical theology are *Anatomy of the Human Conscience*; *On the right way of Living and Dying*; *On the nature of Repentance*, &c. Tr.]

⁹ [Teling died in 1629, at Haarlem, where he was a preacher. His practical writings bear the marks of that age, and generally have allegorical titles; e. g. *The pole star of genuine piety*. At this day, they are useful only in the history of practical theology. Schl.]

¹ [In the original, Dr. Ames is called a Scotsman. So palpable an error is corrected without scruple in the translation. He was born in the county of Norfolk, England, in the year 1576; educated at Cambridge, under Mr. Perkins: became a fellow of his college; was a zealous Puritan, and persecuted in 1610. He fled into Holland; preached a while, in the English church at the Hague; was made professor of divinity at Franeker; resigned the office, at the end of twelve years, on account of his health, and retired to Rotterdam, where he died in 1633, aged 57. His widow and children removed to New-England, to which he had intended to remove. He was learned, acute, soundly Calvinistic, and a strict Independent. His writings are numerous, chiefly polemic and doctrinal, and written in a clear, concise, and nervous Latin style. See Middleton's *Biographia Evan-*

undertook to compose a complete system of *Practical Theology*.² Afterwards, others prosecuted the subject.

§ 38. There did not arise, in this century, so many sects and religious contests among the Reformed, as there were among us; which, while they may esteem it much to their credit, may be easily traced to adequate causes, by one acquainted with the history of the Reformed church.³ Yet *John Calvin* mentions and confutes one very pernicious faction, which was far worse than any of ours: namely, the sect of the *Libertines*, or the *Spirituals*; which originated from *Anthony Pockes*, *Gerhard Ruff*, *Quintin*, and others, its leaders and founders, in Flanders; and thence passed into France, where it obtained countenance from *Margaret*, the queen of Navarre, and sister of *Francis I.*, and found patrons likewise in other sections of the Reformed church.⁴ These *Spirituals*, if we carefully consider all that *Calvin* and others have written against them, not always with sufficient perspicuity, (for I do not know that any of their own writings are extant,) maintained, that God Himself works all things in all men, or is the cause and author of all human

gelica, vol. iii. p. 45, &c., and *Brook's Lives of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 405, &c. *Tr.*]

² See the dedication and preface to *William Ames'* formerly very famous work, *de Conscientia et ejus jure*. In p. 3, of the preface, among other things, he says, "Quod hæc pars prophetiæ (i. e. practical theology) hactenus minus fuerit exulta, hoc inde fuit, quod primipilares nostri perpetuo in acie adversus hostes pugnare, fidem propugnare et aream ecclesiæ purgare, necessitate quadam cogebantur, ita ut agros et vineas plantare et rigare non potuerint ex voto, sicut bello fervente usu venire solet." His *Exhortation*, addressed to the theological students at Franeker, and subjoined to the above work, is worthy of perusal. From this address, we may learn among other things, that in the universities of the Reformed, the chief attention was then bestowed on dogmatic and polemic theology; and that practical theology lay neglected: "Theologi præclare se instructos putant ad omnes officii sui partes, si dogmata tantum intelligant. — Neque tamen omnia dogmata scrutantur, sed illa sola, quæ præcipue solent agitari et in controversiam vocari."

³ [Dr. *Maclaine* says here: "Dr. *Mosheim* ought to have given us a hint

of his manner of accounting for this, to avoid the suspicion of having been somewhat at a loss for a favourable solution." *Schlegel*, therefore, subjoins the following: "The Reformed church was at first small, and more closely knit together, than the Lutheran: and of course there could not arise in it such wide-spreading contentions. The leading persons also were able so to temper their disagreements, that they could not break out into a great flame. *Zwingle* and *Calvin* were men of great influence, who could arrest all contentions with as much power as *Luther* could. But *Melancthon*, who succeeded *Luther*, had not such influence; and when he was dead, there was no one to be found in our church, competent to extinguish the fire, which, during his lifetime, had been smoking in the ashes." A better solution may be found, I think, in the spirit and the religious principles of the two communities. For in the English church, which most resembled the Lutheran in these respects, there was as violent and as pernicious contention, as among the Lutherans. *Tr.*]

⁴ See *Calvin's Instructio adversus fanaticam et furiosam Sectam Libertinorum, qui se Spirituales vocant*; in his *Tractatus Theologici*, p. 599, &c.

actions; that, therefore, the common notions of a difference between good actions and bad, are false and vain; that men cannot, properly speaking, commit sin; that religion consists in the union of the rational soul, or the spirit, with God; that if a person attain this, by contemplation and directing his mind upward, he may freely obey the instincts of his nature; for, whatever he may do, he will be innocent, and after death will be united to God. These doctrines are so similar to the views of the ancient *Beghards*, or *Brethren of the free spirit*, that I have very little doubt, these *Spirituals* were their descendants; and the fact, that this sect originated in *Flanders*, which in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was full of this sort of people, corroborates the supposition.

§ 39. Totally different in character from the *Spiritual Libertines*, though not unfrequently confounded with them, were those *Libertines* of Geneva, with whom *John Calvin* had to contend fiercely all his life. These were no other than citizens of Geneva, who could not endure *Calvin's* rigorous discipline; and who defended, in opposition to his regulations, with craft and violence, with factions, insults, and contumelies, the dissolute morals of their progenitors, their brothels, and carousals, their sports and frolics; all of which, as well as other indications of an irreligious spirit, *Calvin* most severely condemned and chastised.⁵ There were, moreover, in this turbulent faction, persons not only dissolute in their lives, but also scoffers and despisers of all religion. Such a character was *James Gruet*; who not only assailed *Calvin* with all his power, and called him *bishop of Ascoli*⁶ and *the new pope*, but also discarded and opposed the divinity of the Christian religion, the immortality of the soul, the distinction between right and wrong, and whatever else was most sacred in the view of Christians; for which he was punished capitally, in the year 1550.⁷

§ 40. *Calvin* had also at Geneva controversies with some who could not digest his doctrines, especially that gloomy one of absolute decrees. Being a man of excessive ardour, and too jealous of his own reputation, he would not suffer these people

⁵ See Jac. Spon's *Histoire de Genève*, tom. ii. p. 44, in the notes of the editor.

⁶ [The import of this title of reproach, or the ground of its pertinence in the view of Gruet, is not explained by the

historians who mention it; nor was Schlegel able satisfactorily to account for it. See his long note. *Tr.*]

⁷ See Spon, *loc. cit.* tom. ii. p. 47, the note.

to reside at Geneva: nay, in the heat of controversy, yielding to his passions, he frequently accused them of crimes and enormities, from which they have been acquitted by the judgment of posterity.⁸ Among these was *Sebastian Castalio*, master of the public school at Geneva; a man not indeed free from all faults, yet honest, and distinguished for erudition and the elegance of his genius. As he would not praise all that *Calvin* and his colleagues did and taught; and in particular, as he rejected *Calvin's* and *Beza's* doctrine of pure and absolute predestination, he was required, in 1544, to resign his office, and go into exile. But the authorities of Bâle received the exile, and gave him the Greek professorship in their university.⁹

§ 41. Like his, was the fate of *Jerome Bolsec*, a French Carmelite, but a man greatly inferior to *Castalio* in learning and genius. He came to Geneva, allured by the Reformation, to which he was inclined; and there established himself as a physician. But in the year 1551, he most imprudently declaimed with vehemence, in a public assembly, against the doctrine of God's absolute decrees. For this he was cast into prison; and at last, was compelled to leave the city. He returned to his native country and to the Romish religion, which he had before renounced: and now he assailed the reputation and the life and conduct of *Calvin* and his colleague *Beza* in the most abusive publications.¹ From the unfortunate treatment of *Bolsec*, originated the enmity between *Calvin* and *James of Burgundy*, an illustrious descendant from the dukes of Burgundy, and a great patron and intimate friend of *Calvin*, who had been led by his

⁸ We may venture to say this, at the present day, since the Genevans themselves, and other doctors of the Reformed church, ingenuously confess, that the great talents of Calvin were attended by no small defects of character, which, however, they think should be overlooked, on account of his extraordinary merits. See the notes to Spon's *Histoire de Genève*, tom. ii. p. 110, &c., and elsewhere: also the preface to the *Lettres de Calvin à Jacques de Bourgeois*, p. 19, &c.

⁹ See Jac. Uytendogard's *Ecclesiastical History*, written in Dutch, pt. ii. p. 70—73; where he endeavours to evince the innocence of Castalio; Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, tom. i. p. 792, &c. [article *Castalio*; which is elaborate and appears to be candid. *Tr.*] Paul Colomesius, *Julia Orientalis*, p. 99, and

others. [See Jo. Conrad Fuesslin's *Lebensgeschichte Seb. Castalio*. Franck and Lips. 1774, 8vo. *Schl.*—Castalio was born in Dauphiny or Savoy, 1515, and spent his days at Strasburgh, Geneva, and Bâle; where he died in 1563. He was an elegant Latin and Greek scholar; and wrote much, particularly translations into Latin and French. His Latin translation of the Bible is his most important work. He denied unconditional election; considered the Canticles as an uninspired book; and rejected Calvin's opinion respecting Christ's descent into hell. These were his chief faults. *Tr.*]

¹ See Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, article *Bolsec*, tom. i. p. 592. Jac. Spon's *Histoire de Genève*, the note, tom. ii. p. 55. *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, tom. xxxii. p. 446, and tom. xxxvi. p. 409.

attachment to him, to fix his residence at Geneva. *James* employed *Bolsec* as his personal physician; and therefore supported him all that he could, when borne down by the influence of *Calvin*, to prevent him from being entirely ruined. This so exasperated *Calvin*, that to avoid his resentment, *James* thought proper to retire from Geneva into the country.²

§ 42. *Bernardin Ochin*, an Italian of Siena, and formerly vicar general of the order of Capuchins, a man of a teeming and subtle wit, who preached to an Italian congregation at Zurich, was, in the year 1563, condemned and ordered into exile, by the decision of the whole Reformed church of Switzerland. For, in his books, which were numerous, he not only put forth other opinions at variance with such as were commonly entertained, but this in particular, that the law of marriage with only one wife, was not without exceptions in certain cases. His works show that he speculated on many subjects more boldly than that age would permit, and in a different manner from the Swiss theologians. Yet there are those who maintain, that his errors, at the time when, being very old and indigent, he was compelled to forsake Switzerland, were not so great as to deserve to be punished with banishment. He retired into Poland, and there united with the Antitrinitarians and Anabaptists. He died there in the year 1564.³

§ 43. The very men who punished with such severity the audacity of those that considered some things to require alteration in the doctrines commonly received, were on the other hand inclined for nothing but mildness and gentleness in those contests which broke out with so much violence between the English *Puritans* and *Episcopalians*. Their best regards, indeed, were bestowed upon the *Puritans*, who contended for the doctrines and discipline of the Swiss; but still they had a brotherly affection for the *Episcopalians*, and were desirous of communicating the same feeling to their confederates, the *Puritans*, although the former, in claiming a divine origin for its own

² See the *Lettres de Calvin à Jacques de Bourgoigne*, preface, p. viii. &c. *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, tom. xxxii. p. 444, and tom. xxxiv. p. 406.

³ Zach. Boverius, *Annales Capucinarum*: and from these Annals, the author of the book entitled: *La Guerre Seraphique, ou Histoire des Périls qu'a couru la Barbe des Capucins*, livr. ii. p.

147, livr. iii. p. 192, 230, &c. *Observationes Halenses Latinae*, tom. iv. observ. xx. p. 406, tom. v. observ. i. p. 3, &c. Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, tom. iii. p. 2105. Christ. Sand's *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitar.* p. 4, &c. Nicron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Hommes illustres*, tom. xix. p. 166, &c. [See the sketch of his life, above, p. 239, &c. note. Tr.]

discipline, did very great injustice to the reformed body generally, which thus was left with scarcely the name and the rights of a true church. This moderation was the result of prudence, and flowed from the fear of offending a high-spirited and prosperous nation, and a most powerful queen, whose influence governed even Holland also; and it was prompted, finally, by the danger of a destructive schism among the Reformed. For, indeed, it is one thing to coerce and to cast out feeble and unarmed individuals, who are disposed to disturb the peace of a city, by advancing opinions, not perhaps absolutely absurd nor of dangerous tendency, yet really novel; and quite another thing to provoke and drive to a secession a noble and most flourishing church which may be defective in some respects. Moreover, the ground of the dissension⁴, hitherto, did not seem to be religion itself; but the external forms of religion and the constitution of the church. Yet soon afterwards, some of the great principles of religion itself were brought under discussion.⁵

§ 44. No one can deny, or be ignorant of the fact, that the Reformed church, in this age, abounded in very eminent men, who were distinguished for their acquisitions of knowledge, both human and divine. Besides *Ulric Zwingle*, *John Calvin*, and *Theodore Beza*, men of inexhaustible talents; the following have acquired by their writings immortal praise, namely, *John Ecolampadius*, *Henry Bullinger*, *William Farel*, *Peter Viret*, *Peter Martyr*, *Theodore Bibliander*, *Wolfgang Musculus*, *Conrad Pellican*, *Lewis Lavater*, *Rudolph Hospinian*, *Zacharias Ursinus*, *Thomas Cranmer*, archbishop of Canterbury, *Stephen Szegedinus*, and many others; whose names and merits may be

⁴ [In England. *Tr.*]

⁵ [The sarcasms of Dr. Mosheim in this section, against the Reformed, do him no honour. The note of Dr. Mac-laine, however, is worth inserting. It is this: "All the protestant divines of the *Reformed* church, whether Puritans or others, seemed indeed, hitherto, of one mind about the *doctrines of faith*. But, towards the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, there arose a party, which were first for softening, and then for overthrowing, the received opinions concerning *predestination*, *perseverance*, *free-will*, *effectual grace*, and the *extent of*

Christ's redemption. These are the doctrines to which Dr. Mosheim alludes in this passage. The clergy of the episcopal church began to lean towards the notions concerning these intricate points, which Arminius propagated some time after this; while, on the other hand, the Puritans adhered rigorously to the system of Calvin. Several episcopal doctors remained attached to the same system, and all these abettors of Calvinism, whether episcopal or presbyterian, were called *doctrinal Puritans*."

Tr.]

learned from the common writers of literary history, especially *Melchior Adam*, *Anthony Wood*, *Gerard Brandt*, *Daniel Neal*, an Englishman, the very learned and industrious author of the *History of the Puritans*, and other writers.⁶

⁶ [All the larger biographical Dictionaries may be consulted; and also the *Encyclopedias*, particularly that of Dr. Rees. To these may be added, Middleton's *Biographia Evangelica*, and Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*; besides the numerous biographies of individual men. The means of becoming acquainted with the lives, characters, and writings of distinguished modern theologians, are so abundant, and the extent of the subject so great, that full lists of all the authors of each century will not be given in the notes to the centuries in this volume, as in those prior to the reformation. *Tr.*] Moshelm, as a foreigner, could not be expected to know a great deal about Neal. The following account of his work, so far as Elizabeth's reign goes, which is all that concerns this century, may be advantageously appended. The author's name is an abundant guarantee for its research and ability, also for no excessive leaning towards the church of England. "Neal's *History of the Puritans* is almost wholly compiled, as far as this reign is concerned, from Strype, and from a manuscript written by some Puritan about the time. It was answered by Madox, afterwards bishop of Worcester, in a *Vindication of the Church of England*, published anonymously in 1733. Neal replied with tolerable success; but Madox's book is still an useful corrective. Both, however, were, like most controversialists, prejudiced men, loving the interests of their respective factions better than truth, and not very scrupulous about misrepresenting an adver-

sary. But Neal had got rid of the intolerant spirit of the Puritans, while Madox labours to justify every act of Whitgift and Parker." (Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, London, 1832, i. 280.) It was impossible that Neal could justify the intolerance of Puritanism. It made a figure, by means of that defeat, under Elizabeth, which all parties have long condemned. In the next century, it showed more disadvantageously still. It is besides impossible with later Dissenters to justify the intolerance of Elizabethan Puritanism, because they would thus condemn themselves. The organised confederacy which Elizabeth's non-conformists wanted to force upon country was meant to crush all those independent congregations, and various shades of belief unsanctioned by itself, which make up the aggregate of modern Dissent. Hence, the surrender of Puritanical intolerance was no merit on Neal's part. He could not help it. Nor was Madox blameable for advocating the policy of Parker and Whitgift, even upon grounds that men who compliment themselves as liberal, would be constrained to approve. The acts which have drawn down so much obloquy upon those eminent primates, were the occasional enforcement of the law against clergymen who lived by the establishment, and strove to undermine it all the while; for the purpose of raising upon its ruins an intolerant pontifical democracy. *Ed.*]

CHAPTER III.

* HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

§ 1. General conformity during Elizabeth's first years.—§ 2. Acts against Romanism.—§ 3. The Seminaries.—§ 4. The Jesuits.—§ 5. The Puritans.—§ 6. The vesture controversy.—§ 7. The Disciplinarians.—§ 8. Cartwright.—§ 9. The Brownists.—§ 10. The Barrowists.—§ 11. Doctrinal Puritanism.—§ 12. The Sabbatarian controversy.—§ 13. Firmness of the queen.—§ 14. Puritanical bias of the ministers and royal favourites.—§ 15. Abp. Parker.—§ 16. Abp. Grindal.—§ 17. Abp. Whitgift.—§ 18. Religious persecution.—§ 19. Executions of Protestant Non-conformists.

§ 1. QUEEN Elizabeth, in adopting the religious policy of her half-brother, Edward, was disheartened at first with no great appearance of opposition. The protestants were necessarily pleased, and Romish partialities threatened no schism in the national church. Very few declined attendance upon the worship established by law, in spite of a preference for the papal communion which prevailed extensively in the country. This all but universal conformity, continued during the queen's first five years. Within that period, most of the individuals, who formed eventually a Romish party, and introduced a large proportion of Romish families among the aristocracy of England, worshipped in public with their fellow-parishioners. The small number of habitual absentees from church was chiefly made up of deprived clergymen.¹ Yet many of these conformists occasionally attended mass in private, and cherished a rooted predilection for Romanism. It was obvious, however, that such preference must gradually wear away under the ordinary course of mortality, with other accidents, the regular attendance upon a different service, and the gradual operation of protestant succession. Hence some of the deprived clergy who had fled to the continent, took alarm at this general appearance of defection in their friends at home, naturally considering it as likely to stop all tendency to a reaction in favour of popery, and thus doom them to hopeless exile. They exerted

¹ Queen Elizabeth's *Instructions to* nett's *Hist. Engl.* ii. 428. Bp. An-
Walsingham, ambassador in France, in drewes's *Tortura Torti*. Lond. 1699,
 1570. Cambden's *Elizabeth*, in Ken- p. 130.

themselves accordingly, to obtain from the council of Trent a formal condemnation of conformity to protestant worship in those who preferred the Romish. Some of the divines assembled at Trent supplied the desired condemnation, in 1562, and this being carefully spread in England, kept many away from church after Elizabeth's first five years. The great majority, however, of those who retained Romish prejudices, continued an outward profession of protestantism, during another five years. A rebellion, fomented by the pope, then broke out in the northern counties; in the following year, a Romish fanatic, named Felton, perhaps insane, posted the pontiff's infamous bull, that pretended to dethrone the queen upon the gates of the bishop of London's palace²; and political exasperation was fast rising in many influential quarters, to an ungovernable height. Elizabeth had transferred the royal confidence from those ancient and wealthy families which possessed it under Mary, to another class of persons, among whom was great ability, but nothing more than very moderate advantages of birth and fortune. For a season, the parties, fallen into political insignificance, were tolerably quiescent, but under a sufficient impulse from without, their irritation and impatience readily exploded. Henceforth England had a Romish sect and party. The members of it were known as *Recusants*, from a *refusal* of conformity to the established religion. This *refusal* was made penal, before the term *Recusant* came into use, and to the penalty, modern Romish writers would fain assign the general conformity of their party, during Elizabeth's first ten years.³ But the penalty of absence then was only one shilling for every Sunday, or holiday, upon which it might have occurred; a fine too trifling to be much considered in superior life. In the queen's twenty-third year, this penalty was augmented by a fine of twenty pounds a month, recoverable from all Recusants

² This bull was issued by Pius V. and is dated, April 25, 1570. Felton affixed it to the gates of London house, on the following second of June, Corpus Christi day. For this offence he was hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, Aug. 2. The pope's bull was generally disapproved among Romish families in England. Many naturally viewed it as essentially irreligious and indecent: more considered it as a needless provocation to the government, and an un-

feeling compromise of their own safety. It was promptly answered by Bp. Jewel, in some discourses from the pulpit, afterwards published with this title, *A View of a seditious Bull sent into England by Pius V. bishop of Rome; delivered in certain Sermons in the Cathedral Church of Sarum*. Another attack upon it was made by Barlow, who died bishop of Lincoln, in 1613, in a work entitled, *Brutum Fulmen*.

³ Butler's *Historical Memoirs*, i. 171.

over sixteen. This proved, however, wholly powerless to suppress the Romish religion. Opulent families, indeed, paid regular compositions for the liberty of absence from church. This obstinacy of Romish prejudice, at a time when it was highly penal, viewed in conjunction with its apparent insignificance at a time when it incurred a far lower degree of legal harm, plainly marks its ultimate importance as largely created by political exasperation. Had not a violent Romish party arisen under Elizabeth, there seems no reason to believe that England would now contain a native Romish sect.

§ 2. Besides this increased severity against absence from church, which was earned by the northern rebellion in 1569, and the political movements following it, the parliament of 1571 made it high treason to procure, or import, papal bulls pretending to abrogate allegiance to the queen, and also to give or receive absolution by virtue of such bulls. To conceal them for more than six weeks, was made misprision of treason. To import *Agnus Dei's*, or any other similar superstitious toys, from the pope, was made visitable by the penalties of a *Præmunire*, that is, the offending party was liable to be placed without the royal protection. Romish baubles, however intrinsically contemptible, were fairly treated as badges of dependence upon that foreign power which had lately filled the north with commotion, and was known to be still threatening the national tranquillity. In 1581, the parliament treated Romanism with still greater severity. Not only did it make that excessive augmentation, already mentioned, to the penalty for absence from church, but also it made such as reconciled individuals to the church of Rome, liable to the penalties of high treason, and such as received reconciliation, to those of misprision of treason. Saying mass was to be punished with a fine of 200 marks, and one year's imprisonment, hearing it with half the fine, but with the same term of imprisonment. In 1584, an act was passed, rendering all native Jesuits, and seminary priests, found in England after the lapse of forty days, liable to the penalties of high treason: to aid, or receive such persons, was made felony. Other clauses rendered it highly penal to remain in any one of the *seminaries*, or to enter in any one of them for the future, or to send remittances to them. These acts have been generally condemned by posterity, as shamefully intolerant, and needlessly severe. Among

contemporaries, however, there were no liberal views of toleration, and great difference of opinion as to the necessity of these persecuting statutes. Not only did the whole protestant body consider them needful, and intrinsically desirable, but also many of the more moderate Romanists admitted them to have been earned by the political misconduct of their party.¹ The papal conspiracies against Elizabeth's life and government were too notorious for total denial in any quarter. In all the latter years of her reign, there was indeed, a general determination among Romanists to treat the sufferers for their faith as martyred bearers of a commission purely religious. But it is observable that these unfortunate individuals appear to have had universally the option of redeeming their lives by a manly disavowal of the deposing doctrines maintained in papal bulls. The government, therefore, and protestants generally, were justified in concluding that in such as would not disavow, treason was inseparably linked with religion.

§ 3. The points from which these Romish emissaries came, were known as the *seminaries*, and the parties themselves were not uncommonly designated by the same word, it being a sort of abbreviation for *seminary priests*. The first establishment which supplied them was conveniently placed at Douay, in 1568. It arose by means of William Allen, of gentlemanly origin in the north of England, who relinquished the principality of St. Mary's Hall, in Oxford, soon after Elizabeth's accession, and went over to Louvain. Returning into his native country within a short time, he was shocked to see the general attendance at church of such as avowed Romish predilections. He argued so warmly against this conformity, that some of those who practised it, and yet owned papal opinions as their genuine conviction, were offended. Those who had really become protestants were necessarily disgusted,

¹ See Watson's *Important Considerations*, and *Quodlibets*, especially the former, which has been several times reprinted, very recently so by Mr. Mendham. The author was a Romish priest, who engaged with Raleigh, and others, in a senseless plot to place Lady Arabella Stuart on the throne, soon after James the First's accession. For this offence he was executed at Winchester towards the close of 1603. His publications, which have wounded Romanism

so severely, were probably wrung from him by that jealousy of the Jesuits, common among the secular priests after Loyola's order obtained a firm, and rather an encroaching hold over the Romish families. But this origin of his disclosures, even if it be the true one, detracts nothing from the value of testimony, confirmed abundantly elsewhere, and intrinsically probable. Such, however, is the nature of that in Watson's publications.

and it is said, that Allen had reason to fear some molestation, from the government, when he went abroad again. A man of his penetration could be at no loss to see, that Romish partialities must soon wear out in England, under the general conformity that he had witnessed. He exerted himself, accordingly, to form the establishment at Douay.⁵ There, English fugitives could find, at least, a temporary shelter, plans for keeping Romanism alive in the country could be matured, and young people could be educated expressly for maintaining or spreading papal principles. At first, Elizabeth and her council looked upon the establishment with contempt⁶; but in this they did not show their usual sagacity. The Douay experiment was most successful. In spite of the risk that attended its youth, on revisiting in disguise their native land, a succession of such young persons was found, who took an oath to return into England, and labour there for the Romish faith.⁷ The intrepid fulfilment of this obligation stained Elizabeth's government with the blood of many victims, whose noble self-devotion has ever since been a fruitful theme for Romish exultation. Nor is this unsubstantial. At the same time, it should be recollected, that the seminary priests, and other clerical victims of Elizabeth's anti-papal legislation, were in reality professional adventurers, who reckoned, for many years, upon some accident or revolution, to place Mary queen of Scots upon the throne, and requite them with preferment in the re-established papal church. Their case was really analogous to that of those who seek advancement in the military profession, or any other calling known to involve personal risk. Nor did calculation upon political movements in favour of Romanism cease with the Scottish Mary's tragical death. Absurd schemes were then set

⁵ Allen was made cardinal in 1587, and archbishop of Mechlin in 1589. He died in 1594, aged 62. He was latterly known as the *Cardinal of England*, and really exercised a sort of paramount authority over the interests of English Romanism, during many years. He had numerous valuable qualities, and maintained an appearance strictly professional, until 1588, when the coming *Armada* brought him forward as author of *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland*, one of the most violent and offensive of political libels. It had hardly appeared before the *Ar-*

mada was no more, and infinite pains were taken to suppress it. The piece is so unlike any thing of Allen's that it has been often attributed to Persons, and probably that coarse Jesuit might be more or less its author; but Allen consented to have it pass for his, and must consequently bear the burthen of its infamy.

⁶ Sanders *De Schism. Angl.* 312.

⁷ The oath may be seen in English, in Fuller's *Church History*, p. 92, and in Latin, in Moore's *Hist. Miss. Angl. Soc. Jesu.* 58.

on foot for forcing the royal family of Spain upon England⁸, and thus the self-devotion of papal agents was never free from a political alloy. This will account for the liberal support given to the foreign seminaries, both by continental princes, and by the discontented Romish party in England. Alien enemies could see no line of policy more likely to embarrass, if not overthrow Elizabeth, than to open houses of refuge for her discontented subjects, and to send a large proportion of them back again, expressly trained for the continuance of a religion that the laws forbade. Hence Douay did not long remain the only seat of an English *seminary*. Ten other such establishments were eventually formed.⁹ It would be unjust, however, to name politics alone in speaking of the support given to the *seminaries*. There can be no doubt that religious considerations operated in their favour, both among foreign and domestic supporters; especially among the latter. These establishments were largely benefited by clandestine remittances from England, and many such must have unquestionably come from parties who acted under a conscientious sense of obligation to support what they thought the catholic religion. But even these English remittances were not free from that alloy of baser motives which lowers the great bulk of men's better actions. Many of the English families, that eventually fell into a Romish sect and party, had been enriched by monastic pillage, and felt no disposition whatever to relinquish this augmentation to their fortunes. Such parties quieted their own consciences, and sought papal acquiescence under their forbidden gains, by sending contributions from them to the continental seminaries.¹

§ 4. Allen's Douay *Seminary* was intended for secular priests, as Romanists term ordinary clergyman, and so were some other of those foreign institutions. Others were for Jesuits, and these furnished, in the end, the most effective props of the Romish sect and party in England. The first Jesuits that came thither were two Spaniards, but their stay was very brief, ignorance of the language rendering them use-

⁸ This plan was not only agitated privately among individuals, but even advocated in a pamphlet published by Persons under the name of *Doleman*, and written by himself with others.

⁹ *Viz.* at Rome, Paris, Madrid, Lis-

bon, Valladolid, Seville, Louvain, Ghent, Liege, and St. Omer's. Some of these *Seminaries* were not founded until the following century.

¹ Fuller's *Church History*, 92.

less. Afterwards came over an Englishman, Jasper Heywood, but his arrival produced nothing remarkable. Thirdly, in the spring of 1580, came over Robert Persons, and Edmund Campion, both Oxford men, who had once professed protestantism, but abandoned it and became Jesuits. They were regularly sent from Rome under instructions from the general of their order, at the pope's expense, and with his cordial approbation, to do what they could for the papal church in their native country. Both were men of considerable abilities and acquirements; but in manners they differed, Campion being gentle-tempered, Persons rugged. Their mission was no sooner known to Elizabeth's government, than it made strenuous exertions to have them apprehended immediately upon landing. These, however, proved ineffectual, and both the celebrated Jesuits remained undiscovered for many months, which were judiciously improved in giving consistency to the rising Romish sect and party. At length, Campion was taken, and towards the close of 1581, he suffered death, at Tyburn, under a conviction for high treason. Being an accomplished man of pleasing manners, and unblemished morals, his cruel fate has ever attracted great commiseration. But he seems really to have come under the lash of a law, passed so long back as the reign of Edward III., called ordinarily *the statute of treasons*, and after his trial, a document entrusted to him and his co-adjutor was discovered, which aggravates the case against him. This was a bull, represented as a mitigation of the deposing bull which pretended to deprive Elizabeth, and allowing Romanists to obey her *as matters stood*, but mentioning also the possibility of executing the deposing bull, at some future time.² Thus these Jesuitic emissaries were, in fact, to proclaim papal acquiescence in a provisional allegiance of the Romish body, until a feasible opportunity should arrive for its open assumption of a hostile character. Persons, the other

² "Petatur a summo Domino nostro explicatio bullæ declaratorię contra Elizabetham et ei adherentes, quam Catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo, ut obliget semper illam et hæreticos, Catholicos vero nullo modo obliget, *rebus sic stantibus*, sed tum demum quando publica ejusdem bullæ executio fieri poterit." This treacherous *explication* was granted by the pope to Persons and Campion, on the 14th of April, 1580.

(*Execution of Justice*, attributed to Lord Burghley, p. 19.) The principal Romish authorities for the history of English Jesuitism, are Bartoli and Moore. The former's work, printed at Rome in 1667, is entitled *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia di Giesu, L'Inghilterra*. Moore's work, printed in 1660, and entitled *Historia Missionis Anglicanæ Soc. Jesu*, is extremely scarce.

bearer of this treacherous document, eluded pursuit, and made his escape to the continent, where he spent many years of active exertion to keep alive a spirit of political speculation in the English Romanists, and to discredit the protestant establishment. The opening made by him and his unfortunate friend, Campion, could never afterwards be closed. Henceforth, England was visited by a succession of Jesuits, who proved the most effective of papal missionaries, and to their labours, probably, English Romanism principally owed its preservation.

§ 5. Its first appearance in the ranks of English nonconformity, seems to have originated in principles which ever denounced it with the most fierce and intolerant hostility. Most of the English Protestants whom Mary's persecution drove abroad, returned with violent partialities for those democratic forms of religious discipline, which they had seen among the republicans who gave them shelter. Thus while Englishmen with Romish predilections were attending church, and seemed likely to glide imperceptibly into sincere protestants, many of their countrymen who were really so, loudly complained of much in the protestant establishment. Against its religious principles, they had nothing to allege, but its exterior was denounced as popish and anti-christian; not absolutely sinful in itself, but inexpedient; and instead of edifying, rather the reverse. Vainly did those who felt some attachment to these reprobated externals, or thought them desirable to conciliate Romish prejudice, argue for their continuance upon this latter ground. The plea may seem reasonable, but protestant opponents spurned it as an unworthy and pernicious compromise, which disgraced sound principles, and endangered souls. Acute Romanists quickly availed themselves of this controversy. They might fairly represent it as an indication of a spirit in protestanism, which would strip the conformist of every religious external to which he had been used, however harmless, and stop nothing short of his surrender upon the most abject and unconditional terms. They generally did represent it as a proof that religious peace was only attainable in the papal communion; every other inviting interminable discord and mutability. Upon minds predisposed for such arguments, they operated with great success, and Romish prejudice was every day revived or strengthened, by the augmenting

violence of protestant dissension. Artfully to widen this was even thought advisable. Two preachers of reformed opinions pushed to an extreme, were actually apprehended: from one of whom accidentally dropped instructions from a Jesuit; the other was a Dominican friar.³

§ 6. The controversy, however, which early took such a threatening appearance, turned for some years upon mere externals. In ordinary, clergymen had usually worn a square cap, and a dress otherwise conformable to the regulations of an university. In their ministrations, they had worn a surplice. None pretended, that there was any thing sinful, or even absolutely unsuitable, in such habiliments. On the contrary, it was thought becoming in all quarters, that ministers of the gospel should be distinguished both when officiating and abroad, from other men. But every thing connected with religion, it was maintained, ought to have an edifying tendency: the surplice and corner cap had the reverse, having served the cause of idolatry, and become "the defiled robes of anti-Christ," by their use in the church of Rome.⁴ Many of the reformed clergy refused, accordingly, to wear either of them. Some of these were seen abroad in round caps; others wore hats. Among such persons, none, probably, ministered in the surplice; and besides using this discretion, many took the liberty of using common basons, instead of fonts, in baptizing; of administering the communion to those who sate, or stood; and of making other slight inroads upon prescribed forms, or established usage.⁵ Conformists with any thing of Romish prepossessions were naturally disgusted by this licence, and in 1564, the government made a formal call upon the prelaey to suppress all such irregularities.⁶ Various attempts were made for this purpose, with more or less of cordiality, (the prelates commonly being rather inclined for connivance,) but Elizabeth was firm, and insisted upon strict obedience to the law. The dissentients, however, were equally firm in their determination to evade, or defy it. Endeavours to enforce it naturally pro-

³ Collier, ii. 518. Strype's *Parker*, i. 485.

⁴ Whittingham, dean of Durham, to the Earl of Leicester. Strype's *Parker*, iii. 76.

⁵ Cecil MS. Strype's *Parker*, i. 302. The paper is dated Feb. 14, 1564.

⁶ By a letter from the queen to the archbishop of Canterbury, dated Jan. 25, 1564. It may be seen in Strype's *Parker*, iii. 65. The report of irregularities, referred to in the last note, might have been made in consequence of this letter.

duced several cases of individual suffering, and thus exasperation rendered the breach, every day, wider and more incurable. At length, in 1567, many of the dissentients would frequent no longer the churches of conforming clergymen, although none made objection to the doctrine preached there. As they would not, however, forego social worship, they secretly met for that purpose; and a party so engaged in the city of London was surprised and dispersed by the magistracy, several individuals present being taken into custody.⁷ From this interference nothing was gained. In 1564, members of the anti-vestural party had become popularly known as *Puritans* or *Precisians*.⁸ Many of the more zealous among them now deliberated upon the lawfulness of a formal separation, and made up their minds to form secret congregations of their own, treating conformity as a positive sin. The bulk, indeed, both clerical and lay, of those who were possessed by puritanical scruples, continued in communion with the establishment, only evading or defying its obligations, and striving, as much as could be done with any degree of prudence, to overthrow them. But others, with whom they cordially agreed in every thing but in admitting the lawfulness of an evasive conformity, were all the while bent upon organizing an impregnable opposition to every religious usage not seen at Geneva. To their party, the half-conformists were perpetually supplying fresh recruits. Thus the year 1567 gave birth to a regular schism among English Protestants. Henceforth many of them have ever separated from the episcopal church, and continued under various forms that spirit of Dissent, which was originally provoked by nothing more important than vestures, and a few ceremonies.

§ 7. The seeming disproportion between cause and effect in this instance, has often brought censure upon Elizabeth's government; an obstinate schism, it is thought, having been really provoked by the mere want of judicious concession.⁹ But this view leaves out of sight the large proportion of Englishmen who retained Romish partialities, and were, consequently, unwilling to see any sweeping curtailment of ancient religious

⁷ Strype's *Parker*, i. 481.

⁸ Fuller's *Ch. Hist.* 76.

⁹ "Had the use of habits and a few ceremonies been left discretionary, both ministers and people had been easy;

but it was the compelling these things by law, as they told the archbishop, that made them separate." Neal, *Hist. Pur.* Lond. 1837. i. 153.

usages. Many confirmed Protestants too, especially such as had not gone abroad under Mary, desired nothing more than a restoration of King Edward's system. Others again, would have had England formally become a Lutheran country. The concession to the anti-vestural party, of points now generally considered so trifling, would, really, therefore, have been the sacrifice of a large and peaceable majority, to a narrow, but clamorous minority. As a mere politician, Elizabeth might well consider it undesirable, no less than inequitable, to venture upon such an experiment. But moreover she soon must have seen reason to believe that the concessions which had been so clamorously demanded, would have proved wholly unavailing to stay the strife. About the year 1571, the anti-vesturists brought forward new claims, upon which they insisted with all their former vehemence. Calvin had organised at Geneva a democratic system of ecclesiastical discipline, and this was now to be forced upon England as necessary to secure evangelical doctrine, privileges, and practice, in their full integrity. The hierarchy was to be superseded by local consistories, partly clerical, partly lay, dependent upon general boards, similarly constituted. Cathedrals, with their several dignitaries and officers, were to be abolished; ecclesiastical patronage was to pass from the crown and individuals, into the hands of parishioners. These latter were to be placed under the moral inspection of ruling elders acting conjointly with the pastor, and the whole country was, in fact, to become the theatre of a well-organised, intolerant, despotic religious democracy. *Discipline* was the war-cry under which the zealous champions of this new polity fought, and their system has been called *Disciplinarian Puritanism*. They struggled violently for its establishment, during more than twenty years, sometimes convulsing the whole frame of society, and occasioning severe hardships, to such individuals as fell under the lash of the law. Upon the cases of these unfortunate men, much has been rather invidiously said; but really they had no great cause of complaint. Legal proceedings against clergymen who defied, or evaded the conditions on which they took preferment, might become, at times, absolutely necessary, and never could have been censurable in themselves, however they might occasionally assume a merciless tinge from the stern character of the age. Nor are the strifes that agitated all England, and the distresses that overtook some

of the disciplinarian clergy, fairly chargeable upon the refusal of vestural relief. Had it been thought reasonable and practicable to afford this, conformity with Geneva would still have been incomplete. Clergymen who looked for models there, would have never ceased to long for opportunities to gain livings by popular suffrage, and for exemption from episcopal superiority. Laymen, who thought themselves likely to become ruling elders, or who were smitten with an itch for interference, or even actuated by religious austerity, would have been certain to plead the authority that expelled the vestures, for the establishment of elective boards to keep the clergy in check, and to hold an inquisition upon the conduct of every one within the parish. The vestures and ceremonies, indeed, which gave the first occasion to puritanism, were always treated as essentially unimportant, and only rendered otherwise by their accidental abuse to the purposes of Romish superstition. The *holy Discipline*, however, as the new polity was called, was represented as undoubtedly revealed in the New Testament: at once, therefore, a privilege to which every Christian was entitled, and a controul which he was bound to undergo.¹

§ 8. The lead in English struggles for the establishment of disciplinarian puritanism, was taken by Thomas Cartwright, a fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, born in Hertfordshire, in 1535. Having deservedly obtained a high reputation in the university, he went abroad, and in a residence at Geneva, became a zealous convert to Calvin's system in all its parts. He took from home an antipathy to cap and surplice, but he returned fully bent upon preaching the much vaunted *holy Discipline* to his countrymen. A large party at Cambridge readily became captivated by his eloquence, and he was elected Margaret professor of divinity. In that situation, he lectured against the hierarchy, and against the established principles of admission to ministerial cures. For such charges, his doctrine was, that men were to be sought by others, and to have a minister put into them without a call from the people was tyranny.² Attacks of this kind from a public professor, upon established institutions, were obviously insufferable. The university autho-

¹ Those who wish to investigate the disciplinarian question should consult Whitgift's controversy with Cartwright, and Bancroft's *Survey of the holy Discipline*.

² Cartwright's own account of his principles, given when deprived of his professorship, may be seen in Strype's *Whitgift*, iii. 20.

rities, were, therefore, driven upon severity. Cartwright was first ejected from his fellowship. To this forfeiture he had laid himself open by his refusal to take priest's orders, as he was bound by the college statutes. He would not even lay claim to deacon's orders, which he had really taken, but seems to have destroyed the letters then given to him. His right to preach, he referred wholly to a call made upon him when abroad. After the loss of his fellowship, he was deprived of his professorship, denied a doctor's degree, forbidden to preach within the vice-chancellor's jurisdiction, and expelled the university. He then withdrew again to the continent, and remained there until all England rang with disciplinarian polemics. In these he took the foremost ground, his principal adversary being Whitgift, whom he left master of his own college in Cambridge, and who became afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. Probably, his own temper would not allow him to rest contentedly as a champion, however popular, in a mere paper war. Certainly his position as the oracle of the puritanical party would not allow it. Hence orders were twice given for his arrest. Once, he escaped; the second time, he was taken into custody. The government, however, was evidently anxious to leave him alone as much as possible. His friend, the Earl of Leicester, founded an hospital at Warwick, and made him master of it, adding a handsome pension to the stipend. In this situation, Cartwright spent all his latter years, easy in his circumstances, and allowed to occupy the pulpit of his house. As he mellowed by age, his powerful and religious mind could not overlook the happiness of such a situation, or the good qualities of those who might have formerly opposed him. It was believed, accordingly, that he felt considerable regret for the intemperance of his early years, and he certainly did justice to his old antagonist, Whitgift.³ He died in 1602, generally respected for his learning, ability, and moral worth, but by no means possessed of that public importance which had signalled all his middle age.

§ 9. The decline of his influence did not arise alone from the effects of time upon his own constitutional warmth and rashness. About the year 1580, a competitor for sectarian popularity came forward in Robert Browne, son of a Rutlandshire gentleman. He received his academical education at Cam-

³ Paule's *Life of Whitgift*, 72.

bridge, it is thought at Corpus Christi college, and first adopted Puritanical opinions. These, however, he soon partially abandoned for a new system framed by himself. The Puritans would have continued the church-establishment, if they could only regulate it in their own way. Browne, and his party, would hear of nothing but its destruction, denouncing it as essentially antichristian. They were equally opposed to the Puritanical views of discipline. Every congregation, according to them, was a church of itself, and entitled to the full regulation of its own affairs. In doctrine, they did not, indeed, differ from the church and the Puritans. Their principles eventually passed under the name of *Independency*, and are such as have long been professed by the great majority of English Protestant Dissenters. Browne himself exhibited no great attachment to them, or indeed, valuable qualities of any kind. In spite of his fervid harangues against the church, he did not eventually scruple to eat her bread, but accepted of a benefice in Northamptonshire, upon which he lived to the end of his life. He died in 1630, in gaol, having been committed for an assault upon the village constable, who came to him for a rate. By way, perhaps, of keeping up some appearance of consistency, he never preached: an abstinence from the duties which he was paid for performing, that really made his case worse: whatever pride might whisper to the contrary.⁴ Seldom have the foundations of a mighty party been laid by one more personally contemptible.

§ 10. The leader's unimportant character naturally had an unfavourable effect upon the early progress of his party, and in 1592, even the sagacious mind of Bacon viewed it as utterly beneath notice, and in fact nearly extinct.⁵ It was, however, too deeply rooted in the feelings which extensively prevail, for this rapid disappearance. Other leaders, indeed, had actually then secured its vigorous revival, and in 1593, Brownism again attracted general observation. Its new apostles were a clergyman, named Greenwood, and a layman, who had studied the law, named Barrow. The latter appears to have been the more able and active of the two⁶, and from him Browne's revived opinions retained the name of *Barrowism*. Their progress gave violent offence to the Puritans, whose stronghold, the House of Commons, passed an act in 1593, placing Protestant

⁴ Fuller's *Ch. Hist.* 168.

⁵ *Observations on a Libel.* Works, iii.

⁶ Bancroft's *Survey of the pretended holy Discipline*, 300.

Recusants in a worse condition than Romish.⁷ This was levelled at the Barrowists. Their principles were, however, those which defy penal statutes, as the next century bore ample witness, and as the final triumph of Independency over Presbyterianism has triumphantly proved.

§ 11. In aid of these attacks of rival Protestant non-conformity upon the Calvinistic *discipline*, came the gradual decline of public interest in the question. During the last twelve or fourteen years of Elizabeth's reign, the old Puritan party lost much of its former hold upon the country.⁸ All its positions had been narrowly sifted by able opponents, many of its warmest advocates were dead, others had become much more moderate. Under this calm, man's inherent appetite for theological questions took a new direction. Hitherto, Calvin had governed the doctrinal belief of both the Puritans and the church-party. His *Institutes* especially were a theological manual of such intrinsic importance, that, coming as they did from a Protestant author, all Elizabeth's subjects dissenting from Rome gladly used them as their guide. But Calvin's authority upon discipline having fallen into a much less advantageous position than it long occupied, his doctrinal authority was not slow in suffering under the same re-action. Many scholars began to canvass those assertions of irrelative decrees, which have rendered the great reformer of Geneva so famous. His English friends were disgusted and alarmed at this unwonted boldness. But they looked in vain to the thirty-nine Articles for means of suppressing it. Whatever might be assumed as to the opinions and intentions of those who framed, and of those who remodelled that national test, it evidently could be taken by such as rejected all extreme views upon the doctrine of predestination. The advocates of such views being numerous and influential, drew up in the autumn of 1595, at the house and under the sanction of Whitgift, the primate, the celebrated Lambeth Articles.⁹ Elizabeth was

⁷ Neal's *Review of the principal Facts objected to in the first vol. of the Hist. Pur.* 63.

⁸ G. Cranmer to R. Hooker. *Walton's Lives*, 187.

⁹ The Lambeth Articles, are " 1. God, from eternity, hath predestinated certain men unto life, certain men he hath reprobated. 2. The moving, or efficient

cause of predestination unto life, is not the foresight of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of any thing that is in the person predestinated, but only the good will and pleasure of God. 3. There is pre-determined a certain number of the predestinate, which can neither be augmented nor diminished. 4. Those who are not predestinated to salvation,

displeased at this unauthorised attempt to narrow the terms of national conformity by the preparation of new tests likely to be warmly and extensively controverted. Nor does the primate himself seem to have gone all lengths with the party to which he lent his house and authority. Had it been otherwise, he hardly could have patronized Hooker, a learned and influential holder of those moderate predestinarian opinions, which the Lambeth committee was anxious to suppress. Henceforth, the puritanical party assumed a new appearance. It still insisted upon the *Discipline*, but doctrine also came now into the dispute. Most of the old enemies to the church-establishment adopted the Lambeth Articles, at least tacitly, and have been called *Doctrinal Puritans*. A large portion of their opponents sided with Hooker, and other objectors to extreme opinions. This party eventually produced all the brightest stars of English theology, and has ever numbered among its adherents a great majority of the clergy.

§ 12. Another distinctive point, when doctrinal separation began, was afforded by the Lord's day, or Sunday. The strictness with which this day had been ordinarily kept in western Europe, during the earlier years of her conversion, had much relaxed under the gradual operation of time, and the competition of numerous festivals. It might seem unreasonable to insist upon the same degree of strictness in keeping these, that was justly claimed for a day which could establish a sacred character from the Decalogue. If men would give up some part of them to religion, they might fairly employ the rest in innocent recreation. Sunday, however, sank to the same level. It became rather a day of amusement than of devotion. The first reformers paid no marked attention to this abuse. But as Puritanism gained ground, it brought under general notice the propriety of greater strictness in the observation of Sunday. The holy day was, indeed, no longer called by its ancient name, or by that

shall necessarily be damned for their sins. 5. A true, living, and justifying faith, and the spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, falleth not away, it vanisheth not away in the elect, either finally or totally. 6. A man truly faithful, that is, such a one who is endued with a justifying faith, is certain, with a full assurance of faith, of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ. 7. Saving grace is not

given, is not granted, is not communicated to all men, by which they may be saved, if they will. 8. No man can come unto Christ unless it shall be given him, and unless the Father shall draw him; and all men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to the Son. 9. It is not in the will or power of every one to be saved." Fuller's *Ch. Hist.* b. 9. p. 230.

of the Lord's day, as it had been in all preceding ages of the Christian era. It came to be known as the *Sabbath*, a designation hitherto denoting Saturday. In 1595, the notions long current in puritanical circles upon the subject, were embodied in a publication from the pen of Dr. Bound, entitled a *Treatise of the Sabbath*. This gave the signal for inculcating the severest views upon the hallowing of Sunday; which, it was maintained, Christians were bound to keep, with at least as much rigour as any Jews had kept the Mosaic Sabbath. Unhappily, the church-party merely looked upon this question as a new turn in the aggressive tactics of their old enemy. Puritanism, it was argued, had set up its sabbath for no other reason than to decry the few festivals which the reformation had spared.¹ That an antipathy to these was greatly connected with puritanical movements in the sabbatarian controversy, is unquestionable: it might even have first suggested them. But it is obvious that a greater strictness in keeping Sunday, than had hitherto prevailed in England, and than now prevails in continental Europe, was highly desirable. Nor are Englishmen without considerable obligations to puritanism for establishing such strictness as a national peculiarity. In opposing the first approaches to it, the church-party took a false step, which injured its hold upon serious minds, and which those who venerate its character must regret. Had it taken a safe and dignified position, when sabbatarian notions became popular, it would have partially come over to them; merely seeking to mitigate their extravagance and rigour. Instead of this judicious course, the church-party vented angry pamphlets, advocated questionable appropriations of Sunday leisure, and strove to vanquish opposition by the arm of power. Seldom has that party, which has done England so many invaluable services, appeared in a light equally disadvantageous.

§ 13. Against the tide of innovation, from whatever quarter it set in, Elizabeth invariably stood firm. She did, indeed, frequently stoop to temporise, and thus unintentionally encourage expectations that sometimes recoiled fearfully upon the heads of individuals. But when it really came, either to the surrender or the maintenance of established principles, she adhered to

¹ Heylin's *History of the Presbyterians*, 340.

the latter part of the alternative. Enemies to the church of England have usually accounted for this tenacity, by considering the queen, either as indifferent to religion altogether, or possessed by such a fondness for the showy ritual of Romanism, that she clung to as much of it as the people were at all likely to endure. She did, indeed, retain a cross in her chapel rather pertinaciously in the beginning of her reign: she approved also a stately prelacy, and clerical celibacy. But such facts are no solid ground for doubting her protestant convictions. These were matured under the discreet and scholarly guidance of Archbishop Parker, whose principle was resistance to the uncatholic pretensions both of Rome and Geneva. While his royal mistress, accordingly, opposed puritanism, she really showed no partiality for popery. She might view a bald simplicity in public worship as impolitic, or find it disagreeable; she might wish to preserve various dignities well endowed, as means of securing a learned clergy, and one that could mix in superior life; she might share in current prejudices against sacerdotal marriage, and even entertain some personal weakness upon that question: but still, she might have no leaning towards those articles of belief which distinguish the church of Rome.

§ 14. Her ministers, generally, were more or less favourable to puritanism, as were her two personal favourites, Leicester and Essex. For this, cupidity has been commonly assigned as the principal reason. The fortunes reared within memory from monastic pillage naturally inflamed men who possessed power, but no considerable wealth. Nor were estates of late wholly indebted for augmentation to the convents. By exchanges, or other means, a large portion of property that had endowed the prelacy and dignified clergy, was now merged among private inheritances. At the outset of Elizabeth's reign, further facilities were given for these tempting operations by an act authorising the queen, on the avoidance of a bishopric, to make exchanges of its lands for inappropriate tithes. Puritanism would have set all this property free, by sweeping away bishops and cathedrals, as useless and pernicious. It is true, that the Puritans often imitated Romanists, in representing all property, once given to pious uses, as inalienably devoted to such purposes. Hence it was not uncommon to hear that even monastic wealth must be reclaimed. It was wanted, some said, for the

due establishment of ruling elders, and other purposes prescribed by the *holy Discipline*.² At other times, however, a puritanical friend, high in office, but deficient in fortune, could be flattered with hopes of a suitable provision out of the episcopal and capitular lands.³ Ministers of state, and court minions, could not doubt that the latter arrangement would prevail, if the superior clergy could be reduced to ruin. They saw even Romish families tenacious of monastic plunder, and successful in obtaining acquiescence, if not approval, from Rome herself. They saw the Scottish nobility greatly enriched by property gained irregularly from the church, while the men who preached them into wealth were pining in poverty. Elizabeth's ministers and favourites may, therefore, fairly be thought far from disinterested in the encouragement or connivance that they gave to puritanism.

§ 15. In the see of Canterbury was, however, generally found a sufficient counterpoise to this insidious influence. It is true, that a spirit of conciliation and seeming compromise, was occasionally pushed to an extent which encouraged the opposition that it was meant to disarm or extinguish. But upon the whole, the resolution taken, on Elizabeth's accession, to maintain ecclesiastical affairs as her brother had left them, was never abandoned. There can be no reasonable doubt, that Archbishop Parker was, so long as he lived, the mainstay of this consistent policy. Contemporary Puritans thought so, and loaded him with obloquy; which has largely affected his memory among Dissenters, down to the present day. It was a happy circumstance for those who value the catholic exterior adopted by the church of England, that Parker did not emigrate in the Marian times. His understanding was, indeed, of that solid, cautious kind, his habits were so patiently laborious, and his tastes were so decidedly guided by prescription and antiquity, that he was less likely than most men to be turned aside from the principles which he had seen established under Edward. Still, he might not have been entirely proof against the lengthened conversation and example of men who had obliged him in a time of need, and whose opinions generally

² This was maintained in a petition to parliament, in 1585. Bancroft's *Sermon at Paul's Crosse*. Lond. 1588. p. 25.

³ Sutcliffe's *Answers to certaine calumnious petitions, articles, and questions of the Consistorian Faction*. Lond. 1592. p. 85.

coincided with his own. He had, however, no such temptation, and all the years of his primacy were devoted, in spite of numerous hindrances and discouragements, to the preservation of that strict connexion with catholic antiquity which places the church of England upon so much higher ground than can be maintained by religious communities unable originally to command episcopal succession, or since inconsiderately carried forward by the stream of innovation.

§ 16. Parker was succeeded by Edmund Grindal, a virtuous and amiable man, who had occupied successively before the sees of London and York. Under Mary he had been among the exiles, and he brought home that indiscriminate abhorrence of popery which led so many of his contemporaries into puritanism. Finding that his objections to vestures and other trifles, were likely to keep him out of any situation that would give him extensive means of usefulness, he did not think himself at liberty to decline preferment upon such grounds, and he conformed. He was, however, always very tender of puritanical scruples, and, by those who entertained them, he was generally regarded as of their party. As archbishop of Canterbury, he was reduced to insignificance. A practice, known as *prophesying*, had been encouraged by himself and others of the prelacy. It was an assembly for the purpose of expounding and discussing Scripture. Many people, without any party views, thought it highly desirable as a means for awakening the faculties and extending the information of a clergy that evidently wanted intellectual culture. But it soon became a party engine. Puritanism eagerly made use of it, and Elizabeth repeatedly demanded its suppression. The resolution to suppress it was finally and effectively taken, during Grindal's primacy, and his refusal to co-operate caused the queen to bring him into the court of starchamber, which suspended him from his archiepiscopal functions.⁴ This suspension was removed before his death, but he never recovered Elizabeth's favour; nor did his primacy act at all upon the ecclesiastical affairs of the day, except in as far as it might have exasperated the Puritans by making him pass for a martyr to their cause.

§ 17. John Whitgift succeeded Grindal, and held the primacy more than twenty difficult years. The queen would have placed him in it before the vacancy was caused by death; age,

⁴ In 1578. He was preferred to Canterbury in 1576, and died in 1583.

blindness, and royal displeasure having rendered his venerable predecessor anxious to resign. But Whitgift would not consent. When the course of nature opened Canterbury to him, he undertook the charge, and gained great applause from all who valued the catholic basis on which the Anglican reformation had been settled.⁵ Such as desired to supersede this by the *platform* of Geneva, as their *holy Discipline* was called, naturally hated and vilified their great opponent, the archbishop. From them estimates of his character have been taken ever since by Dissenters, and such as have a preference for democracy, or seek support from it. But Whitgift really deserves the respectful remembrance of posterity. He was disinterested, consistent, single-minded, liberal, and discerning, above most men. His great natural blemish was hastiness of temper. This, however, he corrected by a spirit so thoroughly considerate and forgiving, that his friends rather apprehended from him undue lenity.⁶ When principle was at stake, he would make no compromise. In secular politics he did not interfere, usually retiring from the council-board, when it was unoccupied by ecclesiastical affairs. To take the lead in these, he brought a firm front of scholarly conviction; and it is most probable, that the queen, who valued him highly to the last, owed much of her steadfastness as a religious ruler, to his well informed, consistent councils. Those who charge both him and her with criminal intolerance, are bound to consider that liberty of conscience was not a question under notice. The *platformers* contended for the exclusive establishment of their own *discipline*. They always branded the profession of Romanism as a capital crime. In the parliament of 1593, they abused their power to treat Barrowism, or Independency, in a similar manner.⁷ If they could have gained a complete ascendancy, there can be hardly a doubt that violent means would have been unsparingly taken to suppress the church-party. It is unjust, therefore, to blame Elizabeth, and her chief religious adviser, Whitgift, for missing those views of toleration which were the

⁵ Stowe, 835. Sir Henry Wotton, in the *Reliquie Wottoniana*, Cambden. Keble's *Hooker*, i. 49.

⁶ The Earl of Salisbury said after his death, in the Star-chamber, "that there was nothing more to be feared in his government, especially towards his latter time, than his mildness and clemency."

Paule's *Life of Abp. Whitgift*, Lond. 1699, p. 80.

⁷ Neal fairly designates this as "one of the severest acts of oppression and cruelty that ever was passed by the representatives of a protestant nation, and a free people." *Hist. Pur.* i. 346.

growth of a later age; and it is useless to speculate upon their disposition to oppose a line of policy which the times never called upon them to consider.⁸

§ 18. Undoubtedly, however, Elizabeth's religious policy is stained with a degree of cruelty that could hardly have been necessary. But the age was cruel, and allowance upon that score is fairly claimable for the memories of all whom it entrusted with power. Ordinary felonies were then treated in England with a severity which now appears horrid and intolerable. The law of treason too was construed so as to take in various offences, with which treason, as ordinarily understood, really has very little concern; and yet, in all cases of conviction under it, the revolting butchery that it prescribes was carried into effect. It was under this law that so many Romish priests were dragged upon scaffolds to undergo a violent death and loathsome mutilation. The queen professed to take no man's life merely on account of his religion. With respect, however, to five instances, in which death by fire was inflicted under the old common law against heresy, this profession was manifestly untenable. The wretched sufferers broached opinions condemned by the first four general councils, and were not even charged with any political offence. In the prosecutions of Romish priests, the case was altogether different. The accused were arraigned under the old statute of treasons, and appear to have had universally the option of saving their lives by renouncing the deposing doctrines which have brought inextinguishable infamy upon Rome. The prosecutions too were not instituted against the Marian clergy, but only against importations from the continent, where an active conspiracy, abetted by successive popes, was known to be on foot against the queen's life and government.⁹ Nor, again, did these severities against the Romish party begin until Elizabeth had

⁸ There is a life of Whitgift, by Sir George Paule, the comptroller of his household, which is valuable as coming from a contemporary with the best means of information, but is too brief for such an important primacy. The great magazine of materials for considering the archbishop, as especially connected with his times, is Strype's life, which, in the Oxford edition of 1822, fills 3 vols. 8vo. His life of Abp. Parker is of like extent; that of Abp. Grindal is in a single vo-

lume. All the three works are of great value.

⁹ "These lawes against which you complaine, drewe not in your priests which were made in Qucene Maries time, though they were catholique priests, and exercised their priestly function, and though they had better meanes to raise a partie in England, because they were acquainted with the state, and knew where the seeds of that religion remained: But in that catholique religion

been twelve years upon the throne, and the pope had issued a bull to depose her. It was for posting this disgraceful and mischievous document upon the gates of London house, that a fanatic, who seems to have been rather insane, became the first Elizabethan martyr, according to Romanists, or according to Protestants, suffered as a traitor. Between 1571 and 1581, there were nine similar executions. In subsequent years of the queen's reign, 170 Romanists altogether appear to have died upon the scaffold, the year of the Spanish *Armada* having more of these frightful executions than any other.¹ In the great majority of these cases, no particulars are known; but there can be no doubt that all the unfortunate parties were treated merely as civil offenders, connected with foreigners in open hostility to the queen, and necessarily so treated from overt acts of their own. Such are the grounds of all known prosecutions instituted against papal emissaries imported from abroad under Elizabeth. Hence there can be no reasonable doubt, that if the whole mass of alleged Romish martyrdoms could be brought under examination, all the sufferers would appear to have been arraigned as amenable to justice from their detection in practices which threatened the queen's life and the national tranquillity. Nor will any sufficient and rational inquirer be able to deny that Elizabeth's government had indeed urgent call for alarm, precaution, and severity. The utmost that can be said in favour of the Romish party is, that apprehensions of it were overstrained, penalties against it indefensibly cruel. Some allowance, however, is fairly claimable even for excessive alarm in persons who have reason to tremble for life and station. And the stern character of the age together with many circum-

of which they were priests, they found not this article of tumult and sedition, and withdrawing of subjects from their obedience." Downe's *Pseudo-martyr*. Lond. 1610, p. 161.

¹ The number of Romish executions, or martyrdoms, as the writer calls them, in 1588, the *Armada* year, is stated by him at 36. The next largest number given is 18, which he assigns to 1591. The writer might seem to have merely used his initials, being cited as "I. W. Priest," in a tract from which these particulars are taken, entitled *The Fyerie Tryall of God's Saints*, Lond. 1612. The author of this tract contrasts the execu-

tions of Protestants upon charges purely religious, in Mary's short reign, with the executions of Romanists, upon charges wholly political, in Elizabeth's long reign. He does not impugn the accuracy of I. W.'s numbers; therefore it is most probable, that between 1569 and 1604, 180 Romanists really were executed in England. Dodd makes the number 191, and Milner, 204. But a contemporary, anxious to make the most of his case, is obviously more worthy of reliance, than partizans who lived at a long interval afterwards, and knew it hardly possible to find any certain evidence of an over-statement.

stances, either imperfectly known, or wholly unknown to posterity, will account for much that was done, without giving to one of the most popular and glorious of English reigns that odious colouring in which it has been painted by sectarian pens.

§ 19. Besides the heretical and Romish sufferers under Elizabeth, five Protestant non-conformists were also executed.² Among them was Barrow, who revived Brownism, or Independency. These unfortunate persons were arraigned not as traitors, but as felons; their overt acts against the established church being treated as seditious, and subversive of the public peace. The earliest of these executions occurred in 1583. None of these blots upon Elizabeth's administration attaches, therefore, to her earlier years. It was not until she was menaced by an atrocious and formidable papal conspiracy, taunted with opening the way for a pestilent flood of heresy, embarrassed by clamorous endeavours to interfere with the settlement of property and undermine the national institutions, that any religious enemies of her policy were betrayed by the violence of their zeal to untimely deaths.⁸

² In addition to the five puritans, or Brownists, who were hanged, Udal should be mentioned, who was convicted of felony in 1591, but died in prison. Harington's *Nugæ Antiquæ* likewise mentions another Puritan, who was condemned, but recanted.

³ Besides his lives of the three archbishops, already mentioned, Strype has accumulated a vast mass of materials for studying the ecclesiastical history of Elizabeth's reign, in his *Annals*, and in his lives of Bp. Aylmer and Sir Thomas Smith. These works in the whole extend over sixteen 8vo. vols. in the recent Oxford edition. The *Annals*, however, which are the regular history of the reign, contain none of the venerable compiler's writing beyond the year 1588. He was then too old for further composition, and he merely printed the vouchers which he had collected for finishing his work. A learned writer, under the signature of J. M. (probably, the Rev. Joseph Mendham) in the *British Maga-*

zine, for July, 1837, gives the following list of Authors to be consulted upon the religious affairs of this important reign: Sanders, *De Schism. Angl.* and his *Monarchia visibilis*; Bridgewater's *Concervatio Eccl. Cath.*; Allen's *Defence*, and *Admonition to the Nobility*; the Spanish and Italian works of Ribadeneyra, Davanzati, Pollini, and Yepes; Verstegan's *Theatrum Crudelitatum Hereticorum*, and *Eccl. Angl. Trophæa*; Ackworth and Clerk's *Answers to Sanders*; Humphrey's *Jesuitismi Pars I. the Execution of Justice*; Watson's *Important Considerations*, Donne's *Pseudo-martyr*, and the Jesuitic histories of Bartoli and Moore. Until 1839 no complete account of the religious affairs of this reign had appeared from a member of the church of England. The editor then published one, under the title of *Elizabethan Religious History*. The Dissenters had such a work in the first volume of Neal's *History of the Puritans*, to which Bp. Madox published a reply.

CHAPTER IV.

* HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

§ 1. Unsettled state of Scotland.—§ 2. Continued indigence of the Protestant clergy.—§ 3. Convention of Leith.—§ 4. Confirmed at Perth.—§ 5. Reasons assigned for the Leith agreement.—§ 6. Death of Knox.—§ 7. Injurious effects of the regent's avarice.—§ 8. Andrew Melville.—§ 9. First attacks upon episcopacy.—§ 10. Bishops required to undertake parochial cures.—§ 11. Adamson.—§ 12. Abolition of episcopal titles, and inhibition of new elections to sees.—§ 13. Abolition of episcopacy decreed at Dundee.—§ 14. Montgomery.—§ 15. The Raid of Ruthven.—§ 16. The French embassy.—§ 17. Escape of James from the Ruthven conspirators.—§ 18. Presbyterian *declinature* of the civil jurisdiction.—§ 19. The *black acts*.—§ 20. Interference of Elizabeth in Scottish affairs.—§ 21. Division of the presbyterian party.—§ 22. Qualified admission of episcopacy.—§ 23. The Act of Annexation.—§ 24. Parliamentary extension of the popular party.—§ 25. The king's marriage.—§ 26. Successful attacks upon episcopacy, and establishment of presbyterianism.—§ 27. The tumult at Edinburgh, and consequent restrictions upon the presbyterian party.—§ 28. Petition for a representation of the clergy in Parliament.—§ 29. The proceedings at Dundee and Falkland.—§ 30. The king's literary works.—§ 31. The arrangements at Montrose.

§ 1. ON the settlement of religion under Elizabeth, England had a strong executive, able to contend successfully with individual selfishness, and Genevan predilections. When Scotland legally established Protestantism in 1567, her government was one of the weakest ever known. Mary's illegitimate half-brother, the regent Murray, was, indeed, a man of considerable abilities, and of more moral worth than most men would have retained under such difficulties and temptations as his. But Scotland had been little else than a turbulent, poverty-stricken aristocracy at the best of times; and when Murray undertook the chief direction of her affairs, the reins of government had long been more than usually relaxed. Nor was he ever able to hold them with a vigorous hand. The first months of his regency were those of Mary's imprisonment in Lochleven castle, from which the baffled faction was naturally anxious to deliver her, and its numbers were daily on the increase. It is true, that

when Murray's painful observation of her there found a termination still more painful in her escape¹, a few days proved enough to defeat her finally in the battle of Langside², and to drive her into an English prison. Yet her party never was extinct, or even inert, or stationary as to numbers. There was always a harassing probability of some irresistible re-action in her favour, and Elizabeth's policy was evidently unworthy of reliance as a counterpoise. It was the southern queen's interest to keep Scotland unsettled, and consequently dependent upon herself. Nor could it be foreseen whether this policy might not call for Mary's liberation, and the treatment of her enemies as rebels. Hence the whole of that brief interval which elapsed between Murray's acquisition of the regency and his assassination³, was a term in which the royal power might almost be considered as in abeyance. The Earl of Lennox, Darnley's father, who next became regent, after some months of factious anarchy⁴, had the means, as little as he had the ability, to establish any supreme authority worthy of the name. He was, in fact, little better than the puppet of Elizabeth. His estates lay in England, in that country his family resided, as he had long himself. Under his government, which really was little more than nominal, Scottish faction reached an intolerable height. His own partisans, known as the *King's men*, from their professed allegiance to his grandson the infant James, were constantly hurling defiance through every corner of the land against the *Queen's men*, or the adherents of Mary.⁵ The Marian faction even went so far as to beard his parliament by a rival parliament of its own. When his early turn came to fall by an untimely death⁶, the Earl of Mar was elected in his place; but only to sink under the hopeless task of striving to mitigate the violence and selfishness of two uncontrollable factions. He died, however, in his bed, but overcome by care and melancholy.⁷ The Earl of Morton succeeded him, being the fourth who, in five successive years, was tempted, by a short-sighted ambition, to try the government of a lawless, distracted country. During the first year of his regency the civil war still raged; and although he subsequently was not pressed by military cares, he was equally

¹ May 2. 1568.

² May 13.

³ Jan. 23. 1570.

⁴ July 12. 1570.

⁵ Robertson's *Scotl.* ii. 336.

⁶ In the surprise of Stirling, Sept. 3. 1571.

⁷ Oct. 29. 1572.

with his miserable predecessors the head of a faction desperately struggling for existence with a formidable rival faction. Nor when the boy king was pushed forward to dislodge him from his envied but unhappy height⁸, had Scotland even a prospect of social order. Faction never ceased for a moment from its merciless selfish struggles. From immaturity of years, James could long be little better than a puppet; and as his faculties expanded, he proved more than usually open to the interested arts of personal favourites. Thus the whole period in which the Scottish mind was forming anew after emancipation from papal bondage, displayed wealth and power as prizes not of solid worth, but of dexterous or bold rapacity. The winning candidates, however, must have a popular party at their backs, and this they could not command without religious excitement. The age was revolutionary, but its fire was fed by sectarian controversy. No scheming politician could reasonably have a hope of popular support without securing those whom pulpit-cloquence rendered powerful over inferior life. The public mind would receive a strong direction from no other source. Indeed it hardly could, at a period when the lighter literature, now found so irresistible, was unknown.

§ 2. The leaders, however, were very little careful of the men through whose influence over the populace their several factions obtained importance. Having made their own fortunes out of a well-endowed church, they left their clerical auxiliaries to shift for themselves. Hence those loud complaints of pinching poverty, which had justly been raised by the reformed preachers ever since the secession from Rome, were always heard, be the state of politics what it might. In 1574, the regent Morton even added to the hardships of the ministerial body. The thirds of benefices, legally settled upon it, had always been irregularly and slowly paid. From some parts of the kingdom, during the late civil wars, nothing, indeed, had been received. The collectors, therefore, appointed by the general assembly, had really been unable to satisfy properly the unfortunate claimants. Affecting to commiserate their case, Morton extorted from the clergy this source of income, engaging to substitute for it a stipend for its minister from every parish. This arrangement, however, proved illusory; clergymen were plunged into deeper poverty than ever; and in order

⁸ March 24, 1578.

to maintain existence, one man was under the necessity of serving four or five parishes.⁹ Yet the framework of the old Romish hierarchy still survived, and though probably all were much impoverished, many of the higher clergy must have continued in easy or handsome circumstances. Thus the Protestant preachers were goaded by indigence into the constant production of exciting topics, and into envious impatience of all clerical disparity. There never is any difficulty in persuading men to disapprove of conditions above their own, and many people think of clergymen as bound in conscience to undergo whatever the ill-humour or self-interest of others would exact from them. Hence those envious feelings that extensively prevail, but especially in humbler life, gave a ready and vigorous response, when some poverty-stricken preacher denounced hierarchical appointments and endowments as unknown to the New Testament. A public extensively pervaded by such views would stop its ears against any voice from ecclesiastical antiquity, and could see no need of outward advantages to make some of the clergy fit for mixing with superior life, or to allure those literary qualifications into the church, which controversy demands. Men could insist upon their own views of a single book, who had no scholarship, or hardly any access to literature, beyond its pages. They were likely to overlook the need of higher qualifications for the ministry than their own rank seemingly required, and to consider human weapons as little better than encumbrances under an attack upon heavenly truth. Hence the Scottish hierarchy rapidly sank under an accumulation of popular odium. The temporary causes that dragged it down found no countervailing check in a respectable executive, and when the government attained, at last, some appearance of stability, inveterate prejudice sealed a condemnation hastily pronounced amidst national convulsions.

§ 3. While public opinion continued unbiassed by any decided hostility towards prelacy, moderate men naturally felt some regard for it as one of the most venerable of national institutions. Its prostrate condition seemed also likely to bear injuriously upon the permanent interests of religion. The episcopal order and the dignified clergy were the only legal

⁹ "One minister was commonly burthened with the care of four or five parishes, a pitiful salary was allotted him,

and the regent's insatiable avarice seized on the rest of the fund." Robertson, ii. 372.

proprietors of numerous valuable estates. By keeping, therefore, vacant such of the principal preferments as happened to be so, and by rendering defenceless the incumbents of all the rest, factious leaders retained a wide opening for the seizure of religion's patrimony. In a country, however, so distracted, a violent political re-action might always be apprehended, and one class of church-robbers be reduced, at least, to the necessity of resigning its prey to another. To provide against any such contingency, an act of parliament was obtained in 1571, rendering the ecclesiastical estates already seized nominally the property of the crown, and authorizing present holders to continue in possession until new titles should be granted under royal authority.¹ It was evident that powerful men, with a young child upon a disputed throne, would have no great difficulty in obtaining the required grants. Thus dispassionate minds could anticipate from the present unsettled state of ecclesiastical affairs nothing but the loss to religion of all fixed endowments, and the unearned enrichment of many private houses from sources meant for the public benefit. It was, therefore, thought advisable, Edinburgh being occupied by the queen's faction, to hold an extraordinary convention of superintendents and ministers at Leith in January, 1572. The parties convened nominated six of their body to meet as many members of the privy council. By means of this committee, it was enacted, with the regent's concurrence, that, "in consideration of the present state," all the ancient hierarchical arrangements, even to the preservation of abbots and priors, should continue until the king's majority, or until formally abrogated in Parliament. New incumbents were, however, to be Protestants, and satisfactorily qualified.² One object in making this arrange-

¹ "Hence, by one sweeping act, that large division of the church's patrimony, which had been seized during the troubled period subsequent to the death of James V., was converted into a royal fee, and secured in the mean time to the rapacious barons." Russell, i. 324.

² The following is this Leith arrangement. "1. That the names and titles of the archbishops and bishops be not altered, nor the bounds of the dioceses confounded, but that they continue in time coming, as they did before the reformation of religion, at least till the

king's majesty's majority, or consent of Parliament. 2. That the archbishoprics and bishoprics vacant should be conferred on men endowed, as far as may be, with the qualities specified in the examples of Paul to Timothy and Titus. 3. That to all archbishoprics and bishoprics that should become vacant, qualified persons should be presented within a year and day after the vacancy takes place, and those nominated to be thirty years of age at the least. 4. That the spiritual jurisdiction should be exercised by the bishops in their dioceses. 5.

ment was to revive the influence of religion in parliament. Deprived of her legislative voice, the church had been easy to pillage and oppress. Hence all who felt that religious institutions, like all others, require adequate pecuniary support, and who respected clerical rights, were anxious to see the spiritual profession again in a position to maintain its due place in the national assemblies. They were even willing to sanction the anomalous appearance in a Protestant legislature, of beneficiaries, who represented monastic properties, and who professed Protestantism themselves. The first considerations were to stay the progress of sacrilegious avarice, and to give churchmen once more adequate means of self-defence. The complete obviation of defects in the plan might be contentedly left to a more tranquil time, when a sovereign in reality, and not in name only, should head the nation, or a Parliament, really at liberty for calm deliberation and constitutionally leavened by an ecclesiastical spirit, should prescribe the details of a final religious settlement.

§ 4. As the Agreement of Leith is undoubtedly some sort of sanction given to episcopacy, and by men who stood foremost in the Scottish reformation, considerable speculation has arisen as to Knox's views upon the question. That eminent preacher, and strong-minded, virtuous man, was not present. He had been stricken with apoplexy in October, 1570, and although very much recovered, his energies ever afterwards required careful husbanding. He appears, however, to have approved what was done at Leith. It is, indeed far from unlikely that his approbation had been given to some such plan before it came under public discussion. Otherwise, from the vehemence of his character, and his imposing weight in

That abbots, priors, and inferior prelates, presented to benefices, should be tried, as to their qualification, and their aptness to give a voice in parliament, by the bishop, or superintendent of the bounds, and upon their collation, should be admitted to the benefice, but not otherwise. 6. That the elections of persons presented to bishoprics should be made by the chapters of the cathedral churches; and because the chapters of divers churches were possessed by men provided before his majesty's coronation, who bore no office in the church, that a particular nomination of ministers should

be made in every diocese, to supply their rooms, until the benefice should fall void. 7. That all benefices with cure, under prelaties, should be conferred on actual ministers, and on no others. 8. That ministers should receive ordination from the bishop of the diocese, and where no bishop was as yet placed, from the superintendent of the bounds. 9. That ministers and superintendents should exact an oath, at the ordination of ministers, for acknowledging his majesty's authority, and for obedience to their ordinary in all things." Russell, i. 329.

the country, he would hardly have written as he did to the general assembly in the following August. That body, which was regularly convened at Perth, entered into a formal consideration of the Leith arrangement.³ As the members, from habits of declamation against the ancient hierarchy, might have incurred a charge of inconsistency, if they now silently sanctioned its continuance, even in name, provision was made against any such blemish to their characters. The assembly declared that, in restoring episcopal, capitular, and archidiaconal designations, it meant no countenance to popery or superstition, being really anxious to have those names changed for such as were "not scandalous and offensive." In the mean time it adopted what was agreed upon at Leith, as a temporary arrangement until some better could be obtained from the regent and nobility. Knox's letter, delivered by his two friends, Winram and Pont, requested the brethren to provide by a formal enactment, "that all bishopries vacant may be filled by qualified persons within a year of the vacancy, according to the order taken in Leith, by the commissioners of the nobility and the Kirk, in the month of January last."⁴ Had not a majority of the great Scottish reformer's countrymen repudiated episcopacy, these words of his would have had very little chance of bearing any construction unfavourable to that system, or to the Leith agreement. This latter was not, indeed, contemplated as a final settlement, either by Knox, or by those who framed it. The question is, did they mean it as a prelude to the establishment of a regular protestant episcopate, when every thing should be sufficiently considered, and the country sufficiently settled, for such a purpose? An intelligent minority in Scotland, and most people elsewhere, have ever answered this question affirmatively. Relying upon the appointment of superintendents, more than ten years before, and the proposal now to revive bishops, chapters, and archdeacons, they considered the Scottish reformation, as originally planned with an intention to protestantise the ancient hierarchy, and adapt it judiciously to the altered circumstances of the country; but by no means to sweep it quite away, as a

³ The Leith "regulations were submitted to the general assembly at St. Andrew's, but as that meeting was thinly attended, it came to no determination respecting them." McCrie's *Knox*, ii. 199.

⁴ Russell, i. 332.

popish incumbrance which must impede and discredit a scriptural faith.

§ 5. Among those who consider the Scottish reformers as irreconcilably hostile to episcopacy from the first, some have attributed the Leith agreement to a temporary desire of English approbation, and the absence of Knox.⁵ The former is, however, a far-fetched reason, and the latter stands upon a supposition of no solidity, Knox, as has been seen, being probably all along a consenting party. Others paint the Leith commissioners as mere dupes and tools of a rapacious court. Their arrangement is thought nothing else than a new device of the faction-leaders to secure church plunder. It was only bishops and dignified clergymen who yet could hold a vast mass of eagerly-coveted property, by such titles as were likely to stand a legal scrutiny, whenever the country should become thoroughly settled. Let prelacies and dignities, therefore, continue, and let such as had interest enough to put incumbents into them, make the nominees pay most exorbitantly for their patronage.⁶ This explanation has the advantage of resting on a fact. The Earl of Morton, then chancellor, obtained the vacant archbishopric of St. Andrew's for John Douglas, rector of the university there, previously stipulating for a large portion of its revenues. This simoniacal pact soon became sufficiently notorious, and the general assembly protested against it to the parliament, holden at Stirling, in 1571. The simoniac, however, though not yet elected, had sufficient influence to take his seat in that very parliament; the body that nominally made so much ecclesiastical property into crown funds, really, into private inheritances.⁷ In the following February, Douglas was inaugurated⁸, and Morton wanted

⁵ "The Scots were then under some necessity of holding fair quarter with the English, and therefore, to conform, as near as conveniently they might, to the government of it in the outward polity of the church. Upon which reason, and the prevalency of court commissioners, those of the kirk did condescend unto these conclusions; and condescended the more easily, because Knox was absent, detained by sickness from attempting any public business." (Heylin's *History of the Presbyterians*, Lond. 1672, p. 180.)

⁶ "The design of securing the richest

portion of the benefices to the court and its dependents, which gave rise to the whole scheme, and which is the only thing that can account for its strange incongruities, did not appear in any part of the details. This was tacitly understood, and left to be provided for by secret treaty between individual patrons and presentees." M'Cric's *Life of Andrew Melville*, Edinb. 1824, i. 103.

⁷ M'Cric's *Knor*, ii. 198.

⁸ Adamson, who succeeded Douglas, preaching, about the time of his inauguration, said, "There are three sorts of bishops; my lord bishop, my lord's

Knox to give that ceremony his powerful sanction, by taking the lead in it. But the reformer indignantly refused, hurling strong reprobation at both archbishop and patron. Now, it is far from unlikely, that a corrupt eye to similar transactions might have had considerable influence upon the lay parties to the agreement of Leith, and a desire to save as much ecclesiastical property as possible might have operated upon the clerical parties. The sort of episcopacy which the Leith convention enacted, and the Perth assembly confirmed, has accordingly been called in derision *tulchan*, some people being reminded by it of a highland stratagem to make reluctant cows give down their milk.⁹ But although among these individuals, there are many of great acuteness, and of high qualifications in every other respect, they really throw such imputations by their hypothesis, upon either the honesty, or the intelligence, or both, of the clerical portion of the Leith committee, as it could hardly deserve.¹ It may be true that Morton's advice led Mar, the regent, to summon the Leith convention²,

bishop, and the Lord's bishop. My lord bishop was in the time of popery; my lord's bishop is now, when my lord gets the benefice, and the bishop serves for nothing but to make his title sure; the Lord's bishop is a true minister of the gospel." Adamson is said to have been disappointed of the archbishopric that time himself. M'Crie's *Melville*, ii. 486.

⁹ "In allusion to a custom in the Highlands of Scotland of placing a calf's skin stuffed with straw, called a *tulchan*, before cows, to induce them to give their milk, those who occupied the episcopal office at this time, were called *tulchan bishops*." *Ibid.* i. 103.

¹ "No reproach more severe could be thrown upon the honesty and intelligence of the ministers, who represented their brethren in the conference held with the lay deputies commissioned by the regent, three of those selected for this purpose, namely, Erskine of Dun, the superintendent of Angus; Winram, the superintendent of Fife; and Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, were the intimate friends of Knox." Russell, i. 334.

² "Hoc ipso tamen anno (1571) proceres quidam, qui episcopatus aliaque beneficia minora invaserant, de jure suo dubitantes, episcopos invexerunt qui titulo beneficii gauderent et ampliori stipendio, ipsis tamen reliquum interci-

piendi jus concederent vel permitterent, quod in minoribus etiam sacerdotiis ut fieret contendebant. Ergo Mortonus Marrio, qui tum vices regis puerili gerebat, auctor fuit, ut per Dunensem Comarchum, Angusie superintendentem, virum nobilem, Synodum convocaret, Letham." (*Calderwood, Epist. Philad. Viud.* apud *Altare Damascenum*, Lugd. Bat. 1708, p. 727.) "But it does not appear that the court at this time assumed the right of calling assemblies; and it is well known, that the clergy in those days were little disposed to submit to court influence. The assembly was, in fact, convened by the rulers of the church, the superintendents and commissioners. Spotswood remarks, that *in the month of January an assembly of the church convened at Leith, where, after great instance made with the regent and council for settling the policy of the church, it was agreed, &c.* The entreaty was on the part of the ministers. It is farther deserving of notice, that, by the *Agreement of Leith*, express provision was made against simony and dilapidations of benefices, a fact not very consistent with the allegation, that the said *Agreement* was forced upon the clergy by the court, and proceeding upon a design on the part of the latter upon the revenues of the church." Russell, i. 335.

but it is not very likely that the assembled clergy delegated their powers to six members of their own body, capable of egregious simplicity, or bare-faced corruption. Nor is it likely, that the convention accepted an arrangement wholly foreign to its own views, and originating in a smaller section manifestly over-reached, or bribed by an avaricious council. It may also be fairly, no less than charitably doubted, whether even the court nominees were so totally destitute of integrity, as this hypothesis would make them. Most observers will, however, infer from the acts of 1572, that an indefinite horror of episcopacy had not then become interwoven with the religious creed of Scotland. It is true, that the system then enacted was of a most anomalous description, and such as episcopalians are very far from approving.³ But it might be thought, and it probably was, the best temporary expedient that could be adopted in a country long devoured by faction, and disorganised by civil war. That it should have been adopted by its clerical supporters as a preparative for the abolition of the very system which it placed on a firmer footing than had been known for many years, is a supposition that requires previous prepossession. But nothing could be more reasonable as a preparative for the judicious adaptation of the old system to a protestant country, as soon as tranquillity should allow divines to mature plans for the purpose, and statesmen to carry them into execution.

³ "It was a constitution of the most motley and heterogeneous kind, being made up of presbytery, episcopacy, and papal monkery. Viewed in one light, indeed, it might be considered harmless. It made little, or no alteration on the established discipline of the church. The bishops were invested with no episcopal authority; and if unfit persons were admitted to the office, the general assembly, to whose jurisdiction they were subjected, might suspend or depose them, and call the chapters to account for their irregular conduct. Nor were the monastic prelates, as such, entitled to a place in the church courts." (McCrie's *McVilvie*, i. 100.) Among these bishops, too, was Robert Stuart, brother to the Earl of Lennox, who was elected to the see of Caithness, and confirmed by the pope, as administrator of the cathedral there, when very young, but who never took even priest's orders. He was, how-

ever, called bishop of Caithness, to the day of his death, in 1586, being invested with the revenues of that see, and with those of the priory of St. Andrew's; a benefice given him by his brother, during his regency. Having been a warm partisan of his brother's in early life, he was compelled to abscond on the ascendancy of Arran's faction, and he remained out of the way during 22 years. On his return, he became a Protestant, and married a daughter of the earl of Atholl, but left no legitimate issue. Though really never possessed of any sacred character, he was associated by the government in the commission for consecrating Douglas to the see of St. Andrew's; the name and revenues of a bishop, seemingly, being thought sufficient qualification. (Keith, 216.) The times neither allowed leisure for examining principles, nor facilities for preserving regularity.

§ 6. During the convention of Leith, Knox was living at St. Andrew's, whither he had retired in the preceding May. His declining health had withdrawn him in an unusual degree from political strife, but the regent Murray's assassination overclouded every prospect of public tranquillity, and he could no longer forbear. His passions were more energetically aroused, because he had the mortification common in civil wars, of seeing some unexpected and embarrassing changes of side. Kirkaldy of Grange especially, who had been conspicuous for adherence to the protestant party, turned round, and transferred the important castle of Edinburgh, of which he was governor, to the queen's faction. This was a severe blow upon Knox, and the governor's forcible delivery from the tolbooth of a soldier charged with murder, drew from him a storm of indignant pulpit-cloquence, which was warmly resented in the castle. To render his position more insecure, Kirkaldy admitted his inveterate enemies, the Hamiltons, into the castle, in April, 1571. The reformer's personal safety now became very doubtful, especially as Hamilton would not answer for it, alleging the impossibility of watching sufficiently over the bad characters in a band of soldiers that hated him. Upon this he was earnestly urged to flee; but his friends could not prevail, until they told him, that innocent blood could hardly fail of being shed, if he stayed, the garrison's hostility being fully equalled by their own resolution to defend him. Such a contingency he would not hazard, and a reluctant consent was, accordingly, given for his departure. Leith was in the possession of his friends, the regent having fortified it; but it was evidently undesirable to retain at the very seat of war, a sick man whom the enemy abhorred, but who still could muster ample energy to fire his friends. Knox, therefore, merely passed through Leith, and crossing the Firth, went by easy stages to St. Andrew's, where he seasoned his sermons, as at Edinburgh, with stirring comments on the national dissensions. Most of his hearers probably, found this style of preaching highly palatable, but it made as many enemies as friends; the Hamiltons, though not in arms, being powerful both in the university and neighbourhood. In return, reports to the preacher's disadvantage were industriously spread, and strife of every kind thickened around him. He was then exceedingly infirm, quite unable to get into the pulpit without a great deal of help, and for the first half-

hour of his sermon, the congregation found itself listening to the calm effusions of an able, but a worn-out old man. When once, however, thoroughly warmed by his subject, every symptom of exhaustion vanished, and a torrent of racy vehemence, with violent muscular exertion, seemed to threaten even the pulpit with destruction.⁴ Nevertheless, he was evidently sinking, and death appeared likely to overtake him at St. Andrew's. However, before the close of July, 1572, the queen's party evacuated the city of Edinburgh, retaining only possession of the castle. The citizens of the opposite faction returned immediately to their houses, and lost no time in requesting Knox to do the same. After stipulating that no restrictions were to be placed upon his tongue as to the Marian factionists in the castle, he consented, and left St. Andrew's, as much to the satisfaction of one party there, as to the regret of the other.⁵ He came to Edinburgh about the end of August; but his voice could no longer fill a spacious building, and a small place was provided for him. His last public appearance was, however, made in a large church, when, on the 9th of November, 1572, he presided at the installation of a colleague and successor. He was very imperfectly heard, and his congregation, as he retired home, lined the street in expectation of seeing him no more. He died on the 24th of that month, calmly and religiously, leaving a name behind him of which Scotland has been justly proud ever since. Within two days, he was buried in the church-yard of St. Giles, the Earl of Morton, then newly elected regent, and many of the nobility, with a vast concourse of people, being in attendance. Morton thus forcibly and truly pronounced his funeral eulogy, *There lies he who never feared the face of man.*⁶ It was this complete intrepidity which ren-

⁴ "In the opening up of his text, he was moderat the space of an half-houre; but when he enterit to application, he made me so to *grew* (thrill) and tremble, that I could not hald a pen to wryt. He was very weik. I saw him everie day of his doctrine, go *hulie and fear* (slowly and warily) with a furring of marticks about his neck, a staffe in the ane hand, and gud, godlie Richart Balanden, his servand, haldin up the other *oster* (arm-pit) from the abbey to the parish-kirk, and be the said Richart, and another servand, lifted up to the pulpit, whar he behovit to lean at his

first entrie; bot, er he laid done with his sermone, he was so active and vigorous, that he was lyk to *ding the pulpit in blads* (beat the pulpit to pieces) and flie out of it." Account of James Melville, then student at St. Andrew's, afterwards minister of Anstruther, *apud* Mc'Crie, *Knox*, ii. 206.

⁵ He declared those in the castle to be men "whose treasonable and tyrannical deeds he would cry out against, as long as he was able to speak." *Ibid.* 211.

⁶ *Ibid.* 234. Knox was twice married, and by his first wife, Margaret Bowes,

dered him so invaluable as the religious leader of a distracted period.⁷ In professional acquirements, Knox has often been surpassed, in the fearless discharge of all that he considered his duty, never.

§ 7. As Morton's government put an end to the civil war, and was far better established than that of any former regent, he might, probably, have rendered the Leith agreement permanently binding on the country. The effects of protracted anarchy were, indeed, sufficiently conspicuous in the neglect of established principles, when the church first assembled after the late arrangement. The primate was present, but a paro-

he left two sons, both educated academically at St. John's college, Cambridge, of which the elder, Nathaniel, died fellow in 1580. The younger, Eleazer, died vicar of Clacton magna, in Essex, in 1591. Neither appears to have left issue. Their mother, whose father was of the wealthy family seated at Stratlam castle in the county-palatine of Durham, died in 1560, after an union of about seven years. Such a house as that from which this lady's father sprang was naturally unwilling to receive a man of Knox's condition among its members, and without her mother's aid, his suit would probably have failed. In 1564, Knox made another ambitious match, marrying Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree, descended from the duke of Albany, second son of Robert II. By this lady, who survived him, and married again, he left three daughters, eventually all married to ministers. His two sons were sent into England, about the year 1566, to be with their deceased mother's relations. Upon the occasion of his second marriage, more especially, the Romish writers rail at Knox's lust and ambition: and it must be owned, that a widower of humble birth, verging upon sixty, did lay himself open to animadversion by this connexion. It is natural also that men rigidly restrained from the domestic comforts and external advantages attainable by marriage, should represent individuals of their own body who set these restraints at defiance, gratifying inclination, and gaining station by this boldness, as really deserters from Rome from no higher motive. Nor is the ridiculous picture of Knox going to court his second wife, either improbable, or unfairly preserved by a writer of a church which the reformer himself loaded with abuse. "Rydaud thairwith

ane gret court, on ane trim gelding, nocht lyk ane prophet, or ane auld decrepit priest, as he was, bot lyk, as he had bene ane of the blude royal, with his bendes of taffetic feschuit with golden ringis, and precious stanes." Unfortunately for his weight with posterity, the painter of this amusing portrait goes on to ascribe Knox's success with the lady to withecraft, and to say that she was frightened to death, soon after marriage, by seeing in her chamber, "a blak, uglie, ill-favoured man busily talking with" the bridegroom. (McCrie's *Knox*, ii. 328.) It was not enough to lower the tone of Knox's admirers, by showing him to have gained human ends by human means, and hence to argue that a lurking love of such ends may fairly be considered as one incentive to his war with Rome. The age required unfriendly painters to display him as an especial emissary of Satan, in the closest connexion with his employer, and thus enabled to make a figure in the world.

⁷ "He was certainly a man endued with rare gifts, and a chief instrument that God used for the work of those times. Many good men have disliked some of his opinions, as touching the authority of princes, and the form of government which he laboured to have established in the church: yet he was far from those dotages, wherein some, that would have been thought his followers, afterwards fell; for never was any man more observant of church authority than he, always urging the obedience of ministers to their superintendents, for which he caused divers acts to be made in the assemblies of the church, and showed himself severe to the transgressors." Spotswood, 267.

chial clergyman was chosen to preside.⁸ Such irregularities could hardly be prevented in an unsettled establishment which recognised both bishops and superintendents with some sort of equal and ill-defined authority over the same districts. But had the system been left undisturbed by extraneous circumstances, there can be no doubt that superintendents would have gradually disappeared, leaving the ground wholly open for the organization of a regular Protestant episcopacy. As usual, however, the avarice and necessities of power would not allow the ordinary course of events. Morton had made himself sole paymaster of the clergy, and they never had a worse.⁹ Hence their pecuniary difficulties, and the burthensome duties which they undertook to support existence, kept up all their old dissatisfaction, and its natural operation upon the quality of their discourses. The regent's insatiable greediness could not even spare the superintendents. That order found itself involved in the same wretched necessity that pinched inferior ministers, and urgent appeals to the treasury were met by a wanton and unfeeling answer, that, bishops being recognized again, superintendents were become useless, and could not be suffered long to burthen the country at all. Present holders of the office were, however, compensated by a diminished allowance.¹ Three of the body thus impoverished and insulted², requested the general assembly, in March, 1574, to accept of their resignations. They were men who had stood high in the reformation, and accordingly, the assembly, instead of accepting the proffered resignations, enacted that bishops should not exercise jurisdiction within districts provided with superintendents, unless these latter should consent.³ By such acts, the principles recognised

⁸ Russell, i. 346.

⁹ "In the payment of these pensions they found their condition made worse than before it was: for, whereas they could boldly go to the superintendents and make their poor estates known unto them, from whom they were sure to receive some relief and comfort, they were now forced to dance attendance at the court for getting warrants for the payment of the sums assigned, and supplicating for such augmentations as were seldom granted. And when the Kirk desired to be restored unto the thirds, as was also promised in case the assignments were not duly paid, it was at last

told them in plain terms, *that since the surplus of the thirds belonged to the king, it was fitter the regent and council should modify the stipends of ministers, than that the Kirk should have the appointment and designation of a surplus.*" Heylin, *Hist. Presb.* p. 181.

¹ Collier, ii. 548.

² *Viz.* Erskine of Dnn, Spotswood, and Winram.

³ "This regulation, which was obviously suggested by the injudicious conduct of the regent, has been appealed to as a proof, that the church was still inclined, notwithstanding their acceptance of the new model, to prefer super-

at Leith were undermined, and a foundation was laid for those dissensions which agitated Scotland during more than a century afterwards. Presbyterians ordinarily represent such irregularities as evidence that episcopacy was only set up again for a temporary blind. Others have at least equal reason for viewing them as extorted by the severe pressure of circumstances, at a time when the universal prevalence of civil discord allowed neither an accurate acquaintance with sound principles, nor sufficient consistency to the national institutions.

§ 8. While opinions and institutions continued thus unsettled, Andrew Melville returned home after an absence of ten years in foreign countries. He was the youngest of nine sons born to the proprietor of Baldovy, a small estate in Angus, where his own birth occurred in 1545. Within two years afterwards, his father fell in the disastrous rout of Pinkey, and his mother dying within a short period, he was left an orphan under the care of his eldest brother, who, seeing his taste for learning, kindly gave him a superior education. Having exhausted with great applause, all such means of instruction as his own country afforded, he went at nineteen, to the university of Paris. He studied there two years, and afterwards at Poitiers; but by far the greatest portion of his continental residence was spent at Geneva. His family had early embraced the Reformation, and Beza, with whom he became intimately acquainted, rendered him a thorough convert to the presbyterian system. So little, however, seems to have been known of this in his own country, that, on his arrival there, in 1574, the regent Morton, who has been censured as a decided favourer of episcopacy⁴, would have taken him into his establishment.⁵ The overture

intendents to bishops. Impartially considered, it will not support that inference. To those who have no hypothesis to maintain, nor predilections to gratify, it can appear in no other light than that of a generous effort to vindicate the rank and authority of an order of ecclesiastical magistrates, whose merits had been undervalued, and whose emoluments had been unjustly withdrawn." Russell, i. 348.

⁴ "Episcopis semper favebat, et illum ordinem contra ecclesiam summa ope promovebat." Calderwood, *Epist. Philad. Viud. apud Altare Damascenum*, p. 730.

⁵ "Melville had scarcely arrived at Edinburgh, when he was waited on by George Buchanan, Alexander Hay, clerk to the privy council, and Colonel James Halyburton, a favourite of the regent Morton. They proposed that he should act as domestic instructor to the regent, promising that he should be advanced to a situation more suited to his merits, on the first vacancy which occurred. Morton had himself no taste for letters, and was not disposed, as his predecessors were, to be liberal to learned men. But his sagacity convinced him of the influence which they exerted over the

was declined, but he accepted one soon afterwards from James Boyd, archbishop of Glasgow, to become principal of the college there. If he had been known to entertain the opinions, which, far more than his learning, have earned him celebrity, such an invitation from such quarters would hardly have been given. The friends of his memory, indeed, admit him to have acted, during this portion of his life, with “great prudence.”⁶ Those who dislike the system so closely connected with his name, would rather accuse him, at this time, of considerable duplicity. His own account gives countenance to such a charge. He does not allow posterity to suppose that presbyterian convictions gradually strengthened in his mind from deeper inquiry into ecclesiastical antiquity, and observation of the country. Writing to Beza, in 1579, he declares himself to have fought against pseudo-episcopacy unceasingly during the last five years⁷: that is to say, from the very date of his arrival in Scotland, when he had an offer of patronage from a regent episcopally disposed, and when he actually took office under an archbishop.

§ 9. The first portion of this protracted fight produced no aggressive acts more serious than private conversations. In these, however, the ground was prepared. Melville thus became acquainted with the views taken by various individuals of weight, and with the parties most likely to be influenced by himself. The introduction of topics fitted for his purpose really required little or no management. In few things had recent national disorders acted more strikingly upon the country, than in producing the motley aspect and unsettled posture of its ecclesiastical affairs. In a convention of estates, accordingly, holden at Edinburgh, in March, 1575, it was voted, “that great inconveniences had arisen, and were likely to arise from the want of a decent and comely government in the church.” In consequence, a parliamentary committee was appointed to concert with certain ministers of the general assembly, then sitting, some form of ecclesiastical polity suitable at once to God’s Word and the national wants. Melville sat as a member of this

minds of others, and of the importance of attaching them to his interests.”
 McCrie’s *McLellan*, i. 58.

⁶ Russell, i. 353.

⁷ “Notwithstanding the opposition we have met with from many of the nobility.” Collier, ii. 534.

general assembly, and he was one of those nominated to deliberate with the parliamentary commissioners. He was thus able to prepare the way for the system eventually made public in the *Second Book of Discipline*.⁸ In the mean while another meeting of the general assembly took place in the August of 1575. According to custom, the business was about to begin with an inquiry into the conduct of the bishops and superintendents since the general assembly last met.⁹ Dury, however, one of the Edinburgh ministers, rose and protested against any inference from such inquiry as to the assembly's approbation of episcopacy.¹ On this opening, Melville delivered an elaborate speech, to prove prelacy unscriptural, unwarranted by primitive antiquity, and practically injurious. To reinforce his arguments, he gave personal testimony to the excellent working of presbyterianism in France, and at Geneva; and he attributed many of the evils complained of in England, to its rejection.²

⁸ M'Crie's *Melville*, i. 110. The Second Book of Discipline may be seen in Collier (ii. 563), who says that it is chiefly compiled from Beza's tract, *De triplici Episcopatu*, and his answer to the questions of Lord Glamis. A general analysis of this famous *Book* is given by Dr. M'Crie (*Melville*, i. 119). It is thoroughly pontifical in maintaining ecclesiastical privileges, but it lodges them in a democratic body, consisting of "ministers, who are preachers as well as rulers; elders, who are merely rulers, and deacons, who act as distributors of alms, and managers of the funds of the church." Besides these, "is the doctor, or teacher, whose function lies in expounding the Scriptures, defending the truth against erroneous teachers, and instructing the youth in schools, colleges, and universities." The elder-ships are said to be sanctioned by the primitive church, which had its "colleges of seniors constituted in cities and famous places." On which Collier observes, "This assertion has no countenance from antiquity: 'tis not supported with so much as any single instance from the primitive Church." He also remarks, "This *Book of Discipline* mentions presbyteries, states their powers, and describes the members of which they were to consist; but notwithstanding their insisting so much upon this subject, there were no such ecclesiastical assemblies then in being. The

first presbytery in that nation was set up in Edinburgh: but then this was not done till May, 1581."

⁹ Russell, i. 354.

¹ "This Dury, as Spotswood represents him, was a well-meaning, undissembling man, open in declaring his mind, and zealous in maintaining his opinion; but then he was somewhat unguarded in his management, had an over-balance of belief, and was easily imposed on." Collier, ii. 550.

² "The maintenance of the hierarchy in England he could not but consider as one cause of the rarity of preaching, the poverty of the lower orders of the clergy, pluralities, want of discipline, and other abuses which had produced dissensions and heart-burnings in that flourishing kingdom." (M'Crie's *Melville*, i. 112.) Had the speaker known any thing accurately of England, it may be hoped that all this rhetoric, except as to "want of discipline," would have been spared. There is no doubt that the hierarchy was a main obstacle to the studding of England with an organized ramification of petty, meddling, intolerant courts, in which Puritanical ministers and ruling elders might authoritatively measure every neighbour's conduct and creed by their own notions of morals and divinity. It is equally certain, that many able and conscientious men thought such courts very highly desirable, if not absolutely ne-

Six prelates were present, besides two superintendents³, but seldom has the abuse of patronage appeared more glaringly, or acted so injuriously, as in the state of the Scottish episcopal bench at that time. As usual, none of these mitred members found a word to say. Thus an opposition to their office, which has been commonly considered as the fruit of a collusion between Dury and Melville, wholly escaped resistance and exposure.⁴ Yet the speaker was only just turned of thirty, the line of scholarship to which his arguments referred had notoriously not been made his especial study⁵, the statements offered

cessary, and that immorality might really have been often repressed by their means. But it is not certain, that the country would have borne them, even if episcopal opponents had not disputed their claims to confidence; or that their operation over a large community could have been rendered beneficial upon the whole: while their narrow, intrusive, intolerant character must have been widely felt as offensive and tyrannical." As to "the rarity of preaching," Romish habits, in which the public mind was generally formed, rendered a large portion of the people indifferent to it. There were also obvious reasons why all clergymen should not be allowed to preach. Great numbers had taken their benefices before Elizabeth's accession, and though now conformists, were known to be Romanists at heart. These men were no safe preachers, and many of them besides, were hardly competent. Others, who were zealous Protestants, and sufficiently competent, had little discretion, but were likely to outrage the Romishly-inclined, who were gradually laying aside old prepossessions, by their violent invectives against Romanism, and to undermine the church which gave them bread, by their puritanical doctrine. Both clerical poverty and pluralities have always been largely attributable to the smallness of many parishes, and the great number of impropriations. To say nothing of the justice and expediency of making the church a liberal profession, which it cannot be without adequate remuneration, it is absurd to talk of one measure as applicable to all parishes; whereas one parish contains from 300 to 500 acres, with a population of from 50 to 150 souls; another contains many thousand acres, with a corresponding popu-

lation, or is a densely-peopled town. It is obvious, that a respectable maintenance cannot be raised for its minister from a very small parish, even where it is a rectory; and it is notorious, that a very large portion of the more extensive parishes consists of vicarages and perpetual curacies, which seldom leave a comfortable income to the minister, often nothing better than a mere pittance. Most of the church's endowment in these very numerous parishes is a private estate. Thus Melville's English illustrations were very far from trust-worthy, however they might have answered a temporary purpose.

³ The archbishop of Glasgow was at the head of the prelates. Collier, ii. 550.

⁴ Dr. McCrie writes as if Melville knew nothing of Dury's intention, though he subsequently speaks of it as likely to have been otherwise. The episcopal writers are unanimous in treating the whole affair as concerted between the two.

⁵ "Archbishop Spotswood, whose ambitious views he" (Melville) "long crossed, and who has never mentioned his name with temper in the course of his history, set an example of this treatment; and we shall quote his words, which subsequent writers of the same description have done little more than repeated. *In the church, this year, begun the innovations to break forth that to this day have kept it in a continual inquietness. Mr. Andrew Melvil, who as lately come from Geneva, a man learned (chiefly in the tongues), but hot and eager upon any thing he went about, labouring with a burning desire to bring into this church the presbyterian discipline of Geneva, and having insinuated himself into the favour of divers preachers, he stirred up John Dury, one of*

had himself only for their voucher, and upon the English portion of them, at any rate, his authority was evidently of no great value. The assembly generally seemed, however, unconscious of any such objections, and listened with applause. When this had a little subsided, the following questions were proposed, -- Have bishops, as now constituted in Scotland, any scriptural warrant for their office: and are chapters, by which they are elected, endurable in a reformed church? Any answers to these queries, at all worthy of a grave assembly, evidently required deliberation. A committee of six was accordingly appointed, three on the episcopal side, and three on the presbyterian, to discuss and report.⁶ Melville was one of the presbyterians chosen. The report was brought up after a lapse of

the ministers of Edinburgh, in an assembly which was then convened, to propound a question touching the lawfulness of the episcopal function, and the authority of chapters in their election. He himself, as though he had not been acquainted with the motion, after he had commended the speaker's zeal, and seconded the purpose with a long discourse of the flourishing estate of the church of Geneva, and the opinion of Calvin and Theodore Beza concerning church-government, — in end he said, that the corruptions crept into the estate of bishops were so great, as unless the same were removed, it could not go well with the church." (McCrie's *Melville*, i. 127.) Dr. McCrie pronounces this account a *libel*. He first excepts against it, as insinuating that the church was tranquil, when, in fact, a protest had been made against the consecration of Douglas to St. Andrew's, another at Perth against episcopal and capitular titles, and a motion had been made in the general assembly of 1573, by the archbishop's own father, the superintendent Spotswood, against the civil duties of bishops. The insinuation, however, complained of is not very obvious. As to the Genevese part of the question, it is asserted, that no contemporary Scottish or English bishop, was comparable to Calvin or Beza, but that notwithstanding, neither Knox nor Melville was a servile imitator of those great men; and in a note is cited with applause, Calderwood's expression of wonder that Melville should be thought enamoured of presbytery by a five years' residence at Geneva, whereas Spotswood readily deserted it, after a ten years' experience

at home. All this, however, is evasive. It is only meant, by mentioning Geneva, to account for Melville's predilections, without referring them to any deeply-matured, scholarly conviction. He went to Geneva, when about four-and-twenty, and the notice of a man so celebrated as Beza, might fairly be thought to influence unduly the judgment of a person so very young; that Melville's learning was chiefly philological, is represented as a natural remark enough from a man like Spotswood, who "was no great scholar," but quite out of keeping with the stress laid on that branch of learning by the divines of modern England. The whole drift of Spotswood, however, is only to mark, that Melville's learning had not been turned sufficiently to the question that he undertook to discuss. His previous knowledge of Dury's intention is treated as not unlikely, but no reflection upon either, even if it were so. This must, however, depend upon what they said, and how they said it. Upon the whole, Spotswood's account seems not to have been proved a *libel*. But it certainly places the introduction of presbyterianism to Scotland upon lower grounds than its friends might wish.

⁶ "Great care was took by Melvin and his adherents, that neither any of the bishops nor superintendents which were then present in the assembly (being eight in number) were either nominated to debate the points proposed, nor called to be present at the conference." Heylin, *Hist. Presb.* 183.

two days. This evaded the main question, pronouncing a decision upon the scriptural authority of episcopacy to be then inexpedient; but recommending the deposition of any bishop found wanting by the general assembly, in the qualities required by God's Word. The name of *bishop* was pronounced common to all ministers charged with a particular flock: his offices were preaching, administering the sacraments, and exercising discipline in conjunction with the elders. Among the clergy within a reasonable compass, it was, however, recommended, that some be selected as visitors and overseers of this district, who might appoint preachers, and suspend ministers with consent of the respective flocks, and advice of their brethren in the ministry.⁷

§ 10. As this recommendation really affirmed the expediency, either of the old system, or of some modification of it, the presbyterian party would not let it rest. At the next general assembly, accordingly, holden in April 1576, it was debated, "whether episcopal functions, as then exercised in Scotland, had any scriptural warrant?" Again, however, the anti-episcopalians received a check. Nothing further could be gained upon the abstract question, than a renewed approval of the articles that had been passed at the last meeting. But the innovators, notwithstanding, secured a step in advance. It was enacted, that bishops must undertake parochial cures, and fulfil the duties of them like ordinary clergymen.⁸ Another blow was levelled at episcopacy in the person of James Paton, bishop of Dunkeld, with whom the assembly interfered in some way displeasing to the regent⁹; and that nobleman, in consequence, desired to know whether the Leith Agreement was to stand; recommending the immediate preparation of some other scheme, if it were to be overthrown. This message was highly palatable to the enemies of prelacy. A committee was immediately appointed, in which Melville was included, and

⁷ "And here, notwithstanding the Presbyterians gained some ground in putting episcopacy to the question, yet they fell short of their purpose; for they could not prevail for a decision against the function." (Collier, ii. 550.) "On the contrary, it was admitted as a suitable arrangement, that *from among the ministers some might be chosen to oversee and visit*, provided the bounds were reasonable, and the consent of the general as-

sembly not refused." Russell, i. 358.

⁸ Collier, ii. 558.

⁹ Collier says that the assembly deposed Paton. Keith says, "It is reported, that Bishop Paton was deprived in the year 1575 for dilapidation of his benefice." (97) The case appears obscure. Dr. Russell accordingly says, "The regent, irritated against some acts of discipline adopted against Paton the ordinary of Dunkeld," i. 360.

after long deliberations, it produced the *Second Book of Discipline*. Boyd, archbishop of Glasgow, it is said, was originally nominated a commissioner. Undoubtedly, when reminded of the assembly's late vote, requiring all prelates to undertake some particular parochial cure, he pleaded a conscientious inability to obey such a regulation. He had entered upon his see in consequence of the Leith Agreement, which was to continue in force until the king's majority, or some statutable provision to the contrary. He had also taken an oath to respect the royal prerogatives, and might, therefore, incur the guilt of perjury, if he should alter his legal position, the king being still a minor, and parliament having authorised no change. He professed himself, however, willing to meet the assembly's views half way, and become a constant preacher. When at Glasgow, he should preach there; when at his house, in the sheriffdom of Ayr, he would preach in any church that might be assigned him: it being understood that he was not absolutely bound to any one church, or expected to do any thing at variance with his episcopal character and obligations. This reply was quite enough to give offence, and hence, it has been considered, the archbishop's name was omitted in making final arrangements for the committee.¹

§ 11. The presbyterian party had, indeed, evidently complete command over the general assembly, and as this body was more powerful than the executive, it would hear of no contradiction or control. Its encroaching spirit was conspicuously shown on the appointment of Patrick Adamson to the see of St. Andrew's. He was a divine of considerable attainments, born in Perth, and latterly minister at Paisley; whence he had been taken as chaplain into the family of the regent Morton. By him he was appointed, as the general assembly learnt in 1576, to the primacy. That body also found him unwilling to submit his qualifications to its scrutiny, and it took upon itself to inhibit the chapter from electing him.² Adamson now made use of artifice, professing himself without any intention of acting upon his nomination to the see. He

¹ Collier, ii. 558. Dr. Russell does not say that Abp. Boyd was nominated on this committee originally; although he gives his reply.

² Heylin says, that the chapter had already purposely delayed the election

till the general assembly met. (*Hist. Presb.* 184.) The same author mentions the assembly's demand upon Adamson, as also do Collier and Russell. Dr. M'Crie does not mention this.

thus amused the assembly until it separated, and then he was regularly elected. Eventually he made considerable concessions to the religious democracy that was uppermost; and, upon the whole, his conduct was very far from that of a straight forward, high-minded man. The constitution of his country was, however, in a sort of abeyance, and men are easily tempted to think artifice justifiable when law is driven to stand mute.

§ 12. Morton's hasty retirement from the regency, was highly favourable to the continuation of this legal impotence. His abilities were making effectual progress towards a peaceful settlement of the national affairs; and by consequence it seemed likely to act injuriously, according to presbyterian views, upon the church.³ His intention evidently was to bridle Melville. He talked of him as led away by "new opinions, and over sea dreams⁴," alluding scornfully to the Genevan origin, as he and most others thought, of the ecclesiastical polity which was now so hotly pressed upon the country. But when a child under twelve years old nominally took the helm of state, this puppet sovereignty again unfettered all the energies of faction. The presbyterian party soon took advantage of the new facilities afforded for disregarding law. In April, 1578, Melville being moderator of the general assembly, that body went so far as not only to abolish all episcopal titles, but also to inhibit chapters from electing new prelates, before its next meeting, under pain of perpetual deprivation.⁵ Still the time might come when such illegal assumptions would be rendered powerless, if not penal, and some of the noblemen about the king were thought likely to be watching for the change. The assembly sought to discredit all these objects of suspicion by speaking of them as biassed by Romish predilections; and it insisted upon their subscription to the reformed creed, if they would remain free from spiritual censures. Without strong popular support, however, bold measures of this kind are very likely to miscarry, and the public mind requires constant

³ "These revolutions in the political administration of the kingdom were so far favourable to the church. Had Morton's authority remained undisturbed, or had the adverse faction not felt the necessity of strengthening themselves against him, it is probable that force

would have been employed to stop those ecclesiastical proceedings, to which both parties were equally averse." *McCrice's Melville*, i. 150.

⁴ *Ibid.* 146.

⁵ Russell, i. 364.

stimulants to keep it long steadily active in pursuit of innovation. To refresh its slackening appetite for the new religious polity, a fast of a week was ordered by the assembly.⁶ Thus the country generally could be made to ring with praises of the *Second Book of Discipline*, which was formally sanctioned by the general assembly in the same April. But the court, although very gracious in receiving it⁷, showed no disposition to approve. Reasons for delay were immediately alleged, and a hope was expressed of some better adjustment of various embarrassing questions, before the royal authority should be given to so complete a subversion of the old ecclesiastical constitution.⁸ The assembly might be displeased by this hollow reception of its plans; it stood upon such commanding ground in a disorganized country that it would not modify them, or even rest contented without further advantages. When accordingly, in July 1578, it met again, it changed its former suspension of capitular rights as to the election of bishops into a positive prohibition, "until the corruptions in the estate of bishops be wholly removed." A third meeting of the assembly in the October of this active year, summoned the archbishop of Glasgow, contumeliously styled commissioner for Kyle and Carrick, to submit himself to its authority, and lay aside the corruptions of his office. The prelate made a spirited reply, maintaining the lawfulness of his functions, appellation, and endowments; declaring himself resolved upon discharging all the duties, legally devolved upon him, to the best of his power; and yet admitting his full liability to the censure of the church if he should be proved a transgressor of those obligations which apostolical authority enjoins. He found, however, both himself and his brethren treated with so much indignity by the assembly that he ceased from attending it: a line of conduct that all experience has proved to be injudicious.⁹ His tormentors immediately saw their advantage. It is said that they nominated a commission, in which Melville, with singular indelicacy, if not ingratitude, allowed himself to be included, for the purpose of urging the archbishop to subscribe, under penalty of a process against him for contumacy.¹ His health had now decidedly

⁶ *Ibid.* 865.

⁷ M'Crie's *Melville*, i. 153.

⁸ Russell, i. 366.

⁹ *Ibid.* 369.

¹ "It is false that the commission to procure his subscription was entrusted to Melville, or to a committee of which he was one. David Weemes, minister

given way, and while sinking into the grave, either weariness under importunity, or needless alarm, wrung from him the desired signature; a weakness that embittered his last moments. His brother-archbishop, Adamson of St. Andrew's, did not present himself at the assembly. That body, however, sent a deputation to him, demanding his complete submission; and, as if to leave an opening for new discoveries of objections to episcopacy, it was voted that the prelates must engage to undergo the reformation of any further corruptions detected in that institution. Powerless as was the court, it could not see such a never-ending series of illegal assumptions without trying a remonstrance at least. A royal letter was addressed to the assembly entreating its forbearance towards the ecclesiastical institutions established by law, while the king remained a minor, and the country unsettled. In receiving this communication, no respectful formalities were omitted, but the assembly, notwithstanding, renewed the commission against archbishop Adamson, and, as if to give the courtiers an intelligible hint, made urgent representations to check the growth of popery. Lay authorities, however, continued unwilling to legalize the assembly's encroachments. The crown was always ready for an excuse for delaying approval to the *Second Book of Discipline*; and the legislature, which met about the close of 1579, was found equally in-compliant. It did, indeed, pass an act levelled at Romanism, forbidding any to go abroad for education without royal licence, and an engagement to remain steady Protestants. But even this was clogged with an unpalatable provision. The licensed traveller was to present himself within twenty days of his return, to the bishop, superintendent, or commissioner, of the district, in which his residence was situated. Thus the presbyterian party had not only the mortification of seeing parliament evade its demands. Influential laymen were evidently also waiting for a suitable opportunity

of Glasgow, was the only individual employed in this business. (Cald. MS.) And two years elapsed between that transaction and the death of the bishop. The story of his being grieved on his death-bed at his renunciation of episcopacy, is contradicted by what is immediately added: for Polwart, who is represented as his comforter, was a decided anti-episcopalian." (McCrie's *Melville*, i. 140.) Referring his reader to

this passage, Dr. Russell says, "He will do well, however, to consider, whether Calderwood, who is the biographer's chief authority, was likely to be better informed than Archbishop Spotswood, who lived at the period in question, and whose father was a superintendent and member of assembly. Calderwood was not born till the year 1575, and made most of his collections at a subsequent period in a foreign country." i. 371.

to re-model the ecclesiastical institutions of the country, and had no thought of their destruction.

§ 13. To render all such intentions hopeless, the clamour against popery was diligently kept up. Nor was it wholly groundless. The Romanists naturally took the advantages gained by presbyterianism, from the national disorders, as a lesson to themselves, and began to come under public notice once more in various ways. But popularity had irrecoverably slipped from their grasp, and all their movements merely served to depress the reformed catholic party without benefiting themselves. Among injuries done to their credit at this time, one of the most serious came from the interception of dispensations, by which any degree of outward Protestant conformity that might be found expedient was allowed, provided that the parties kept their minds under strict allegiance to Rome.² To allay the heats excited by this discovery, a confession of faith was drawn up by Royal authority, abjuring Romish peculiarities unreservedly, and containing a pledge to maintain the doctrine and constitution of the Scottish church. This formulary, being chiefly a series of disclaimers, became known as the *Negative Confession*. The king and his court subscribed it; but as they had not done this by the *Second Book of Discipline*, and as it might pass for an approval of bishops or superintendents, who were still legally established, little or nothing was gained towards tranquillizing the public mind. Hence the general assembly, sitting at Dundee, was emboldened in July, 1580, to decree the extirpation of episcopacy. That institution was unanimously voted to be destitute of "any sure warrant, authority, or good ground out of Scripture, but brought in by the folly and corruption of men's inventions, to the great overthrow of the kirk of God." Hence all present and future bishops were ordered to lay down their office at once, as a thing to which they have no calling by God. They were not even to be allowed to continue preaching, or any kind of religious ministration, until they should receive new powers from the general assembly.³ Disobedience to this decree, or contravention

² Collier speaks doubtfully of this alleged Romish offence, saying "These dispensations, whether genuine or forged." ii. 572.

³ "Thus to proceed against the uni-

versal practice of the church for 1500 years, was a hardy stroke, and peculiar to the courage of these assemblies." Collier, ii. 573.

of it in any point, was to be punished by excommunication, after due admonition given. Care was taken to shield these assumptions from silent contempt, by providing for the holding of synodal courts within the next month in all districts containing "usurped bishops," to which these functionaries were to be summoned. If they should refuse, warning was publicly to be given them from the pulpit by certain select members of the courts, holden within their several districts, to attend the next meeting of the general assembly, and hear the sentence of excommunication pronounced against them.⁴

§ 14. However painfully alive to its own impotence, the court could not regard such proceedings otherwise than as usurpations to be set aside on the first opportunity. Confidence was given to this intention by the feelings and even the conduct of many moderate men among the presbyterian party, who were filled with concern and uneasiness by the headlong assumptions of their friends. As the parliament, accordingly, which met after the violent votes at Dundee, had failed of lending any sanction to them, the crown naturally thought itself at liberty to exercise the powers with which it was constitutionally invested. Boyd's death, in June, 1581, had rendered the see of Glasgow vacant, and Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, was nominated in his place.⁵ The general assembly, however, being backed by the populace, felt no more necessity than inclination to bow before this act of defiance. It sat in October, 1581, and Montgomery's appointment was assailed by a storm of indignation. His acceptance of it was treated as a crime, for which he must answer to the assembly. A royal message stayed proceedings against him on this ground, but allowed his liability to answer for any thing against his life or doctrine. Immediately Melville

⁴ "To this act, as the manuscript goes on, the bishop of Dunblain submitted himself." *Ibid.*

⁵ "Montgomery, minister at Stirling, a man vain, fickle, presumptuous, and more apt, by the blemishes of his character, to have alienated the people from an order already beloved, than to reconcile them to one which was the object of their hatred, made an infamous simoniacal bargain with Lennox, and on his recommendation was chosen archbishop." (Robertson, ii, 406.) "Montgomery appears to have been a fickle and impru-

dent, rather than a bad man." (Russell, ii, 5.) Certainly, the synodal decision against him, as given by Calderwood, is either vague, or turns upon disobedience to the religious democracy which was illegally hunting him down. "Damnata vitæ impuræ, doctrinæ corruptæ, suspensionis contemptæ, fidei violatæ, mendacii manifesti, disciplinæ infractæ, conviciorum in collegas pro concione, proscriptiois conventui interminatæ."—*Epist. Philad. Vind. apud Altare Damascenum*, 739.

stood forward, and tendered an accusation of fifteen articles. This was referred to inferior judicatures, and, in the mean while, Montgomery was inhibited from leaving his ministry at Stirling, and from intruding into the see of Glasgow. The executive now showed a design of asserting its rights. The chapter of Glasgow was commanded to enter upon the election. It refused; and, in consequence, the privy council decided that the see had fallen into the king's sole nomination. Both parties now proceeded to extremities. The crown summoned the provincial synod which had taken cognizance of the accusations against Montgomery; imprisoned in the castle of Inverness those tenants of the see of Glasgow who withheld from him the rents of their several holdings, and expelled John Dury, Melville's friend, from Edinburgh as a preacher of sedition. On the other hand, the presbyterian party contested every point with the court, fulminated an excommunication against Montgomery, and drew up an indignant remonstrance upon the royal resistance lately made to its proceedings. This last was presented to the king at Perth, by a deputation from the general assembly. When the men chosen thus to defy the sovereign were admitted into his presence, the Earl of Arran, pointing to their credentials, asked, "Who dares subscribe these treasonable articles?" "We dare," Melville replied, and snatching a pen from the clerk, signed immediately: an example which he exhorted his brother delegates to follow, and they did so.⁶

§ 15. The Presbyterian party had, notwithstanding, reason for dissatisfaction with its prospects. Patrician zeal had cooled under the diminution of means to stimulate it from plunder of the church. Men of rank were now chiefly anxious for importance at the court and council-board; where manifestly was no intention of abandoning the ecclesiastical institutions immemorially established, and yet sanctioned by law. There was however a difficulty in their way, which the nobles found insurmountable, and therefore intolerable. The young boy

⁶ *Ibid.* 740. "Certain Englishmen, who happened to be present, expressed their astonishment at the bold carriage of the ministers, and could scarcely be persuaded that they had not an armed force at hand to support them. Well they might be surprised; for more than forty years elapsed after that period

before any of their countrymen were able to meet the frowns of an arbitrary court with such firmness and intrepidity." (McCrice's *Melville*, i. 184.) It might, undoubtedly, be "more than forty years" before the English executive became sufficiently contemptible to make way for the civil war.

upon the throne, whom they had pretended, for their own ends, to consider capable of ruling, fell completely into the hands of two favourites, Esmé Stuart, Duke of Lennox⁷, and James Stuart, Earl of Arran.⁸ As no one else could see the least chance of moving the wires until the royal puppet should be finally severed from these two minions, a plan was concerted for seizing him. James had been in Athol hunting, and on his return to Edinburgh, with but few attendants, he received an invitation to Ruthven castle, from its owner, the Earl of Gowry, lately Lord Ruthven.⁹ The seeming courtesy was accepted with great pleasure, because the young monarch expected from it further sport. When he came, however, within the castle, he found it fuller than he expected, or quite liked; and his uneasiness was increased by several arrivals afterwards. The evening passed off with every appearance of a desire to gratify him, and he on his part, carefully dissembled his apprehensions. Next morning he was dressed for the chace, intending to watch his opportunity and ride away. But he was not suffered even to leave his chamber. The nobles entered, and presented a strong remonstrance against his favourites, who were branded as enemies to the religion and liberties of Scotland. James yet thought of dissimulation. He was very courteous, though evidently somewhat impatient. Having kept up appearances, as it seemed long enough, he made for the door. Instantly the tutor of Glamis stepped forward and stopped his egress. The king expostulated, entreated, threatened, but all in vain, and he burst into tears. "No matter," Glamis said; "better bairns weep than bearded men:" an obvious truth, but one which few boys could endure, and James was not in that narrow and wise minority.¹⁰ He was now kept

⁷ Son of a younger brother of the Earl of Lennox. He was born in France, and bore the title of Lord d'Aubigné, from an estate in that country conferred upon his family for services rendered to the French crown. He arrived in Scotland in 1579, under colour of claiming some of his ancestral estates, but it seems really as an agent of the French government, which was then intent upon a scheme for associating James upon the throne with his mother. He was created a baron immediately, and then successively earl

and duke of Lennox. He became a protestant soon after his arrival in Scotland, and at his death, which took place in Paris, within a few months of his expulsion from that country, he professed himself one.

⁸ Second son of Lord Ochiltree. He seems to have been a dissipated worthless person.

⁹ August, 1582.

¹⁰ "Which words entered so deeply into the king's heart, as he did never forget them." Spotswood, 320.

a close prisoner, but treated with every appearance of respect. Lennox and Arran made separate attempts for his deliverance, but unsuccessfully; and the former was driven from Scotland, the latter was confined to the castle of Stirling.¹ The *Raid of Ruthven*, as this enterprise was called, proved highly advantageous to the presbyterian party. The noble conspirators knew their hopes of retaining the advantages that they had seized to depend upon popular support, which itself depended upon their old but lately-neglected allies, the ministers. Having first, accordingly, extorted a proclamation from the captive prince, approving of the *Raid*, as a patriotic enterprise, they went to Edinburgh, gratified the people there by recalling Dury, and obtained an order from the general assembly to have their undertaking commended from every pulpit in the country as "a good and acceptable service to God, the sovereign, and the country."² By this extravagant concession, the presbyterian party regained its old ascendancy over the nobility. But it naturally made itself more odious than ever to James. He could hardly fail, even in riper age, of looking with disgust upon a system which, for its own aggrandizement, had authoritatively prostituted preaching to justify an outrage, purely political, perpetrated upon himself.

§ 16. The *Raid of Ruthven* proved highly acceptable to queen Elizabeth, as the conspirators, probably, were well aware beforehand that it would prove. She saw the influence of Lennox to be subversive of her policy, and likely to bring about all the old influence of France over Scotland. On the other hand, the French court felt severely disappointed, and its ambassador to England received instructions to go into Scotland for the purpose of endeavouring to place James in a situation of greater dignity and comfort. Elizabeth could not, with any decency, refuse permission for this diplomatic visit to the northern capital, but she took precautions to defeat its real object, by sending Davison as a nominal attendant upon the ambassador, but really to act as a spy, and to keep up the spirits of the party then dominant in Scotland. Both objects were completely gained. James, indeed, was delighted with the French ambassador, but not at all bettered by his visit.³ The preachers were all up in arms, and when assailed by the king's

¹ Robertson, ii. 412.² *Ibid.* 414.³ *Ibid.* 417.

request to refrain from topics offensive to the distinguished stranger, they expressed a determination to be guided only by a sense of duty, and warned their sovereign against bad examples, and popish agents. Their strength was even displayed in a studious insult to the embassy. James wished an entertainment to be given it by the city of Edinburgh, and in spite of clerical opposition, the banquet was prepared. A solemn fast was then ordered on that very day, to pacify heaven under the court's pernicious tendency towards popery.⁴

§ 17. The presbyterian party was indeed so elated by its absolute mastery over James, that it indulged in the wildest expectations. The general assembly required a legislative act for placing all statutes relating to the church upon such a footing as that none should have the power of abrogating them without its own consent, or of interfering to silence ministers, judge of doctrine, or hinder discipline.⁵ Parliament would not, however, agree to this plan of establishing a papal democracy. Other schemes for subverting the old ecclesiastical constitution of Scotland were foiled chiefly by the dexterity of Adamson, the primate, who contrived various measures to protract and perplex.⁶ In the meanwhile, James was intent only upon regaining his liberty, and young as he was, being a considerable adept at dissimulation, his captors were thrown off their guard. Colonel Stewart, commander of the troop that held him in custody, he gained, and he was then allowed to leave Falkland for St. Andrew's, under pretence of visiting his grand-uncle, the Earl of March.⁷ When arrived at that ancient city, he took up his quarters in an open, defenceless house, just as if he had no thought of any thing but of enjoying his holiday. He expressed, however, some curiosity to see the

⁴ Collier, ii. 578. "To impede this feast, the ministers did on the Sunday preceding, proclaim a fast to be kept on the same day on which the feast was appointed; and to detain the people at church, the three ordinary preachers did, one after the other, make a sermon in St. Giles' church, without any intermission of time, thundering curses against the magistrates, and other noblemen that waited on the ambassadors by the king's direction. Nor stayed their folly there, but the ambassadors being gone, they pursued the magistrates with the censures of the church, and were with diffi-

culty enough stayed from proceeding with excommunication against them, for not observing the fast they proclaimed." (Spotswood, 324.) One of these French ambassadors, La Motte, came in for an especial share of pulpit denunciation. The white cross, which he wore upon his shoulder as a knight of the order of *St. Esprit*, was pronounced a *badge of Antichrist*, and he was himself described as *the ambassador of the bloody murderer*; they meant, *of the duke of Guise*.

⁵ Russell, ii. 13.

⁶ Robertson, ii. 424.

⁷ June, 1583.

castle, and a sufficient escort being provided, it was agreed to indulge him. Having entered the castle with a few whom he could trust, Stewart ordered the gates to be shut upon all the rest of the escort. Intelligence was immediately conveyed to the nobles opposed to the Ruthven party, and on the next morning, they appeared in such force, that James was irrecoverably gone from his late captors. He now issued a proclamation disavowing his former approval of the *Raid*, as an act extorted from him while he was not a free agent. Falling now, at first, into very able hands, he pardoned his captors, and made the fairest promises. He was not, however, long at liberty before he became anxious for a visit from his worthless favourite, Arran, promising that it should only last a single day. The courtiers did all in their power to save him from this temptation; but in vain. Arran came, and James forgot his promise. The Ruthven conspirators were now called upon for an abject acknowledgment of their offence, being promised in return a full pardon, unless future misconduct should render them unworthy of the royal clemency. None would accept of such a pardon, and all, accordingly, were ordered, by a new proclamation, to surrender themselves. Some of them now fled into England, others, under a royal licence, withdrew to the continent. Gowry at length submitted, but finding himself equally odious to both parties, he was easily persuaded into a new conspiracy. Two days before this occasioned any overt act, he was arrested at Dundee, where he had been staying rather longer than seemed reasonable, for the ostensible purpose of passing into France, and being convicted of treason, he was beheaded at Stirling. His accomplices had no sooner appeared in arms, than such a royal force advanced as rendered success impossible. On this they hastily fled into England, leaving by their discomfiture the government of James far stronger than it had ever been before.⁸

§ 18. Even before the bursting out of this abortive conspiracy, James had endeavoured successfully to curb the pulpit. In the autumn after his escape, Dury, the celebrated Edinburgh minister, preached in justification of the *Raid*. For this he was brought before the council, and assumed at first a very bold front. Eventually he somewhat mitigated his tone,

⁸ Robertson, ii. 428.

and was left without further molestation.⁹ In the following February, Melville was called before the privy council at Edinburgh, to answer for seditious and treasonable language, uttered by him in the pulpit, on a fast-day in the preceding month.¹ He defended himself with his usual spirit, and insisted upon a right, as a minister of religion, to decline the judgment of civil authorities upon his doctrine, until it should first have been condemned by the church.² This plea being disregarded, and

⁹ "He was kept for some time on his good behaviour." Collier, ii. 589.

¹ He received the summons to appear on the following Monday, on Sat., Feb. 15, 1584. (M'Crie's *Melville*, i. 197.) The charge arose out of a sermon upon Daniel's reproof to Belshazzar (Dan. v. 18, *et sequ.*) in which he is reminded of Nebuchadnezzar's misfortunes from the neglect of sound principles. Melville added, "But now-a-days, if a minister should rehearse the example that fell out in King James the Third's days, who was abused by the flattery of his courtiers, he would be said to wander from his text, and perchance be accused of treason." (M'Crie, *ut supra.*) Calderwood makes this rather more offensive, by applying as Melville's, *that sort of cattle* to court flatterers "ut rex sibi *ab hoc genere pecudum* caveat." Epist. Philad. Vind. *Altare Damascenum*, 741.

² He "was so hardy as to affirm, *that what was delivered in the pulpit, ought first to be tried by the presbytery; and that though the expressions were treasonable, neither king nor council ought to take cognizance of them in the first instance.*" (Collier, ii. 589.) "All that they" (the Presbyterians) "insisted for was, that when a minister was accused of having exceeded the proper bounds of his office, and of having taught from the pulpit what tended to the hurt of the state, or the dishonour of magistrates, instead of being immediately dragged before a civil tribunal, the accusation against him should be brought *in the first instance* before those courts which had the direct oversight of his pastoral conduct. If they should find the accusation well-founded, it was incumbent on them to censure him for a violation of his ministerial duty, and to leave him to the judgment of the proper court for the civil offence of which he had been guilty. Or, if they, through the influence of undue partiality, should justify him erroneously, it was still competent for the civil ma-

gistrate to proceed against him in the exercise of that authority which the antecedent judgment of the church could neither supersede nor invalidate." (M'Crie, 209.) "At the period of which we speak, the pulpit was, in fact, the only organ by which public opinion was, or could be, expressed; and the ecclesiastical courts were the only assemblies in the nation which possessed any thing that was entitled to the name of liberty, or independence. Parliament had its business prepared to its hand, and laid before it in the shape of acts which required only its assent. Discussion and freedom of speech were unknown to its meetings. The courts of justice were dependent on the will of the sovereign, and frequently had their proceedings regulated, and their decisions dictated by letters and messages from the throne. It was the preachers who first taught the people to express an opinion on public affairs and the conduct of their rulers; and the assemblies of the church set the earliest example of a regular and firm opposition to the arbitrary and unconstitutional measures of the court." (*Ibid.* 214.) Undoubtedly, the Scottish pulpit in those days answered the ends of party-newspapers in these; but although there might be no other means of answering such ends, a provision for them was very much out of place in churches. As for the terms "arbitrary and unconstitutional," they really applied to the kirk assemblies, at least as much as to the court. These bodies were most intolerant of all opinions but their own, and highly oppressive of the prelates, notwithstanding their legal immunity from any such jurisdiction. They were, besides, essentially usurping bodies, being as yet unrecognised by the constitution. Upon the whole, those who draw a parallel between the papal and the presbyterian assumptions of that day have a very fair case to deal with.

his manner of urging it being pronounced an insult, he was condemned to imprisonment, and a fine at the king's discretion. He saved himself by a flight into England; but his *declinature*, as the phrase runs, became a precedent of considerable importance, and yet affords matter for literary controversy. Presbyterian writers consider it as involving a principle which ministers cannot conscientiously surrender. Episcopalians, on the other hand, identify it with some of the most offensive papal assumptions, and urge its obvious tendency, when parties run high, and turn considerably upon religion, to render the pulpit little else than a powerful weapon of political strife.

§ 19. The suppression of that conspiracy in which Gowry was implicated, immediately following, the government found courage enough to grapple manfully with its difficulties. A parliament, which sate in May, 1584, made it treason to decline the jurisdiction of the king in council. The same liability was to come from impugning the power and authority of any of the three estates of parliament, or from seeking to diminish their privileges. This ranged all the attempts which had been made for a series of years to abolish episcopacy, under the head of treasons. Another act rendered nugatory all judgments and jurisdictions, whether spiritual or temporal, which had hitherto been exercised without parliamentary authority; and prohibited all assemblies, except the ordinary courts, for any matter of state, either civil or ecclesiastical, without special licence of the crown. This was intended for the suppression of those general assemblies, and local presbyteries, which had sprung up of late years without any constitutional warrant, and which had proved stronger for every purpose, but for the command of pecuniary resources, than any other power within the state. Another act provided for the issue of commissions to the bishops and others to be associated with them, for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs within their several dioceses. Another act rendered it penal to slander the king and royal family, or even to hear this done and not reveal it. These were stigmatised as the *black acts* by the presbyterian party; and it is obvious, that had the throne been occupied by an able man with steady support, instead of a raw lad, whose capacity, even when mature, is doubtful, and whose power was like a March gleam, the religious democracy, so long rampant, would have been effectually crippled, and placed in a way for final extinction. Some of the provisions in these acts, undoubtedly, savour of an arbitrary

spirit, but their general tenour is unexceptionable. The regular meetings and assumed privileges of a body, like the general assembly, unknown to the constitution, were a species of usurpation which no executive is justified in tolerating, except under the pressure of necessity. The ancient episcopal polity had never been legally abrogated, and until this was done, another system, sprung up, as it were yesterday, amidst protracted national convulsions, had no right whatever to thrust it aside, and insist upon occupying its place. The usurping party was, however, naturally slow to discern this obvious truth, and was likely to view the parliamentary vindication of constitutional rights, as a pernicious infringement of Gospel privileges. Some of the ministers, accordingly, repaired to the parliament-house, for the sake of protesting against these statutes. But the doors were shut against them.³ Orders were also given to drag from the pulpit any who should make it a place for inflaming the populace against the legislature's recent unanimous votes. Three of the Edinburgh ministers did, however, notwithstanding, make such a show of opposition as lay in their power. When the acts were proclaimed at the Market-cross, according to immemorial usage, they repaired thither, and uttered with all due formality a public protestation against them.⁴ Orders were immediately given for the apprehension of these bold opponents. But they were not to be found. A timely flight into England saved them for future opportunities of embarrassing or defying their own government; and more than twenty of their brethren quickly followed their example.

§ 20. To the great mass who remained, a subscription to the recent acts of parliament, and an acknowledgment of episcopal superiority, were promptly offered. Such as refused were to be deprived of their benefices, or scholastic or university appointments, and to be rendered incapable of holding them hereafter. Compliance was at first very generally refused; but in the end a great number subscribed, becoming either convinced of the reasonableness of the act, or intimidated by the prospect

³ "Though eversive of all liberty, civil and natural, as well as ecclesiastical, not a nobleman, baron, or burgess, ventured to open his mouth against them." *McCrice's Melville*, i. 224.

⁴ "These new statutes were calculated to render churchmen as inconsiderable

as they were indigent; and as the avarice of the nobles had stripped them of the wealth, the king's ambition was about to deprive them of the power, which once belonged to their order. No wonder the alarm was universal, and the complaints loud." *Robertson*, ii. 430.

of destitution, or beguiled by a dexterous evasion which the primate, Adamson, allowed them to use.⁵ James thus found himself placed in a far more promising situation than had greeted any holder of the Scottish sovereignty during many years. As a necessary consequence, Elizabeth felt some apprehensions of losing her long-established influence over his dominions. She now, accordingly, applied herself to the gaining of his favourite, Arran, and in this object her success was immediate. He, on the other hand, having secured an interest with the southern queen, obtained parliamentary attainders, in August, 1584, against a great number of the exiles, and gratified his party with their estates, taking, of course, a noble portion for himself. This unwonted wealth, however, only increased the minion's insolence, and made him more odious to the nation. Hence Elizabeth found herself with little power over Scotland, except at court, where, she well knew, nothing was to be depended upon. She now, therefore, decided upon the ruin of Arran, and her skilful agents were not long in effecting it. James had been captivated by a new favourite, the master of Gray, and by his means English influence was again esta-

⁵ "It would appear, that the statutes, passed in the parliament of 1584, however offensive to the more ardent among the ministers, had obtained the approbation of a considerable number of their body, who were more disposed for peace. Spotswood relates, *that a motion was made in the assembly (1586) for censuring the ministers that had allowed the acts concluded in the parliament, 1584, by their subscriptions; but they were found to be so many as it was feared the urging thereof would breed a schism and division in the church: wherefore, after some altercation, the matter was left, and all the ministers exhorted to judge charitably one of another; notwithstanding their diversity of opinion.*" (Russell, ii. 17.) "Perceiving that the greater part of the ministers were not to be terrified into compliance, Adamson artfully divided them, by introducing into the bond one of those ambiguous and unmeaning clauses which serve only to blind the simple, and to save the consciences of those who are anxious to escape from trouble. After having made a manful resistance, Craig suffered himself to be caught by this snare, and drew into it the greater part of his

brethren. Even the honest and intrepid Dury is said to have become a subscriber, and thus to have lent his hand to build again the things which he was among the foremost to destroy. And Erskine of Dun, whose character stood so high, and who had formerly made so honourable a stand for the liberties of the church, not only became a conformist himself, but was extremely active in persuading others to conform." (M'Crie's *Melville*, i. 226.) "They promised to obey according to the word of God. James Melville, who wrote a long letter intended to expose the evil of the bond, characterises this qualifying clause as *manifestam repugnantiam in adjecto*, as if one should say, *he would obey the pope and his prelates, according to the word of God.*" (*Ib.* note.) Calderwood's view of this clause is more judicious. "Cum subjiere se spirituali jurisdictioni episcoporum secundum verbum Dei nihil aliud sit, quam agnoscere episcopos habere jurisdictionem spiritualem, sed non parendum esse iis, si quid imperaverint quod cum Dei verbo non est consentaneum." *Epist. Philadelph. Vind. Altare Damascusum*, 743.

blished over the Scottish people. The banished lords had been allowed to approach the borders, when Arran, who was again coming into favour, urged the necessity of exertion to prevent them from crossing. His rival, Gray, impeded the preparations, and the exiles were soon in Scotland, so supported as to render their expulsion hopeless. James immediately fell into their hands, and Arran, stripped of wealth and title, was thrust into despised obscurity.

§ 21. The ministers, who returned in the rear of the banished lords, naturally built upon some substantial benefits from their restoration. But, as usual, they were disappointed. Their noble friends, anxious only for their own interests, were bent upon conciliating the king, and he would not surrender the nation's ecclesiastical institutions. The preachers deeply mortified by this new proof of their impotence upon pecuniary questions, broke out again in their old style of preaching⁶; greatly to the displeasure of James, and very little to the benefit of their own influence over moderate men. The court was evidently resolved upon reducing them to insignificance, if possible. It had been the practice of the general assembly to meet a little earlier than parliament, under the plea of preparing such petitions, or other memorials, as it might be necessary to offer for legislative consideration. The estates, accordingly, being summoned to Linlithgow, in December, 1585, an extraordinary meeting of the general assembly was called at Dumferline, towards the close of November. When the members, however, approached, admittance into the town was refused, royal orders for that purpose having been served upon the provost. They then met in the fields, and adjourned to Linlithgow, a few days before parliament was to assemble. Great exertions were made in the intervening time to arouse all the energies of presbyterian party spirit. But while the more active of that party had been fugitives in England, others had remained at home, and even given their adhesion there to the measures of government. Some of these latter felt aggrieved by the agitating exertions of their more violent friends, and one of them answered a pulpit attack in the same way, by preaching before parliament, against the *peregrine*

⁶ "The ministers gave vent to their indignation in the pulpit, and their impatience under the disappointment broke out in some expressions extremely disrespectful even towards the king himself." Robertson, iii. 29.

ministers, as he styled those who had recently returned from England. Nothing is more offensive to men who seek their own ends by inflaming popular passions, than the use of this weapon by opponents. A great ferment accordingly arose from this employment of pulpit stimulants on the royal side, and the more sagacious presbyterians were well aware, that unless it could be promptly allayed, their own would be the cause to suffer. Hence exertions were made, and with success, to obtain the postponement of their disputes from those most prominent in the strife. After this accommodation, the ministers made urgent appeals to their noble friends. But nothing could be heard more satisfactory than expressions of regret upon the hopelessness of their views from the settled repugnance of the king. They then sought an interview with James, and much passed on both sides, little suitable to the dignity of either. The ministers wanted a suspension of the *black acts* until another parliament, liberty of holding their ecclesiastical assemblies, the reduction of episcopacy to the same state that it had been in before the late enactments, and the restoration to their places and emoluments of all ministers and masters of colleges who had been recently deprived. The last concession was the only one that could be gained.⁷

§ 22. James was, however, too young, perhaps also too weak, both in position and understanding, for the resolute occupation of the constitutional ground which he had taken. One of his first measures, after the parliamentary disregard of presbytery, was an endeavour to conciliate its friends by some sort of compromise. In February, 1586, a conference was arranged between a section of the privy council and certain of the ministers, chosen from an opinion of their superior moderation. These divines being asked, whether they would allow a pre-eminence to bishops in respect of order, though not of jurisdiction; answered, that none such "could stand with God's word," but they admitted themselves able to endure it, in case it should be forced upon them. After several discussions, it was agreed that bishops should remain, and should preside over the presbyteries in which they officiated, being subject to trial and censure by the general assembly only, or by commissioners whom it should specially appoint. This qualified concession was, however,

⁷ M'Cric's *Melville*, i. 250.

more than neutralized by the accompaniment of the king's consent to some of the leading articles in the *Second Book of Discipline*. James allowed presbyteries to be re-established, and recognised the powers of general and other assemblies. The whole negotiation was, therefore, favourable to presbytery in spite of some qualified concessions to the episcopal party. Melville and his friends, accordingly, were nothing daunted, either by their parliamentary failure at the beginning of winter, or by this negotiation at its end. In the spring, James Melville made an indecent attack from the pulpit upon Adamson, the primate, who was present; and when this was resented, the synod of Fife supported it by an excommunication. It would have been wise, perhaps, to suffer this impotent indignity in silence; but Adamson thought otherwise, and met it by a counter-excommunication.⁸

§ 23. As, after all the various assaults that it had undergone, the framework of the church still remained, a competent executive might at last prove too much for presbyterianism. James was now grown a man, and might acquire considerable power. But he was beset by the poverty which had immemorially crippled his family, and a rash habit of profusion rendered him likely to feel this difficulty rather severely. It was, therefore, found an easy matter to persuade him into the annexation, to the crown, of ecclesiastical property, yet unappropriated, reserving tithes, and mansion houses occupied by clerical persons. He was assured that a sufficient provision would thus be made both for the episcopal order and the inferior clergy. His artful advisers were apparently willing to preserve bishops; their mansion houses, and the tithes appropriated to the different sees, being left undisturbed: while, at the same time, the royal exchequer seemed likely to receive a seasonable and a permanent

⁸ *Ibid.* 272. "Without denying that Adamson merited the censure inflicted on him, I cannot help thinking that the procedure of the synod was precipitant and irregular. The manner in which James Melville introduced the affair was certainly a material pre-judgment of the cause, and there is reason to think that his uncle was not a stranger beforehand to his intentions." (McCrie's *Melville*, i. 273.) The archbishop was charged principally with devising the acts of 1584 (*the black acts*)

against the kirk and the liberties thereof. He denied this, but allowed himself to have approved those acts. The synod, if such it may be called, consisted partly of the neighbouring gentry, and others not in orders. Dr. McCrie admits, "It is probable that the general odium under which Adamson lay at this time among the principal gentlemen of Fife, pushed on the synod to the adoption of such hasty and decisive measures." *Ut supra*.

supply. Their objects really were to obtain good titles for their own irregular acquisitions from the church, and to strip bishoprics in such a manner as to render it undesirable, and, indeed, hardly possible, to accept them. James was, however, too young for discerning the drift and operation of the plan. He consented, accordingly, to the *Act of Annexation*, which passed in Parliament in July, 1587. He soon saw himself merely to have fallen into a snare, spoke of the statute as a *vile and pernicious act*, and advised his successor to annul it on the first opportunity.⁹ Until it passed, an uncertainty constantly hung over the fortunes which had latterly been gained from the church; but all hope of recovering any part of them for public uses was henceforth gone, and a skilful use of the titles, so loosely confirmed, made a large portion even of the non-monastic tithe property permanently swell the rent-rolls of private families. Thus the ministers, as usual, were balked, and farmers complained of a strictness in collecting dues, lately ecclesiastical, to which they had not been used.¹ The king found his hopes of increased wealth little better than delusion. So much ecclesiastical property had already been alienated, that very little remained; and of that little, hungry courtiers, regularly at work upon a young man unusually open to importunity, soon gained a very large proportion. To the episcopal order, however, the blow did all that lasting injury which the presbyterians intended when they struck it.²

§ 24. Another act, passed by the Parliament of 1587, although with no ecclesiastical view, soon operated powerfully upon the church. Constitutionally, every freeholder, or immediate vassal of the crown, was a member of the legislature. Anciently, the number of such tenants was not very large, but in course of time extensive properties became, by various accidents, widely subdivided, and legislative privileges thus descended to a numerous class, commonly far from opulent. By such persons parliamentary attendance was found burthensome; and hence it was usually declined by all but the greater barons.

⁹ "In his book called *Basilicon Doron*," Heylin's *Hist. Presb.* 292.

¹ *Ibid.* Heylin says that these seizures of tithes, unappropriated to religious houses, originated under the regency of Murray, whose weakness ensured connivance.

² "After a step so fatal to the power and wealth of the dignified clergy, it was no difficult matter to introduce that change in the government of the church, which soon after took place." Robertson, iii. 77.

A powerful nobility, unchecked by inferior stations, is, however, usually an over-match for the sovereign. James I. was, therefore, induced, in 1427, to procure an act by which the lesser barons, or yeoman gentry, were formally excused from personal presence in Parliament, and empowered to elect two members from each county as their representatives. Even this mitigated call upon the smaller proprietors was, in process of time, very imperfectly obeyed. Unless under some very extraordinary excitement, none but the greater barons would encounter the expense of a legislative session. The crown had been ordinarily protected from suffering materially by this apathy, because the prelacy supplied about fifty members to the legislature³, and these were a standing refuge against patrician encroachments. But the reformation acted most injuriously upon this dependence. It is true, that even monastic prelates yet retained seats in Parliament. The abbot, or prior, had, however, become usually no other than some lay gentleman, irregularly possessed of an ecclesiastical barony, and claiming the same legislative rights that had been vested in the former professional owner of the property. Thus the monastic division of the first parliamentary estate had, in fact, merged in the lay peerage. Nor was the episcopal division even exclusively composed of ecclesiastics with regular credentials, or had it sufficiently escaped pillage to be thoroughly respectable, or even independent: and it had besides been made so systematically, during many years, the butt of popular scorn and abuse, that it felt paralysed, and was become, for legislative purposes, nearly useless. Thus the crown really found Parliament little else than an assembly of nobles, whom, when there was a moderate share of unanimity among them, it had no prospect of controlling. To remedy this evil, James now procured a revival of the statute of 1427, much to the dissatisfaction of many among the greater barons, who clearly foresaw the injurious effect of such a change upon the power of their own order. From that time, accordingly, county-members, or commissioners of shires, as they were called, regularly came to Parliament⁴, and as they were extensively leavened with a democratic spirit, presbyterianism owed much to their votes.⁵

³ Calderwood, Epist. Philadelph. Vind. *Altare Danascenum*, 748.

⁴ Robertson, iii. 79.

⁵ Russell, ii. 26.

§ 25. Various circumstances gradually prepared the king also for concession. Philip of Spain, and the more zealous Romanists, were intent upon the overthrow of British Protestantism by military violence. The famous *Armada* was to strike the irresistible blow; but a way was to be paved for its earlier success, and for the complete restoration of Britain to Roman trammels, by the previous activity of ecclesiastical agents. Jesuits, and other papal emissaries, accordingly, were now insinuating themselves, and instilling their doctrines in every corner, not only of England, but also of Scotland. Some of the Scottish nobility were won over by their arts, and a general apprehension of popery began to prevail in most parts of the country. This was not even removed by the destruction of the *Armada*. Spain now meditated an invasion of England through Scotland; considering it easy to make a descent upon the latter kingdom, and reckoning upon the numerous Romish families seated in the northern counties of her southern neighbour.⁶ While such a vision was afloat, the papal party naturally continued its activity, and James often found this embarrassing. He was thus naturally driven to desire the union of the Protestant body. The chancellor, Maitland, who had now great weight with him, took advantage of his uneasiness to remove prejudices against the presbyterian party.⁷ He pleaded its cause with the greater success from the improving manners of Edinburgh, in which Bruce, a popular preacher of family, talent, and severe virtue, had gained an immense influence.⁸ The king was likewise diverted from his former attention to ecclesiastical questions by matrimony, and its preliminaries. He had made overtures to the king of Denmark's eldest daughter, and, after some suspense, was disappointed. He then did the same by her youngest sister, and that princess was actually on her way to espouse him, when a violent storm drove her back to Norway, and no hopes were given of her sailing again until the following spring. Impatient of this delay, James himself determined hastily upon crossing the ocean, and safely effected it. But it was thought dangerous to attempt a return before spring, and the royal bridegroom spent several months at Copenhagen, in that round of feasting and jollity which he

⁶ Robertson, iii. 87.

episcopal party. M'Cric's *Melville*, i.

⁷ Maitland had originally been of the

298.

⁸ *Ibid.* 299.

enjoyed at all times, above most men. On returning after this long respite from the conflicting claims of episcopacy and presbyterianism, he found Edinburgh to have passed a winter of unwonted order and tranquillity.⁹ Well knowing the great authority and unbending integrity of Bruce, he had nominated him, on his departure, an extraordinary member of the privy council, saying that he reckoned upon him rather than upon any other to preserve the public peace. As his expectations were more than realized, he could hardly fail of growing into better humour with presbyterianism. The preacher to whom, in his absence, he had been so much obliged, was now complimented by a call to crown the queen.¹ Thus James was placed, for the first time in his life, upon the best of terms with his presbyterian subjects. His fits of good humour generally found a vent in hasty speeches; and he made one to the general assembly soon after his return from Denmark², which has figured in books ever since, and which, no doubt, he often thought of with no little mortification during all the latter years of his life. “I praise God,” said he, “that I was born in such

⁹ “Scarcely one affray happened in which blood was shed, although formerly a week seldom elapsed without instances of such violations of the peace and insults on legal authority.” (*Ibid.* 300.) This account of Scottish society as then existing, even in the capital, is an obvious clue to much of the difficulty encountered by the government.

¹ May 17, 1590, in the chapel of Holyrood house. “None of the bishops being at hand, the king was willing to embrace the opportunity to oblige the kirk, by making choice of one of their own brethren to perform the ceremony; to which he nominated Mr. Robert Bruce, a preacher at Edinburgh, and one of the most moderate men in the whole assembly. But when the fitness of it came to be examined by the rest of the brethren, it was resolved to pretermit the unction (or anointing of her) as a Jewish ceremony, abolished by Christ, restored into Christian kingdoms by the pope’s authority, and therefore not to be continued in a church reformed. The doubt was first started by one John Davinson; who had then no charge in the church, though followed by a company of ignorant and seditious people, whom Andrew Melvin set on work to begin the quarrel, and

then stood up in his defence to make it good. Much pains was taken to convince them by the word of God, that the unction, or anointing of kings, was no Jewish ceremony: but Melvin’s will was neither to be ruled by reason, nor subdued by argument, and he had there so strong a party that it passed in the negative. In so much that Bruce durst not proceed in the solemnity, for fear of the censures of the kirk. The king had notice of it, and returns this word, that if the coronation might not be performed by Bruce with the wonted ceremonies, he would stay still the coming of the bishops, of whose readiness to conform therein, he could make no question. Rather than so, said Andrew Melvin, let the unction pass: better it was that a minister should perform that honourable office in what form soever, than that the bishops should be brought again unto the court upon that occasion. But yet, unwilling to profane himself by consenting to it, he left them to agree about it as to them seemed best, and he being gone, it was concluded by the major part of the voices that the anointing should be used.” Heylin’s *Hist. Presb.* 294.

² August, 1590.

a time, as in the time of the light of the Gospel; to such a place, as to be king of such a kirk, the sincerest³ kirk of the world. The kirk of Geneva keep Pasch⁴ and Yule.⁵ What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour-kirk in England, their service is an evil-said mass in English. They want nothing of the mass but the liftings.⁶ I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same: and I, forsooth, so long as I brook⁷ my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly.”⁸

§ 26. James was kept in this temper for conciliating presbytery, both by the perseverance of its friends, and the urgency of his own affairs. He followed up his eulogy upon it by permitting the assembly to frame such acts as gradually removed episcopal authority. He suffered Adamson, the primate, to sink unaided under a most vindictive and unfeeling persecution.⁹ That prelate had, by his own order¹, officiated at the Earl of Huntly’s marriage, without requiring assent from him to the confession of faith according to presbyterian usage, but which the noble bridegroom, being really a confirmed Romanist, excused himself from signing.² For this omission, aggra-

³ Purest.

⁴ Easter.

⁵ Christmas.

⁶ Elevation of the consecrated wafer.

⁷ Enjoy.

⁸ “Whether James was seized, on this occasion, with a sudden fit of devotion and of affection for his mother-church, or whether he merely adopted this language to gain the favour of the ministers, may admit of some doubt. But it is certain, that the speech was received by the assembly with a transport of joy: *there was nothing heard for a quarter of an hour, but praising God and praying for the king.*” (M’Crie’s *Melville*, i. 304.) “Even admitting the authenticity of this celebrated piece of declamation, it is manifest, that his majesty, young as he was, did not commit himself on the point of church government. He praised the doctrines taught in his native communion, and the care with which every approach to Romish superstition had been avoided. As to the *polity*, however, he uniformly declared, that, in his estimation, it was

not free from many defects.” Russell, ii. 35.

⁹ “Adamson was the only one of the bishops who persisted in opposing the church, after the annexation of their temporalities to the crown.” M’Crie’s *Melville*, i. 312.

¹ Russell, ii. 29.

² “Huntly was the chief of the popish party in Scotland, and deeply engaged in a treasonable correspondence with Spain. His proposed marriage with a ward of the crown, the daughter of the Duke of Lennox, his majesty’s favourite, was, for obvious reasons, dreaded by all the Protestants. To accomplish this object the more easily, Huntly feigned, as he afterwards acknowledged, a disposition to renounce the catholic faith, but affected to stickle at some of the Protestant doctrines. The presbytery of Edinburgh, believing that his object was to drive time, prohibited any of the ministers to celebrate the marriage until he had subscribed the confession. Notwithstanding this, Adamson performed the ceremony, at the very time that the

vated by some other charges, the archbishop was pronounced, by the presbytery of Edinburgh, to have incurred the forfeiture of his preferment³; and his remaining days were embittered by every species of annoyance and importunity. He had become wholly defenceless. The Act of Annexation had stripped him pretty completely of his pecuniary resources; a mortal disease confined him to his bed, and James, with that selfish levity, which never left him even in riper age, was deaf to his appeals. In the last stage of his miseries, when he could no longer hold a pen, some presbyterian zealots, who besieged his bed, wrung from him an admission that prelacy has no scriptural warrant, but is a mere invention of man, serving for a foundation to the primacy of the pope, or anti-christ. Substantially worthless as was a concession of this kind, it was received by the general assembly, immediately circulated, and eventually printed, under the title of *Mr. Patrick Adamson's Recantation*. The advantage thus instantly taken of his necessities and weakness was greatly to the dying prelate's quietude.⁴ As he was, however, not only at the head of his

Spanish *Armada* was expected to appear on the coast of England." (McCrie's *Melville*, i. 313.) Now, whether or not, Huntly might be a very dangerous man, and his proposed marriage a very improper one, the question will still remain as to whether Adamson was not justified in obeying his sovereign, who had legal rights, rather than the presbytery of Edinburgh, which really had none, although it claimed and actually exercised such. The *Armada* year was 1588, the year in which Scottish presbytery gained a legal establishment was 1592.

³ "He was charged with having abstracted, secreted, and mutilated the registers of the assembly, and with having celebrated the marriage of the Earl of Huntly, contrary to an express inhibition of the commissioners of the church. The assembly remitted his trial to the presbytery of Edinburgh, giving them full power to pass a final sentence in the process according to the laws of the church. Having proceeded on a libel giving in against him by Robert Pont, and Adam Jolmston, the presbytery found the bishop guilty of falsehood and double-dealing, erroneous doctrine, opposition to the discipline of the church, and contempt of the late public thanks-

giving; and therefore deposed him from all function in the ministry, and debarred him from the privileges in the church, until he should give satisfaction for his offensive conduct." McCrie's *Melville*, i. 314.

⁴ Russell, ii. 30. "The circumstances in which the archbishop subscribed his recantation necessarily throw a degree of suspicion over the sincerity with which it was made, and detract from its value as a testimony in favour of presbytery. But there is not the least reason to doubt the genuineness of the document itself."—"Spotswood allows that he subscribed the articles *which were afterwards imprinted under the name of Mr. Patrick Adamson's Recantation*; but he alleges, that *when it was told him that such a recantation was published in his name, he complained heavily of the wrong that was done him, and committing his cause to God, ended his days in the end of this year*. The recantation was subscribed April 18, 1591.—Adamson survived this ten months.—By its being *published*, Spotswood must mean its being made publicly known: and surely Adamson knew, when he subscribed the paper, that this was the use to be made of it. It does not appear to have been printed until the year 1598." (McCrie's *Melville*, i. 317.) So shameful was the desti-

order, but also, probably, its ablest member, and long its un-
failing supporter, this miserable exhibition of him was of some
use to the presbyterian party.⁵ The progress of that party
was, however, chiefly aided by the want of an efficient con-
trol over a lawless community. The unwonted calm that
prevailed while James was in Denmark, had wholly ceased
under his incompetent and uncertain administration. Scotland
had rarely been in a state of greater anarchy, and by conse-
quence, the government was daily falling in popular estimation.⁶
The presbyterian party judiciously took advantage of its de-
spised and helpless condition.⁷ When Parliament met at Edin-
burgh, in June, 1592, it was called upon by the assembly to
abrogate the acts of 1584, to sanction the provisions of the
Second Book of Discipline, to repeal the *Act of Annexation*, and
to prevent holders of ecclesiastical baronies uncommissioned
by the presbyterian church, from sitting any longer in the
legislature. The first of these requests was granted so far as
to render the act of 1584 inoperative against "the privilege
that God has given to spiritual office-bearers in the kirk."
The provisions of the *Second Book of Discipline* were, to a
very great extent, made law, and thus presbyterianism was
formally established. The *Act of Annexation*, however, was
not repealed, nor were the prelates deprived of their seats in
Parliament.⁸ It is plain that James was anxious to concede

tution to which iniquitous laws had re-
duced the archbishop, and in which the
unfeeling young man upon the throne
suffered him to remain, that he was
driven to the galling necessity of apply-
ing for assistance to his old enemy, Mel-
ville. He "immediately visited him,
supported his family out of his own
purse for some months, and afterwards
procured a contribution for him from
his friends in St. Andrew's." (*Ibid.*
316.) Thus, in fact, an aged man,
overwhelmed by bodily disease, and
grinding poverty, subscribed, perhaps
he hardly knew what, at the pressing
instances of the only persons whom he
could arouse to the least appearance of
feeling.

⁵ "Such a confession from the most
learned person of the episcopal order,
was considered as a testimony which
the force of truth had extorted from
an adversary." Robertson, iii. 95.

⁶ "The king's excessive clemency

towards offenders multiplied crimes of
all kinds, and encouraged such acts of
violence as brought his government
under contempt, and proved fatal to
many of his subjects. The history of
several years about this time, is filled
with accounts of the deadly quarrels
between the great families, and of mur-
ders and assassinations perpetrated in
the most audacious manner, and with
circumstances of the utmost barbarity.
All the defects in the feudal aristocracy
were now felt more sensibly, perhaps,
than at any other period in the history
of Scotland, and universal license and
anarchy prevailed to a degree scarce
consistent with the preservation of
society; while the king, too gentle to
punish, or too feeble to act with vigour,
suffered all these enormities to pass
with impunity." *Ibid.*

⁷ "The juncture for pushing this
measure was well chosen." *Ibid.* 98.

⁸ "It is worthy of notice too, that

nothing which he felt himself able to withhold; and having so far succeeded as to obtain the legal establishment of their own system, the presbyterians were glad enough to forego the immediate prospect of ulterior advantages. They were, in fact, long under apprehension of a total failure. Many of the nobility were utterly averse from their demands, and only agreed to them, at last, under an expectation of their rejection by the crown. Nor would they, probably, have received the royal assent had not James, at that time, been galled and embarrassed by extreme unpopularity, arising from the inefficiency of his government. Under this pressure, he was persuaded by the chancellor to concede the presbyterian question as an act likely, above all others, to recover him in the estimation of his people. He did not, however, give way until Parliament was upon the very eve of dissolution; so that the commissioners of the general assembly could hardly believe their delighted ears when the act, establishing presbytery, was proclaimed, among others, at the market-cross of Edinburgh.¹

§ 27. By this concession to the most intolerant of their enemies, the Romanists, who were still numerous and powerful in the north, were naturally much disgusted and disquieted. As usual with British members of their communion, at that time, they thought of aid from Spain, and entered into a treasonable communication with Philip. More or less of their movements having quickly transpired, the presbyterian party became violently excited. Nor were plots and negotiations alone the fruits of this connexion between Scottish and continental Romanism. Philip transmitted a sum of money to the popish lords, and thus enabled them to take the field. James

although the Discipline was ratified, as having, in fact, been for some time introduced and made the rule by which ecclesiastical proceedings were conducted in several parts of the kingdom, there still was a spiritual estate, representing the clergy in parliament, and possessing a share of the power, rank, and patrimony which belonged to the established church. James would not consent to the petition of the ministers, when they solicited that the different orders of prelates might be deprived of their seats and votes in the legislature. Nor could he be prevailed upon to annul the statute of annexation, by which so large a

portion of the sacred property had been vested in the crown, and from whence the wants of the preachers might have been amply supplied. In short, the king limited his concessions to the very narrowest bounds; and while he conferred rather an ungracious assent in favour of the presbyterian form, he seems to have reserved in his hands the means of bestowing income and honour upon a more acceptable polity. Spotswood remarks that the act passed, but *in the most wary terms that could be devised.*" Russell, ii. 36.

¹ M'Cric's *Melville*, i. 324.

being quite unprepared to face them there, gave a commission for this purpose to other clans at feud with them. The latter were, however, defeated in October, 1595, at Glenlivet, and the king was obliged to pawn his jewels, and make otherwise such exertions to stay the progress of rebellion, as the insurgent peers had no means of resisting, and they obtained the royal permission to retire abroad.² But notwithstanding the vigour which James displayed upon this occasion, he showed both before and afterwards any thing rather than dislike of the Romish faction. In principle, he was, indeed, a staunch protestant, and he prided himself on his knowledge of reformed polemics. He was, however, partial to many of his own nobility who adhered to the religious creed of their fathers, while, probably, he entertained a dislike for all the leaders of the presbyterian party. He was besides, constantly building upon the English succession, and being fully aware of the difficulties in his way, he would gladly have conciliated those numerous and wealthy families in the southern kingdom, which repudiated the reformation. From these various causes, his administration was distinguished by a leniency towards Romanists, that gave great offence to the presbyterian party. Its preachers, in return, took such liberties with public affairs generally, and with himself in particular, as he bore with great impatience. Instances of this license occasionally made more noise than usual, and must have offended many serious minds, little regardful of party strife, but anxious for the public tranquillity, and for confining the pulpit to its proper functions.³ Advantage of such feelings could not fail of being taken by enemies to presbyterianism. The Romanist would contrast recent licentiousness with exaggerated pictures of former tranquillity. The episcopalian protestant would consider a fair trial of his own favourite polity likely to have averted existing causes of uneasiness and offence. The latter view was, probably, taken by the court, which seems to have been ever upon the watch to circumscribe the pretensions of general assemblies, restrain the license of preachers, and provide some effective control over the church by the restoration of bishops. Occasion was taken

² Robertson, iii. 113.

³ "However powerful the motives might be which influenced the clergy, or however laudable the end they had

in view, they conducted their measures with no address, and even with little prudence." *Ibid.* 120.

for accomplishing this last object from a tumult at Edinburgh, on the 17th of December, 1596, in which James was much alarmed by presbyterian violence, and as episcopalian writers represent, was really in considerable danger.⁴ The other side will not allow that any thing occurred beyond a vexatious and embarrassing uproar, of no real importance whatsoever.⁵ Be this as it may, the court clearly saw an opening for fastening new discredit upon presbytery, and representing a return to something like the old ecclesiastical system, as the most feasible means for bridling an unruly pulpit, and thereby restoring public tranquillity. The king, accordingly, lost no time in quitting Edinburgh, and immediately after his departure, all official persons were commanded to wait upon him at Linlithgow, and all who were not ordinarily resident in the capital, were ordered to leave it instantly. The tumult was declared to be “a cruel and barbarous attempt against his majesty’s royal person, his nobility, and council, at the instigation of certain seditious ministers and barons.” The courts of justice were ordered to remove to Perth, and neither general assemblies, provincial synods, nor presbyteries, were henceforth to sit in Edinburgh. Considerable severities against individuals followed, and then appeared a series of fifty-five questions, sanctioned by the king, displaying anew the prominent objections to presbyterianism. These were to be considered in a general assembly and meeting of estates to be holden at Perth, in the end of February.⁶ The southern presbyteries began at once upon a resolute resistance: the northern, as usual, stood aloof. Few of their members had ever been seen in the general assemblies. They were too remote and poor: too little also under

⁴ “On no occasion was the life of James exposed to greater jeopardy.” Russell, ii. 62.

⁵ “Had it not been laid hold of by designing politicians for accomplishing their measures, it would not now have been known that such an event had even occurred; and were it not that it has been so much misrepresented to the disparagement of the ministers and ecclesiastical polity of Scotland, it would be a waste of time and labour to institute an inquiry into the real state of the facts.” McCre’s *Melville*, i. 411.

⁶ “This measure had been previously resolved upon, and the questions were

prepared before the 17th of December, although the publication of them was deferred to this time.” (*Ibid.* ii. 9.) If this be true, and the Calderwood MS. makes it seem so, the Edinburgh tumult must have been a sort of prize to the government, enabling it to make out a much stronger case, than was producible only from the late pulpit broils. Probably, James and his advisers thought themselves quite as much justified in making the most of an unexpected opportunity for discrediting the presbyterians, as these latter were in using the royal unpopularity to extort the concessions of 1592.

the influence of motives that swayed their brethren who moved in more stirring scenes. The court now sent a dexterous agent among them, who descanted upon the folly and mischief of suffering a knot of busy men, in and near the capital, to manage all the ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland, according to their own factious humour, and offered pecuniary assistance to such members as could not otherwise attend the assembly, whenever it should meet at an inconvenient distance from their homes.⁷ This, however, it became the practice to avoid as much as possible; James finding it an easier, as well as a more reputable, and less onerous course, to neutralize the fiery polemics of Edinburgh and its vicinity, by finding them a vent in places where a sufficiency of tamer spirits was at hand.⁸ Having pretty well secured a majority of the assembly, and gained by persuasion, or less honourable means, a few of the members who had formerly been conspicuous on the popular side, the court was enabled to carry its leading objects at Perth, and Dundee, in the early part of 1597. The clerical body in these places imposed restrictions upon the introduction of political topics and personal aspersions into sermons, pronounced summary excommunications unlawful, agreed to the prohibition by statute of meetings of the general assembly without royal authority, and consented to the nomination of incumbents in large towns by the crown, with consent of the several congregations. Besides gaining these points, which gave facilities, hitherto sternly refused, for dealing with party-politics in the pulpit, and admitted the superiority of law over clerical assemblies, the court skilfully availed itself of an existing arrangement to prosecute its ulterior views. The general assembly had usually, before separation,

⁷ "The ministers in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, notwithstanding the parity established by the presbyterian government, had assumed a leading in the church, which filled their brethren with envy." (Robertson, iii. 131.) "The ministers in the northern parts of the kingdom had rarely attended the general assembly, owing to their distance from the place of its meeting, and the deficiency of their incomes. They were comparatively unacquainted with its modes of procedure, and strangers to the designs of the courts; not to mention their general inferiority in point of gifts to their brethren of the south." (M'Cric's

Melville, ii. 13.) Thus it is confessed by the presbyterian writers that the church had been revolutionised by a small compact body of agitators in and near the capital. As to their superiority to the great mass of their brethren, it is little else than gratuitous assumption. Dr. Russell is equally justified in adopting a counter assumption. "As might have been presumed, the wiser and more moderate among the ministers, who lived at a distance from the capital, did not approve the conduct which had just been described;" (the Edinburgh tumult) ii. 66.

⁸ M'Cric's *Melville*, ii. 18.

nominated a committee of its members to execute particular measures, or merely watch over the interests of religion, until the next meeting. James now proposed that such a committee should be nominated as a sort of ecclesiastical council to himself, which might guide him in preparing measures for a future occasion. In this too he was gratified.⁹

§ 28. By the commissioners of the general assembly, now brought into close connexion with the crown, an important application was made to parliament, in December, 1597. No clergyman can shut his eyes to the evil of having his order either imperfectly represented, or altogether unrepresented in the national legislature. From such disadvantages flow disregard of clerical interests, and misapprehension of ecclesiastical questions, upon many occasions, which require the one to be respected, and the other to be understood. It was impossible to prevent the Scottish clergy from seeing the unfairness of their position as an unrepresented body in parliament, notwithstanding the assumptions which the general assemblies had hitherto been able to sustain. But the war that they had waged with the institutions of their country had been supported by fostering democratic tendencies in the laity, and it is a besetting evil of such tendencies to keep all persons down who can be fenced off by any obvious line of demarcation. The clerical body presents this facility, and hence democracy has usually marked it out for poverty and insignificance. The Scottish ministers, being indebted for their provision, such as it was, and for their hopes of a better, to lay selfishness, were contented to meet observations upon the palpable want of clerical influence in parliament, by talking of ruling elders, or some such persons, to represent the church there.¹ But, indepen-

⁹ "As, with the exception of an individual or two named to save appearances, they were devoted to the court, he was enabled by their means, to exercise as much power in the church as he did by his privy council in the state. *A wedge taken out of the church to rend her with her own forces!* says Calderwood: the very needle, says James Melville, *which drew in the episcopal thread.*" *Ibid.*, 24.

¹ "It is true that the general assembly had often complained that persons, who had no authority or commission from the church, took it upon them to sit and

vote in parliament in her name: and in some instances a wish had been expressed, that individuals appointed by the church, should be admitted to a voice in such parliamentary causes as involved her interest. But this was not her deliberate and unanimous opinion, at least, it had not been so for a considerable time back; and far less had she agreed that these voters should be ministers of the Gospel. On the contrary, it was the decided opinion of the principal ministers, that if the church should send representatives to parliament, they ought

dently of his monarchical partialities for established institutions, James had no desire for an infusion of spirit into the habitually passive character of a Scottish parliament, from that very class which pulpit eloquence had long been able to array in unmanageable defiance of his authority. He rather thought, as it was natural that he should think, of the old ecclesiastical estate. In turning his attention to this, he might really be little or nothing more solicitous of securing a fair position for his clerical subjects, than were the presbyterians. But he felt severely the want of some parliamentary counterpoise to the power of his nobility, and he could not overlook the advantage of his ancestors, who found one in an opulent and extensive prelaey. Upon such an obvious truth, it is easy to build superficial and uncharitable charges of episcopal subserviency. Reasons, at least, equally plausible, for court partiality to prelaey, may be found in the high character, information, and intelligence, required of all distinguished churchmen, and consequently possessed by most of them; in their origin from every rank, though all actually moving near, or even in the highest; in their possession of a property, which they did not inherit, and cannot transmit, and which came to them unfettered by family ties of clan or party; and in the sense of obligation to a benefactor, which would lead them to support the crown, even if its security were not identified with their own. Now this order, in spite of the varied and persevering assaults of it, during so many recent years, had never become extinct, in the Scottish parliament-house. There was a miserable sprinkling of despised and impoverished prelates, whose legislative rights were still recognised. There was a far larger and more important body of laymen, who strangely came to parliament, as abbots and priors; their qualifications having been the endowments of religious houses. From neither branch of this extraordinary prelaey could the crown reckon upon any efficient support. The surviving bishops, reeling under indigence and popular obloquy, were not only altogether without weight, but also they had no spirit for prominence of any kind, and were only anxious to drain the remains of life in unmolested privacy. The pretended abbots and priors differed merely in

to be ruling elders, or such laymen as she should think proper to choose.”
Ibid. 39.

name from the lay aristocracy, of which they were generally members, in fact, by birth. To propose, however, at once, the restoration of prelacy, after all the pains that had long been successfully taken to render it odious, would have been highly indiscreet.² It was, therefore, thought advisable to keep up a sufficient number of clerical members in parliament, according to immemorial usage, who should be chosen out of the body of ministers, and receive from the crown the titles and benefices of the ancient parliamentary prelates. This proposition proved agreeable to those commissioners of the general assembly, who had been named as ecclesiastical advisers to the sovereign, and they petitioned parliament accordingly. Their petition was readily granted, and thus, to the great indignation and alarm of the more discerning and zealous presbyterians, the year 1597 closed with no obscure indications of a return to the old prelatial institutions of the country.³

§ 29. The legislature having committed itself to this important measure, its further progress required the general assembly. That body met at Dundee, in March, 1598. James introduced its main subject of deliberation in a speech from the throne. This disclaimed any intention of introducing either papal or Anglican prelacy, and merely expressed a wish that certain of the more prudent clergy should be chosen by the general assembly to transact personally church-business in parliament, instead of standing at the doors with humble applications that some layman must carry through the house.⁴ Notwithstanding the speciousness of this language, and the care previously taken to secure a majority on the royal side, violent objections were

² "The prejudices which the nation had conceived against the name and character of bishops were so violent, that James was obliged, with the utmost care, to avoid the appearance of a design to revive that order." Robertson, iii. 133.

³ "The royal influence was exerted in overcoming any objections which were entertained against this measure on the part of the nobility, who humoured his majesty by granting more than was asked by the petitioners. It was declared that the prelacy was the third estate of the kingdom; that such ministers as his majesty should please to raise to the dignity of bishop, abbot, or other prelate, should have as com-

plete a right to sit and vote in parliament as those of the ecclesiastical estate had enjoyed at any former period; and that bishoprics, as they became vacant, should be conferred on none but such as were qualified and disposed to act as ministers or preachers. The spiritual power to be exercised by bishops in the government of the church, was left by the parliament to be settled between his majesty and the general assembly, without prejudice in the mean time, to the authority possessed by the several ecclesiastical judicatories." M'Crie's *Melville*, ii. 37.

⁴ Calderwood, *Epist. Philad. Vind. Altare Damascenum*, 761.

raised among the more unbending presbyterians. Even when the court gained its ends by ten voices⁵, one of the dissentients loudly protested, insisting upon the nullity of the decisions in this, and two preceding assemblies, as being fettered in their deliberations by his majesty's interference.⁶ The motions carried were three, namely, that ministers might lawfully vote in parliament and other meetings of the estates, and that some of them to represent the church were needed in all such assemblies; that their number ought to equal that of the bishops, abbots, and priors, anciently summoned, being fifty-one individuals; and that the choice of these representatives should be vested in the crown and church conjointly. The administration was prepared with further proposals as to the manner of electing the intended representatives, their name, revenues, and the restrictions necessary to prevent them from abusing their powers; but appearances of a favourable reception soon grew so unpromising, that it was thought better to rest satisfied, for the present, with advantages already gained. A new commission was therefore to be nominated by the several provincial synods, which, in concert with the divinity professors in the universities, might attend his majesty, and consult upon ulterior arrangements. The provincial synods which were to supply the required commissioners, were themselves to be instructed by the presbyteries within their several districts, and such was the antipathy to prelacy engendered in the principal seats of agitation, that the southern presbyteries gave the narrowest instructions that could be devised. When, however, the commissioners nominated, met at Falkland, in July, 1598, although less pliable than the crown desired, they proved far more so than some of the parties whom they represented could easily endure. This has been considered as the fruit of court contrivance.⁷ But really no underhand management was required. Lay members of a presbytery would naturally be far better pleased with power over their ministers, than these latter would be with its exercise, however they might, upon occasions,

⁵ "The measure was carried chiefly by the votes of the elders, and it was urged by the minority that a number of them had no commission; but the demand of a scrutiny was resisted." M'Crie's *Melville*, ii. 46.

⁶ Calderwood: *ut supra*.

⁷ "Matters were so craftily conducted by the agents of the court, that the delegates chosen for the conference were, in several instances, of opposite views to those of their constituents." M'Crie's *Melville*, ii. 49.

dilate upon the advantages of lying under such a lash. Hence, when they were protected from the interference and observation which generally pressed upon them, they could not fail of using any allowable means that came in their way, to gain a more independent position. By means of this commission, it was determined, that six ministers should be nominated for every vacant prelacy, from whom the king should choose one as the parliamentary representative: this individual, however, was to propose nothing, in his legislative capacity, unwarranted by his brethren; he was to account for his proceedings to the general assembly, to continue all the duties of an ordinary pastor, to remain in his former subjection to his proper presbytery, and to be called *a commissioner of such a place, or precinct*, provided that title were approved by the king and legislature; otherwise, some other title was to be found by the general assembly.⁵

§ 30. James appears to have been impeded in the execution of his designs by the vanity of authorship.⁹ In 1598 he published his *True Law of Free Monarchies*, meaning, by the last two words, those monarchies in which the sovereign is free from extraneous control.¹⁰ This work proved highly offensive to the democratic spirits which he was born to the hopeless task of attempting to restrain; and as their disapprobation was not unknown to the royal author, it is placed among the causes which made him so injudiciously severe upon presbyterianism, in his *Basilicon Doron*, which he printed in 1599.¹ Conscious of his imprudence in making thus free with a large proportion of the Scottish nation, including all its more fiery elements, James did not meditate immediate publication. His impatience, however, to see a work in print, which even eminent presbyterians treat as above mediocrity², urged him upon

⁸ Collier, ii. 662. Spotswood, 453.

⁹ "The literary works which James produced at this time, contributed to strengthen the opposition to his administration." McCrie's *Melville*, ii. 72.

¹⁰ "The treatise, is, in fact, an unvarnished vindication of arbitrary power in the prince, and of passive obedience and non resistance on the part of the people, without any exception or reservation whatever." *Ibid.*

¹ "The presbyterians of Scotland could not conceal their disapprobation

of the political principles of *The Law of Free Monarchies*. This was one reason of their being treated with such severity in the celebrated *Basilicon Doron*, or *Instructions of the King to his Son, Prince Henry*, which came to light in the course of the following year." *Ibid.* 74.

² "Notwithstanding the great alterations and refinements in national taste since that time, we must allow this to be no contemptible performance, and not to be inferior to the works of most

the perilous gratification of having seven copies stricken off. One of these was shown by a courtier, whom the king thought incapable of betraying him, to Andrew Melville. Nothing could come half so seasonably to the patriarch of Scottish presbyterianism, who was naturally very much displeased by the prospect of a national return to episcopacy. He instantly extracted such passages as were most offensive to the presbyterian party, and sent them to his nephew, whose colleague laid them before the provincial synod of Fife.³ That body

contemporary writers, either in purity of style, or justness of composition." (Robertson, iii. 137.) "Though an impartial examination of its contents will not justify the high encomiums passed upon it, yet its literary merits are not contemptible. It is more free from childish and disgusting pedantry, and contains many good advices, mingled, however, with not a few silly prejudices." (McCrie's *Melville*, ii. 79.) The episcopalian party went, of course, a great deal further. "The tract is written with a compass of thought and learning, and every where distinguished with a predominancy of honesty and conscience. The royal author received the justice of being admired for his virtue and capacity: particularly this book recommended his majesty strongly to the esteem of the English; inasmuch that all the discourses then published for maintaining his right to succeed queen Elizabeth, did not do him so much service as this product of his own pen." (Collier, ii. 663.) This last assertion is taken from Spotswood, but Dr. McCrie has thus weakened its claims for any thing beyond a very qualified admission of it, at best. "I have seen no reason to think that it was reprinted until 1603, in the course of which year it went through three editions; all of them, probably, published after the death of Elizabeth. If this was the fact, the wonderful influence which Spotswood says it had in promoting James's accession must have been *ex post facto*. I have not seen it mentioned between 1599 and 1603. One of the seven copies might be conveyed to some of the courtiers of Elizabeth in the secret correspondence which James carried on with them during that interval; but they had other reasons than his merits as an author for favouring his title." (*Melville*, ii. 454.) That one of the seven

copies really was transmitted to some Englishman in correspondence with James is highly probable, and for the purpose of enabling that individual to mention in private, but influential circles, the Scottish monarch's anti-puritanical principles. Such information would be certain to make its way, and could not fail of lessening the objections which many Englishmen felt to James, on account of his low-church education. Thus the *Basilicon Doron*, though not published, but only privately circulated, might, notwithstanding, have had some weight in securing an easy recognition of the Scottish title.

³ "The propositions laid before the synod were the following: That the office of a king is of mixed kind, partly civil and partly ecclesiastical: That a principal part of his function consists in ruling the church: That it belongs to him to judge when preachers wander from their text, and that such as refuse to submit to his judgment in such cases ought to be capitally punished: That no ecclesiastical assemblies ought to be held without his consent: That no man is more to be hated of a king than a proud puritan: That parity among ministers is irreconcilable with monarchy, inimical to order, and the mother of confusion. That puritans had been a pest to the commonwealth and church of Scotland, wished to engross the civil government as tribunes of the people, sought the introduction of democracy into the state, and quarrelled with the king because he was a king: That the chief persons among them should not be allowed to remain in the land: in fine, That parity in the church should be banished, episcopacy set up, and all who preached against bishops rigorously punished. Such were the sentiments which James entertained, and which he had printed, at the very time that he

treated them as highly reprehensible, and, pretending to believe it impossible that James could have written any such matter, transmitted them to him as libellous attempts to lower his character. Finding himself to have committed no small indiscretion in thus needlessly running into unpopularity, the king afterwards published his work with some qualifications, and an apologetical preface.⁴ But it had already done its work, by

was giving out that he had no intention of altering the government of the church, or of introducing episcopacy." (M'Crie's *Melville*, ii. 76.) The king's printing and speaking certainly form a sufficiently disreputable contrast. But he, probably, thought his difficulties a full excuse for double-dealing. Many other selfish men, especially in that age, would have thought so too. His ends were, to disarm presbyterianism in Scotland, if not eventually to supersede it by episcopacy, and to conciliate the episcopal party in England. But however any man may delude himself into a notion that dissimulation is allowable under his peculiar circumstances, no one can help smarting severely if it should be exposed. A vindictive feeling from having so smarted, when Melville so eagerly laid hold of the *Basilicon Doron*, joined to the rankling recollection of many former liberties, probably led James into the ungenerous treatment of his old adversary, when an English throne gave him the power for which he had so long sighed. In 1606, he called Melville with six others of the leading presbyterians to London, together with the two Scottish archbishops, and three of the bishops, for the purpose of conferring upon the best mode of settling the ecclesiastical disputes in their native country. Melville conducted himself before James's court with a degree of spirit, which occasionally degenerated into violence and ill-manners. Among his weaknesses was a habit of indulging in the composition of satirical Latin epigrams. Being taken to the chapel royal, his paritanical antipathies were violently excited by the sight of the altar-table adorned with two closed books, two empty chalices, and two candlesticks with unlighted candles. On returning to his lodgings, he thus gave vent to his contemptuous indignation:—

Cur stant clausi Anglis libri duo regis in ara,

Lumina caeca duo, pollubra sicca duo?

Nun sensum cultumque Dei tenet Anglia clausum,

Lumine caeca suo, sorde sepulta sua?

Romano an ritu dum regalem instruit aram,

Purpuream pingit religiosa lupam?

A copy of this foolish pasquinade was officiously taken to the king, by some person who had surreptitiously made one without the aged epigrammatist's knowledge or consent. James professed himself highly incensed. He probably found rise to his vindictive remembrance, an epigram that Melville had made, several years before, on seeing him dancing about the room, as was not unnatural at his then time of life, while in deep mourning for his unhappy mother, who had recently been beleheaded. The verses, which were quite as ill-timed as the young king's levity, were these. They allude to Mary's reported levity on Darnley's murder.

Quid sibi vult tantus lugubri sub veste cahinnus?

Scilicet hic matrem deflet, ut illa patrem.

When, however, his chapel was attacked, instead of the exuberance of his youthful spirits, James had the power of taking ample vengeance upon the man whose prurient wit had repeatedly galled him, and who had crossed his policy, and addressed him in the freest language, through life. Melville was now committed for *scandalum magnatum*, and after some confinement in private houses, he was sent to the tower, where he remained four years. At the expiration of this imprisonment, he was allowed to go to the continent, and he died divinity professor at Sedan, in 1622, at the age of seventy-seven. His long importance in the Scottish presbyterian struggle, and the personal dislike which his numerous liberties could not fail of engendering in James, will account for the severity with which he was eventually treated. Nothing that he did can excuse it.

⁴ M'Crie's *Melville*, ii. 76. 454.

raising up new opposition to his plans as the treacherous devices of a prince, arbitrary in principle, and insincere in dealing, who was bent upon beating down all opposition to his own will, and pretended a regard for an ecclesiastical polity which he really abhorred, and meant to suppress upon the first opportunity.

§ 31. Difficulties, at length, were sufficiently overcome to render it likely that the Falkland arrangements would be ratified by the general assembly. That body was, accordingly, convened at Montrose, as a place convenient for attendance from the north, on the 28th of March, 1600. To the importance of its proceedings all Scotland was thoroughly alive; and, in spite of royal influence, the rigid presbyterians took their seats under sanguine expectations of a victory.⁵ They did, indeed, make a strenuous resistance, and so far succeeded as to impose upon the future clerical members of parliament two restrictions which did not come recommended from Falkland. By one of these, the legislative delegate was disqualified from sitting in the general assembly unless under an especial authority from his own presbytery; by the other, canvassing for the parliamentary trust was to render a man incapable of it.⁶ Upon other questions, the Melville party was defeated; and thus a step towards the restoration of episcopacy was not only gained by the court, but also accepted by the church. This defeat acted as a sedative upon some of the more violent spirits, and Scotland remained more tranquil, during several succeeding years, than it had been for a considerable time before.⁷ Hence there is great excuse for the endeavours eventually made to restore a regular episcopacy. To say nothing of mere partiality for that form of religious polity, or of an opinion in its favour founded upon ecclesiastical history, the crown might reasonably consider it better calculated than presbytery for securing an orderly community. It was impossible, besides, to overlook the violent party-struggles by which the ancient ecclesiastical system was overthrown, and the recency of presbyterian triumphs must have made opponents regard them as nothing more than temporary advantages which the course of events might any day annul. In 1600, and for several years afterwards, the epis-

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 58.

⁶ Collier, ii. 663.

⁷ "The decisive measures now adopt-

ed by the church were rewarded by the continuance of tranquillity during several years." Russell, ii. 72.

copalian party could not attribute any character of permanence to a great constitutional innovation, which received legislative sanction, and that under peculiar circumstances, so lately as 1592. Nor could it be forgotten, that the innovation, after all, had not the character of completeness, and consequently, the aspect of finality. An anomalous kind of prelacy survived the shock, and must have been meant by the party overpowered to serve as a foundation for reconstructing the old edifice upon an improved principle, whenever present heats and prejudices should have sufficiently died away. That such intentions eventually miscarried, an episcopalian will naturally regret, and he may do so the more reasonably, because a difference of polity weakens the resistance of British protestantism to the common Romish enemy. In most respects, however, the churches of north and south Britain have long stood in amicable relation to each other. Holding the same rule of faith, and party-contentests about episcopacy having long sunk into mere history, there are no longer any violent antipathies on either side. The Englishman does full justice to the scriptural principles, and valuable ministrations of the northern clergy; and the Scot, in a southern home, is very commonly a conformist to the religion of his adopted country. Nor are families by any means rare, in which some members belong to one church, and some to the other, without any abatement of mutual good-will. The two religious communities are, indeed, so much identified in interest, as well as in doctrine, that no judicious member of either has any disposition to magnify their differences with each other. Rather, are both venerated as labouring for a common object of the greatest importance, by all who feel the value of sound religion, and know the impossibility of spreading it over a whole nation without endowments tolerably commensurate with the country.

CHAPTER V.

* HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND.

§ 1. State of Ireland from Henry II. to the Reformation.—§ 2. Henry VIII.—§ 3. Edward VI.—§ 4. Mary.—§ 5. First religious movements under Elizabeth.—§ 6. The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.—§ 7. Immediate consequences of these acts.—§ 8. Rebellion of John O'Neil.—§ 9. Uneasiness of Munster.—§ 10. Foreign interference in Irish affairs.—§ 11. Stukeley.—§ 12. Papal invasion.—§ 13. Rebellion of Desmond.—§ 14. Rebellion of Hugh O'Neil.—§ 15. Foundation of Trinity college, Dublin.—§ 16. Ussher's acceptance of the Jesuit's challenge.

§ 1. THE acquisition of a superiority over Ireland by Henry II. was greatly aided, at the very least, by a desire of the national hierarchy to attain that independent and prosperous condition, which was then common to all clerical communities closely connected with Rome.¹ Hitherto the native chieftains had exercised a power over the church which ordinarily kept its ministers poor and subservient.² It was, probably, with a view of counteracting this unfriendly influence, that Malachy O'Morgair, who resigned the see of Armagh for that of Down, in 1137,

¹ "They" (the bishops) "had now, though at the high price of the independence of their country, purchased no inconsiderable emoluments for themselves. Their demesnes, which were ample, but hitherto exposed to the ravages of an unscrupulous laity, had at length found a protector: the claim of tithes, which for some time they had been endeavouring to maintain by spiritual censures, and the *dogma* of divine right was henceforth to be enforced by the secular arm." Dr. Phelan's *History of the Policy of the Church of Rome in Ireland*, Lond. 1827, p. 9.

² "Under the ancient system, an Irish prince was as absolute master of the priesthood of his sept, as of any other class among his followers. But a new order of things was introduced by Henry II., and thenceforward kept regular pace with the advance of British and papal power. All the privileges of the English church, and all those vexa-

tions pretensions which had just attained a temporary triumph in the canonization of Thomas à Becket, were communicated to the Irish clergy, and maintained by them with more pertinacity, in proportion to the weakness of the civil power." (*Ibid.* 50.) In early times, the Irish clergy took no oaths to the pope: they applied to him for no bulls, and never appealed to him. The prelates were appointed by the chieftains of the different tribes, either directly, or after an election by the priesthood. Papal legates had no jurisdiction until the twelfth century, and long could establish none afterwards, beyond the English settlements. In consequence of these variations from the ecclesiastical system generally established at an earlier period in western Europe, the Irish church is treated with great contempt by papal writers of the twelfth century. *Ibid.* 48.

undertook a journey to Rome. He received a cordial welcome from the pope, and was gladly appointed legate for Ireland.³ In this capacity he was enabled, on his return home, to prepare the country for a regular papal agent, or apostolic legate, John Paparo, cardinal priest, who arrived in 1152, with four palls, the first seen in Ireland, for the four archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam: an insidious compliment, serving here, as elsewhere, for the first point of a wedge to undermine the nation's ecclesiastical independence. Without more substantial appliances, however, palls and all other such artifices were likely to leave the church of Ireland very much in its old condition under the native chieftains. The hierarchy, accordingly, gladly made terms with the English in 1171, and henceforth its power went regularly forward, in spite of the native opposition which often impeded it. The country had, obviously, no means of effectual resistance to it. The English monarchs called themselves no more than *lords of Ireland*, and their position in that country seems to have been ordinarily considered inferior to the royal: in fact, subordinate to the papacy.⁴ Actual authority beyond a level district round the capital, comprised in the small counties of Louth, Meath, Kildare, and Dublin⁵, they had scarcely any. Even of this narrow district, known as the *English Pale*, a broad exterior line formed no small portion of *debateable* land, in which English law could find but a precarious footing.⁶ Without the *Pale*, either native chieftains, or Anglo-Norman proprietors, who had degenerated from feudal nobles into mere barbaric leaders, held little less than sovereign sway within their several regions.⁷ The royal

³ "An office recently instituted, and previously filled by only one occupant." Bp. Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*. Lond. 1840, p. 5.

⁴ "Irishmen of long continuance have supposed the royal estate of this land to consist in the bishop of Rome for the time being, and the lordship of the kings of England here to be but a governance under the obedience of the same; which causeth them to have more respect of due subjection unto the said bishop, than unto our sovereign lord." Allen, master of the Rolls: *apud* Mant, 106.

⁵ "A district which extended not quite thirty miles to the north and north-west of Dublin." Phelan, 126.

⁶ "Of the *Pale* itself an ample stripe,

comprehending a third, and sometimes a half of each county, was *border land*; in which a mixed code of English, Brehon, and martial law, and of such points of honour as are recognised among freebooters, suspended for a season the final appeal to the sword." *Ibid.* x.

⁷ "Some of them" (the great English lords) "as the two great branches of the De Burgo family, the Geraldines of Kerry, and the Birminghams, lords of Athenry, renounced the language, laws, and usages of the mother country. They had been smitten with the barbaric circumstances and unlimited sway of the native chieftains: they became chieftains themselves; assumed Irish appellations, and moulded their motley

family of Plantagenet was grievously mistaken in thus neglecting a possession so very valuable. Had it made use of English resources to reduce every part of Ireland under a real subjection, and either to merge the native chieftainry in a civilised peerage, or extirpate it altogether, the whole community would have gradually blended itself, as elements equally discordant did in England, into one uniform body. Unhappily, however, English enterprise could see no other field than France. A court and aristocracy, transplanted from that inviting country, were ever haunted by splendid visions of a victorious return thither; and if great exertions were to be made for any object over sea, they always took a continental aim. The Plantagenets, indeed, would have found it impossible to neglect Ireland, as they did, if the monarchies of Europe had been consolidated. But all the continental states were still so disjointed, as to render speculations on the balance of power unnecessary. Hence no English statesman thought of Ireland as an opening for foreign aggression upon his own country. Other countries, however, while gradually undergoing those political changes which eventually made them members of a great European commonwealth, were also under formation into homogeneous masses within their several communities. Ireland, from the neglect of its nominal rulers, had no such advantage. It remained a land parcelled out among a number of petty chieftains with conflicting interests, and hence continually at war. Among grounds of antipathy was difference of race. The aboriginal Irish were despised and hated by those of Anglo-Norman origin, whose ancestors were private adventurers that had conquered portions of them, but

followers into the form of Irish tribes. Others, retaining the English name, and something of English manners, acquired, at a less price, nearly equal dominion. In the space of thirty years after the first descent, eight palatinates, comprehending two-thirds of the English settlements, were erected in Ireland; there was afterwards added a ninth, the county of Tipperary, the splendid domain of the earls of Ormond. *Within* these districts, the lords possessed all royal rights, created knights, and even barons, appointed their own judges, sheriffs, seneschals, and held their own courts for the determination of all causes: *without*, they exercised the detestable prerogative of waging

civil war in all quarters of the island. Armed with these enormous powers, they proceeded to reduce or exterminate their own countrymen of the middle class who had presumed to set an example of comfort and independence. Many of these fled; their lands were seized by the lords and parcelled out among the conquered Irish, to be held on Irish tenures: many others surrendered a part of their property, in the hope of being allowed the quiet possession of the remainder; but this grace was refused, and they were gradually broken in spirit and circumstances to the villanage of the native population." *Ibid.* ix.

left an unsubdued majority to infuriate and baffle their posterity. The *hatred*, at least, could be returned, and it was most heartily, drawing continually fresh exasperation from outrages perpetrated by the two parties on each other: thus when European nations generally came forward in their modern amalgamated form, Ireland retained the discordant features that had vanished from all of them but herself, long ago.⁸ Her nominal executive had nothing more than military possession of a mere fraction of the country, and of her semi-barbarous chieftains, one portion abhorred the other as an intrusive alien despoiler and occupant of its own rightful inheritance.

§ 2. Upon indifference, if not hostility, to the prelacy, both

⁸ The elements of Irish society were even kept in a state of discordance by legislative interference. "In the lieutenancy of Lionel, duke of Clarence (1367), a parliament was held at Kilkenny, which passed an act memorable above all others in the sad annals of Irish legislation, and very generally known as the *Statute of Kilkenny*. It was decreed by this statute, that marriage, nurture of infants, or *gossipred* with the Irish, or submission to the Irish law, should be considered and punished as high treason. Again, if any man of English race should use the Irish dress, or language, or take an Irish name, or observe any rule or custom of the Irish, he was to forfeit lands and tenements, until he had given security, in the court of chancery that he would conform in every particular to the English manners. Further, it was made highly penal, to present a mere Irishman (that is, one who had not purchased a charter of denization, and conformed to the English usages, civil and religious,) to an ecclesiastical benefice, or receive him into a monastery, or other religious house; to entertain an Irish bard, minstrel, or storyteller, or to admit an Irish horse to graze on the pasture of an Englishman." (*Ibid.* 64.) It is plain from this act that the Anglo-Irish of that day looked upon the aboriginal inhabitants of the country much as the present Anglo-Americans do upon the Indians and Negroes among themselves. But the dominant party was not in sufficient proportion to the indigenous population, and was besides too apt itself in learning the *clannish* or *selfish* habits which it

found established, to accomplish the extermination of the race which it contemned and feared. Nothing, therefore, was done by such proceedings as the *Statute of Kilkenny*, but giving fresh intensity to the hatred of the tribes of unmixed Irish, for those which followed Anglo-Irish chieftains, and which were partly of English blood. The *nurture of infants*, and *gossipred*, mentioned in the *Statute of Kilkenny*, are names for two usages which bound the ancient Irish tribes into compact bodies. By the law of *Tannistry*, every man of noble blood was eligible as chieftain of the sept. Thus a considerable portion of the body felt a personal interest in the importance of its chief. The still larger portion, excluded by birth from all prospect of leadership, was consoled under its inferiority, and attached to the upper families, by being intrusted with the bringing-up of their children, and by having members of them to stand as sponsors, or *gossips*, when its own children were brought for baptism. Thus every Irish tribe formed an exclusive family community, in which all the members felt akin to each other by the ties, either of blood, or of religious relationship, or of nurture under common parents. This exclusive feeling was an intolerable national evil, when all the tribes were of Irish origin; but its disjunctive powers became more serious than ever, when some of the chieftains were of alien blood, and possessed a superiority which they exercised over their neighbours with all the ferocity, insolence, and rapacity, of semi-barbarians.

portions were agreed. Hence Henry VIII. found his ecclesiastical innovations very little more embarrassed by lay opposition, than they had been in England. Yet with the hierarchy it was quite otherwise. When the royal supremacy came before the English public, nearly all non-monastic parties treated it as a claim on the crown's part so incontrovertible, that it was conceded at once. Prelates, who subsequently strove with most ingenious pertinacity to preserve every feature of the Romish religion, emulously repudiated papal claims to jurisdiction over England, as a monstrous usurpation. In Ireland a very different spirit prevailed upon the episcopal bench. George Cromer, the primate, who filled also, at one time, the high office of chancellor, took the lead in a strenuous opposition to Henry's proposed assumption of papal privileges, and his order generally showed an equal determination to maintain the existing system. Thus recognition of the king's ecclesiastical claims was not obtained from the Irish legislature until after some delay and much difficulty. The act of supremacy, being, however, at length passed in 1537, was followed, in 1542, by another to recognise the sovereign as *king* of Ireland, instead of *lord*, as he and his predecessors had hitherto been styled.⁹ By the laity generally both acts were favourably received. Men are commonly pleased in seeing superiority, or even equality, destroyed. Hence the Irish chieftains displayed an unanimity hitherto unknown, in hailing acts that stripped a proud and envied prelacy of that firm extraneous protection which it had long commanded from the powerful see of Rome, and from its connexion with a compact body that embraced nearly the whole of Europe. Some of them, too, might have been aware of the time when sees were filled either mediately, or immediately, by the chiefs of the districts in which they were placed, and might hope for a similar check over the superior clergy once more. When Henry's ecclesiastical prerogatives, accordingly, became the law of Ireland, most of her great laymen came readily forward with formal acts of approval. They even sank the chieftain in the peer, and by accepting some of the usual titles of nobility, appeared likely to make society in their own island, within a few years, resemble that which had long been established in the majority of European countries.¹⁰

⁹ Mant, 124. 165.

soon as the civil government had acquired competent strength, some effort

¹⁰ "It is not to be supposed, that as

§ 3. But besides the recognition of the royal supremacy, and the suppression of monasteries, there was little effected in Ireland, any more than in the sister-country, during Henry's

would not be made to repress this extravagant ambition of the hierarchy, and provide for the sober exercise of its legitimate powers. The lay aristocracy, however little inclined to cooperate with the state or give the people a chance of liberty, were too much interested in such a measure to refuse it their active concurrence. The lords of English descent, irritated by a too successful rivalry; the Irish, still brooding over the original treachery of the church, and its many bitter consequences to themselves; and both, turbulent, eager for ascendancy, and accustomed to refer every thing to the arbitration of the sword, would naturally rejoice in the downfall of this arrogant order. Accordingly, when Henry VIII. asserted his claim to the complete sovereignty of the island, all the nobles arrayed themselves on the side of the crown; they abolished the subordinate title of *lord*, the only one which the pope had permitted to be assumed, and proclaimed him king of Ireland, and supreme head of the church. This unanimity was not confined to that body of the nobility which conformed to the English customs, and which usually took a share in the administration of public affairs. Those powerful and refractory chieftains, who had hitherto maintained a dubious struggle against the utmost force of the state, came forward upon this occasion, with rival zeal for the honour of royalty, and the strongest professions of their undivided allegiance. Desmond was the first who presented himself. On the 1st of January, 1540, he executed a written indenture, in which he *utterly denied, and promised to forsake, the usurped primacy and authority of the bishop of Rome, and engaged to resist and repress the same, and all that should by any means uphold or maintain it*. Shortly after O'Connor and O'Dunne gave similar pledges. O'Donel, in his indenture bearing date Aug. 6, 1542, declares that he *will renounce, relinquish, and to the best of his power annihilate, the usurped authority of the Roman Pontiff; that he will by no means harbour or allow in his country, those who adhere to the said pontiff, but will with all diligence expel,*

and eradicate them, or bring them into subjection to our said lord the king. His example was followed in a week after by Mac Mahon. In the January following, O'Neil, the acknowledged leader of the northern Irish, met the king's commissioners at Maynooth, and entered into similar engagements; and in the course of that year, the same was done by O'Brien, the first chieftain of Munster, by O'More, O'Rourke, Mac Donel; and by the head of the De Burgos, who was now known by the Irish title of Mae William. The conduct of the great lords was emulously imitated by those of inferior rank. From Connaught, from Meath, from the remotest regions of the south and north, all the most turbulent heads of the Irish tribes, all those of the old English race who had adopted Irish manners, and lived for ages in rude independence, vied with each other in declarations of fidelity to the king, and executed their indentures in the amplest forms of submission." (Phelan, 84.) "This good humour of the aristocracy, at the humiliation of a rival order, and their own brightening prospects, banished for awhile those feelings and pretensions which had hitherto given most uneasiness to the government. O'Neil, whose progenitors had always affected the dignity of sovereign princes, waited on the king at Greenwich, and, after the amplest protestations of fidelity, condescended to accept the title of earl of Tyrone. O'Brien, in like manner, sank the pomp of his feudal name in the earldom of Thomond; De Burgo, whose family, for many generations, had laid aside the English manners, submitted to be known henceforth as the earl of Clanrickarde; the haughty chieftains, O'Donel and Mac Carthy, became earls respectively of Tyrconnel and Glenear; and the humility of some inferior potentates was content with the title of baron. Desmond renounced the fantastic privilege, on which his house, in imitation of the native lords and the ancient warriors of Gaul and Germany, had so long insisted, of exemption from appearance within a walled town; he promised to attend parliament, and even to pay taxes, ay, as liberally as Ormond himself; resumed his long unoccupied

reign, that indicated a decisive change in the national religion.¹ Nor were Protestant movements under Edward so early as might have been expected. At length, however, in 1551, Sir Anthony St. Leger, lord deputy, received a royal order to see the Romish ritual superseded by the new English liturgy. In consequence, an assembly of the prelacy and inferior clergy was immediately convened. It proved a stormy meeting; Dowdall, the primate, being as intractable upon the question of the liturgy, as his predecessor, Cromer,² had been on that of the supremacy. This opposition, however, was not suffered to prevail, and on Easter-day, 1551, an example of using the English service was set in the cathedral of Christ church, Dublin. That archiepiscopal see had been occupied since March, 1535, by a staunch reformer, George Browne, formerly an Austin friar, who had been active in opposition to Romish prepossessions during the whole of his residence in Ireland. As a reward for his labours in behalf of Protestantism, and a check upon the practices of Dowdall, the primacy was taken away, by an English order of council, from the see of Armagh, and conferred by letters-patent upon that of Dublin.³ Disgusted by this indignity, Dowdall, withdrew to the Continent³,

seat at the council-board, and assisted the lord deputy in receiving submissions. Others gave still more unequivocal proofs of loyalty. The chieftain of Tyrconnel, whose family was well known both at Rome and Paris, resisted the artifices by which Francis I. endeavoured to seduce him into a revolt; and when the son of that Fitzpatrick, whose ambassador had formerly amused the king with threats of war, was detected in some treasonable practices, he was delivered up to public justice by the hands of his own father. In fine, for the first time recorded in her annals, Ireland was now at peace under one acknowledged sovereign." *Ibid.* 90.

¹ "In 1538, images abused by pilgrimages and superstitions were removed; yet during the rest of the reign of king Henry, it appears that not much was accomplished, partly through the intrigues of the Roman pontiff and his adherents, and partly on account of the disturbed state of Ireland. It appears, in fact, that, notwithstanding the events which took place in 1537, the papal power continued partially to prevail in Ireland

during the whole reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.; for even so late as the year 1550, the crown occasionally admitted to the possession of their temporalities, bishops who had been provided with Irish sees at Rome." *Palmer's Treatise on the Church of Christ*, Lond. 1842, i. 423.

² Abp. Browne "was first taken notice of by Cromwel, lord privy seal, and by his sole means preferred to this dignity in the church of Ireland; upon the observation that was taken of him, when he was provincial of the Augustin order in England, advising all people to make their application only to Christ, and not to saints: whereby he was recommended to king Henry, who much favoured him." *Strype's Crammer*, i. 54.

³ "Dowdall was banished, or as others say, voluntarily left his bishopric." (*Ibid.*) "I do not find that he was stripped of his bishopric, but his high stomach could not digest the affront. He went into voluntary banishment, and lived an exile for a time in foreign parts, during the remainder of the reign of king Edward VI." (Harris

and being soon after stripped of his archbishopric also, Hugh Goodacre, an English divine of Protestant principles, recommended among others by Cranmer for that situation, was preferred to it. At the same time, John Bale, so famed for his zeal in the reformed cause, and for the freedom of a satirical pen in defence of it, was appointed to the see of Ossory. These promotions were an earnest of steady endeavours on the part of Edward's government, to protestantise the country. Bale immediately showed himself fully alive to the necessity of strenuous exertion, if any such object were to be realised. He was incessantly in the pulpit, haranguing against popery with all that ardent hatred of it, and all those popular powers for painting odious and ridiculous portraits, which he possessed above most men. The prebendaries of his cathedral at Kilkenny, were in general offended beyond measure by his preaching, and so were many other admirers of the old system.⁴ But in spite of their opposition, Bale's energy stood proof, as heretofore, and, had more time been allowed, a coarse fervid personal vein of eloquence such as his, might have left lasting effects upon a nation like the Irish, so strikingly fitted for enjoying it. Edward's premature death, however, soon drove him into exile, and rendered abortive all the brief efforts for protestantising Ireland, which had been recently made.

§ 4. When Mary first came to the throne, liberty was given by proclamation to attend mass, but without any threat of compulsion to those who disapproved of that service.⁵ The new sovereign retained, in a formal proclamation, announcing her accession, the title of *supreme head of the church*⁶, and her first public communications with the pope did not venture to omit the title of *queen of Ireland*, which her father had assumed in contempt and defiance of those ridiculous claims to a papal superiority over the country, that Romish partizans have found so much trouble in placing upon any

apud Mant, 213.) This exile was at least considered an abandonment of his charge, and consequently a successor was appointed.

⁴ Both Bale and Goodacre had been chaplains to Poynt, bishop of Winchester. Bale was a Suffolk man, and had been in a Carmelite monastery at Norwich. On Mary's accession, he had a very narrow escape with his life; Romish

hostility, as might be expected, being violently excited against him. He was a married man, and spent the Marian times at Bale. Under Elizabeth, he was appointed prebendary of Canterbury, and he died in November, 1563. He probably had no desire to resume the see of Ossory.

⁵ Mant, 230.

⁶ Dated July 20, 1553. *Ibid.*

footing of tolerable plausibility. This assumption, however, was rendered in some degree palatable by a private letter soliciting a formal grant of the regal dignity, and as usual, when Rome is powerless and has any interest in complaisance, Mary's Irish royalty was readily recognised at the Vatican. The pope pretended to erect Ireland into a kingdom, in a secret consistory fourteen days before the English legation was formally received.⁷ The queen showed herself quite willing to earn a title to this ridiculous, degrading concession. Her proceedings in the sister-island, although marked by the feebleness of a distant authority, were sufficiently energetic on the side of popery to overthrow completely the rival system. Dowdall returned from his exile, and was reinstated, not only in the see of Armagh, but also in the primacy of all Ireland. Browne, archbishop of Dublin, was ejected from that see, by regular process, in 1554, as a married man. Four others of the prelacy met with the same fate, on the same ground.⁸ Bale was too obnoxious to be suffered to wait for these formalities: he had fled for his life before the depriving commission came. In a parliament assembled in June, 1556, the profession of protestantism was made penal, as it seems, for the first time; Ireland having no earlier printed statute copying those of England against Lollardy.⁹ It so happened, however, that the powers thus pro-

⁷ "Nè l' erezione dell' Ibernia in reame si fece allora;" (May 30) "mà erasi fatta già in un concistorio segreto a' 7 di Giugno. Ed era stato necessario che si facesse così; acciòche gli ambasciatori nel primo avvento potessero nominare come rè d' Inghilterra e d' Ibernia insieme i loro signori." (Pallavicino. *Ist. del Conc. di Trento*, Rom. 1657, ii. 53.) "Mary accompanied the letter presented to the pope by the ambassadors, with one in which she solicited him to confer on her the title of queen of Ireland. With this request, by a bull, transcribed by Bzovius, *ad ann.* 1555, the pope complied: the bull was dated the 7th of June, several days before the presentation of the ambassadors; and thus the difficulty, which otherwise would have arisen, was dexterously, but dishonourably eluded." (Butler's *Hist. Mem. of the Engl. Cath.* i. 136.) The letter appears, from Pallavicino, to have been written in the joint names of Philip and Mary. Dr. Lingard makes this insulting assumption of the pope to

have originated with Pole. "Pole had foreseen that the new title of king and queen of Ireland, assumed by Philip and Mary, in imitation of Henry and Edward, might create some difficulty, and therefore requested that Ireland might be declared a kingdom before the arrival of the ambassadors. But the death of Julius, succeeded by that of Marcellus, had prevented those pontiffs from complying with his advice; and the first act of the new pope, after his coronation, was to publish a bull, by which at the petition of Philip and Mary, he raised the lordship of Ireland to the dignity of a kingdom." *Hist. Engl.* vii. 186.

⁸ Abp. Browne, together with three of the bishops deprived for matrimony, seem to have died within a short time afterwards in obscurity. Casey, of Limerick, survived the Marian times, and was restored to his see by Elizabeth. *Mant.* 236.

⁹ *Ibid.* 244.

vided for a sanguinary spirit of intolerance, merely served to stain the Irish statute book. Romanism was, indeed, once more thoroughly established in Ireland, and the government decided upon following the English precedent of trampling down all opposition to it by fire and faggot. But its action upon Ireland was not quick enough to realise this intention. The lagging pace of colonial business long delayed the transmission of authority and instructions for commencing an active persecution. At length a commission for that purpose was prepared, and Dr. Cole, one of the commissioners, left London with it for Dublin. Exulting over the prospect of thus crushing Irish protestantism, he indiscreetly bragged of his charge before a woman at Chester, who was a staunch adherent of the Reformation, and had a brother in the Irish metropolis. She managed to steal the commission, and to place in its room a pack of cards with the knave of clubs uppermost. Unsuspicious of his loss, the talkative messenger went on to Dublin, where he landed, October 7, 1558, and there, looking for his credentials, was confounded by finding them so ridiculously supplanted. Happily, there never were any means of replacing them in time for their employment. A new commission was, indeed, obtained, but before it could reach Dublin, queen Mary was dead.¹

§ 5. On Mary's demise², Irish affairs felt, as usual, the distance of the impulse which was to set them in motion. Elizabeth had hardly taken her seat upon the throne, when England became impatiently apprehensive, or desirous, of religious alterations, and the queen's caution was overborne by the impetuosity of her people. Ireland appears to have been stagnant,

¹ "The sequel of the story is, that, on the recalling of the lord deputy into England, queen Elizabeth discoursing with him concerning several passages in Ireland, amongst other things, he related the foregoing narrative: which so delighted the queen, that her majesty sent for the good woman, Elizabeth Edmonds, or by her husband's name, Mattershed, and gave her a pension of forty pounds a year during her life, for saving her majesty's Protestant subjects of Ireland." *Ibid.* 251.

² "It is observable, that though she was a very zealous papist, yet the Irish were not quieter during her reign, than

they were under her brother; but on the contrary, their antipathy against Englishmen and government induced them to be as troublesome then as at other times, and prevailed with Mr. Sullivan to give this severe character of her reign, that although the queen was zealous to propagate the catholic religion, yet her ministers did not forbear to injure and abuse the Irish. *Quæ tametsi catholicam religionem tueri et amplificare conata est, ejus tamen præfecti et conciliarii injurias Ibernis inferre non destiterunt.*" Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana*. Lond. 1689, p. 309.

and the remote executive was exceedingly slow in disturbing the even current which the last reign had left. The first Protestant movement made by authority appears to have been in the two cathedrals of Dublin. In the latter end of May, 1559, orders were given to paint the walls of those churches anew, expunging from them pictures, with other devices, favourable to Romanism, and placing texts of Scripture in the room which all such ornaments had occupied. It was not, however, until the end of August that any part of the public service was introduced in a living language. The Earl of Sussex, lord deputy, then took the oath of office, in Christ-church, Dublin, and the Litany was sung there in English. The mass, or communion service, yet continued to be chanted and muttered in Latin: but all were aware that it must soon follow the fate of the Litany, and be made intelligible to the congregation generally, unless some popular demonstration should overawe the government into a prolongation of its present mysterious form. The lord deputy, with his council, was to attend at Christ-church again on the following Sunday, and arrangements were made for a bold experiment upon the credulity of an excitable populace during the service. An image of our Saviour stood in the cathedral, with a reed in the hand, and a crown of thorns upon the head. It had been placed there by Hugh Curwen, the present archbishop, in the place of a similar figure, which his predecessor, Browne, had removed. In the earlier part of the service, no particular notice was taken of it, an ordinary degree of observation discovering nothing peculiar in its appearance. At length, however, a whisper ran through the congregation: "See how it sweats blood." It was now found plain enough that blood was really trickling down upon the face through the crevices of the thorny crown, and as the populace gazed upon the sight, the pavement became crowded with prostrate worshippers, violently moved. The parties who had at first called attention to the portent, now supplied a solution for it. "Our Saviour," they said, "could not help sweating blood on seeing heresy thus come into his own church." Popular passion quickly took the infection, and so threatening did appearances become, that the lord deputy and his court thought it prudent to make a hasty retreat. Archbishop Curwen, however, though preferred by Mary, as likely to advance the Romish cause, had neither

forgotten those early perceptions of its weakness, which originally raised him into notice, nor the policy of exposing it once more, now that its friends at court were succeeded by its enemies.³ He therefore determined upon a merciless examination of the miracle. Desiring one of the officers of the church to mount a high form, this wonder was immediately reduced, as wonders generally may be, within very ordinary dimensions. A sponge, thoroughly soaked in blood, was dislodged from the hollow of the figure's head. A sufficient inquiry soon exposed the whole stratagem. A monk, recently attached to the cathedral, was found to have watched for an opportunity to place the sponge, and he, with three or four others, more or less in the secret, were the parties who first called attention to the trickling blood, and so ingeniously connected it with heavenly disapproval of a service that ordinary worshippers can understand. As the sponge was shown to the duped people who had lain awe-stricken upon the pavement, and its artful preparer was exposed to their indignant notice, some of them loudly cursed him, with such as had abetted his imposture. On the next Sunday, he and his

³ Hugh Curwen, whose surname is otherwise written Coren, was a native of Westmorland. He had been chaplain to Henry VIII. and preached in the conventual church at Greenwich, May 28, 1532, a sermon for the supremacy, the king being present, which moved Elstow, a friar of the house, to exclaim from the rood-loft, "You lie:" a piece of unseasonable plain-speaking visited by imprisonment. By this, however, neither was he daunted, nor were his friends, nor was Curwen admonished by the whole transaction as to the indecency and mischief of playing the courtier in the pulpit. On the contrary, Peto, another friar of Elstow's house, preaching in the same pulpit before Henry, in the following year, 1533, made a violent attack upon his marriage with Ann Boleyn, comparing himself to Micajah, and the king to Ahab. Curwen preached on the next Sunday, and fully paid Peto in his own coin. He was then absent at a provincial council, but Elstow was again in the rood-loft, and he immediately burst forth in a spirited rebuke of the preacher, which nothing short of the king's own interference could stop. Curwen's divinity, however, was in strict unison with that most in vogue, for he was a staunch sup-

porter of the corporal presence, and is considered to have hastened the death of Frith, by a Lent sermon, preached before Henry, containing a violent invective against the Sacramentaries, and a personal allusion to that martyr. As Strype notes him for "complier in all reigns," he had, of course, no difficulty in modifying his theology to suit Edward's days, nor afterwards, to meet Mary's wishes. He had been made dean of Hereford by Henry, in 1541, and Mary found him thus beneficed in 1555, when he was preferred to the archbishopric of Dublin, being, of course, thought sufficiently Romish for the queen's purposes. It is evident, however, from his conduct about our Saviour's image, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, that he had neither forgotten his Protestant information and discernment, nor the expediency of using them now that they were again passports to court favour. The niceness of his tact served him once more. Being weary of Ireland, where he had been lord chancellor, as well as archbishop, he obtained a translation to the see of Oxford, in 1567. In the following year he died at Swinbrook, near Burford. Mant, 237. Stow, 559, 561. Strype's *Parker*, i. 508. Le Neve, 114.

principal confederates were placed upon a table, with hands and legs tied, and inscriptions on their breasts, in the same church⁴; and before the same distinguished assemblage that had been so abruptly broken up a week before, the archbishop preached, taking for his text, *God shall send them strong delusion, that they shall believe a lie*. A country higher in civilization and knowledge than Ireland was then, especially with her actual advantage of an executive unfavourable to sectarian imposture, would have profited importantly by such an exposure. It occurred, however, among a people unprepared for it, and consequently certain to forget, or deny it, maintain its expediency, or explain it away, or even to believe a real miracle, so as to make its details little else than a matter of accusation to the disabusing party. England was, however, far more advanced in civilization, and it was made effective there. It turned the scale against images in churches, which was a point then under consideration among the leading English divines. Elizabeth professed very little interest in the question either way, but her partialities were evidently on the side of images. Parker showed her a letter from the archbishop of Dublin, detailing the particulars of the late fraud in his own cathedral, and this communication seasonably reinforcing a mass of scriptural authorities, decided the queen against church-statuary. She saw it not only liable to betray ignorant people into approaches towards idolatry, but also to furnish unprincipled impostors with facilities for deluding them.⁵

§ 6. In the following January, that of the year 1560, parliament followed the English precedents, in passing the acts of supremacy and uniformity. The former of these, as in the sister-country, professed to invest the crown with no new powers, but merely to revive, and render effective, those which had been habitually claimed, and occasionally exercised by it from the first.⁶ The act of supremacy, indeed, although often treated, for sectarian and party purposes, as an assumption that

⁴ "This punishment they suffered three Sundays; were imprisoned some time; and then banished the realm. This converted above an hundred persons present, who swore that they would never hear mass more." Strype's *Parker*, i. 91.

⁵ *Ibid.* 92.

⁶ "And here the *Regale* is further pressed than in England. The determining points of faith are translated from the church upon the state: and the parliament, without the concurrence of the convocation, is made the last judge of heresy." Collier, ii. 462.

pretends to invest a lay sovereign with spiritual powers like those of the pope, is, in fact, founded upon the old statutes of *præmunire*, and the like, enacted at a time when a secession from Rome was not contemplated, and when any one would have laughed if he could have heard of a tendency in such legislation to confound kings with bishops.⁷ The act of uniformity abolished the Roman service, substituting the English for it, and rendered lay-parishioners who should not attend it, liable, as in England, to a fine of one shilling.⁸ This act, however, was accompanied by a remarkable qualification, extorted by the peculiar circumstances of the country. There were parts of Ireland in which clergymen able to read English could not be found. The obvious remedy for this difficulty was an Irish translation of the liturgy; but one was not undertaken, because, according to the statute, it could not easily be printed, and if it were, few could “read the Irish letters.”⁹ The employ-

⁷ “The act of supremacy was really nothing more, as to its intent, than the act of *Præmunire*. The object was to restrain the exercise of illegal jurisdiction, and to confine within due limits the arbitrary proceedings of men, who, under pretence of religion, claimed a power of exclusively deciding on all matters, whether mixed or unmixed, relating to the church; men, who claimed exemptions from the law courts, pretending that they could be judged only by the pope; who frequently made the sacraments subservient to their passions, forbidding divine service, and interdicting the benefits of Christianity to all those who refused to comply with their arbitrary injunctions and decrees.” O’Conner *apud* Phelau, 104.

⁸ Mant, 259.

⁹ This strange clause has been thought, from its form, to have been no part of the bill as originally prepared, and it has been represented as “serving to sheathe the acrimony” of popular prejudice against the Protestant liturgy, by allowing it to meet the ear in the language immemorially heard at church. It was, notwithstanding, a gross blunder in legislation. The liturgy ought to have been translated, and the Bible too, into Irish. Little settled and civilised as the country was, great good might have been done by taking religion out of the foreign dialect which had hitherto mocked the people; especially at a time when their connexion

with Rome was broken, and schemes to renew it had not been effectively set on foot. Unfortunately this was not done until such schemes had begun to convulse the island. In 1571, however, Nicholas Walsh, son of a Protestant Irish bishop, but educated academically at Cambridge, being then chancellor of St. Patrick’s, in conjunction with John Kerney, treasurer of that church, introduced Irish types, got an order from government for the printing of the Common Prayer into the Irish language, and another for the reading of this liturgy, and the preaching of a sermon in Irish, in the several shire-towns. In 1577, this judicious and excellent man was appointed bishop of Ossory, and he was afterwards employed, together with his friend Kerney, and Nehemiah Donnellan, eventually archbishop of Tuam, upon an Irish translation of the New Testament. This work was published in 1603; Mant, 293. Wales is an evidence of the advantage gained by an appeal sufficiently early, to the popular understanding, by means of vernacular religious formularies. That country became completely Protestant. Perhaps, indeed, the policy that rendered it so, may now have a tendency to nurture its dissenting tastes. The Welsh language is undoubtedly indebted considerably for the tenacity of its hold upon the people, to its appearance as their scriptural instructor. It is, however, no longer the dialect, even of middle life. The

ment of other letters appears to have been overlooked; and in place of so simple an expedient, permission was given to read the liturgy in Latin, in cases which did not allow the use of English. Thus the Protestant church was blemished at the outset by a gross inconsistency, and a favourable opportunity for enlightening the Irish peasantry was most inconsiderately thrown away.

§ 7. The act of supremacy produced very little apparent effect in Ireland. No Marian English bishop would commit himself to it; the only one whom it did not strip of his preferment being Kitchen of Llandaff, upon whom it was not pressed. The Irish episcopal bench discovered no such tenacity. Dowdall of Armagh died three months before Elizabeth's accession, and his see had not been filled up. Thus an exile for conscience sake under Edward, was not again ready to oppose the government with every advantage of position. From his uncompromising adherence to Romanism in former times, the late primate would undoubtedly have clung to it once more, and his example might have had considerable weight. His opportune death, however, made the first example come from Curwen of Dublin, an able man, but a thorough time-server, and hence no great credit to any cause, especially as even his morals appear to labour under some shade of suspicion.¹ He complied again, and all

clergy generally, though masters of it, and using it professionally both at church and in their parishes, do not speak it at home. Hence they do not think in it, and cannot be familiar with its colloquial opulence. Not so the dissenting preacher. It is, therefore, now as desirable, that the Welsh should be cautiously withdrawn from the churches, as it was once desirable to introduce it into them. Its continuance there tends to prolong its hold upon the country, which, though justly proud of such an interesting, venerable, philological relic, is gradually losing it from the superior utility of English. Perhaps another century will render Welsh, like Cornish, no longer vernacular. When that change is accomplished, a great advantage will be gone from dissenting preachers, and the church may resume that hold upon the country, which she once had, from using a language universally intelligible, but which she has now, in a great measure, lost, probably, from continuing the use of

that language in places where it is not absolutely necessary; all above the lowest, and many of them too, making more or less use of another tongue.

¹ Loftus, then archbishop of Armagh, wrote of Curwen to Abp. Parker, that he "laboured under open crimes," shameful to speak of, though he was not ashamed to commit them. (Strype's *Parker*, i. 221.) Loftus himself eventually became Curwen's successor at Dublin, preferring a step lower in rank, with the security of a metropolis, to an unprotected residence in a country town exposed to the outrages which remote parts of Ireland had ordinarily witnessed, and which he had recently had experience of in the rebellion of Shane O'Neil. He might have had an eye to this translation, when he wrote to Abp. Parker, and hence have been willing to make the worst of reports to Curwen's disadvantage. But such reports are seldom altogether without foundation.

the prelacy of Ireland, with only two exceptions, Leverous of Kildare, and Walsh of Meath, like him, now solemnly admitted the crown's ecclesiastical prerogatives. These two bishops were deprived of their sees.² Of the inferior clergy too, the great majority conformed. Nor was the laity behind in this general defection from Rome.³ Few absented themselves from church, and a disposition to do this, whenever it occurred, found a ready corrective in the strict enforcement of the pecuniary penalty which it incurred.⁴ The necessity for this severity, and other indications of Romish partialities, discovered, indeed, plainly that Ireland had far less of the Protestant spirit, than the sister-country.⁵ Both, however, there can be no doubt, would have gradually risen completely superior to Romish prepossessions, had not the interested views and angry passions of man prolonged the papal reign. Its overthrow would not, indeed, in that case, have been attributable to the calm process of conviction, but rather to external force, or, as it may be said, to persecution, in a great proportion of instances. It should, however, be recollected, that religious parties in the sixteenth century were no petitioners for toleration. Whether they were a majority, or a minority of the population, they sought nothing short of enforcing in all quarters a complete conformity to their own views, and were universally prepared for establishing this by force. It was, therefore, sufficiently rea-

² Bp. Leverous appears merely to have refused the oath of supremacy, being allowed to live for a time with the Earl of Desmond, and afterwards to keep a school at Limerick. Bishop Walsh preached both against the queen's supremacy, and against the Common Prayer. He was imprisoned, and afterwards banished. He died at Alcalá in 1577, and was buried in a Cistercian monastery there, being a monk of that order. Besides these two bishops, who were deprived, two more have been considered to have voluntarily resigned their sees, on account of their Romish predilections. But Bp. Mant has shaken the credibility of this statement.

³ "The laity every where frequented the churches; multitudes of priests adopted the prescribed changes, and continued to officiate in their former cens." (Phelan, 120.) "The adherents of the Romish church in Ireland resorted to the parish-churches, where

the English service was used, during a great part, if not the whole, of Queen Elizabeth's reign." (Mant, 259.) "Until this time" (1604) "the Papists had generally attended divine service in the churches, and were known by the name of Church-Papists." *Ibid.* 348.

⁴ "Many came to church rather than they would pay the tax, which was accurately collected. At first they went to mass in the morning, and to church in the afternoon; but afterwards, to prevent that evasion, a roll of the house-keepers' names in every parish was called over by the churchwardens." Mant, 271.

⁵ In 1564, a proclamation was issued by the lord lieutenant, prohibiting the meetings of friars and popish priests, in Dublin, and ordering that none of them should lie within the city-gates. *Ibid.*

sonable to give the Irish nation an opportunity of becoming acquainted with Protestant opinions; which it could not have without their admission into all the churches of the country. Especially was Elizabeth's government justified in thus appealing to the understandings of the people, because the innovations which it sanctioned were founded on the written word of God, whereas the principles and usages which it undermined and forbade were traceable only to the uncertain traditions of men. These Romish peculiarities laboured still, besides, under an embarrassing deficiency even of mere human authority. They had long gained possession of the western church, but inquiry had shown many of them to have had no such advantage from the first, and some of them to have had it only from a date comparatively modern. Whether they would retain possession too, even among those who valued them, was uncertain. They were actually upon their trial. The council of Trent, which had long been engaged upon the investigation of their claims to confidence, was yet in deliberation. Elizabeth, however, was clearly free from any obligation to wait for the tardy decisions of a packed council of Italians and Spaniards. Her government was entitled to judge of religious questions for her own dominions from the light of Scripture, and of competent theological advice. Nor is it inexcusable for adopting the same exclusive principles of enforcing its own convictions, which all parties considered a sacred duty in that age.

§ 8. The English government, both under Henry and Elizabeth, had formed plans for the civil amelioration of Ireland, as well as the ecclesiastical. The country was to be moulded, by the blending of all its inhabitants into a homogeneous society, into a form like that of England, and of other kingdoms equally advanced. This design, however, could not be realised without sacrifices on the part of many families, which they were utterly averse from making. The principal families within the Pale must give up their established monopoly of such advantages as the colonial executive had to bestow⁶; the chieftains without the Pale must descend, as they esteemed it, from a sort of savage sovereignty to the tame dignity of a civilised peerage. When both parties found the prospect of these alterations in

⁶ "Thus the Pale had become a sort of corporation, and its principal families had acquired that corrupt and illiberal spirit, which too often belongs to a small privileged community." Phelan, 122.

their several conditions daily becoming more clear, they were violently dissatisfied. The first outbreak of their disgust and impatience was in Ulster, where the O'Neil family was recognised among the aboriginal Irish as invested with an authority akin to the royal, if not identical with it. The chieftain of that house had veiled his semi-barbarous dignity, in Henry's time, under the earldom of Tyrone, and taken the oath of supremacy; his object and that of others in his condition, then being to humble the hierarchy. But a master having been effectually found for the bishops, in the prince, neither O'Neil nor any other chieftain had any thought of accepting one for himself in the same quarter, and accordingly, when England was evidently bent upon reducing his whole order to this alternative, the existing Ulster potentate resolved upon setting an example of resistance. John, or Shane O'Neil, was his name. He was the eldest legitimate son of that individual who had been created earl of Tyrone; but Henry had been persuaded, when he granted that peerage, to name Matthew, Tyrone's elder, but illegitimate son, as the next successor to it. Shane's adventurous impetuosity disdained, however, such interference with his own better-founded expectations. He made an over-powering party in the province, and was acknowledged its chieftain by the law of tanistry.⁷ He now sought to seize the country which owned his family's authority, by force of arms, and in 1560 he made it the theatre of war.⁸ Elizabeth's haughty and resolute spirit could not endure this insolence of a wild Irish chieftain. She promptly sent five hundred foot over from England, and some cavalry being raised in Ireland to join them, Shane soon found himself unable to keep the field. Hence he not only threw down his arms, but also promised to

⁷ "Taking upon himself the title of O'neal, by no other election than a wild cast of his shoe over his head." (Camden's *Elizabeth*, apud Kemmet's *Complete Hist. of Engl.* Lond. 1706, ii. 385.) This might be some form used at his election, but O'Neil himself referred his position to a regular election, under the law of tanistry, in his personal address to Elizabeth, when he waited upon her, according to his promise. "The laws of God and man," he said, "had made him the undoubted heir, as being his father's eldest son, born in lawful wedlock, and entitled O-neal, by the joint consent of

the peers and commons, according to the law of that country, called *Tanistry*, by which a man grown is preferred before a child, and the uncle before the nephew, whose grandfather outlives the father." *Ibid.* 391.

⁸ Camden attributes his outbreak to apprehensions of legal violence. "For fear the laws should call him to account for the murder of Matthew, Lord Dunganon, his base brother, falsely supposed to be legitimate, for depriving his father, who soon after broke his heart, of his government." *Ibid.* 385.

wait upon the queen, in England, being evidently anxious to obtain her authority for assuming the peerage, that he might thus acquire every species of right to the chieftaincy which he had succeeded in appropriating.⁹ Within about twelve months, he kept his promise, appearing at the English court with the same sort of savage parade, that might now be expected at St. James's, with an Indian chief from the forests of Canada.¹ The exhibition proved as amusing as strange sights always are, and the record of it may serve to expose the folly, or worse, of commenting upon the Irish transactions of that day, as if they occurred in a civilised nation. Elizabeth received her wild visitor with the kindness that she had in store for almost every body. But she was not surprised out of any of her habitual firmness and discernment. She questioned O'Neil as to his assumptions, and let him go back to Ireland without any confirmation of his claims. Though, probably, much disappointed by this failure, he seems to have been upon the whole pleased with his English visit, and by way of some return he made strenuous and successful exertions against the Scottish marauders who infested the north of Ireland. Having thus both ingratiated himself with the English Government, and become leader of a considerable force, well-practised in arms, his savage passions broke completely loose. All the petty chieftains around were brought under his insolent yoke. Hatred of the primate made him burn Armagh, not even sparing the cathedral.² O'Donel, his nearest neighbour of any importance, he stripped of his land, turned him out of doors, and committed a rape upon

⁹ "After some slight skirmishes, when he found himself unable to cope with the English, and that he was grown odious to his party, and was likewise opposed by Surly-Boy (an Hebridian Scot), James Maeconell, and Odonel, he threw down his arms at the treaty of his kinsman, the earl of Kildare, and promised to come to England and crave the queen's mercy." *Ibid.*

¹ "Now came Shan Oneal out of Ireland, to perform the promise he had made a year ago, with a guard of Galloglasses, armed with hatchets, all bare-headed, their hair flowing in locks upon their shoulders, on which were yellow surplises, dyed with saffron, or stained with urine, with long sleeves, short coats, and thrum jackets; which caused as

much staring and gaping among the English people, as if they had come from China or America." *Ibid.* 391.

² In 1566. The church has been represented as "utterly destroyed," but Bp. Mant says that this language "must be taken with some qualification, as the building, which still exists, is evidently in part the production of an earlier age." "The cause assigned for this outrage was, that he did it, lest the English should lodge therein: for which fact, the sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him by Archbishop Loftus, then lord primate of all Ireland, and by the clergy of his diocese." (*Hist. of the Ch. of Ireland*, 302.) Richard Creagh, the titular primate, was equally enraged by this devastation of an edifice, which he

his wife. The English were now driven to interfere; but O'Neil treated their first preparations with contempt, and set up the standard of rebellion. He was, however, soon persuaded to take it down again, and even to surrender his son as a hostage for his future good behaviour. Elizabeth entertained hopes of conciliating him by cancelling the patent in favour of his illegitimate half-brother; but Shane scorned the tardy concession, raised a large force, declared himself *the* O'Neil, sovereign of Ulster, and offered the superiority over Ireland, to the queen of Scots. Effectual means of putting him down were now necessarily used by the government, and these, after some vicissitudes, completely succeeding, he was driven by despair to take refuge with about fifty clansmen, among the Scots then lingering in Ulster. They received him with apparent cordiality, but a band of savage marauders were not likely to forgive the slaughter which he had recently committed upon their comrades, when he was acting as the queen's auxiliary. They upbraided him accordingly, over their cups, with his cruel usage of their friends; and an altercation urging him into some offensive personalities, they seem to have considered him as entitled no longer to benefit from the laws of hospitality, and he was murdered with most of his party.³ Such was the beginning of the wars in Ireland, attributed to religion; and such was the first champion produced by the papal church, as it is thought, in that country.⁴

§ 9. By the suppression of this revolt, Ireland was not pacified. Ulster, indeed, had gained a temporary relief from the disorders under which it ordinarily suffered. But Munster was the theatre of war. The two principal chieftains of that province, the earls of Ormond and Desmond, were at feud as to the limits of their several jurisdictions. It is true, that attempts had been made under Henry VIII. not only to merge the chief in the peer, but also to convert territorial rights into patrimonial estates. When the Irish chiefs acknowledged the crown's ecclesiastical prerogatives, they resigned their claims over the districts in which they were the acknowledged rulers and proprie-

calculated upon recovering for himself, and he too excommunicated O'Neil. Phelan, 134.

³ Such is Camden's account. Dr. Lingard says, "the Irish chieftain was basely assassinated by his new friends, at the instigation of Piers, an English officer." (*Hist. Engl.* viii. 127.)

⁴ "A man he was who had stained his hands with blood, and dealt in all the pollutions of unchaste embraces; and so scandalous a glutton and drunkard was he beside, that he would often lie up to the chin in dirt to cool the feverish heats of his intemperate lusts." Camden, 409.

ters, into the king's hands, and these lands were formally re-conveyed to them, under the royal letters-patent, as private inheritances. It is not improbable, that a desire of these grants might have influenced them in making their submissions. According to aboriginal Irish law, the chief was recognised as head-proprietor of all the land within his sept⁵, but then he had only a life-interest in it. At his death, it really reverted to the tribe, which was, indeed, most likely to acknowledge the next heir as his successor, but which might set that person aside in favour of another. He was treated as a candidate whose claims required approval from twelve chosen judges, before they could be admitted.⁶ Hence after the great chieftains had accepted royal titles to their lands, there was ample room for denying any importance to the grants. The surrendering parties had compromised posterity. The sept, however, which really claimed an ultimate ownership of the land, was not inclined to lose all hold upon it under feudal laws of primogeniture, to which it had never consented. Thus the Munster earls had abundant materials at command for convulsing the districts in which they lived. They had only to take, or suffer to be taken for them, the popular views of territorial rights, in order to gain enthusiastic support for any of their selfish schemes. At length, the government was aroused to the necessity of interference, and the two litigants received a summons to appear before the council-board in England, and state their respective cases. This course, was, however, abandoned as involving questions difficult of decision at such a distance, and the lord deputy received instructions to adjudicate. The earls again prepared for war; but Ormond, willing to try less hazardous means, entered into communication with the queen's ministers, and a well-executed surprise having sent Desmond into an English prison, Munster enjoyed once more for a time, its average portion of tranquillity.⁷ But such temporary calms

⁵ "By a custom, which seems to have extended from the Hinlaya mountains to the Atlantic, he was sole proprietor of all the land in his sept: the clansmen held their portions during the pleasure of their chief." Phelan, iv.

⁶ "The surrender made by my father to Henry VIII., and the second grant of it from the king to him signified just nothing, forasmuch as he had no estate to make over beyond his own life, nor

could he surrender it, but by the consent of the nobility and people, who had conferred on him the honour of O-neal. Such letters-patents are moreover insignificant, unless there was a certain heir of the family acknowledged by twelve men: which, in this case, was never done." Shane O'Neil's speech to queen Elizabeth. Cambden, 391.

⁷ *Ibid.* 410.

had never lasted long enough to civilise the country. Its population had been constantly exercised with animosity and contention. Hence alien enemies of England could calculate pretty safely upon the sister-island as a vulnerable point. Its dissensions might arise, as they did, out of cupidity in the great, and senseless antipathies in the vulgar. They served, whatever were their origin, to keep the nation incapable of regular industry⁸, ignorant and careless of civilised comforts, prone to the wild excitement of warlike adventure, and hostile to the distant English government, because it interfered occasionally, though feebly, with individual selfishness and desolating violence.

§ 10. The foreign country that first entertained hopes of turning the distracted and uncivilised state of Ireland to its own advantage, was France; which, when England seemed likely to change its almost nominal superiority into a real one, received overtures from some of the alarmed chieftains. They offered to transfer their allegiance, such as it was, from the English crown to the French; provided that the pope would consent, as there could be no doubt he would, unless continental politics should interfere; the offer being made in Edward's time, consequently, after Henry's rupture with Rome. This prospect appeared so tempting, that when John de Monluc, bishop of Valence, was sent ambassador to Mary of Guise, regent of Scotland, he received instructions to take Ireland in his way home, and make observations as to the feasibility of the plans proposed by the Irish chiefs.⁹ Whatever his report

⁸ "The barbarian Moor, the moorish Spaniard, the Turk, and the Irishman, are the least industrious and most sluggish lives under the sun." (Lithgow's *Account of Ireland*, in 1619, *apud* Turner's *Modern Hist. Engl.* Lond. 1829, iv. 393.) The Irish, however, now do a great part of the most laborious work in English towns, and those who employ them, speak well of them. The idleness, therefore, which Lithgow saw, was merely produced by the wretched state of their social institutions. There is no reason to doubt that if Ireland had been delivered, soon after the English came, from the domestic tyranny under which its people had been immemorially impoverished and barbarised, they would have been found fully upon a level with con-

temporary Europeans in industry, and in every other valuable quality.

⁹ "To know more particularly the motions and likelihood of the offers made by Omeal, Odoneel, Odocart, and Callock, willing to shake off the yoke of England, and become subject to the king of France; providing that he would help procure the pope's gift of Ireland, and then send to their help 2000 hacbutiers, 200 light horsemen, and 4 canon." (*Sir James Melvil's Memoirs*, 8.) Sir James, then a boy of 14, was with the bishop, little to the advantage of the right reverend diplomat's reputation. At the "great dark tower," in which Odocart (probably O'Dogherty) lived, and where Monluc was entertained, were found two friars, fled from England, who remarked with

might be, France had hardly received it when a coolness sprang up with Rome¹, and she long continued, afterwards, from domestic difficulties, unable to enter upon a distant and hazardous enterprise: hence the overtures from Ireland merely served as an introduction on a future occasion, to such intercourse with her turbulent aristocracy as kept up its hopes of exchanging a superior at hand for one at a distance. This kind of communication was, however, entered into with considerable spirit, greatly to the embarrassment and annoyance of the English government, which complained of it, in 1572, as inconsistent with the peaceful relations then subsisting between the two governments.² But Rome was the continental power most steadily intent upon wounding England through her Irish dominions. Two Jesuits³ had been sent to Ireland previously to Monluc's visit, and they, probably, suggested to the native chieftainry, that as the English power had been originally introduced under colour of the papal authority, so it might now be driven out of the island by the same device. By this means, it would be easy, as before, both to secure clerical support, and

great uneasiness his persecuting attentions to the host's daughter, anxious as she was to escape from them. Her disgust being likely to be known, and inconveniently resented by her father, the English friars naturally became uneasy under Monluc's indecent conduct, and by way of stopping it, secretly brought him another female. This person found in his chamber-window a small glass vessel, containing some substance with a very fine smell. Thinking that it must be good eating, with all the greediness of a semi-barbarian, she "licked it clean out." It was a most valuable perfume, given by the Grand Seigneur to the bishop, after a diplomatic residence of two years at his court. When he found it thus disposed of, he made such an outcry as brought the household into his chamber, which was greatly amused, no less than surprised, on finding it doubly-tenanted, and witnessing the French bishop's boisterous rage. Neither his own servants, however, nor the Irish thought of any thing in the affair, but its ridiculous details. Not so the woman, and the friars who introduced her. They precipitately fled. Melvil, 9.

¹ "The bishop of Valence was sent to Rome to endeavour to oblige the pope to desert the emperor; but he returned

without obtaining success in his expedition: which was the cause that the dealing betwixt the king of France and Ouel in Ireland ceased. And in the mean time the king of France emits a proclamation, forbidding his subjects to send to Rome for any bulls, or confirmations of benefices: which, together with the agreement with England, put the pope in great fear, that France would become protestant, in despite, as Henry VIII. had lately done before." (*Ibid.* 11.) As the pope's authority, which the chiefs had solemnly disclaimed but the other day, was now to stimulate their abused clansmen in aiding them to shake off the augmenting power of England, France's quarrel with Rome, at that juncture, necessarily deferred the business, it being unlikely that the pope would offend the emperor by pretending to confer Ireland upon a rival power. But the intended reference to Rome could not fail of making the Irish chiefs encourage, by all the means in their power, the machinations of Jesuits, and other Romish emissaries. The time might come, and that soon, when the plea of papal authority would serve their selfish ends most materially.

² Turner's *Mod. Hist.* iv. 388.

³ Salmeron and Paschasius. *Ibid.*

to work upon popular prejudice. But, although the ground may be prepared for national movements by Jesuits, or other suitable agents of no great personal importance, decisive measures require appliances which cannot always be commanded. Hence it was not until Hugh Buoncompagno, officially designated Gregory XIII., occupied the papal throne, that Roman designs against the tranquillity of Ireland broke forth in overt acts. That pontiff was continually urging both the courts of France and Spain, from his first acquisition of the tiara, to strike at the vitals of England, through her Irish dominions.⁴ At the outset, he might have been actuated solely by an honest, though unenlightened, feeling of attachment to his own creed, and a genuine conviction that duty demanded of him an unsparing hostility to Elizabeth; although it must be owned, that exhortations to bloodshed and confusion indicate no high degree of that knowledge which a Christian minister professes to dispense. But as Gregory's interest in Irish affairs gained strength, it lost him all credit even for honesty. His general conduct, although far from austere pious, or moral, was decorous, but he had a son, James Buoncompagno, born to him illegitimately before he took priest's orders, of whom he was immoderately fond, and this child of shame he meant for king of Ireland.⁵

§ 11. This disgraceful project was put into his head by Thomas Stukeley, an English fugitive, utterly bankrupt in character and circumstances, who took refuge at Rome after he could no longer stay either in England or Ireland. This worthless, but specious and boasting adventurer, soon wormed himself into the confidence of the late pope, Pius V., by feeding his stern, stolid bigotry, with gross abuse of Elizabeth, and sanguine pictures of the facility with which her Irish dominions might be wrested from her. Pius, however, lived long enough to see his character exposed, his money wasted, and his conspiracy baffled in a profligate attempt made upon England, but not long enough to be ready for a similar expense and infamy in Ireland. When Gregory XIII., accordingly, became master at the Vatican, Stukeley was still at hand with his Irish temptations, and as the new

⁴ "Les révoltes que la reine Elisabeth avait à combattre en Irlande, étaient presque toujours entretenues par Rome. Le pape ne cachait pas son désir de susciter une guerre générale contre

l'Angleterre. Chaque année ses nonces négociaient à ce sujet avec Philippe II. et avec les Guise." Ranke, *Hist. de la Papauté*, ii. 241.

⁵ Cambden, 462.

pope had a son, whom he would be delighted to see a king, the worthless exile found means of giving an interest to his tales that the childless old age and severe morality of the late pontiff denied. Intoxicated with the prospect of founding a sovereign family, Gregory not only pretended to create him tempter, marquess of Leinster, and a double earl and double baron besides, but he also furnished him with 3000 stand of arms, fitted out a ship of war, gave him the command of an Italian troop, either six or eight hundred strong, whom the king of Spain had engaged to pay, for the purpose of joining the discontented Irish chieftains, and making a conquest of their country. With this force, Stukeley left Cività Vecchia, in 1578, and steered for the Tagus. When anchored there, he found Philip give him no cordial greeting, being disgusted at the pope's design of making Ireland into a kingdom for his own spurious offspring. He had entered into the scheme of employing Stukeley for the purpose of securing the island for himself; intending to justify the seizure of it as a reprisal for Elizabeth's assistance to his revolted subjects in the Netherlands. He was not at all averse, therefore, when the pretended marquess of Leinster expressed a wish to join Sebastian, king of Portugal, in the expedition about to sail for Morocco. Nor was this unexpected alteration in the adventurer's course wholly without a semblance of promoting his papal employer's objects. Sebastian had made a great boasting of his intended services against Protestants and Mahumedans; much to the pontiff's apparent satisfaction, as he had warmly applauded his zeal. But he never came back from Africa. He fell in battle there, as did also two Moorish kings, that fought him, and his English auxiliary Stukeley, who thus finished, as Cambden well remarks, "the interlude of a loose life with an honest catastrophe, or conclusion." Philip had now neither time nor money for Ireland. Every thought and every resource were urgently required for the seizure of Portugal.⁶

⁶ Cambden, 462. The first agent in this Irish rebellion is thus described in the *Execution of Justice*, attributed to Burghley: "Out of Ireland ran away one Thomas Stukeley, a defamed person almost through all Christendom, and a faithless beast rather than a man, fleeing first out of England for notable piracies,

and out of Ireland for treacheries not pardonable." (3) Cambden describes him as "a lewd, profuse, and vaunting rascal, who, after spending his estate, had fled into Ireland, being disappointed of the hopes he had of being steward of Wexford," &c. 430.

§ 12. Success in this enterprise left him, however, within twelve months, at leisure again for Irish politics. James Fitzmaurice, brother to the Earl of Desmond, tempted him importunately with pictures of the facility with which Elizabeth might be deprived of the sister-island. The *great earl* himself, as he was called, had formerly promised to abstain from any further interference in religious disputes, admitting his incompetence to judge accurately upon them⁷, and when released from the tower of London, he entered into a recognizance of twenty thousand pounds for his peaceable behaviour.⁸ But the old feuds between his house and that of Ormond, Jesuitic sophistry, dread of English control, and the persuasions of his brother, James, who had neither character nor fortune at stake, impelled him to stir up secretly a war in Munster. The desperate and perfidious folly upon which he thus entered, was to be cloaked and countenanced by religious considerations. James Fitzmaurice obtained from the pope a small sum of money, a consecrated banner, and letters of recommendation to Philip.⁹ In Spain, he collected about eighty soldiers, natives of the country, and a few exiles, partly Irish, partly English. He was accompanied by Sanders, the great authority for Romish accounts of the English reformation, who bore a regular commission as papal legate, and by Allen, an Irish Jesuit. The party landed at St. Mary Wick, or Smerwick, in Kerry, in July, 1579, and immediately seizing a piece of ground for the building of a fort, which, to keep up appearances, was formally consecrated, it spent the following winter there. Nothing can show more

⁷ "The *great earl*, as he is called by the Irish annalists, had promised the government, upon his withdrawing from O'Neil's confederacy, that *as he had no knowledge in learning, and was ignorant of what should be done for the furtherance of religion in Munster, he would aid and maintain whatever might be appointed by commissioners nominated for that purpose.*" Phelan, 157.

⁸ "Which he acknowledged that he had justly forfeited." *Ibid.* 158.

⁹ "The same James, who, a while before, falling upon his knees before Perrot, president of Munster, had, with great lamentations and humble intreaties, begged his pardon, and most religiously vowed his fidelity and obedience to the queen. This man, I say, who was

never well but in troubles, had withdrawn himself into France, promising the king that, if he would assist him, he would unite all Ireland to the sceptre of France, and restore the Romish religion in that isle." (Cambden, 472.) He, probably, shaped his course first towards France, because that court had formerly been tempted with hopes of acquiring Ireland. It was, however, now inclined to make no efforts for the purpose, and Fitzmaurice becoming importunate, was at last treated with derision. He then went to Spain. Philip referred him to the pope, and his suit at Rome being warmly seconded both by Sanders and the Jesuit Allen, Gregory helped to fit him out, and gave him letters to the king of Spain.

clearly the ordinary impotence of the English government in most parts of Ireland, than this wintering of a force in itself so thoroughly contemptible, especially as the three vessels which brought over the invaders were taken almost immediately by an English ship of war, that happened accidentally to be near. Within the country too, there was little appearance of co-operation. Two of the Desmond family, indeed, speedily joined their kinsman and his foreign friends, but the earl himself made a show of disapproving the enterprise, and even mustered his people under pretence of resisting it. He managed, however, to prevent the Earl of Clanarty, who was coming to join him, from executing that intention, and in spite of his oaths and protestations of loyalty, it became evident enough that he was really a party to the rebellion. His open patronage of it was delayed, until Ormond, the ancient rival of his house, was appointed president of Munster. That nobleman had already ingratiated himself with the English government, by counteracting the traitorous movements, first of his own brothers¹, afterwards of the Desmonds. He was now invested with a paramount authority over the district in which he had hitherto been only a competitor for power, and he was called upon still further to gall his rival by demanding a personal interview with him. Desmond had excused himself, in letters transmitted by his wife, from waiting upon Pelham, lord justice, (Drury, lord deputy, being lately dead, and a successor not having been yet provided,) but as he still was unprepared for disclaiming his allegiance, he could not refuse to see Ormond, however cordially he might hate him. He was required to procure the arrests of Sanders, and of the caption of the handful of foreign invaders, to act against his brother, and submit himself in every particular. On these con-

¹ Edmund and Peter Butler, in 1569. Camden says, that they "grew too big to be restrained within the bounds of law, insulted their neighbours in Munster, and destroyed the queen's good subjects with fire and sword." (421.) Such men did not require any difference of religion to hate their sovereign: their real quarrel was with any controlling force. But as their outrages rendered them more than ordinarily anxious for popular support, they were willing to stand forth as Romish champions, and having formed a confederacy with other chieftains in that part of the country,

the whole movement became of sufficient importance to attract the notice of Philip, who was really zealous for Romanism, and whose anxiety to appropriate Ireland is at least equally certain. He sent, accordingly, John de Mendoza privately into Ireland to see what could be done; but the Earl of Ormond arriving at the same time from England, his two brothers were persuaded by him to submit themselves. They were, however, taken into custody, but never brought to trial.

ditions his suspicious conduct was to be overlooked. If he rejected them, he was to be declared a traitor, and treated accordingly. The unhappy earl yet sought, by equivocation and delay, to escape from this alternative; but the obvious impolicy of allowing him any further opportunity to gain time, precipitated the government into a formal denunciation of him as a traitor, in the beginning of November, 1579. Being now hotly pursued, and reduced to considerable difficulty, he publicly professed himself a defender of the catholic faith, and invited the lord justice to join him; a ridiculous proposal which was received with a laugh, but which his weak head, being flushed by a trifling success, might consider as a very proper demonstration of importance.²

§ 13. In the following February, that of 1580, Sanders addressed a letter to the Irish nobility, in which Elizabeth is most scurrilously handled.³ But his mission continued, notwithstanding, to wear a very unpromising appearance, being greeted but slenderly with native support, although papal indulgences bid high for it among all who lived in fear of purgatory. Nor did the Romish party find its prospects much more satisfactory, even on the arrival, at the latter end of September, of San Giuseppe, an Italian officer, at the head of seven hundred men; although there came besides five thousand stand of arms, and a rich military chest. This reinforcement appears to have been chiefly made up of Italian *banditti*, pardoned on condition of fighting in Ireland for the papal cause.⁴ The invaders were enabled easily to effect a landing, the English admiral employed to watch the coast having withdrawn, because he then did not expect an enemy. San Giuseppe immediately set about fortifying himself, and he called his work the *Fort del Ore*. He soon, however, found himself so pressed by the lord deputy, and the Earl of Ormond, while he received no succour either from Desmond, or from the continent, that he became alarmed, and hastily surrendered at discretion. The queen's forces had long been most irregularly paid, and a body of them that was

² He took Youghal without resistance, and his clansmen made a sad figure as soldiers in a papal war, pillaging the implements of Romish worship found there with as little hesitation as any thing else that came in their way. This has been represented by Romanists as a reason of Desmond's eventual misfortunes. (Phelan, 203.) As Youghal was strongly fortified, an English garrison would, pro-

bably, have rendered it secure; but the mayor refused to admit one, for which he was hanged before his own door, when, shortly after, Ormond retook the place. Cambden, 474.

³ It may be seen in Ellis's *Original Letters*, second series, iii. 95.

⁴ See *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1849, p. 591.

marched into the fort, finding a crowd of disorderly sailors already there, sought an indemnity in the plunder of these unhappy foreigners, who were inhumanly put to the sword. Disreputable as were the victims of this outrage, Elizabeth felt it as a stain upon her soldiers. Hence it gave her great concern and displeasure. Of Sanders, the fate is uncertain; but he is known to have died in concealment before the end of 1580. The Earl of Desmond himself eluded pursuit during nearly three years, but he passed a miserable life. His days were generally spent alone, lurking in caverns, or other unsuspected retreats. At night he was usually joined by a few faithful followers⁵, who brought him such sustenance as they could any way procure. One day they seized some cows, and the owner getting assistance from a neighbouring fort, ventured upon an active search after his property. The animals were tracked to a glen through which the party proceeded until near midnight, when a light was seen glimmering through some trees. Towards this the officer led his men, and finding a cabin he entered it.⁶ An old man was lying before the fire, from whom, probably, nothing satisfactory could be learnt, as he was violently assaulted, and his arm was almost cut off. He then cried out, "I am the Earl of Desmond!" But this appeal gained him no pity.⁷ He was run through in several places, and his head being severed from the body, it was sent over to England, and placed upon London Bridge, according to the usage in cases of high treason.⁸

⁵ Who "had barbarously vowed to forswear God before they would forsake him." (Cambden, 495.) This is the true spirit of clanship, and an indication not to be misunderstood of the state which Irish society had reached at that time.

⁶ Phelan, 168.

⁷ Cox says, that Desmond was alone, those who were with him having run away when they found the soldiers approaching. The attacking party was led by an Irishman, named Kelly, who had been brought up among the English, and would have spared the earl, when he discovered his quality; but seeing that the bleeding from his arm made his recovery impossible, he went on to despatch him. *Hist. Irel.* i. 367.

⁸ Cambden, 495. Dr. Lingard says that it was Kelly of Moriarty who struck off his head, and he writes as if

Desmond had only time enough to discover himself. He also speaks of the earl's appearance as "venerable." Dr. Phelan too mentions his "dignified aspect." These things make the account much more picturesque. But Cambden's more probable tale makes it seem that there was a scuffle. As for Desmond's appearance, it is not likely to have been very striking. He was evidently a weak man. Such people may be self-possessed from the habitual consciousness of external advantages, but commanding faces they never have. The truth appears to be, that the soldiers treated this like an ordinary case of cattle-stealing, and finding an old man under very suspicious circumstances, who might be either insolent or uncommunicative, they treated him as they would any other such person so found at that time and in that country.

§ 14. Soon after Desmond's death, Ireland gained a strong and fair executive, the chief thing of which it has ordinarily been in want. Sir John Perrot, natural son, it was thought, of Henry VIII., became lord deputy, and administered the laws with that stern impartiality which respected neither race nor station, and which reduced completely to their just dimensions those ferocious, wily, selfish, local tyrants, among whom the country had been immemorially parcelled. The result of this administrative vigour was a degree of tranquillity quite unknown hitherto in Ireland. But although the great mass of the people, both of indigenous and of English extraction, did ample justice to a government which, for the first time, knew no distinctions, but between right and wrong doers, none could deny the deputy's severity, nor could such as felt the weight of it keep down a thirst for vengeance. At length Perrot, whose temper was evidently austere and hasty, grew weary of the animosities that thickened around him, and solicited his recall. His enemies pursued him into his retirement, and raking up some offensive and harsh language,⁹ upon Elizabeth and her ministers, which he had vented under disappointment and irritation, he was convicted of high treason. After a few months he died broken-hearted, or, some said, poisoned, in the tower.¹⁰ His withdrawal from Ireland was a signal for a

⁹ Perrot's coarse expressions about Elizabeth may be seen in Cox (i. 387). Unfortunately, that queen, though a very superior person, was not proof against a report of such liberties. Perhaps, however, few people would be, especially the great, whose ears, rarely meeting any other language than that of subserviency and flattery, are little prepared for the insulting familiarities with which their names are often associated, like the names of all the world besides, behind their backs.

¹⁰ Perrot, however, did some disservice to the English by recruiting for the army in Ireland, probably, to spare the queen's exchequer. "Till this time the Englishmen had very easy wars in Ireland; 800 foot and 300 horse were held an invincible army. Randolph, with 600 English, easily discomfited O'Neal with 4000 Irish. Collier, in the year 1571, with one single company, defeated a thousand Hebridians in Connaught. Three hundred horse overthrew the Butler with a great multitude of rebels. And (to omit other like in-

stances) two companies of foot won in one day above twenty castles from the Irish. But after they were, by Perrot's command, exercised daily at home, taught the use of their weapons, and to discharge their guns at a mark, so that they might be the more ready for service against the Hebridians, and had afterwards been bred up in the Netherland war, and learned the ways of fortifications; they then troubled the English (as we shall see after) with a more difficult war." (Cambden, 542.) The Irish, therefore, in Elizabeth's early years, were like the uncivilised nations of modern times, no match whatever for the troops of a nation more advanced. This is a great additional reflection upon the English government for suffering their wild independence during so long a time; and it is also a rebuke to those who would lay much stress upon their religious convictions at that time. The clausmen, it seems likely, would have turned Protestants, if their chiefs had seen any prospect of advantage in setting them the example.

new scene in the miserable drama, which had so long found a theatre upon her smiling surface. Among those who distinguished themselves on the royal side, in Desmond's rebellion, was Hugh O'Neil, son of the Lord Dungannon, illegitimately born to the Earl of Tyrone, but declared his heir in Henry the Eighth's patent of nobility. The young Hugh had the great advantage of an English education, and evidently possessed personal qualities fitted both for insinuation and action. But his uncle Shane, in striving for the chieftaincy of Ulster, had so effectually blazoned his father's base birth, that a very serious prejudice against him pervaded the northern province. He seemed, however, thoroughly devoted to the English, and he really possessed such means of aiding their government as rendered him an ally of great importance. Hence Elizabeth first gave him the earldom of Tyrone, and afterwards, the extensive territorial rights which his grandfather had possessed. These concessions he viewed as mere stepping-stones; but his time for throwing off the mask was not come, and he yet strove to appear one of the most devoted of Elizabeth's subjects. Ulster showed symptoms of relapsing into its former turbulence. Tyrone received an application to aid in restoring tranquillity. He readily promised his services, but required permission to raise and train six companies, which he might always have at command, in case any disturbance should occur. He would maintain this force himself. The required permission was given, and the six companies were raised. But they had no sooner become disciplined soldiers, than the men were severally sent home, and others took their places, who were trained in like manner. Thus all his clansmen, useful for the field, were gradually initiated in the arts of scientific warfare.¹ Such suspicious movements could not wholly escape observation; but the chieftain by descending at all times when it suited him to the most abject submissions, and most perfidious representations, contrived to keep himself in a condition to beard the government whenever it could be safely done. At length he renounced his peerage, at least, tacitly, by claiming to be *the* O'Neil, the lord of Ulster; and entering into correspondence with Spain, he assumed an attitude of defiance. Elizabeth, who had become impatient under the very mention of Ireland, was now driven to some decisive step. In July,

¹ Phelan, 172.

1595, Tyrone was proclaimed a traitor, and this show of vigour joined to military movements of some account, again brought him with other of the Ulster chiefs, to tender hypocritical submissions. In the following January attempts were made to pacify their unhappy country by means of a formal accommodation, and then, for the first time, the rebel captains brought forward the question of religion.² But although they universally claimed liberty of conscience, yet two of them, M'Mahon and M'Cauley, required full possession of *all* the revenues within their respective limits, the ecclesiastical being specifically mentioned: such was the tenderness of these men for the future prospects of that church which had now professedly awakened their tardy zeal.³ It is worthy of remark, also, that among the conditions offered to the rebels, was the admission of sheriffs into their counties⁴: a plain demonstration that hatred and fear of law, with all those restraints of civilized society which follow in its train, not honest Romish prepossessions, were the real causes of their rebellion. Their leader, Tyrone, indeed, had rendered himself rather conspicuous in his compliance with calls to Protestant worship⁵, and there can hardly be a doubt that, if England had been Romish, these Irish lords of misrule would have found cogent reasons for siding either with Luther or Calvin. Their hopes, however, of foreign succour all centred in Spain, the most bigoted of Romish countries, and its king was to cloak his ambitious designs upon Ireland, by pretending to receive it from the pope, its superior lord, who reclaimed it from Elizabeth as forfeited by heresy. Thus hatred of the country, which sought to restrain their

² "A very pleasant conceit, when religion was a thing that had not hitherto fallen under any consideration in that kingdom, and the malcontents themselves had so little troubled their heads about it, that this was the very first time they had made use of it as a medium to strengthen their party." Camden, 589.

³ "As for the business of alienating the church-lands, her answer" (the queen's) "was, that she had never willingly and knowingly granted to any man, nor would she hereafter grant the liberty of seizing on the revenues of the church," *Ibid.* 590.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ "Your majesty has heard, (says

Lee,) that he and his lady are papists, and foster seminarists. True it is that he is affected that way, but less hurtfully and dangerously than some of the greatest in the English pale: for when he is with the state, he will accompany the lord deputy to the church, and home again, and will stay to hear service and sermon; they, as soon as they have brought the lord deputy to the church-door, depart as if they were wild cats: but he, in my conscience, with good conference, would be reformed; for he hath only one little cub of an English priest, by whom he is seduced for want of his friends' access to him, who might otherwise uphold him." Phe-lan, 177.

wild excesses, anxiety to gratify Spain, and a provident care to cloak selfish injustice under colourable pretences, all impelled these Irish chieftains to take up a position as religious champions. The miserable followers too, whom they and their fathers had impoverished, barbarised, and oppressed in every substantial particular, but who were not aware of the hostile influence that really ground them to the dust, might find venom added to their hereditary hatred of every thing English, and enthusiasm added to their own clanish attachments, if they believed England an enemy to true religion, their chieftainry a powerful instrument for its protection. Thus when the sixteenth century, which laid the foundation of existing public opinion every where in Europe, closed upon Ireland, it left upon her populace a rooted antipathy to Protestantism. Ignorant people had been taught by selfish men, for ends quite unconnected with religion, to confound Romish peculiarities with the Catholic faith, and this absurd persuasion, constantly receiving a tinge of malignity from social evils and political disaffection, has worked itself into the vitals of inferior Irish society. Although Elizabeth lived, accordingly, just long enough to see the termination of her troubles in the sister-island, by the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion, she left no additional soundness in the public mind there.⁶ Rather, perhaps, the reverse. England had been found an over-match, but the difficulties in the way of consolidating her power, and the superior attractions of continental politics, joined to the lingering hold of Irish chieftainry, the uncivilized habits of the people, and the crafty exertions of an indigent sectarian priesthood, prevented her from following up past successes with the vigour that was urgently required. Hence arose a necessity for that violence which planted Ireland, in the seventeenth century, with an aristocracy alien in blood and religion to her indigenious population, filling the country with claims, prejudices, and animosities that distract it up to the present hour.

⁶ "O'Neil, who had never acted vigorously with or under his continental allies, and who, on one occasion, had been roundly charged with treachery by their discomfited general, at length made his peace by an insincere submission. The greater part of his associates had preceded him in this course, and

the others hastened to follow his example. Thus terminated abruptly, and in a great degree through the mutual jealousies of the leaders, the last of three rebellions which had foiled the ablest generals, and consumed myriads of the bravest troops of England." *Ibid.* 198. 200.

§ 15. One of Sir John Perrot's most promising efforts for the amelioration of Ireland, was to found a college in Dublin, that hence might flow streams of sound knowledge into every part of the country. That able viceroy had come into Ireland with instructions to consider how St. Patrick's Church, and its endowments, could be made available for this useful purpose. He found himself, however, unable to carry the plan into execution. Adam Loftus, then both archbishop of Dublin and lord chancellor, was raising a family out of the revenues of that cathedral, and he exerted himself to prevent any new appropriation of them.⁷ In his vindication it is alleged, that, if the project had taken effect, the see of Dublin would have been injuriously curtailed of means to reward clerical merit⁸; which would undoubtedly be an evil whenever it had an archbishop who considered his patronage as a public trust. At a subsequent period, interference with St. Patrick's having been abandoned, archbishop Loftus promoted the foundation of an university in Dublin. Trinity college was the name given to this noble institution, and the first stone of its buildings was laid in March, 1592. In the following January the first students were admitted into it, and among them was the admirable James Ussher, nephew to Henry Ussher, soon after archbishop of Armagh, and ultimately prelate of that see himself.

§ 16. This eminent scholar, when very young, turned his attention to the controversies with Rome, so common in his time, and by means of Stapleton's *Fortress of the Faith* especially, he gained a very considerable acquaintance with them. Fitz-Symonds, a learned Jesuit, was then imprisoned in the castle of Dublin, where he talked of himself as "like a bear tied to a stake, waiting for some to bait him." He obviously meant this language for a challenge to the Protestant party, and young Ussher, though only nineteen, was put forward to overthrow his confident assertions. The Jesuit was naturally rather indignant at the prospect of a disputation with one whose years appeared so unequal to it; but he soon saw abundant reason for believing himself matched with an antagonist most unlikely to be vanquished. He, therefore, silently with-

⁷ He "was deeply interested in the benefices and other estates belonging to the cathedral by long leases, which he

had granted either to himself or to his children and kinsmen." Mant, 311.

⁸ *Ibid.* 312.

drew from the contest, not venturing to call for a second regular encounter. Ussher had made sufficient preparations for one, but finding no occasion for them, they lay among his papers until he was urged by some individuals of weight, both in England and Ireland, to render his materials more complete, and offer them to the world.⁹ Obedience to this importunity made him publish his *Answer to a Jesuit*, in which Romanism is wounded through tradition, the very armour in which it professes to be invulnerable. But neither by this, nor by a similar work, more strictly national, his *Religion of the Ancient Irish and British*, were Ussher's countrymen generally prepared to profit. When the light of his erudition first shone upon them, their minds were closed against it by that sullen spirit of dissatisfaction towards every appeal from Protestantism and Britain, which so fearfully burst forth in the massacre of 1641. Nor has a great majority of them, down to this present time, been placed, by the current of civil affairs, in a condition to consider calmly how far the religious principles of their fellow-subjects are agreeable to the monuments of Christian antiquity, and favourable to national greatness. On the contrary, a succession of unfortunate circumstances has concurred to prolong, and even exasperate, those unenquiring prejudices against the sister-island and her scriptural faith, which arose amid the struggles of semi-barbarous chieftains to retain a pernicious power, and which never have been free from external influences equally suspicious.

⁹ This appears from Ussher's own preface, but, perhaps, his mention of one meeting only is to be taken with some limitation. "Twice or thrice (says Dr. Bernard) they had solemn disputations, though the Jesuit acknowledgeth but one. He was ready to have proceeded, but the Jesuit was weary of it." (Mant, 333.) The Editor must here

gratefully acknowledge his obligations to this work, which has excellently filled up an inconvenient void in the ecclesiastical history of these islands. The late learned and amiable Bishop of Down and Connor established, by writing it, a new claim to the distinction which attended him through life.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF THE SECT OF ANABAPTISTS OR MENNONITES.

§ 1. Origin of the Anabaptists, obscure.—§ 2, 3. Their probable origin.—§ 4. Their first movements.—§ 5. Their progress.—§ 6. Punishments decreed them.—§ 7. Those of Munster.—§ 8. Menno Simonis.—§ 9. His doctrine.—§ 10. Origin of sects among the Anabaptists.—§ 11. The more gross and the more refined.—§ 12. Source of the Mennonite religion.—§ 13. It was late reduced to a system.—§ 14. What it is.—§ 15. The first principle of their common doctrines.—§ 16. Their doctrines themselves.—§ 17. Their practical doctrines.—§ 18. Singular doctrines of certain sects.—§ 19. Their learning and erudition.—§ 20. Many sects among them.—§ 21. Permanent seat of the Mennonites first in Holland.—§ 22. The English Anabaptists.—§ 23. General and particular, what their views.—§ 24. David George.—§ 25. Henry Nicolai. The Familists.

§ 1. THE origin of the sect, which, from its repetition of the baptism received in other communities, is called that of *Anabaptists*¹, but from the very celebrated man, to whom it owes a

¹ The modern *Mennonites* are offended with this term, and profess to be entirely free from the practice of repeating *baptism*, on which this name is founded. They admit that the old *Anabaptists* had the custom of rebaptizing such as joined them from other denominations of Christians; but they say the custom at this day is laid aside by much the greater part of their community. See Herman Schyn's *Historie Mennonitarum plenior Deductio*, cap. ii. p. 32. But, unless I am altogether deceived, these good men here lose sight of that simplicity and ingenuousness which they at times so highly recommend, and artfully conceal the true ground of this appellation. They pretend that their predecessors were called *Anabaptists*, for this reason, that they thought those who had been baptized in other communities after they became adults and attained to the full use of reason, were to be baptized again. But it is certain that the name was given to them not only for that reason, but more especially because they considered the persons, who were initiated into the

Christian church by baptism, in their infancy, as not belonging to the church at all; and, therefore, when such persons would join the *Anabaptists*, they baptized them a second time. And in this sentiment all the sects of *Anabaptists* continue, quite to the present time, however much they may differ in other opinions and customs. Among the ancient *Anabaptists*, those in particular who are called *Flemings* or *Flandrians*, most fully merit this appellation. For they rebaptize not only those who received baptism in other denominations, in their childhood or infancy, but likewise such as received it in adult years. Nay, each particular sect of *Anabaptists* rebaptizes those who come to them from the other sects of their denomination: for each sect considers its own baptism to be the only true and valid baptism. The *more moderate* Anabaptists, or the *Waterlandians*, as they are called, are a little wiser; because they do not rebaptize such as were baptized at adult years in other denominations, nor those who were baptized in other sects of Anabaptists. And yet they are

large share of its present prosperity, that of *Mennonites*, is involved in much obscurity.² For it suddenly started up,

justly denominated Anabaptists, because they rebaptize those who received baptism in their infancy. Still, however, the patrons of the sect most carefully keep this custom out of sight; because they are afraid lest the almost extinguished odium should revive, and the modern Mennonites be regarded as descended from the flagitious Anabaptists, if they should frankly state the facts as they are. Hear a very recent writer, (Schyn, *loc. cit.* p. 32.) where he endeavours to show that his brethren are unjustly stigmatized with the odious name of Anabaptists: "Anabaptismus ille (says he) plane obsolevit, et a multis retro annis neminem ejuscunq; sectæ Christianæ fidei *juxta mandatum Christi* baptizatum, dum ad nostras ecclesias transire cupit, rebaptizaverunt;" i. e. *That Anabaptism has become wholly obsolete; and for many years past no person of any sect whatever, that holds the Christian faith, if baptized according to the command of Christ, when he wishes to join our churches, is rebaptized.* On reading this, who would not readily suppose that the repetition of baptism no longer exists among the Mennonites of our times? But the fallacy is in some measure betrayed by the words which are printed in capital letters: *according to the command of Christ.* For the Anabaptists contend that it is without any command of Christ that infants are admitted to baptism. And the whole design is more clearly indicated by the words which follow: "sed illum etiam ADULTORUM baptismum, ut sufficientem agnoscent." And still, as if he had fully established his point, Schyn thus concludes his argument: "Quam verissimum est, illud odiosum nomen Anabaptistarum illis non convenire." But it does certainly belong to them; because the very best of the Mennonites, equally with those from whom they are descended, think that the baptism of infants has no validity; and, therefore, they cause those who have already been baptized among other Christians, to be again baptized with their baptism.—There are many things which induce me to believe that reliance cannot always be placed on the *Confessions* and the expositions of the modern Mennonites. Being instructed by the

miseries and sufferings of their fathers, they conceal entirely those principles of their sect from which their character and state would most clearly appear; and the others, which they cannot conceal, they most studiously disguise, that they may not appear too bad.—[This long and invidious note of Dr. Mosheim the translator would gladly have omitted, if he had felt himself at liberty to suppress any thing contained in the book. For, to what purpose are such discussions? The point at issue is, whether the Mennonites, or Baptists, are properly denominated Anabaptists. And the fact is, that, according to their own principles, they are *not*, in the literal and proper sense of the word, Anabaptists, or Rebaptizers. But, according to the principles of all believers in infant baptism, they are literally and truly, Anabaptists. They hold infant baptism to be no valid Christian baptism; and, therefore, to be consistent, when they receive to their church one who had been baptized in infancy, they must give him baptism; for he is, on their principles, an *unbaptized* person. But according to the believers in infant baptism, such a person had, previously, received a real, Christian baptism; and, therefore, to baptize him now, is to *rebaptize* him. Such being the true state of the case, is not Dr. Mosheim's eagerness to fasten on the Mennonites the odious name of Anabaptists, as good proof, to say the least, of disingenuousness, as their eagerness to get rid of it? He, if successful, gains nothing; except to render them odious. They are striving to have a fair trial of their case, solely upon its merits, without being exposed to the prejudice of words and names. *Tr.*]

² The writers who treat of the Anabaptists, and who confute them, are enumerated at large, by Casp. Sagittarius, *Introductio ad Historiam Eccles.* tom. i. p. 826, &c. and by Chr. Matth. Pfaff, *Introduct. in Histor. Litterariam Theol.* part ii. p. 349, &c. To their lists must be added the very recent writer, and doctor among the Mennonites, Herman Schyn; who first published his *Historia Mennonitarum*, Amsterd. 1723, 8vo. and afterwards his *Historic Mennonitarum*

in various countries of Europe, under the influence of leaders of dissimilar characters and views; and at a time when the first contests with the papists so distracted the attention of all, that people scarcely noticed any others among those which came up. The modern *Mennonites* affirm, that their predecessors were the descendants of those *Waldenses* who were oppressed by the tyranny of the papists; and that they were a most pure offspring utterly averse from any inclination towards political turbulence, as well as from fanatical dreams.³ On the contrary, their adversaries contend that they are descended from those turbulent and furious *Anabaptists*, who, in the sixteenth century, involved Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and especially Westphalia, in so many calamities and civil wars; but that, being terrified by the dreadful fate of their associates, through the influence of *Menno Simonis* especially, they have gradually assumed a more sober character. After duly examining the whole subject with impartiality, I conceive that neither statement is altogether true.

§ 2. In the first place, I believe the *Mennonites* to be not altogether in the wrong, when they boast of a descent from those Waldensians, Petrobrusians, and others, who are usually styled *the Witnesses for the truth* before Luther. Prior to the age of *Luther*, there lay concealed in almost every country of Europe, but especially in Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland, and Germany, very many persons, in whose minds was deeply rooted that principle, which the Waldensians, the Wickliffites, and the Hussites, maintained, some more covertly, and others more openly; namely, that the kingdom which Christ set up on the earth, or the visible church, is an assembly of *holy* persons, and ought therefore to be entirely free, not only from

plenior Deductio, Amsterd. 1729, 8vo. Both the works will aid in acquiring a knowledge of the affairs of this sect; but neither of them deserves the title of a History of the Mennonites. For the writer deems it more his business to defend and justify his sect, than to give a regular narrative of their origin, progress, and revolutions. Yet he does not perform the functions of a vindicator so learnedly and judiciously, that the Mennonites could not have a better patron. Of the historians and the confessions of the Mennonites, Jo. Christ. Köcher treats, in *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolica*, p. 461, &c. [The principal English histories of bap-

tism and of the Baptists or Mennonites, are Wm. Wall's *Hist. of Infant Baptism*, 2 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1705; his *Defence of the History*; and Gale's *Reflections on Wall's History*; Thomas Crosby's *Hist. of the Baptists*, 4 vols. 8vo, 1739. Robt. Robinson's *Hist. of Baptism*, Lond. 1790, 4to, abridged by D. Benedict, Boston, 1817, 8vo; and David Benedict's *General History of the Baptists*, Boston, 1813, 2 vols. 8vo. Tr.]

³ Galenus Abrahamzon's *Verdediging der Christenen, die Doopsgesinde Genand Worden*, p. 29. Herman Schyn's *Plenior Deductio Histor. Mennonit.* cap. i. p. 2, &c.

ungodly persons and sinners, but also from all institutions of human device against ungodliness. This principle lay at the foundation, and was the source of all that was new and singular in the religion of the *Mennonites*; and the greatest part of their singular opinions, as is well attested, were approved, some centuries before *Luther's* time, by those who had such views of the nature of the church of Christ.⁴ Some of this class of

⁴ As respects the Waldensians, see Philip a Limborch's *Historia Inquisitionis*, lib. i. cap. viii. p. 37. ["See also *Lydiæ Waldensia*, and Allix's *Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, ch. xxii—xxvi. p. 211—280, N." *Macl.*] That the Wickliffites and Hussites were not far from the same sentiments, can be shown by adequate testimony. [That the Mennonites, as being one of those protestant sects, which renounced the Romish religion in the 16th century, resembled very much the Waldenses, the Wickliffites, and the Hussites, those earlier revolvers from the Romish worship, is undoubtedly true. And it may therefore be justly said, that "the greatest part of their singular opinions,"—meaning those, in which they differed from the Romish church,—“were approved, some centuries before Luther's time.” And this, I think, must be all that Dr. Mosheim intended to say. For, that in most of the points in which they appeared singular among Protestants, they bore a nearer resemblance to the proper Waldenses, the Wickliffites, and the Hussites, than the other Protestants, or than the Lutherans and the Reformed did, is very far from being true. On the contrary, it is a well known historic fact, that in the 16th century, the genuine descendants of the old Waldensians, Wickliffites, and Hussites, who were numerous in France, England, Bohemia, Moravia, &c. readily united with the Lutheran and the Reformed communities, and at length became absorbed in them; and that very few, if any, of them ever manifested a preference for the Mennonites, or for any of the Antipædobaptist sects of that age. The history of the Reformation, in all the countries where the ancient sects were found, fully establishes this fact; which is so adverse to the supposition of a legitimate descent of the Mennonites from the pure Waldensians. The first Mennonites were not persons who had before borne the name of Waldensians, or who were

known descendants of Waldensians; nor did they originate either in, or near, the countries, where the Waldensians in that age resided. And if we endeavour to trace the history of that grand peculiarity of all Mennonites, their confining baptism to adult believers, and rejecting infant baptism altogether, we shall find, that at the time Menno first embraced it, it existed among the numerous German Anabaptists, but not among the Waldenses of France or Bohemia, who were then universally believers in infant baptism, and were in fraternal communion with the Lutheran and Reformed churches. These Waldensian Pædobaptists, moreover, declared that they held the same belief which their fathers had maintained for several centuries; and they appealed to their old books to make good their assertions. See Jo. Paul Perrin's *History of the Waldenses*, pt. i. b. i. ch. iv. p. 15, of the English translation; and pt. iii. b. iii. iv. p. 99. Nor does ecclesiastical history appear to me to disprove the truth of their assertion. There were, indeed, various mystical sects, tinctured more or less with Manichæan views, in the twelfth and following centuries, who rejected all water-baptism, on much the same grounds as the quakers still do: (vol. ii. p. 498, &c. above,) and some of these assailed infant baptism especially, as being peculiarly unsuitable and absurd. There is also pretty good evidence, that early in the twelfth century, Peter Bruis and his successor Henry, with their followers, the Petrobrussians and Henricians, did at first reject infant baptism, without discarding all baptism. (See vol. ii. p. 469, 470, and the notes there.) But soon after, Peter Waldo arose, and gave birth to the proper Waldensians; and we hear no more of the Petrobrussians and Henricians. They probably gave up their opposition to infant baptism. See Wall's *Hist. of Infant Baptism*, pt. ii. ch. vii. *Tr.*]

people, perceiving that such a church as they had formed an idea of, would never be established by human means, indulged the hope that God himself would, in his own time, erect for himself a new church, free from every blemish and impurity; and that he would raise up certain persons, and fill them with heavenly light, for the accomplishment of this great object. Others, more discreet, looked for neither miracles nor inspiration; but judged that the church might be purified from all the contaminations of evil men, and be brought into the state that Christ had intended, by human efforts and care, provided the practice and the regulations of the ancient Christians were restored to their pristine dignity and influence.

§ 3. The spirits and courage of this people, who had long been severely persecuted and scattered over many countries, revived as soon as they heard that *Luther*, aided by many good men, was successfully engaged in reforming the very corrupt state of the church. According to their different principles and views, some supposed, that the time was now come, when God himself would take possession of men's hearts, and would set up his heavenly kingdom on the earth; others concluded, that the long expected and wished for restitution of the church, to be effected indeed under the providence of God, but yet by human agency, was now at hand. With these, as is common in such great revolutions, were joined many every where of similar aims, but of unlike capacities: who in a short time, by their discourses, their dreams, their prophecies, roused up a large part of Europe, and drew over to the party a vast multitude of the ignorant and ill informed people. The leaders of this large multitude, erroneously conceiving that the new kingdom which they foretold was to be free from all evils and imperfections, because they considered the Reformation of the church which *Luther* had commenced, not to correspond with the magnitude of the case, projected themselves a more perfect reformation of it, or, rather, projected another and altogether a divine church.

§ 4. Whether the origin of this discordant sect, which caused such mischief in both the civil and religious community, is to be sought for in Switzerland, or in Holland and Germany, or in some other country, it is not important to know, and is impossible fully to determine.⁵ In my opinion, this only can be said,

⁵ Whether the Anabaptists appeared first in Germany, or in Switzerland, is

that at one and the same time, that is, not long after the commencement of the reformation by Luther, there arose men of this sort in several different countries. This may be inferred from the fact, that the first leaders of any note among the *Anabaptists*, were, nearly all, founders of distinct sects. For though all these reformers of the church, or rather projectors of new churches, are called *Anabaptists*, because they all denied that infants are proper subjects of baptism, and solemnly baptized over again those who had been baptized in infancy; yet, from the very beginning, just as at the present day, they were split into various parties, which disagreed and disputed about points of no small importance. The worst part of this motley tribe, namely, the one which supposed that the founders of their ideal and perfect church would be endued with divine powers, and would work miracles, began to raise great disturbances in Saxony and the neighbouring countries, in the year 1521, under the guidance of *Thomas Münzer*, *Mark Stübner*, *Nicholas Storch*, and other chiefs. They first pursued their object by means of harangues, argumentations, and accounts of divine visions, to which the leaders of the party made pretensions. But finding these means less efficient than they could wish, and that their influence was resisted by the arguments of *Luther* and others, they rushed to arms. *Münzer* and his associates, having collected a vast army from among the credulous populace, particularly in country villages, in Suabia, Thuringia, Franconia, and Saxony, proclaimed war, in the year 1525, against all law and civil governments, and declared, that *Christ* alone would reign from that time forward. But these forces were routed without much difficulty by the elector of Saxony and other princes; *Münzer*, the firebrand of sedition, was put to death, and his aiders and abettors were dispersed.⁶

§ 5. This bloody defeat rendered the others, whom the same turbulent and fanatical spirit actuated, more timid, but not more wise. It appears that, from this time onward, there roamed about Germany, Switzerland, and Holland, many persons infected with the same criminal principles which had proved the ruin of *Münzer*: that in many places they disturbed

made the subject of inquiry, by Jo. Conrad Fuesslin, *Beyträge zur Schweizerischen Reformations-Geschichte*, tom. i. p. 190, tom. ii. p. 64, 65, p. 265. 327, 328, tom. iii. p. 323. But he is not self-consistent in this discussion, nor has he accom-

plished any thing.

⁶ See Ludov. a Seckendorff's *Historia Lutheranismi*, lib. i. p. 192. 304, &c., lib. ii. p. 13. Jo. Sleidan, *Commentarii*, lib. v. p. 47. Joach. Camerarius, *Vita Melancthonis*, p. 44, &c.

both the church and the state by their seditious discourses; gathered here and there larger or smaller congregations; in the name of God, announced sudden destruction as about to overtake the magistrates and the civil governments; and while they pretended to be ambassadors of God, often insulted audaciously the Divine majesty by their shameful conduct and crimes. Infamous with posterity, beyond others of this senseless tribe, were the names of *Lewis Hetzer*, *Balthazar Hubmeyer*, *Felix Mantz*, *Conrad Grebel*, *Melchior Hofmann*, *George Jacobs*, who would, if their means had allowed, have involved all Switzerland, Holland, and Germany, in tumults and wars.⁷ Among

⁷ See the details collected, among others, by Jo. Baptist Ottius, in his *Annales Anabaptistici*, p. 21, &c. by Jo. Hornbeck, *Summa Controversiarum*, lib. v. p. 332. Anth. Matthews, *Analecta Vet. Ævi*, tom. iv. p. 629. 677. 679; recent ed. by Bernhard Raupach, *Austria Evangelica*, tom. ii. p. 41. Jo. Geo. Schelhorn, *Acta ad Historiam Eccles. pertinentia*, tom. i. p. 100. Godfrey Arnold, *Kirchen-und Ketzehistorie*, book xvi. ch. xxi. p. 727, &c. Jo. Comr. Fuesslin, in the various documents relating to the Anabaptists, which he has inserted in his *Beiträge zu der Schweizerischen Reformation-Geschichte*: and more recently, Professor Wills, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Anabaptismus in Deutschland nebst wichtiger Urkunden und Beylagen*, Nuremb. 1773. 8vo.—LEWIS HÆTZER, whom some take to be a Bavarian, and others a Swiss, was a man of abilities; and well versed especially in the languages. Joachim Vadianus (see Fuesslin, vol. v. p. 397,) calls him: “Commodissimi ingenii hominem, clarum virum linguis etiam et admirabili ingenii dexteritate præditum.” He lived in the time of the Reformation at Zurich, and aided the reformers by his discourses and his writings; among other things he translated Oecolampadius’ book *de Sacramento Eucharistiæ* into German, in the year 1526. But he afterwards separated from them, and followed his own views in theology, which were often singular; as appears from his writings published between the years 1523 and 1529. Among other works, he translated the prophets, with the assistance of Hans Denk. He also wrote, in the year 1523, a book against the divinity of Christ; which Ambrose Blarer, by direction of Zwingle, confuted. He was

among the extravagant Anabaptists; and was beheaded at Constance, in 1529, because he cohabited with many women, and perverted the Scriptures to justify his unchastity.—BALTHAZAR HUBMEYER, who sometimes called himself Friedberger, from his native place in Bavaria, is, in the above-cited epistle of Joach. Vadianus, pronounced “eloquentissimus et humanissimus vir.” Before the Reformation, he was for a time preacher in the principal church at Regensburg; where he became suspected, on account of some erroneous doctrines, and was obliged to quit the place. Afterwards he preached at Waldshut. But as he allowed himself to be led astray by Thomas Münzer, he was driven from that place also; and fleeing to Zurich, he was thrown into prison; but after three days’ discussion with Zwingle, he recanted. Yet continuing afterwards enthusiastic, he was expelled the city, and retired to Moravia, where he fell into the hands of the Austrian government, and was burnt alive at Vienna, in 1528. His writings are enumerated by Fuesslin, *Beiträge*, vol. v. p. 399, &c.—FELIX MANTZ, of Zurich, was there apprehended, with others, on account of his Anabaptistic doctrines, and was drowned. See Fuesslin, *Beiträge*, vol. v. p. 259, &c.—GREBEL was also of Zurich, of a good family, and of great talents; but of so great obstinacy, that nothing could induce him to change his opinions. Yet he fortunately escaped from prison, and afterwards died a natural death.—MELCHIOR HOFFMANN was a furrier of Suabia, who laboured to disseminate the doctrines of the Anabaptists in the Netherlands, and in Lower Saxony and Livonia; and died in prison, at Stras-

these people there were some strangely delirious, who fancied that they had incredible visions: but such of them as were not utterly without common sense taught in substance the following doctrines: I. That the church of Christ ought to be free from all sin. II. That a community of goods and universal equality should be introduced. III. That all usury, tithes, and tributes, were to be abolished. IV. That the baptism of infants was an invention of the devil. V. That all Christians had a right to act as teachers. VI. That the Christian church, of course, had no need of ministers or teachers. VII. Neither was there any need of magistrates under the reign of Christ. VIII. That God still made known his will, to certain persons, by dreams and visions.⁸ I omit other opinions. It would, however, betray ignorance or want of candour, to deny that there were every where others, given up in general to the same opinions, who lived more quietly and peaceably; and in whom no great fault can be found, except their erroneous notions, and their zeal to disseminate them among the people. Nor do I fear to add, that among the followers, not only of these more sober Anabaptists, but even of those altogether misguided, there were many persons of honest intentions, and of real piety, whom an unsuspecting simplicity, and a laudable desire to reform the church, had led to join the party.

§ 6. While this tumultuous sect was spreading itself through nearly all Europe, the emperors, kings, princes, and magistrates resisted them with very severe edicts, and at last with capital punishments.⁹ But here also the maxim was fully verified,

burg, in 1533. To enumerate his writings here would be tedious.—JACOB is called, in the documents (see Fuesslin's *Beiträge*, vol. v. p. 265.), Georg von Hause Jacobs, genant Blanrock von Chur. He was twice apprehended at Zurich, was beaten with rods, and, after twice swearing to keep the peace, was banished the country.—To the preceding may be added JOHN DENK, who once taught in the school of St. Sebald, at Nuremberg, but, after his connexion with the Anabaptists, resided chiefly at Bâle and at Worms. He taught also the *restoration of all things*; and aided Hetzer, as already stated, in his translation of the prophets; which was published at Worms, 1527, folio. His smaller pieces were printed a

second time, Amsterd. 1680, 12mo. Several extracts are given by Arnold; *Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie*, part iv. sec. ii. No. 31, p. 530, &c. See also Dr. Büttenhausen's *Beiträge zur Pfläzischen Geschichte*, part iii. p. 299, whence we learn, that Denk recanted, before he died; and that his recantation was published, probably, by Cœcolampadius. *Schl.*]

⁸ These are chiefly collected from the documents published by Fuesslin. [Whether they also denied the divinity of Christ, and justified polygamy, Fuesslin examines, in the third volume of his *Beiträge*, p. 119; and evinces, by documents, that they did not. *Schl.*]

⁹ If I do not mistake, it was first in Saxony, and in the year 1525, that laws

which long experience has proved true, that the human mind, when either agitated by fanatical fury, or strongly bound by the cords of religion, is not easily cured by terrors and dangers. Vast numbers of these people in nearly all the countries of Europe, would rather perish miserably, by drowning, hanging, burning, or decapitation, than renounce the opinions which they had embraced. And therefore the Mennonites, at this day, show us ponderous volumes, filled with the accounts of the lives and sufferings of those of their party, who expiated by death the crimes which they were supposed to have committed against either the church or the state.¹ I could wish there had been some distinction made; and that all who believed that adults only are to be baptized, and that the ungodly are to be expelled the church, had not been indiscriminately put to death. For they did not all suffer on account of their *crimes*, but many of them, merely for their erroneous *opinions*, which they maintained with honesty and good faith. Yet most of them told the people of their dreams about a new church of Christ soon to be set up, which would abolish all magistracies, laws, and punishments: hence the very name of *Anabaptist* presented at once before the mind the idea of a seditious person, that is, one who was a public pest. It is indeed true, that many *Anabaptists* were put to death, not as being bad citizens, or injurious members of civil society, but as being *incurable heretics*, and condemned by the old canon laws: for the error concerning adult baptism, or *Catabaptism* and *Anabaptism*, was in that age looked upon as a horrible offence. But it is also true, that very many were put to death for holding opinions dangerous to the commonwealth and to the civil authorities; and numbers also suffered for their temerity, their imprudences and their criminal deeds.

§ 7. The saddest example of this is afforded in the case of those Anabaptists from Holland, who came to Munster, a city of Westphalia, in the year 1533, and there committed deeds, which would be scarcely credible, were they not so well attested

were enacted against this sort of people. And these laws were frequently renewed, in the years 1527, 1528, and 1534. See Jo. Erb. Kapp's *Nachlese von Reformationen-Urkunden*, pt. i. p. 176. As the impudence of many of this sect became more bold, Charles V. published severe decrees against them in 1527 and 1529. Ottius, *Annales Anabaptist.* p. 45. The

Swiss proceeded very gently, at first, against their Anabaptists; but when many of them became more bold, in consequence of this lenity, the canton of Zurich, in the year 1525, made them liable to capital punishment.

¹ See Joach. Christ. Jehring's Preface to his *Historie der Mennoniten*, p. 3, &c.

as to compel belief. These infatuated men, whose brains were turned by that dream of a new kingdom of Christ about to be erected on the earth, which bewildered the great body of Anabaptists, under the guidance of certain illiterate and plebeian men, *John Matthæi*, *John Bockhold*, a tailor of Leyden, one *Gerhard*, and some others, persuaded not only the common people, but likewise some of the religious teachers, that their blessed heavenly Jerusalem was about to be established at Munster, and would thence be extended to other places. Under this pretext, they deposed the magistrates, took command of the city, and ventured upon all the criminal and ridiculous measures, which their perverse ingenuity could devise.² *John Bockhold* was created king and lawgiver to this celestial republic. But the issue of the scene was tragical and distressing. For after a long siege, the city was captured, in 1536, by its bishop, who was also its temporal lord, *Francis, Count Waldec*; this New Jerusalem of the Anabaptists was destroyed, and its king punished with the utmost severity.³ As it was but too manifest, from this and from other events of a similar nature⁴, whither

² ["Bockholdt, or Bockelson, alias John of Leyden, who headed them at Munster, ran stark naked in the streets, married eleven wives, at the same time, to show his approbation of polygamy, and entitled himself *King of Zion*; all which was but a very small part of the pernicious follies of this mock-monarch." *Macl.*]

³ Anton. Corvinus, *Narratio de miserabili Monaster. Anabapt. Ercidio*; first published, Wittemb. 1536, and then elsewhere: and the other writers mentioned by Casper Sagittarius, *Introd. in Historiam Eccles.* tom. i. p. 537 and 835. Add Herm. Hamelmann's *Historia renati Evangelii in urbe Monasterii*: in his *Opera Genealogico-Historica*, p. 1203, &c. The elegant and accurately written Latin elegiac poem of Jo. Fabricius Boland, entitled, *Motus Monasteriensis libri decem*, Cologne, 1546, 8vo. Herm. Kerssenbroeck's *Historia belli Monasteriensis*; published by Dan Gerdes, *Miscellan. Gröningens. Nova*, tom. ii. p. 375. Gerdes also treats (*Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 403,) of Bernhard Rhotmann, a minister of the Gospel at Munster, a man in other respects neither of a bad character nor unlearned, who joined with these Anabaptists, and aided them in their mad projects.

⁴ ["The scenes of violence, tumult, and sedition, that were exhibited in Holland by this odious tribe, were also terrible. They formed the design of reducing the city of Leyden to ashes, but were happily prevented and severely punished. John of Leyden, the Anabaptist king of Munster, had taken it into his head that God had made him a present of the cities of Amsterdam, Deventer, and Wesel; in consequence thereof, he sent bishops to these three places, to preach his gospel of sedition and carnage. About the beginning of the year 1535, twelve Anabaptists, of whom five were women, assembled at midnight in a private house of Amsterdam. One of them, who was a tailor by profession, fell into a trance, and after having preached and prayed for the space of four hours, stripped himself naked, threw his clothes into the fire, and commanded all the assembly to do the same, in which he was obeyed without the least reluctance. He then ordered them to follow him through the streets in *this state of nature*, which they accordingly did, howling and howling out, *Woe! woe! the wrath of God! the wrath of God! woe to Babylon!* When after being seized and brought before

the principles of this school might lead unstable and incautious men, it is not strange that the magistrates were eager to extirpate the roots of such mischief with fire and sword.⁵

§ 8. To this miserable sect, when stricken with the greatest terrors, while its members grieved over the extinction of all their hopes from the men of Munster, and were anxiously inquiring what they could do for safety, as both the good and the bad among them were daily hurried away to inevitable destruction; great consolation and support were afforded, by *Menno Simonis*, of Friesland, once a popish priest, and, as he himself confesses, a debauched character. He first covertly and secretly united with the Anabaptists; but afterwards, in the year 1536, quitting the sacred office which he had hitherto held among the papists, he openly espoused their cause. And now in the year 1537, he listened to the entreaties of several of these people, whom he describes as sober, pious persons, that had taken no part in the criminal transactions at Munster; though others think them to have been associates of the Westphalian rabble, that had become wiser by the calamities of their brethren; and consented to assume the functions of their religious teacher. From this period to the end of his days, or for about five-and-twenty years, he travelled, with his wife and children, amidst perpetual sufferings and daily perils of his life, over very many regions of country; first in West Friesland, the territory of Groningen, and East Friesland, then in Gelderland, Holland, Brabant, Westphalia, and the German provinces along the shores of the Baltic as far as Livonia; and gathered an immense number of followers, so that he was almost the common father and

the magistrates, clothes were offered them to cover their indecency, they refused them obstinately, and cried aloud, *We are the naked truth*. When they were brought to the scaffold, they sang and danced, and discovered all the marks of enthusiastic frenzy.—These tumults were followed by a regular and deep laid conspiracy, formed by Van Geelen (an envoy of the mock-king of Munster, who had made a very considerable number of proselytes) against the magistrates of Amsterdam, with a design to wrest the government of that city out of their hands. This incendiary marched his fanatical troop to the town house on the day appointed, drums beating, and colours

flying, and fixed there his head-quarters. He was attacked by the burghers, assisted by some regular troops, and headed by several of the burgomasters of the city. After an obstinate resistance he was surrounded, with his whole troop, who were put to death in the severest and most dreadful manner, to serve as examples to the other branches of the sect, who were exciting commotions of a like nature in Friesland, Groningen, and other provinces and cities in the Netherlands." *Macl.*]

⁵ Gerh. Brandt's *History of the Reformation in Belgium*, tom. i. lib. ii. p. 119, &c.

bishop of all the Anabaptists, and may justly be considered the founder of the flourishing sect that has continued down to our times. The reasons why he had so great success may readily be conceived, if we consider the manners and spirit of the man, and the condition of the party, when he joined it. *Menno* possessed genius, though not much cultivated, as his writings prove, and a natural eloquence. Of learning, he had just enough, to be esteemed very learned and almost an oracle, by the raw and undiscerning multitude. Moreover, if we may give credit to his statements and declarations, he was a man of integrity, mild, accommodating, laborious, patient of injuries, and so ardent in his piety, as to exemplify in his own life the precepts which he gave to others. A man of such a character, would readily obtain followers, among any sort of people; but among none more than among such as the Anabaptists then were, a people simple, ignorant of all learning, accustomed to teachers that raved and howled rather than instructed them, very often deluded by impostors, worn out with perpetual suffering, and now in constant peril of their lives.⁶

⁶ Menno was born not, as many say, in 1496, but in 1505, and at Witmarsum, a village near Bolswert, in Friesland. After being variously tossed about, during his whole life, he died in 1561, in the duchy of Holstein, on an estate situated not far from Oldeslo, and belonging to a nobleman, who was touched with compassion for the man, exposed now to continual plots, and who received both him and his associates under his protection, and afforded him an asylum. An account of Menno has been carefully drawn up, by Jo. Möller, in his *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 835, &c. See also Herm. Schyn's *Plenior Deductio Historie Mennonit.* cap. vi. p. 116. His writings, which are nearly all in the Dutch language, were published, the most completely, Amst. 1651, folio. One who is disgusted with a style immoderately diffuse and rambling, with frequent and needless repetitions, with great confusion in the thoughts and matter, with pious but extremely languid exhortations, will rise from the perusal of them with but little satisfaction. [A concise history of his life, or rather a development of his religious views, drawn up by himself, is found both prefixed to the complete

edition of his works, (Amsterd. 1651, folio,) and in the 2nd vol. of Herman Schyn's *History of the Mennonites (Historie Mennonitar. Plenior Deductio*, p. 118, &c. Amsterd. 1729, 8vo.)—It contains, I. A short and lucid account, how, and why, he forsook popery. II. A short and plain confession of faith of the Mennonites. III. Concise instructions, in questions and answers, derived from Scripture, for such as would join their community. Menno was born in 1505 at Witmarsum, in Friesland. In his 24th year, he became a priest of the Romish church in the village of Penningen. His rector had some learning; and he, and another clergyman under him, had some acquaintance with the Scriptures; but Menno had never read them, being afraid they would mislead him. But the thought soon occurred to him, as he read mass, whether the bread and the wine could be the real body and blood of Christ. At first, he supposed this thought was a suggestion of the devil: and he often confessed it, and sighed, and prayed; but could not get rid of it. With his fellow-clergymen he daily spent his time in playing, drinking, and other indulgences. At length he took up reading the New Tes-

§ 9. *Menno* had struck out a system of doctrine, which was much milder and more tolerable than that of the furious and fanatical portion of the Anabaptists; yet perhaps somewhat harsher, though better digested, than that of the wiser and more moderate of them, who merely wished (but had

tament; and he soon learned from it, that he had hitherto been deceived, in regard to the mass: and Luther helped to the idea, that disregarding human prescriptions did not draw after it eternal death. His examination of the Scriptures carried him further and further, and he began to be called an evangelical preacher, and every body loved him. But when he heard that an honest man was put to death, at Lewarden, because he had been rebaptized, he was at first surprised to hear of a repetition of baptism; he went to consulting the Scriptures, and he there could find nothing said about infant baptism. He held a discussion on the subject with his rector; who was obliged to concede the same fact. Some ancient writers taught him, that children, by such baptism, were cleansed from original sin: but this seemed to him, according to the Scriptures, to militate against the efficacy of *Christ's* blood. After this (we give all along his own account), he turned to Luther: but his assertion, that children must be baptized on account of their own faith, appeared contrary to the Scriptures. Equally unsatisfactory to him was the opinion of Bucer; that the baptism of infants is necessary, in order that they be more carefully watched, and be trained up in the ways of the Lord: and also Bullinger's referring it to a covenant, and appealing to circumcision. Not long after this, he was made rector of his native village, Witmarsum; where he preached, indeed, much from the Scriptures; but without being himself made better. In the mean time he glories in having attained to correct views of baptism and the Lord's Supper, by the illumination of the Holy Ghost, and by frequent perusal of the Scriptures. With the disturbances at Munster he was greatly troubled; he ascribed them to erring zeal; and opposed them in his sermons and exhortations. Yet he was so much affected by the example of multitudes who sacrificed themselves for the interest of the party, that he felt

more and more distress and shame, on account of his own state of mind; he prayed God to aid him; his whole state of mind became changed; and he now taught Christian piety much more purely and effectually. And the discovery which he had made, of the corrupt state of the Romish church, induced him, in the year 1536, utterly to renounce it, as well as his priestly office, which he calls his *departure from Babylon*. The next year, there came to him several godly Anabaptists, who most importunately entreated him, in their own name, and in that of other devout men of the same faith, to become the teacher of this dispersed and persecuted company. He at length consented: and he remarks, on this occasion, that he was called to the office of teacher, neither by the insurgents of Munster, nor by any other turbulent party, but by true professors of Christ and his word, who sought the salvation of all around them, and took up their cross. Thenceforth, during eighteen years, amidst many perils and discouragements, poverty and want, and often concealed in lurking places, with his wife and children, he discharged the duties of his office: and thereby (says he) hath God, in many cities and countries, brought his church to such a glorious state, that not only have a multitude of vicious persons been reclaimed, but also the most renowned doctors and the most cruel tyrants have been made to stand confounded and ashamed before those who have suffered with him.—To this, which is *Menno's* own account, other writers add, that with unwearied activity, in Friesland, Gelderland, Holland, and Brabant, in Westphalia, and generally in Northern Germany, as far as Livonia, he either plucked and strengthened Anabaptist churches, or reduced them to order and to unanimity; until, at last, in 1561, he died at Oldeslo in the duchy of Holstein.—Translated from Schroeckh's *Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation*, vol. v. p. 441—447. *Tr.*]

indefinite conceptions about it) to see the church restored to its long-lost purity. He therefore condemned the expectation of a new kingdom of Jesus Christ, to be set up in the world, by violence and the expulsion of magistrates; which had been the prolific cause of so many seditions and crimes: he condemned the marvellous restitution of the church, by a new and extraordinary effusion of the Holy Spirit: he condemned the licentiousness of polygamy and divorce: and he would not endure those, who believed that the Holy Spirit descended into the minds of many, as at the first establishment of Christianity, and manifested his presence by miracles, prophecies, divine dreams, and visions. What the Anabaptists had commonly taught, respecting infant baptism, respecting a coming thousand years' reign of Christ, before the end of the world, respecting the inadmissibility of magistrates in the Christian church, respecting the prohibition of wars, and of oaths, by Christ, respecting the inutility and the mischief of human learning, he retained, indeed; but he so corrected and improved these doctrines, that they appeared to come nearer to accordance with the common tenets of Protestants. Thus he formed a system of religion, which, being highly recommended, by the nature of the precepts themselves, by the eloquence of the preacher, and by the circumstances of the times, gained a hold upon the minds of most of the Anabaptists with astonishing facility. The result was, that, by the influence of *Menno*, the *Anabaptists* of both sorts, excluding fanatical persons, and rejecting opinions pernicious to the state, became consolidated, as it were, into one family or community.⁷

⁷ These facts show, how the famous question concerning the origin of the Mennonites may be readily solved. The Mennonites use every argument they can devise, to prevent credence being given to what is taught in innumerable books, that the modern are the descendant of the ancient Anabaptists. See Herm. Schyn's *Historia Mennonitar.* cap. viii. ix. xxi. p. 223, &c. Nor is the reason of their zeal in this matter difficult to ascertain. This timid people, living dispersed among their enemies, are afraid, lest the malevolent should take occasion from that relationship, to renew those laws against their existence and their safety, by which those ancient disturbers of the public

peace were put down. At least, they hope the severe odium which has long rankled against them, will be much diminished, provided they can fully eradicate from the public mind the belief, that the Mennonites are the successors of the Anabaptists, or rather are themselves Anabaptists, though reformed and made wiser than their predecessors. But I must candidly own, that, after carefully comparing what the Mennonites and their antagonists have advanced on this subject, I am unable to determine what the precise point in dispute between them is. In the first place, if the Mennonites wish to maintain, that Menno, the founder of the present existing sect, was not infected

§ 10. *Menno* must have possessed more than human power if he had been able to diffuse peace and good order through a body so discordant, made up of members too, actuated by different spirits, and had bound it altogether in one harmonious whole. About the middle of the century, a violent dispute

with those opinions, by which the men of Munster, and others like them, drew upon themselves deserved punishments; and consequently, that he did not propose to establish a new church of Christ, entirely free from all evil, nor command the abolition of all civil laws and magistrates, or impose upon himself and others by fanatical dreams; then they will find us all ready to agree with them. All this is readily conceded by those, who at the same time contend, that there most certainly was an intimate connexion between the ancient and the modern Anabaptists. Again; if the Menmonites would maintain, that the churches which have adopted the discipline of Menno, quite to the present time, not only have been studious of peace and tranquillity, have plotted no insurrections or revolutions among the people who were their fellow-citizens, have always been averse from slaughter and blood, and have shunned all familiarity with persons professing to have visions and to hold converse with God; but likewise, have excluded from their public discourses, and from their confessions of faith, [principles and tenets, which were] causes, that led the ancient Anabaptists to pursue a different course of conduct; here also, we present them the hand of friendship and agreement. And finally; if they contend, that, not all who bore the names of Anabaptists, prior to the times of Menno, were delirious and as furious as Münzer, or the faction at Munster, and others; that many persons of this name abstained from all criminal and flagitious deeds, and only trod in the steps of the ancient Waldenses, Henricians, Petrobrussians, Hussites, and Wickliffites; and that these upright and peaceable persons subjected themselves to the precepts and opinions of Menno; we shall still make no objections.

But, I. If they would have us believe that none of the Menmonites are, by birth and blood, descendants of those people who once overwhelmed Germany and other countries with so many cala-

mities; or, that none of the furious and fanatical Anabaptists became members of the community which derives its name from Menno; then they may be confuted, both by the testimony of Menno himself, who proclaims that he had convinced some of this pestiferous faction, and also by many other proofs. The first Menmonite churches were certainly composed of Anabaptists, of both the better sort and the worse. Nor, if the Menmonites should admit this (which is true beyond contradiction), would they expose themselves to more infamy than we do, when we admit that our ancestors were blind idolaters.

And, II. We must be equally at variance with them, if they deny, that the Menmonites hold any portion at all of those opinions, which once betrayed the turbulent and seditious Anabaptists into so many and so enormous crimes. For, not to mention what has long since been remarked by others, that Menno himself styled those Anabaptists of Munster, whom his children at this day execrate as pests, his *brethren*, though with the qualification of *erring*;—I say, not to mention this, it is the fact, that the very doctrine, concerning the nature of Christ's kingdom, or the church of the New Testament, which led the ancient Anabaptists, step by step, to become furions and open rebels, is not yet wholly eradicated from the minds of the modern Menmonites; although it has gradually become weakened, and, in the more moderate, has ceased to vegetate, or, at least, has lost its power to do harm. I will not here inquire, whether even the more peaceful community of Menno has not, at any time, been agitated with violent commotions; nor am I disposed to pry into what may be now taking place among its minor sects and parties; for that the larger sects, especially those of North Holland, shun the men who are actuated by a fanatical spirit, is made sufficiently clear by the fact, that they most carefully exclude all Quakers from their communion.

arose among the Anabaptists, [or Mennonites,] respecting excommunication, occasioned chiefly by *Leonard Bouwenson* and *Theodore Philippi*, and its effects have continued down to the present time. The men just named maintained, not only that all transgressors, even those that seriously lamented and deplored their fall, ought to be at once cast out of the church, without previous admonition: but also, that the excommunicated were to be debarred from all social intercourse with their wives, husbands, brothers, sisters, children, and other relatives. They likewise required obedience to a very austere and difficult system of morals. But to many of the Anabaptists this appeared to be going too far. And hence, suddenly, the Anabaptists became split into two sects; the one more lenient towards transgressors, the other more severe; the one requiring a sordid style of living and very austere morals, the other yielding a little to the weakness of nature and to the elegances of life. *Menno* laboured indeed to restore harmony to his community, but, discovering no possible way to effect it, he fluctuated as it were, during his whole life, between those two sects. For at one time he seemed to favour the severer party, and at another the more lax brethren. And this inconstancy of one in so high authority, tended not a little to increase disquietude and commotion.⁸

§ 11. These two large sects of Anabaptists [or Mennonites] are distinguished by the appellations of the *Fine* and the *Gross*, (*die Feinen und die Groben, Subtiles et Crassi*), i. e. the *more Rigid*, and the *more Lax*.⁹ Those called the *Fine* hold and observe, more strictly than the others, both the ancient doctrines, and the morals and discipline of the Anabaptists: the *Gross* depart further from the original opinions, morals, and discipline of the sect, and approach nearer to those of the Protestants. The greater part of the *Gross* or lax Mennonites, at first, were

⁸ See the history of the contests and controversies among the Mennonites, previous to the year 1615; composed by some Mennonite writer and translated from Dutch to German, by Joach. Christ. Jehring, and published, Jena, 1720, 4to; also Sim. Fred. Rues, *Nachrichten von dem Zustande der Mennoniten*; Jena, 1743, 8vo.

⁹ ["The terms *fine* and *gross* are a literal translation of *groben* and *feinen*, which are the German denominations

used to distinguish these two sects. The same terms have been introduced among the Protestants in Holland; the *fine* denoting a set of people, whose extraordinary, and sometimes fanatical, devotion resembles that of the English Methodists; while the *gross* is applied to the generality of Christians who make no extraordinary pretensions to uncommon degrees of sanctity and devotion." *Macl.*]

inhabitants of a region in the North of Holland, called *Waterland*; and hence this whole sect received the name of *Waterlanders*.¹ A majority of the severer sect were inhabitants of *Flanders*; and hence their whole sect received the name of *Flemings* or *Flandrians*. Among these *Flandrians*, soon after, there arose new broils and contentions; not indeed respecting doctrines, but respecting the transgressors who ought to be excommunicated, and other minor matters. And hence, again, arose the two sects of *Flandrians* and *Frieslanders*, disagreeing in morals and discipline, and receiving their appellations from the majority of their respective partizans. To these were added a third sect of *Germans*; for many had removed from Germany, and settled in Holland and Belgium. But the greatest part of the *Flandrians*, the *Frieslanders*, and the *Germans*, gradually came over to the moderate sect of *Waterlanders*, and made peace with them. Such of the more rigid as would not follow this example, are at this day denominated the *old Flemings* or *Flandrians*; but they are far inferior in numbers to the more moderate [or the *Waterlanders*].

§ 12. As soon as senseless fanaticism subsided among the Mennonites, all their sects, however diverse in many respects, agreed in this, that the principles of religion are to be derived solely from the Holy Scriptures. And to make this the more manifest, they caused *Confessions* of faith, or papers containing a summary of their views of God, and the right mode of worshipping him, to be drawn up, almost in the very words of the divine books. The first of these *Confessions*, both in the

¹ See Fred. Spanheim, *Elenchus Controvers. Theol. Opp.* tom. iii. p. 772. This sect are also called *Johannites*, from *John de Ries* [Hans de Rys], who in various ways was serviceable to them, and in particular, with the aid of Lubbert Gerardi, in 1580, composed a confession of faith. This confession, which exceeds all others of the Mennonites in simplicity and soundness, has been often published, and recently by Herm. Selwyn, in his *Historia Mennonitarum*, cap. vii. p. 172. It was explained in a copious commentary, in 1686, by Peter Joannis, a Netherlander, and a minister among the *Waterlanders*. Yet this celebrated confession is said to be only the private confession of that church, over which its author presided, and not the general

one of the *Waterlander* church. See Rues, *Nachrichten*, p. 93, 94. [For Rues asserts, that he had seen a document, according to which an old minister of the church at Gonda affirmed, before notaries and witnesses, that the *Waterland* churches had never bound themselves by any particular confession of their faith; but that Rys drew up this confession for some English Baptists, who retired to Holland, but would not unite themselves with the *Waterlanders*, until they had ascertained what their doctrinal views were. Rys, however, solemnly declared, that this confession should not afterwards be binding on any one, but should be regarded as a mere private writing, which had reference only to the time then present. *Schl.*]

order of time, and in rank, is that which the Waterlanders exhibit. This was followed by others; some of them common ones, presented to the magistrates; and others peculiar to certain parties.² But there is ground for inquiry, whether these formulas contain *all* that the Mennonites believe true; or whether they omit some things, very necessary for understanding the internal state of the sect. It will be seen indeed, by every reader who bestows on them but a moderate degree of attention, that the doctrines which seem prejudicial to the public interests, particularly those respecting magistrates and oaths, are most cautiously guarded and embellished, lest they should appear alarming. Moreover, the discerning reader will easily perceive, that these points are not placed in their proper attitude, but appear artificially expressed. All this will be made clear from what follows.

§ 13. The old *Anabaptists*, because they believed themselves to have the Holy Spirit Himself for their teacher, did not so much as think of drawing up a system of religious doctrines, and of imbuing the minds of their people with a sound knowledge of religion. And hence they disagreed exceedingly, on points of the greatest importance; for instance, respecting the divinity of the Saviour, which some professed and others denied, and respecting polygamy and divorces. A little more attention was given to the subject by *Menno* and his disciples. Yet there was even subsequently to this age, great license of opinion on religious subjects among the Mennonites, and especially among those called the *Fine*, or the more *rigid*. And this single fact would be sufficient proof, if other arguments were not at hand, that the leaders of the sect esteemed it the smallest part of their duty to guard their people against embracing corrupt error; and that they considered the very soul of religion to consist in holiness of life and conduct. At length

² Herm. Schyn treats expressly of these Confessions, in his *Plenior Deductio Historiæ Mennonitar.* cap. iv. p. 78. And he concludes by saying (p. 115.), *It hence appears that the Mennonites, from the times of Menno, have been as well agreed, in regard to the principal and fundamental articles of faith, as any other sect of Christians.* But if, perchance, the good man shall bring us to believe so, he would still find it very difficult to

persuade many of his brethren of it; who have not yet ceased to contend warmly; and who think that the points, which he regards as unimportant to religion and piety, are of vast moment. And, indeed, how could any of the Mennonites, before this century, believe what he asserts, while the parties among them contended about matters, which he treats with contempt, as if their eternal salvation hung suspended on them?

necessity induced first the Waterlanders, and afterwards the others, to set forth publicly a summary of their faith, digested under certain heads: for that rashness of dissenting and disputing on sacred subjects, which had long been tolerated, had drawn upon the community very great odium, and seemed to threaten to bring upon it banishment, if not something worse. Yet the *Mennonite Confessions* appear to be rather shields, provided for blunting the points of their enemies' arguments, than established rules of faith, from which no one may deviate. For, if we except a portion of the modern Waterlanders, it was never decreed among them, as it is among other sects of Christians, that no one must venture to believe or to teach, otherwise than is laid down in the public formulas. It was an established principle with them all, from the beginning, (as the general character and spirit of the sect evinces), that religion consists in piety; and that the holiness of its members is the surest index of a true church.

§ 14. If we are to form our judgment of the Mennonite religion from their *Confessions* of faith, which are in every body's hands, it differs but little, in most things, from that of the Reformed, but departs more widely from that of the Lutherans. For they attribute to what are called the sacraments, no other virtue than that of serving for signs; and they have a system of discipline not much different from that of the *Presbyterians*. The doctrines by which they are separated from all other Christian sects, as by a wall, are reducible to three heads. Some of them are common to all sects of Mennonites: others are received only in certain of the larger associations; (and these are the doctrines for which *Menno* himself was not acceptable to all;) and lastly, others exist only in the minor and more obscure associations. These last rise and sink, by turns, with the sects that embrace them: and therefore deserve not a more particular notice.

§ 15. All the opinions which are common to the whole body are founded on this one principle, as their basis; namely, that the kingdom which Christ has established on the earth, or the church, is a visible society or company, in which is no place for any but holy and pious persons; and which therefore has none of those institutions and provisions that human sagacity has devised for the benefit of the ungodly. This principle was frankly avowed by the earlier Mennonites: but the

moderns, in their confessions, either cover it up under words of dubious import, or appear to reject it: yet they cannot actually reject it; at least, if they would be self-consistent, and would not deprive their doctrines of their native basis.³ But in regard to the most recent Mennonites, as they have departed in very many things from the views and the institutions of their fathers, so they have abandoned nearly altogether this principle respecting the nature of the Christian church. And in this manner, sad experience, rather than either reason or the holy Scriptures, has taught them wisdom. They therefore admit, first, that there is an *invisible* church of Christ, or one not open to human view, which extends through all Christian sects. And in the next place, they do not place the mark of a true church, as they once did, in the holiness of all its members; for they admit, that the visible church of Christ consists of both good and bad men. On the contrary, they declare, that the marks of a true church are, a knowledge of the truth as taught by Jesus Christ, and the agreement of all the members, in professing and maintaining that truth.

§ 16. In the mean time, from that doctrine of the old Anabaptists respecting the church, flow the principal opinions by which they are distinguished from other Christians. This doctrine requires, I. that they should receive none into their church, by the sacrament of baptism, unless they are adults, and have the full use of their reason. Because it is uncertain, with regard to infants, whether they will become pious or irreligious; neither can they pledge their faith to the church, to lead a holy life.—It requires, II. that they should not admit magistrates; nor suffer any of their members to perform the functions of a magistrate. Because, where there are no bad men, there also magistrates are not necessary.—It requires, III. that they should

³ This appears from their *Confessions*; and even from those, in which there is the greatest caution, to prevent the idea from entering the reader's mind. For instance, they first speak in lofty terms of the dignity, the excellence, the utility, and the divine origin of civil magistracy: and I am entirely willing, they should be supposed to speak here according to their real sentiments. But afterwards, when they come to the reasons, why they would have no magistrates in their community, they incautiously express what is in their hearts. In the 37th

article of the Waterland Confession, they say: "This political power, the Lord Jesus hath not established, in his spiritual kingdom, the church of the New Testament; nor hath he added it to the offices in his church." The Mennonites believe, therefore, that the New Testament church is a republic, which is free from all evils, and from restraints upon the wicked. But why, I ask, did they not frankly avow this fact, while explaining their views of the church; and not effect ambiguity and concealment?

deny the justice of repelling force by force, and of waging war. Because, as those who are perfectly holy cannot be provoked by injuries nor commit them, so they have no need of the support of arms, in order to their safety.—It requires, IV. that they should have strong aversion to all penalties and punishments, and especially to capital punishments. Because punishments are aimed against the wickedness and the crimes of men; but the church of Christ is free from all crimes and wickedness.—It forbids, V. the calling God to witness any transactions, or confirming any thing by an oath. Because minds that are actuated solely by the love of what is good and right, never violate their faith, nor dissemble the truth.—From this doctrine follow, VI. that severe and rigid discipline of the old Anabaptists, which produced so many commotions among them.⁴

§ 17. The Mennonites have a system of morals, (or, at least, one had; whether they still retain it, is uncertain,) coinciding with that fundamental doctrine which was the source of their other peculiarities; that is, one which is austere and rigid. For those who believe, that sanctity of life is the only indication of a true church, must be especially careful, lest any appearance of sinful conduct should stain the lives of their people. Hence, they all taught formerly, that *Jesus Christ* established a new law for human conduct, far more perfect than the old law of Moses and of the ancient prophets: and they would not tolerate in their churches, any whom they perceived swerving from extreme gravity and simplicity, in their attitudes, looks, clothing, and

⁴ [This derivation of the Anabaptist tenets from one single principle, although it appears forced, especially in regard to the second and third points, yet must be admitted to be ingenious. But whether it is historically true, is another question. Neither Memo, nor the first Anabaptists, had such disciplined intellects, as to be able thus systematically to link together their thoughts. Their tenets had been advanced, long before the Reformation, by the *Cathari*, the *Albigenses*, and the *Waldenses*, as also by the *Hussites*. This can be shown by unquestionable documents, from the records of the Inquisition and from confessions: and Mosheim himself maintains the fact, in § 2. of this chapter. Those sects were indeed oppressed, but not exterminated. Adherents to their tenets were dispersed every where, in

Germany, in Switzerland, in Bohemia and Moravia: and they were emboldened by the reformation, to stand forth openly, to form a closer union among themselves, and to make proselytes to their tenets. From them sprang the Anabaptists, whose teachers were men, for the most part, without learning, who understood the Scriptures according to the letter, and applied the words of the Bible, without philosophical deductions, according to their perverse mode of interpretation, to their peculiar doctrines concerning the church, anabaptism, wars, capital punishments; oaths, &c. Even their doctrine concerning magistrates, they derived from Luke xxii. 25. and 1 Cor. vi. 1; and the manner in which they were treated by the magistrates, may have had a considerable influence on their doctrine respecting them. *Schl.*]

style of living, or whose desires extended beyond the bare necessities of life, or who imitated the customs of the world, or showed any regard for the laws of etiquette. But this ancient austerity became, in a great measure, extinct in the larger associations, particularly among the Waterlanders and the Germans, after they had acquired wealth, by merchandisc and by other occupations: so that at this day the Mennonite congregations furnish their pastors with as much matter of censure and admonition, as the other Christian communities do.⁵ Some of the smaller associations, however, and likewise the people who live remote from cities, copy more closely and successfully the manners, the abstinence, and the simplicity of their fathers.

§ 18. The opinions and practices which divide the principal associations of Mennonites, if we omit those of less importance, are chiefly the following:—I. *Menno* denied, that Christ received from his most holy mother that human body which he assumed: on the contrary, he thought it to have been produced out of nothing, in the perfectly-chaste womb of the virgin, by the power of the Holy Ghost.⁶ This opinion the *Fine Anabap-*

⁵ ["It is certain, that the Mennonites in *Holland*, at this day, are, in their tables, their equipages, and their country-seats, the most luxurious part of the Dutch nation. This is more especially true of the Mennonites of *Amsterdam*, who are very numerous and extremely opulent." *Macl.*—This was written about the year 1764, and at the *Hague*, in South Holland, where Dr. Maclaine spent nearly his whole life. It is therefore the testimony of an *eye-witness*, residing on the spot. *Tr.*]

⁶ Thus the opinion of *Menno* is stated by *Herman Schyn*, *Plenior Deductio Historiæ Mennonitar.* p. 164, 165: but others report it differently. After considering some passages in *Menno's* writings, in which he treats expressly on this subject, I think it most probable that he was inclined especially to this opinion; and that it was solely in this sense, that he ascribed to Christ a divine and celestial body. For whatever comes immediately from the Holy Spirit, may be fitly called celestial and divine. Yet I must confess, that *Menno* appears not to have been so certain of this opinion, as never to have thought of exchanging it for a better. For, he expresses himself, here and there, am-

biguously and inconstantly: from which I conclude, that he gave up the common opinion respecting the origin of Christ's human body; but was in doubt, which of the various opinions that occurred to his thoughts to adopt in the place of it. See *Fueslin's Centuria I. Epistolar, a Reformator. Helveticis Scripturarum*, p. 383, &c. *Menno* is commonly represented as the *author* of this doctrine, concerning the origin of Christ's body, which his more rigid disciples still retain. But it appears to have been older than *Menno*, and to have been only adopted, by him, together with other opinions of the Anabaptists. For *John Fabricius Boland* (*Motus Monasteriensis*, lib. x. v. 49, &c.) expressly testifies of many of the Anabaptists of *Munster* (who certainly received no instructions from *Menno*), that they held this opinion concerning the body of Christ:—

Esse (Christum) Deum statuunt alii,
sed corpore carnem

Immanam sumpto sustinuisse negant:

At Dian mentem tenuis quasi fauce
canalis

Per Mariæ corpus virginis isse ferunt.

[It

tists or the *old Flemings* still hold tenaciously; but all the other associations have long since given it up.⁷—II. The more rigid Mennonites, after the example of their ancestors, regard as disciplinable offences, not only those wicked actions which are manifestly violations of the law of God, but likewise the slightest indications either of a latent inclination to sensuality, or of a mind unsexed and inclined to follow the customs of the world: as, for example, ornaments for the head, elegant clothing, rich and unnecessary furniture, and the like, and all transgressors they think, should be excommunicated, without previous admonition; and no allowance be made for the weakness of human nature. But the other Mennonites think, that none deserve excommunication, but contemners of the divine law, and such also as pertinaciously disregard the admonitions of the church.—III. The more rigid Mennonites hold, that excommunicated persons are to be shunned, as if they were pests, and are to be deprived of all social intercourse. Hence the ties of kindred must be severed, and the voice of nature must be unheeded. Parents must not look upon their children, nor wives upon their husbands, or converse with them, or manifest affection, or perform any kind of offices for them, when the church has once pronounced them unworthy of her communion. But the more moderate think, that the sanctity and honour of

[It is very probable, that this doctrine was propagated from the Manichæans of the middle ages to the Anabaptists. For thus Moneta, at least, says, in his *Summa ade. Catharos et Waldenses*, lib. iii. c. iii. “*Diennt (Cathari) quod corpus spirituale accepit (Christus) operatione Spiritus Sancti, ex alia materia fabricatum.*” *Schl.*—And is it not probable, likewise, that most, if not all, the peculiar sentiments of the old Anabaptists of Germany originated from the influence of that Manichæan leaven, which was introduced into Europe in the ninth century, by the *Paulicians*; and which spread far, and produced from that time onward, various fanatical and enthusiastic sects, quite down to the time of the Reformation? See the *History of the Paulicians*, in vol. ii. cent. ix. pt. ii. ch. v. and the *Chapters on Heresies*, in the subsequent centuries. *Tr.*]

⁷ I perceive that many represent the *Waterlanders*, especially, as acceding to this doctrine of Menno respecting

Christ's body. See *Histoire des Anabaptistes*, p. 223. *Cérémonies et Coutumes de tous les Peuples du Monde*, tom. iv. p. 200. But the *Confession* of the *Waterlanders*, or that of John Ries, will itself confute this error. Add Herrn. Schyn's *Deductio Plenior Historie Mennonitar.* p. 165. [Rues (p. 16.) attributes this doctrine solely to the *old Flemings*; yet subjoining, as their opinion, that the human nature of Christ, which God first created out of nothing, received its support and growth from the blood of the holy Virgin Mary. At the same time, they explicitly guarded themselves against the charge of partaking in the error of the *Valentinians*, by this doctrine. Menno embraced this doctrine, as Rues also maintains, because he could not conceive, how the human nature of Christ could be without sin, if it be admitted, that it descended from Mary. But his disciples, for proof, appeal to 1 Corinth. xv. 47, and John vi. 51. *Schl.*]

the church are sufficiently consulted, if all particular intimacy with the excommunicated is avoided.—IV. The old Flemings maintain, that the example of *Christ*, which has in this instance the force of a law, requires his disciples to wash the feet of their guests, in token of their love: and for this reason they have been called *Podoniptæ*.^s But others deny, that this rite was enjoined by Christ.

§ 19. Literature and whatever comes under the name of learning, but especially philosophy, this whole sect formerly considered as exceedingly prejudicial to the church of Christ, and to the progress of religion and piety. Hence, although it can boast of a number of writers in this century, yet not one of them can afford pleasure to the reader, by either his genius or his learning. The more rigid Mennonites retain this sentiment of their predecessors, quite to our times; and therefore, despising the cultivation of their minds, they devote themselves to hand-labour, the mechanic arts, and traffic. But the *Waterlanders* are honourably distinguished from the others, in this, as well as in many other respects. For they permit several of their members to prosecute at the universities the study of languages, history, antiquities, and especially the medical art, the utility of which they are unable to deny. And hence it is, that so many of their ministers, at the present day, bear the title of Doctors of Physic. In our age, these milder and more discreet Anabaptists pursue also the study of philosophy; and they regard it as very useful to mankind. Hence, among their teachers, there are not a few who have the title of Masters of Philosophy. Nay more, only a few years since, they established a college at Amsterdam, in which a man of erudition sustains the office of Professor of Philosophy. Yet they persevere still in the opinion, that theology must be kept pure and uncontaminated with philosophy, and never be modified by its precepts. Even the more rigid *Flemings* also, in our times, are gradually laying aside their ancient hatred of literature and science, and permitting their members to study languages, history, and other branches of learning.

§ 20. That ignorance, which the ancient Anabaptists reckoned among the means of their felicity, contributed much, indeed very much, to generate sects among them; with which they abounded

^s [Feet-washers. *Tr.*]

from the first, much more than any other religious community. This will be readily conceded, by any one that looks into the causes and grounds of the dissensions among them. For their vehement contests were, for the most part, not so much respecting the doctrines and the mysteries of religion, as respecting what is to be esteemed *lawful, proper, pious, right, and commendable*; and what, on the contrary, is to be accounted *criminal and faulty*. Because they maintained, that sanctity of life and purity of manners were the only sign of a true church: yet what was holy and religious, and what not so, they did not determine by reason and judgment, nor by a correct interpretation of the divine laws, (because they had no men who possessed solid knowledge on moral subjects,) but rather by their feelings and imaginations. Now as this mode of discriminating good from evil is fluctuating and various, according to the different capacities and temperaments of men; it was unavoidable, that different opinions should arise among them; and these, no where, more certainly produce permanent schisms, than among a people who are ignorant, and therefore pertinacious.

§ 21. A quiet and stable residence in the United Provinces of Belgium was first procured for the Mennonites by *William* prince of Orange, the immortal vindicator of Batavian liberty; whom the Mennonites had aided with a large sum of money, in the year 1572, when he was destitute of the resources necessary for his vast undertakings.⁹ Yet the benefits of this indulgence reached, by slow degrees, to all that resided in Holland. For opposition was made to the will of the prince, both by the magistrates and by the clergy; especially by those of Zealand and Amsterdam, who remembered the seditious raised by the

⁹ Gerh. Brandt's *Historie de Reformation in de Nederlande*, vol. i. book x. p. 522. 526. *Cérémonies et Coutumes de tous les Peuples du Monde*, tom. iv. p. 201. [*General History of the United Netherlands*, (in German,) vol. iii. p. 317, &c. Wagenaer, in the passage here referred to, relates the matter thus. At Middelburg, because the Anabaptists would not take the citizen's oath, it was resolved to exclude them from the privileges of citizenship, or at least not to admit them fully to the rank of citizens. But the prince opposed it; and maintained, very rationally, that an Anabaptist's *affirma-*

tion ought to be held equivalent to an oath; and that in this case, no further coercion could be used with them, unless we would justify the catholics in compelling the reformed, by force, to adopt a mode of worship from which their consciences revolted. And afterwards, when the city council demanded of them to mount guard, and threatened, if they refused, to close their shops; the prince commanded the city council, peremptorily, to trouble the Anabaptists no more, for declining oaths and the bearing of arms. This took place in the year 1578. *Schl.*]

Anabaptists but a short time previously.¹ These impediments [to their peace] were, in a great measure, removed in this century, partly by the perseverance and authority of *William* and his son *Maurice*, and partly by the good behaviour of the Mennonites themselves; for they showed great proofs of their loyalty to the state, and became daily more cautious not to afford any ground to their adversaries for entertaining suspicions of them. Yet full and complete peace was first given to them, in the following century, A. D. 1626, after they had again purged themselves from those crimes and pernicious errors which were charged upon them, by the presentation of a *Confession* of their faith.²

§ 22. Those among the English who reject the baptism of infants, are not called *Anabaptists*, but only *Baptists*. It is probable that these *Baptists* originated from the Germans and the Dutch, and that they all once held the same sentiments with the *Mennonites*. But they are now divided into two general classes; the one called that of the *General Baptists* or *Remonstrants*, because they believe that God has excluded no man from salvation by any sovereign decree; the other are called *Particular* or *Calvinistic Baptists*, because they agree very nearly with the Calvinists or Presbyterians in their religious sentiments.³ This latter sect reside chiefly at London, and in the adjacent towns and villages: and they recede so far from earlier holders of their opinions, that they have scarcely any thing in common with the other Anabaptists, except that they baptize none but adults, and immerse totally in the water whomever they initiate in their religion. Hence, if the government requires it, they allow a professor of religion to take an oath, to bear arms, and to fill public civil offices. Their churches are organized after the *Presbyterian*⁴ plan; and are under the direction of men of learning and literature.⁵ It ap-

¹ Gerh. Brandt, *loc. cit.* book xi. p. 555. 586, 587, &c. 609, 610, b. xiv. p. 780, b. xvi. p. 811.

² Herm. Schyn's *Pleior Deductio Historie Mennonitar.* cap. iv. p. 79, &c.

³ William Whiston, *Memoirs of his Life and Writings*, vol. ii. p. 461.

⁴ [Or more strictly, the *Independent*. *Tr.*]

⁵ Auth. Willh. Böhm's *Englische Reformations Historie*, p. 151. 473. 536, book viii. p. 1152, &c. [Crosby's *History*

of the English Baptists, vol. i. Bogue and Bennet's *History of the Dissenters*, vol. i. ch. i. § iii. p. 141, &c. Dutch and German Anabaptists or Mennonites appeared in England, and doubtless made some proselytes there, as early as the year 1535; and thenceforward to the end of the century. But they were so rigorously persecuted, not only by Henry VIII., but by Edward VI., queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth, that they can hardly be said to have existed as a visible sect

pears from the *Confession* of these Baptists, published in 1643, that they then held the same sentiments that they do at the present day.⁶

§ 23. The *General Baptists*, or as some call them, the *Anti-pædobaptists*, who are dispersed in great numbers over many provinces of England, consist of illiterate persons of low condition: for, like the ancient *Memnonites*, they despise learning. Their religion is very general and indefinite; so that they tolerate persons of all sects, even Arians and Socinians; and do not reject any person, provided he professes to be a Christian, and to receive the holy Scriptures as the rule of faith and practice in religion.⁷ They have this in common with the *Particular Baptists*, that they baptize only adults, and these they immerse wholly in water: but they differ from them in this, that they rebaptize such as were either baptized only in infancy and childhood, or were not immersed; which, if report may be credited, the *Particular Baptists* will not do.⁸ There are likewise other peculiarities of this sect.—I. Like the ancient *Memnonites*, they regard their own church as being the only true church of Christ, and most carefully avoid communion with all other religious communities.—II. They immerse candidates for

in England during the sixteenth century. And their division into *General* and *Particular* Baptists did not take place till the reign of James I. See Wall's *Hist. of Infant Baptism*, pt. ii. ch. vii. § 6, p. 206, &c. *Tr.*]

⁶ *Bibliothèque Britannique*, tom. vi. p. 2. [The Baptist Confession of 1643 was "set forth in the name of seven congregations then gathered in London." In September, 1689, elders and messengers from upwards of one hundred congregations of Calvinistic Baptists in England and Wales, met in London, and drew up a more full Confession, and substantially the same in doctrine; but expressed very much in the words of the Westminster and the Savoy Confessions, with both which it agrees in doctrine, while in discipline and worship it accords only with the latter. The Calvinistic Baptists in England have generally been on the most friendly terms with the Independents or Congregationalists there; and often both sects worshipped together, and were under the same pastors. See Bogue and Bennet's *History of Dissenters*, vol. i. p. 142, 143, vol. ii. p. 140, &c. also the *Confession of the Baptist Convention of 1689*, and its Preface. *Tr.*]

⁷ This appears from their Confession, drawn up in 1660, and published by Wm. Whiston, *Memoirs of his Life*, vol. ii. p. 561, which is so general, that all Christian sects, with the exception of a few points, could embrace it. Whiston himself, though an Arian, joined this community of Baptists; whom he considered to bear the nearest resemblance to the most ancient Christians. Thomas Emlyn also, a famous Socinian, lived among them, according to the testimony of Whiston.

⁸ [I know not on what authority Dr. Mosheim makes this distinction between the General and the Particular Baptists: and I know of no sufficient proof of its reality. Neither does it appear, as Dr. Mosheim seemed to have been informed, that the General Baptists were *more numerous* in England than the Particular Baptists. On the contrary, I suppose the former to have always been the smaller community; and at the present day, they are only about one-sixth part as numerous as the Particular Baptists. See Bogue and Bennet, *loc. cit.* vol. iv. p. 328. *Tr.*]

baptism only once, and not three times; and they esteem it unessential, whether new converts be baptized in the name of the *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, or only in the name of *Jesus*.— III. With *Menno* they expect a millennial reign of Christ.— IV. Many of them, likewise, adopt *Menno's* opinion respecting the origin of Christ's body.— V. They consider the decree of the Apostles, Acts xv. 25, respecting blood and things strangled, to be a law binding on the church universal.— VI. They believe that the soul, between death and the resurrection at the last day, has neither pleasure nor pain, but is in a state of insensibility.— VII. They use extreme unction.— VIII. Some of them, in addition to Sunday or the Lord's Day, keep also the *Jewish Sabbath*.⁹ I omit the notice of some minor points. These Baptists have bishops, whom they call messengers, (for thus they interpret the word *ἄγγελος*, in the Apocryphical epistles,) and *presbyters* and *deacons*. Their *bishops* are often men of learning.¹

⁹ These statements are derived from Wm. Whiston's *Memoirs of his Life*, vol. ii. p. 461, and from Wall's *Hist. of Infant Baptism*, pt. ii. p. 390, &c. ed. Latin. [p. 280, &c. ed. London, 1705.—Wall does not represent all these as distinguishing tenets of the *General Baptists*. He enumerates the various peculiarities to be found among the *English Baptists*, of all sorts. Some of the peculiarities mentioned, constitute distinct sects; as the eighth, which gives rise to the small and now almost extinct sect of *Seventh-day Baptists*; who, however, do not keep both days, *Saturday* and *Sunday*; but only the former. The second peculiarity, so far as respects a *single application* of water, is not peculiar to the *Baptists*: and so far as it respects baptizing in the name of *Jesus* only, was confined (as Wall supposed) to the *General Baptists*, who were early inclined to Anti-Trinitarianism, and of late, in England, have generally taken that ground. *Tr.*]

¹ Whiston, *Memoirs of his Life*, vol. ii. p. 466, &c. There is extant, Thomas Crosby's *History of the English Baptists*, Lond. 1728, 4 vols. 8vo, which, however, I have never seen. [This Crosby was himself a *General Baptist*; and kept a private school, in which he taught young men mathematics; and had also a small book-store. He died in 1752. See Al-

berti's *Letters on the most recent state of religion and learning in England*, (in German,) preface to vol. iv. From Crosby, Alberti has translated the Confessions of both the Particular and the General Baptists into German, and subjoined them as an Appendix to his fourth volume, p. 1245, &c. and 1323, &c. *Schl.*—The Rev. John Smyth is commonly represented as the father of the sect of *General* or *Arminian* Baptists in England. (See Bogue and Bennet, *Hist. of Dissenters*, vol. i. p. 150.) He was fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge, a popular preacher, and a great sufferer for non-conformity. Separating from the church of England, he joined the Brownists; was one of their leading men in 1592, and was imprisoned during eleven months. At length he fled, with other Brownists to Holland; and in 1606 joined the English Brownist church at Amsterdam. Here he fell into Arminian and Baptist opinions, on which he had disputes with Ainsworth, Robinson, and others; and removed, with his adherents, to Leyden, where he died in 1610. Soon after his death, his followers returned to England; and, as is generally supposed, they were the first congregation of English General Baptists. See his life in Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 195, &c. *Tr.*]

§ 24. *David George*², a Hollander of Delft, gave origin and name to a singular sect. At last, however, he forsook the Anabaptists, retired to Bâle in 1544, assumed a new name³, and there died, in 1556. He was well esteemed by the people of Bâle, so long as he lived; for being a man of wealth, he united magnificence with virtue and integrity. But after his death, his son-in-law, *Nicholas Blesdyck*, accused him before the senate of most pestilent errors; and the cause being tried, his body was committed to the common hangman, to be burnt. Nothing can be more impious and base than his opinions, if the historians of his case, and his adversaries, have estimated them correctly. For he is said to have declared himself to be a third *David*, and another son of God, the fountain of all divine wisdom; to have denied the existence of heaven and hell, both good and bad angels, and a final judgment; to have treated all the laws of modesty and decorum with contempt; and to have taught other things equally bad.⁴ But if I do not greatly mis-

² [Or *Joris. Tr.*]

³ [*John Bruck von Binnengen. Tr.*]

⁴ See the *Historia Davidis Georgii*, by his son-in-law, Nic. Blesdyck, published by Jac. Revius: also his Life, written in German, by Jac. Stolterforth; and many others. See among the more modern writers, Godfr. Arnold, *Kirchen- und Ketzehistorie*, vol. i. b. xvi. ch. xvi. § 44, &c. p. 750, &c. and his extensive collections, in vindication of the reputation of David George, in vol. ii. p. 534, &c. See also p. 1185, &c. and Henry More's *Enthusiasmus triumphatus*, sect. xxxiii. &c. p. 23, &c. Add especially the documents which are brought into light, in my History of Michael Servetus (in German), p. 425, &c. [David Joris was born at Delft, in 1501. Though placed at school, he learned nothing. But his inclination led him to learn the art of painting on glass; which caused him to travel in the Netherlands, France, and England. Returning in 1524, he pursued that business in his native town. The reformation here caused considerable commotion; and in 1530, Joris, for obstructing a Roman catholic procession, was imprisoned, whipped, and had his tongue bored. He at length turned to the Anabaptists; but being more moderate than they, and opposed to their tumultuous proceedings, it was

not till 1534, that he actually was rebaptized. He now joined the party of *Hofmann*: but he was not well pleased with any of them: and at length, he united some contending parties together, and actually established a particular sect of Anabaptists. He now began to have visions and revelations. As his adherents suffered persecution in Westphalia and Holland, he often attended them, and comforted and animated them in their dying hours. He saw his own mother decapitated at Delft, in 1537. A monitory letter which he sent to the senate of Holland, caused the bearer to lose his head. In 1539, the landgrave of Hesse, to whom he applied for protection, offered to afford it, provided he would become a Lutheran. In 1542, he published his famous Book of Wonders, in which he exposed all the fanciful opinions that floated in his imagination. He wandered in various countries, till he was safe no where. Therefore, in 1544, he retired to Bâle, where he lived twelve years, under the name of John von Brügge; was owner of a house in the city, and an estate in the country; was a peaceable and good citizen, and held communion with the Reformed church. His son-in-law, Blesdyck, was a reformed preacher in the Palatinate; and had some variance with Joris before

take, the barbarous and coarse style of the man, who possessed some genius, but no learning, led his opponents often to put a rather harsh and unfair construction upon his sentiments. At all events, that he possessed something more of sense and virtue, than is commonly supposed, is shown not only by his books, of which he published a great many, but also by his disciples, persons by no means base, and of great simplicity of manners and character, who were formerly numerous in Holstein, and are said to be so still, in Friesland, and in other countries.⁵ In the manner of the more moderate Anabaptists, he laboured to revive languishing piety among his fellow-men: and in this matter, his imagination, which was excessively warm, so deceived him, that he rashly supposed himself favoured with divine visions; and he placed religion in the exclusion of all external objects, silence, contemplation, and a peculiar and indescribable state of the soul. The *Mystics*, therefore, of the highest order, and the *Quakers* might claim him if they would; and might assign him no mean rank among their people.

§ 25. An intimate friend of *David George*, but of a somewhat different turn of mind, *Henry Nicolai*, of Westphalia, gave much trouble to the Dutch and the English, from the year 1555, by founding and propagating the *Family of Love*, as he denominated his sect. To this man nearly the same remarks apply that were made of his friend. He would perhaps have been, in great measure, free from the foul blots that many have fastened upon him, if he had possessed the genius and learning requisite to a correct and lucid expression of his thoughts. What his aims were, appears pretty clearly, from the *name* of the sect which he set up.⁶ For he declared himself divinely appointed, and sent to teach mankind that the whole of religion consists in the exercise of *love*; that all other

his death. Afterwards, provoked perhaps by the disposition *Joris* made of his property, he brought heavy charges against him. His family, and friends, and acquaintances, denied the truth of the charges before the court. But what they would not admit, was attempted to be proved from his writings. The university and the clergy pronounced his opinion heretical; and the dead man, who could no longer defend himself, was condemned. See *Schroeckh's Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. v. p. 442,

&c. and *Von Einem's* and *Schlegel's* notes upon this section of *Mosheim. Tr.*]

⁵ See *Jo. Möller's Introductio in Histor. Chersones. Cimbrica*, pt. ii. p. 116, &c. and his *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. i. p. 422, &c.

⁶ See *Jo. Hornbeck's Summa Controversiarum*, lib. vi. p. 393. *Godfr. Arnold's Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie*, pt. i. book xvi. ch. xxi. § 36, p. 746. *Ant. Wilh. Böhm's Englische Reformationshistorie*, book iv. ch. v. p. 541, &c.

things, which are supposed to belong to religion, are of no importance: and of course that it is of no consequence what views any one has of the divine nature, provided he burns with a flame of piety and love. To these opinions he perhaps added some other fanciful views, as is usual with men in whom the imagination predominates: but what they were in particular, I apprehend, may be better learned from his books, than from the confutations of his adversaries.⁷

⁷ The last and most learned of those who attacked the *Familists*, was Henry More, the celebrated English divine and philosopher, in his *Mystery of Godliness*, book vi. ch. xii—xviii. George Fox, the father of the Quakers, severely chastised this *Family of Love*, because they would take an oath, dance, sing, and be cheerful; and he called them a company of fanatics. See Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, book iii. p. 88, 89, 344, &c. [Henry Nicolai, or Nicholas, was born at Munster, and commenced his career about the year 1546, in the Netherlands; thence he passed over to England, in the latter years of Edward VI., and joined the Dutch congregation in London. But his sect did not become visible till some time in the reign of queen Elizabeth. In 1575, they laid a Confession of their faith, with a number of their books, before the parliament, and prayed for toleration. In 1580, the queen and her council undertook to suppress them. They continued in England till the middle of the following century, when they became absorbed in other sects. Nicolai published a number of tracts and letters in Dutch, for the edification of his followers, and to vindicate his principles against gainsayers. In one of

his pieces, he mystically styles himself: "A man whom God had awaked from the dead, anointed and filled with the Holy Ghost, endowed with God, in the spirit of his love, and elevated with Christ to an inheritance in heavenly blessings, enlightened with the Spirit of heavenly truth, and with the true light of the all-perfect Being." In his preface to one of his tracts he calls himself: "The chosen servant of God, by whom the heavenly revelation should again be made known to the world." His followers, in 1575, affirmed, that they did not deny *that* baptism, which consisted in repentance and newness of life: nor the holy sacrament of baptism, which betokened the new birth in Christ, and which was to be administered to children: that they admitted also the perfect satisfaction made by Christ for the sins of men.—They appeared always cheerful, and in a happy state of mind; which offended the more gloomy mystics, and produced heavy charges against them. Yet nothing appeared in their moral conduct to justify those criminations. Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, pt. ii. b. xvi. c. 21. § 36. p. 873, ed. Schaffhausen; and Schroeckh's *Kirchensgesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. v. p. 478, &c. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF THE SOCINIANS.

§ 1, 2. The name and origin of the Socinians.—§ 3. Their first beginnings.—§ 4. Michael Servetus.—§ 5. His doctrines.—§ 6. Other Anti-Trinitarians.—§ 7. False originations of Socinianism.—§ 8. Its true origination.—§ 9. Its progress.—§ 10. Summary view of this religion.—§ 11. Proceedings of Faustus Socinus.—§ 12. He modified the Unitarian religion.—§ 13. Propagation of Socinianism in Transylvania and Hungary.—§ 14. In Holland and England.—§ 15. The foundation of this religion.—§ 16. Its fundamental principle.—§ 17. Summary of it.—§ 18. Moral principles.—§ 19. Racovian Catechism.—§ 20. State of learning among Socinians.—§ 21. Method of teaching theology.—§ 22. Controversies of the Socinians: Budneists or Budnæans.—§ 23. Succeeded by Davides, Francken, and others.—§ 24. The Farnovian sect.

§ 1. THE *Socinians* derive their name from the illustrious house of *Sozzini*, which long flourished at Siena, a very noble city of Tuscany, and is said to have produced extraordinary men: for from this family originated *Lælius* and *Faustus Socinus*, who are commonly regarded as the parents of the sect. *Lælius Socinus* was the son of *Marianus*, a celebrated lawyer; and to great learning and talents, he added—as even his enemies acknowledge—a pure and blameless life. Leaving his native country, from religious considerations, in 1547, he travelled over various countries, France, England, Holland, Germany, and Poland; every where examining carefully the opinions of such as had abandoned the Romish church concerning God and divine things; for the sake of discovering and finding the truth. At length he settled down at Zurich in Switzerland, and there died in the year 1562, when he was not yet 40 years old.¹ Being a man of mild and gentle spirit, and averse from all contention, he adopted the *Helvetic Confession*, and wished to be thought a member of the Swiss church: yet he did not absolutely conceal his doubts on religious subjects; but proposed them in his letters to learned friends with whom he was

¹ Jo. Cloppenburg, *Diss. de Origine et Progressu Socinianismi*. Jo. Hornbeck, Henry Hottinger, *Historia Ecclesiast.* tom. ix. p. 417, &c. and others. *Summa Controversiarum*, p. 563, &c. Jo.

intimate.² But *Faustus Socinus*, his nephew and heir, is said to have drawn from the writings left by *Lælius*, his real sentiments concerning religion, and by publishing them, to have gathered the sect.

§ 2. The name *Socinians* is often used in two different senses; a proper and an improper, or a limited and a more general. For in common speech, all are denominated *Socinians*, who teach doctrines akin to those of the Socinians; and especially those who either wholly deny, or weaken and render dubious the Christian doctrine of three Persons in the Godhead, and the divine nature of our Saviour. But in a more limited sense, those only are called Socinians, who receive either entire or in its principal parts, that system of religion which *Faustus Socinus* either produced himself, or set forth when produced by his uncle, and recommended to the *Unitarian brethren*, (as they themselves wish to be called,) living in Poland and Transylvania.³

§ 3. While the Reformation was still immature, certain persons, who looked upon every thing which the Romish church had hitherto professed as erroneous, began to undermine the doctrine of our Saviour's divinity, and the truths connected with

² Hieron. Zanchius, *Præfatio ad librum de tribus Elohim*. Theod. Beza, *Epistolar. Volumen*, ep. lxxx. p. 167. Several writings are ascribed to him: (See Sand's *Bibliotheca Antitrinitar.* p. 68.) but it is very doubtful, whether he was the author of any one of them.

³ There is still wanting a full and accurate history, both of the sect which follows the Socini, and of Lælius and Faustus Socinus, and those most active with them in establishing and building up this community. For the curiosity of those who wish to acquire an accurate knowledge of this whole subject, is awakened, but not satisfied, by what they find in John Hornbeck's *Socinianismus Confutatus*, vol. i. Abraham Calovius, *Opera Anti-Sociniana*; Jo. Cloppenburg's *Diss. de Origine et Progressu Socinianismi*. (*Opp.* tom. ii. Lugd. Bat. 1708, 4to.) Christopher Sandius, *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitariorum*: Stanisl. Lubianiecins, *Historia Reformationis Polonicae*: Sam. Fred. Lautherbach's *Polnisch-Arianischen Socinianismus*, Franef. 1725, 8vo. And the *Histoire du Socinianisme*, by Lamy, Paris, 1723, 4to. is a compila-

tion from the common writers, and abounds not only with errors, but likewise with various matter quite foreign from a history of the Socinian sect and religion. The very industrious and learned Maturin Veiss la Croze promised the world a complete history of Socinianism down to our times; see his *Dissert. Historiques*, tom. i. p. 142. But he did not fulfil his promise. [Besides the above, there are G. G. Zeltner's *Historia Crypto-Socinianismi Altorfine quondam academice infesti Arcana*, Lips. 1729, 4to. J. Toulmin's *Memoirs of the life, character, sentiments, and writings of Faustus Socinus*, Lond. 1777, 8vo. F. Sam. Bock's *Historia Antitrinitariorum, maxime Socinianismi et Socinianorum, quorum auctores, promotores, cæsus, templa recensentur*; Königsb. 1774—84, 2 vols. 8vo. (The first vol. gives account of modern Socinian authors; and the second traces the origin of Antitrinitarianism. The whole, therefore, is only a broad introduction to a proper history of the Socinian community.) Ch. F. Ilgen, *Vita Lælii Socini*, Lips. 1814, 8vo. *Tr.*]

it; and proposed reducing the whole of religion to practical piety and virtue. But the vigilance as well of the Lutherans, as of the Reformed, and Papists, promptly resisted them, and prevented them from organizing a sect. As early as the year 1526, divine honours were denied to Jesus Christ by *Lewis Hetzer*, a name famous among the vagrant Anabaptists, and who was beheaded at Constance in 1529.⁴ Nor were there wanting other men of like sentiments among the Anabaptists, though that whole sect cannot be charged with this error. Besides these, *John Campanus*, of Juliers, in what year is not ascertained, among other unsound doctrines, which he spread at Wittenberg and elsewhere, made the Son of God to be inferior to the Father; and declared the appellation *Holy Spirit* to denote, not a divine *person*, but the *nature* both of the Father and the Son; that is, he revived, in substance, the monstrous errors of the Arians.⁵ In the territory of the Grisons, in Switzerland, and at Strasburg, one *Claudius*, an Allobrogian or Savoyard, excited much commotion, about the year 1530 and afterwards, by impugning the divinity of our Saviour.⁶ But none of these were able to establish a sect.

⁴ Christ. Sand's *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitarior.* p. 16. Jo. Bapt. Ottins, *Annales Anabaptist.* p. 50. Jo. Ja. Breitingers *Museum Helveticum*, tom. v. p. 391, tom. v. p. 100. 479, &c. [See above, p. 528, note.⁷ *Tr.*]

⁵ See Jo. Geo. Schellhorn's very learned Dissertation, *de Joh. Campano, Anti-Trinitario*; in his *Amanitates Litterar.* tom. xi. p. 1—92. [He was a native of Mæseyk in the territory of Liege, and came to Wittenberg in 1528; but so concealed his opinions, that they first became known after he had retired to Marburg; where he wished to take part in the public dispute, and to debate with Luther on the subject of the Lord's Supper; but was refused. He repeated the same at Torgau, where he likewise sought in vain to dispute with Luther. This filled him with resentment against Luther and his associates, and induced him to quit Wittenberg, (to which he had returned,) and go to Niemek; the pastor of which, Wicelius, fell under suspicion of Anti-trinitarianism, in consequence of his harbouring Campanus, and soon after went over to the Catholics. Campanus went from Saxony to the duchy of Ju-

liers; and both orally, and in writing, declared himself opposed to the Reformers, and sought, underhandedly, to disseminate his Arian doctrines. But he was committed to prison by the catholics, at Cleves; and continued in confinement twenty-six years. Whether he made his escape from prison, or was set at liberty, is not known. All we know is that he lived to a great age. The substance of his doctrine may be learned from the very scarce book, *The divine and holy Scripture, many years since obscured, and darkened by unwholesome doctrine and teachers (by God's permission), restored and amended by the very learned John Campanus*, 1532, 8vo. (in German.) *Schl.*]

⁶ See Jo. Geo. Schellhorn's Epistolary Dissert. *de Mino Celso Senensi, Claudio item Allobroge, homine fanatico et SS. Trinitatis hoste*; Ulm. 1748, 8vo. Jo. Jac. Breitingers *Museum Helveticum*, tom. vii. p. 667. Jo. Haller's Epistle, in Jo. Cour. Fuesslin's *Centuria Epistolar. Viror. Eruditor.* p. 140, &c. [He first held Christ to be a mere man; but the Swiss divines brought him to admit, that he was the natural Son of God; though he would not allow his eternal

§ 4. Those who watched over the interests of the reformed church, were much more alarmed by the conduct of *Michael Servete*⁷, or *Servetus*, as his name is written in Latin, a Spanish physician, born at Villa Nueva in Aragon, a man of no ordinary genius, and of extensive knowlege. He first published, in 1531, seven books, *de Trinitatis Erroribus*; and the next year, two Dialogues, *de Trinitate*; in which he most violently assailed the opinion, held by the great body of Christians respecting the divine nature, and the three Persons in it. Subsequently, after retiring to France, and passing through various scenes, he fixed his residence at Vienne, where he was a successful practitioner of physic; and now, by his strong power of imagination, he devised a new and singular species of religion, which he committed to a book that he secretly printed at Vienne in 1553, and which he entitled *Restitutio Christianismi*.⁸ Many things seemed to conspire to favour his designs: genius, learning, eloquence, courage, pertinacity, a show of piety, and lastly, numerous patrons and friends in France, Germany, and Italy, whom he had conciliated by his natural and acquired endowments. But all his hopes were frustrated by *Calvin*; who caused *Servetus* to be seized at Geneva, after his escape from prison at Vienne, and as he was passing through Switzerland towards Italy, and to be accused of blasphemy by a servant. The issue of the accusation was, that *Servetus*, as he would not renounce the opinions that he had embraced, was burnt alive, by a decree of the judges, as an obstinate heretic and blasphemer. For in that age, the ancient laws against heretics, enacted by the emperor *Frederick II.*, and often renewed afterwards, were in full force at Geneva. A better fate was merited by this man of uncommon genius and great learning: yet he laboured under no small moral defects: for he was, beyond all measure, arrogant, atrabilious, contentious, unyielding; in short, he was half mad.⁹

existence; and he positively denied three Persons in the Godhead. He also maintained, that the beginning of John's Gospel had been falsified. He was imprisoned at Strasburg; and then banished. Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. v. p. 491. *Tr.*]

⁷ By rejecting the last syllable of the name, which is a common Spanish termination, there remains the name *Serve*:

and the letters of this name, a little transposed, produce *Reves*; which is the name *Servetus* assumed in the title-pages of his books. Omitting also his family name, altogether, he called himself, from his birthplace, *Michael Villanovanus*, or simply, *Villanovanus*.

⁸ [A Restoration of Christianity. *Tr.*]

⁹ I have composed, in the German

§ 5. *Servetus* had devised a strange system of religion; a great part of which was intimately connected with his notions

language, a copious history of this man, who was so unlike every body but himself; which was published at Helmstadt, 1748, 4to, and again, with large additions, Helmst. 1749, 4to. [Dr. Maclaine recommends to those who cannot read the German, to peruse a juvenile production of one of Mosheim's pupils, composed twenty years earlier, entitled, *Historia Mich. Serveti, quam, præsidi J. Laur. Mosheimio, &c. exponit Henricus ab Allwaerden*, Helmst. 1727, 4to. But Mosheim, in his history of Servetus, pronounces this an incorrect performance, and not to be relied on. Von Einem here introduces, in a long note of 23 pages, an epitome of Mosheim's history of Servetus. The account which Schroeckh gives of Servetus (*Kirchengesch. seit der Reformat.* vol. v. p. 519, &c.), accords in general with that of Mosheim, as abridged by Von Einem. From both these the following sketch is made:—

He was born at Villa Nueva, in Aragon, A. D. 1509. His father was a lawyer, and sent him to Toulouse to study law. But he preferred literature and theology. Hebrew, Greek, the Fathers, the Bible, and the writings of the Reformers, seem to have engaged his chief attention. On his return to Spain, he connected himself with Jo. Quintana, confessor to the emperor Charles V.; and accompanied him to Italy, where he witnessed the emperor's coronation at Bologna, A. D. 1529. The year following, he accompanied Quintana into Germany; and perhaps was at Augsburg, when the Protestants presented their Confession of faith; and he might there first become acquainted with Bucer and Capito. When and where he separated from Quintana, does not appear. But in the year 1530, he went to Bâle, to confer with Œcolampadius. He had now struck out a new path in theology. He rejected the doctrine of three divine Persons; denied the eternal generation of the Son; and admitted no eternity of the Son, except in the purpose of God. Œcolampadius in vain attempted to bring him to other views; and laid his case before Zwingle, Bucer, Capito, and Bullinger; who all considered him a gross heretic. He left Bâle, determined to publish his projected work. It was

printed at Hagenau, in 1531; and, at once, was every where condemned. Quintana laid it before the emperor, who ordered it to be suppressed. Servetus was assailed by his best friends wherever he went; and was pressed to abandon his errors. He therefore wrote his Dialogues, which he printed in 1532. He there condemned his former book, as a juvenile and ill-reasoned performance; yet brought forward substantially the same doctrines, and urged them with all his powers of logic and satire. In 1533, he went to Italy, and travelled in France. He studied a while at Paris; then went to Orleans, and thence to Lyons, where he resided two years, as a superintendent of the press; held a correspondence with Calvin, and began to write his great theological work. In 1537, he went again to Paris, became a master of arts, and lectured on mathematics and astronomy. He also devoted a year to the study of physic; and now commenced medical writer and physician; yet continued to labour on his Restoration of Christianity. But soon he got into collision with the medical fraternity, and had to leave Paris. In 1538, he went to Lyons, thence to Avignon, and thence to Charlieu, where he resided as a physician till 1540. He next went again to Lyons, and soon after to Vienna, where he resided twelve years as a physician, under the patronage of the archbishop and the clergy, to whom he rendered himself quite acceptable. During this time, though still labouring secretly upon his Restoration of Christianity, he professed to be a sound catholic, and passed currently for one. He also re-edited Ptolemy's Geography, with corrections and notes; and published notes on Pagnin's Latin Bible, the chief object of which was, to show that all the Old Testament prophecies, which were commonly applied to Christ, had a previous and literal fulfilment in events prior to his advent, and only an allegorical application to him. At length he determined to print his favourite work on theology. It was worked off, in a retired house in Vienna, by his friends; and he himself corrected the press. It was finished in January, 1553; and bore on its title-page only the initials of his name. M. S. V. (Michael Servetus Vil-

of the nature of things, which were also strange: nor can it be stated fully in a few words. He supposed, in general, that

lanovanus). Parcels of the book were sent to Lyons, to Frankfort, and elsewhere. A few copies reached Geneva; and Calvin was one of the first who read it. Near the end of February, one Trie, a young French Protestant residing at Geneva, wrote to his catholic friend at Lyons, who laboured hard to convert him to popery, taxing the catholics of Lyons with harbouring Servetus, the impious author of this new book, which excited such universal abhorrence. This letter first awakened suspicion at Vienne, that Servetus was the author of it. A process before the Inquisition was commenced against him; but the proof was deemed insufficient. The court however prosecuted the matter with zeal, and obtained more and more evidence against him. Servetus, at length, foreseeing the probable result, took to flight. The court still proceeded, till they deemed the evidence sufficient, and then condemned him in his absence. Servetus fled to Geneva; and there lay concealed four weeks, waiting for an opportunity to proceed to Italy and Naples. Just as he was getting into a boat to depart, he was discovered by Calvin himself; who gave notice immediately to the government, and they apprehended him. Nicholas de la Fontaine, Calvin's secretary, took the part of an accuser; and Calvin himself is supposed to have framed the 38 articles of charge. They were taken from his writings, especially his last work; and related to his views of the Trinity and infant baptism; his taxing Moses with falsely representing the land of Canaan as very fertile; his perverting the prophecies concerning Christ; and several other points of less importance. In the first hearing, Servetus acknowledged himself the author of the books, whence the charges were drawn; but either explained away or justified the articles alleged; and la Fontaine was unable to meet his arguments. In the second hearing, Calvin was present; and he exposed the evasive pleas of the criminal. In the mean time, the council of Geneva wrote to the authorities of Vienne, informing them of the arrest of Servetus, and inquiring respecting the proceedings against him at Vienne. The governor of the castle of Vienne came to Geneva, exhibiting a copy of the sen-

tence passed upon Servetus, and requested that the prisoner might be delivered up to him, to be reconveyed to Vienne. Servetus was called before the court, and with tears intreated that he might not be delivered up; but that he might be tried at Geneva. To gratify his wishes, the court of Geneva refused to give him up, and proceeded in his trial. He denied the competence of a *civil* court to try a case of heresy; but his objection was overruled. He also appealed to the council of 200; but the appeal was not admitted. He attempted to accuse Calvin of heresy; but the court would not listen to his accusations. He objected, that Calvin reigned at Geneva, and begged to have his case tried by the other cantons. Accordingly the court ordered that Calvin should extract objectionable passages from Servetus' books, in his own words; that Servetus should subjoin such explanations and arguments as he thought fit; then Calvin to reply, and Servetus to answer; and the whole to be transmitted to Bern, Bâle, Zurich, and Schaffhausen, for the opinion of those cantons. This was accordingly done. The reply from all the cantons was, that the Genevans were in duty bound to restrain the madness and wickedness of Servetus, and prevent him from propagating his errors in future. But the manner in which this object should be accomplished was left to the discretion of the court of Geneva. The authorities of Bâle however intimated that a perpetual imprisonment might be sufficient. The court of Geneva now unanimously condemned Servetus to be burned alive the day following. Calvin and the other ministers of Geneva interceded for a milder death; but the court would not yield. Servetus was immediately informed of his sentence, and was greatly overcome. The next day, October 27, 1553, he appeared more composed. Farel attended him as a clergyman, and urged him to retract; which he pertinaciously refused. He was conducted to the presence of the court, where his sentence was pronounced in form. He begged for a commutation of the mode of death; and Farel also urged the same; but the court would not listen. He was conducted slowly to the place of execution, permitted and

the true doctrine of Jesus Christ was lost, even before the council of Nice; and, indeed, that it was never taught with sufficient clearness and perspicuity: and that the restitution and explanation of it were divinely committed to him. As respects God and the divine Trinity, he believed, in general, that the supreme Being, before the foundation of the world, produced in himself, and formed two *personal representations, economies, dispositions, dispensations, modes of existence*¹, (for he did not always use the same terms,) namely, the *Word* and the *Holy Spirit*; by which he might both make known his will to mankind, and impart to them his blessings. That the *Word* was joined to the man *Christ*, who was, by the all-powerful will of God, born to the virgin *Mary*: and that, on this account, *Christ* might justly be called God. That the *Holy Spirit* animates the created universe; and, in particular, produces in men holy and divine emotions and purposes. That after the destruction of this world, both these *Economies* will cease to be, and will be reabsorbed in God. Yet this doctrine he did not always state in the same manner, and he often uses slippery and ambiguous terms; so that it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain his real meaning. His moral principles agreed in most respects with the opinions of the *Anabaptists*: with whom also he agreed in this, that he most severely condemned the baptism of infants.

even urged to address the people; which he refused. At length, he was fastened by a chain to a stake, seated on a block, and surrounded by combustibles. The fire was kindled, and he expired at the end of half an hour. To the last, he maintained the correctness of the opinions for which he suffered; and cried repeatedly, "Jesus, thou Son of the eternal God, have mercy on me." —At this day, all agree, that Servetus ought not to have been put to death: but in that age, different sentiments prevailed. The burning of heretics was then almost universally approved and practised. There were some, however, especially among the French and Italian Protestants, whose exposure on this principle, to be themselves put to death by the papists, led them to question the correctness of this principle. Calvin, therefore, who certainly had some hand in the death of Servetus, was censured

by a few protestants; while the great body of them, and even the mild Melancthon, fully approved his conduct. Some of the moderns have unjustly charged Calvin with being actuated solely by personal enmity against Servetus, and by the natural severity of his disposition. On the other hand, some have attempted entirely to exculpate him, and to attribute his conduct to the purest motives. He doubtless thought he was doing right, and had the approbation of his own conscience, as he certainly had of the wisest and best men of that age, who, as occasion was presented, pursued the same course themselves. But had he lived in our age, he would undoubtedly have thought and acted differently. *Tr.*]

¹ Personales representationes, economias, dispositiones, dispensationes, modos se habendi.

§ 6. That restituted church, of which he hoped himself to be the founder, died with *Servetus*. For, notwithstanding public fame ascribes to him many disciples, and not a few divines of our age pretend to have great apprehensions from the sect of *Servetus*; yet it may be justly doubted, whether he left behind one genuine disciple. Those who are called *Servetians*, and followers of the doctrine of *Servetus*, by the writers of this age, differ widely from *Servetus* in many respects; and, in particular, they entertain very different opinions from his, respecting the doctrine of the divine Trinity. *Valentine Gentilis* of Naples, whom the government of Bern put to death in 1566, did not hold the opinions of *Servetus*, as many writers affirm; but held Arian sentiments, and made the Son and the Holy Spirit to be inferior to the Father.² Not much different were the views of *Matthew Gribaldus*, a jurist of Pavia; who was removed by a timely death, at Geneva, in 1566, when about to undergo a capital trial: for he distributed the divine nature into three *Eternal Spirits*, differing in rank as well as numerically.³ It is not equally certain what was the criminal error of *Jo. Paul Alciat*, a Piedmontese, and of *Sylvester Tellius*, who were banished from Geneva in 1559, or of *Paruta Leonardi*⁴, and others, who are sometimes numbered among the

² Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, article *Gentilis*; tom. ii. p. 1251. Jac. Spon's *Histoire de Genève*, liv. iii. tom. ii. p. 80, &c. Christ. Sand's *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitar.* p. 26. Lamy's *Histoire du Socinianisme*, pt. ii. cap. vi. p. 251. Jo. Conr. Fuesslin's *Reformations-Beyträge*, vol. v. p. 381, &c. [*Gentilis* fled his country, from religious motives, about the middle of the century; and settled at Geneva, in connexion with the Italian society there. Here, with others, he uttered anti-trinitarian sentiments; for which he was arraigned in 1558, subscribed to an orthodox confession of faith, and promised, under oath, not to leave the city without permission. He, however, fled clandestinely; and travelled in France, Switzerland, Germany, and Poland, propagating Arian sentiments. He was imprisoned at Lyons and at Bern, and was expelled from Poland. In 1566, he came to Bern a second time, was apprehended, and condemned to death, for having obstinately, and contrary to his oath, assailed the doctrine of the Trinity. See Bayle, loc. cit. Aretius, a reformed

divine, wrote *Historia Val. Gentilis justo capitis supplicio Bernæ affecti*; 1617, fol. Tr.]

³ Christ. Sand's *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 17, Lamy, loc. cit. pt. ii. cap. vii. p. 257, &c. Spon's *Histoire de Genève*, tom. ii. p. 85, note. Haller, in the *Museum Tigurinum*, tom. ii. p. 114.

⁴ Of these, and other persons of this class, see Sand, Lamy, and Stanislaus Lubieniecus, *Historia Reformat. Polonica*, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 96. Concerning Alciat, in particular, see Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. i. p. 239. Also, Spon, loc. cit. tom. ii. p. 85, 86. [This Alciat was a Milanese gentleman, and one of those Italians who fled their country, to join the protestants, and who afterwards so refined upon the mystery of the Trinity, as to form a new party, equally odious to protestants and catholics. Alciat had been a soldier: and he commenced his innovations at Geneva, in concert with a physician named Blandrata, and a lawyer named Griband, (in Latin Gribaldus,) with whom became associated Valentine Gentilis. The precautions taken

followers of *Servetus*; yet it is not at all probable, that any one of these regarded *Servetus* as his master. *Peter Gonesius*, who is said to have introduced the errors of *Servetus* into Poland⁵, although he may have taught some things akin to them, nevertheless explained the most sacred mystery of the divine Trinity in a very different manner from *Servetus*.

§ 7. No one of those hitherto named professed that form of religion which is commonly called *Socinian*. The Socinian writers, generally, trace the origin of their sect to Italy; and refer it to the year 1546. In this year, they tell us, within the Venetian territory, especially at Vicenza, more than forty men, eminent no less for genius and erudition, than for their love of truth, often assembled together in secret; and they not only consulted on a general reformation in religion, but undertook more especially to refute the doctrines that were afterwards publicly rejected by the Socinian sect: they add that, *Laelius Socinus*, *Alciatus*, *Ochin*, *Puruta*, *Gentilis*, and others, stood conspicuous among these persons: but by the imprudence of one of the associates, the temerity of these men became known; two of them were seized, and put to death; the others escaped, and fled into Switzerland, Germany, Moravia, and other countries: among these exiles, *Socinus*, after various wanderings, passed into Poland in 1551, and again in 1558, and there disseminated the seeds of that scheme of doctrine, which

against them, and a severe procedure against *Gentilis* intimidated the others, and induced them to seek another residence. They chose Poland; where *Blandrata* and *Alciat* disseminated their heresy with sufficient success. They allured *Gentilis* to come and join them. He was under obligation to *Alciat*, at whose entreaty the bailiff of Gex had let him out of prison. It is said, that from Poland they went to Moravia. *Gentilis* was beheaded at Bern, *Alciat* retired to Dantzic, and there died in the sentiments of *Socinus*. He wrote two letters to Gregory Paul, in 1564 and 1565, in which he maintains, that *Christ* had no existence till he was born of *Mary*. See Bayle, loc. cit. *Tr.*]

⁵ This is affirmed by many, who here follow *Wissowatius* and *Stan. Lubieniecus*, *Historia Reformat. Polonica*: but how truly it is affirmed, may be learned from *Lubieniecus*, who says of *Gonesius*: "He brought into his country the

doctrine of *Servetus* concerning the *pre-eminence* of the Father, which he did not dissemble. But if *Gonesius* taught the pre-eminence of the Father, he differed much from *Servetus*, who denied all real distinctions in the divine nature. As to the opinions of *Gonesius*, see *Sand*, loc. cit. p. 40, from whom chiefly *Lamy* borrows his account; *Histoire du Socinianisme*, tom. ii. cap. x. p. 278. [This *Gonesius* was of Podlaehia; and studied in Saxony and Switzerland, where he got hold of the writings of *Servetus*. On his return home, he became intimate with some Anabaptists in Moravia: and in the year 1556, he controverted the doctrine of the Trinity, first in a synod of the Polish Reformed, in which he pronounced it a fiction gendered in the human brain. Two years afterwards, he also rejected infant baptism. He likewise spoke contemptuously of civil authorities. See S. F. *Lauterbach's Polnisch. Arianischen Socinianismus. Schl.*]

he and his associates had devised in their own country, which afterwards produced abundant fruits.⁶ That this whole representation is a fiction, cannot be maintained: yet it is easy to be shown, that the system of religion, which bears the name of *Socinus*, was by no means made up in those Venetian and Vicentine meetings.⁷

⁶ See Christopher Sand's *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 18, who likewise mentions, (on page 25th.) some writings, which are said—but on altogether questionable authority—to have been published by those Venetian inventors of the Socinian system. Andrew Wis-sowatius, *Narratio, quomodo in Polonia Reformati ab Unitariis separati sunt*; subjoined to Sand, p. 209, 210. Stanisł. Lubieniecicus, *Historia Reformationis Polonicae*, lib. ii. cap. i. p. 38, who says he derived this account from the Commentaries of Budzinius, never published, and from the Life of Lælius Socinus. See also Sam. Przypcoviuss, *Vita Socini*; and others.

⁷ The late Gustavus George Zeltner, in his *Historia Crypto-Socinianismi Altorfini*, cap. ii. § 41, note, p. 321, wished to have the truth of this story more accurately examined by the learned. Till this is done, we will here offer a few remarks, which will perhaps throw some light on the subject. In the thing itself, in my judgment, there is nothing incredible. It appears from many documents, that after the reformation commenced in Germany, many persons, in various countries subject to the Romish see, consulted together respecting the abolition of superstition: and it is the more probable, that this was done by some learned men in the Venetian territory, as it is well known, that, in that age, there were living among the Venetians a considerable number of men who wished well, if not to Luther himself, yet to his design of reforming religion, and restoring it to its native simplicity. It is likewise easy to believe, that these consultations were interrupted by the vigilance of the satellites of Rome; and that some of those concerned in them were arrested and put to death; and that others saved themselves by flight. But it is very doubtful, nay, incredible, that all those persons were at these consultations, who are reported to have borne a part in them. Indeed, I am of opinion, that many of those who afterwards obtained celebrity by op-

posing the Christian doctrine of a Trinity in the Godhead, are rashly placed by incompetent judges in the list of members of such a Venetian association, because they have supposed, that this was the parent and the cradle of the whole *Unitarian* sect. This at least I certainly know, that Ochin must be excluded from it. For, not to mention that it is uncertain whether he has justly or unjustly been ranked among Socinians; it is clear from Zach. Boverius, *Annales Capucinatorum*, and from other unquestionable testimonies, that he left Italy, and removed to Geneva, as early as the year 1543. See *La Guerre Séraphique, ou l'Histoire des Périls, qu'a courus la Barbe des Capucins*, livr. iii. p. 191. 216, &c. Respecting Lælius Socinus himself, who is represented as at the head of the association in question, I would confidently assert the same as of Ochin, [namely, that he is unjustly placed among the members of this association.] For who can believe, that a young man only twenty-one years old, (for such was Lælius at that time,) left his native country, and repaired to the Venetian states, or Vicenza, to have a free discussion with others relative to the general interests of religion; and that this youth had such influence as to obtain the first rank in a numerous body of men distinguished for talent and learning? Besides, from the life of Lælius, and from other testimonies, it can be proved, that he retired from Italy, not to escape impending danger to his life, but for the sake of improvement, and acquiring a knowledge of the truth, among foreign nations. He certainly returned afterwards to his own country; and in 1551, resided some time at Siena, while his father resided at Bologna. See his letter to Bullinger, in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. v. p. 489, &c. Who can suppose the man would have undertaken such a journey, if but a few years previously, he had with difficulty escaped from the hands of the inquisitors and a capital punishment?

But, supposing all the rest to be true,

§ 8. We can give a more certain account of the origin and progress of Socinian principles in religion. As not only the Papists, but also the Lutherans and the Swiss, were every where watchful to prevent both *Anabaptists*, and adversaries to the glory of Jesus Christ and the triune God, from gaining any where a permanent habitation, a large number of this sort of people retired to Poland; supposing that a nation so strongly attached to liberty in general, would not disapprove of liberty in opinion respecting religious matters. Here they, at first, cautiously disclosed their views; being timid and doubtful what would be the issue. Hence, for a number of years, they lived intermixed with the Lutherans and Calvinists, who had acquired a firm establishment in Poland; nor were they excluded either from their communion in worship, or from their deliberative bodies. But after acquiring the friendship of the nobles and the opulent, they ventured to act more courageously, and to attack openly the common views of Christians. Hence originated, first, violent contests with the Swiss [or Reformed], with whom they were principally connected; the issue of which at last was, that in the Synod of Petrikow, A. D. 1565, they were required to secede, and to form themselves into a separate community.⁸

which the Socinians tell us respecting the members and the character of this Venetian association, which had for its object the disrobing our Saviour of his divine Majesty; yet this we can never concede to them, that the Socinian system of doctrine was invented and drawn up in that association. It was unquestionably of later origin; and was long under the correcting and improving hand of many ingenious men, before it acquired its complete and permanent form. If any one wishes for proof of this, let him only look at the doctrines and reasonings of some of those, who are said to have been members of the association in question; which he will find to have been exceedingly diversified. It appears, from many facts, reported in various documents, concerning Lælius Socinus, that his mind had not yet become established in any definite system of religious doctrine, at the time he left Italy; and that he spent many years, subsequently to that period, in inquiring, doubting, examining, and discussing. And I could almost believe, that he finally died, still hesitating what

to believe on various points. Gribaldus and Alciat, of whom notice has already been taken, were inclined to Arian views; and had not so low an opinion of our Saviour, as the Socinians had. These examples fully show, that those Italian reformers (if they really existed, which I here assume, but do not affirm,) had come to no fixed conclusion; but were dispersed, and compelled to go into exile, before they had come to be of one opinion on points of the highest importance in religion.—This account of the origin of Socinianism, which many inconsiderately adopt, has also been objected to by Jo. Conr. Fueslin, *Reformatio-Beiträgen*, tom. iii. p. 327, &c.

⁸ Lamy, *Histoire du Socinianisme*, pt. i. cap. vi. vii. viii. &c. p. 16, &c. Jo. Stoiensky (Stoimii,) *Epitome Originis Unitariorum in Polonia*; in Sand, p. 183, &c. Geo. Schomann's *Testamentum*; *ibid.* p. 194. Andrew Wissowatius, *De Separatione Unitariorum a Reformatis*; *ibid.* p. 211, 212. Stanisł. Lubienieciski, *Historia Reform. Polonica*, lib. ii. cap. vi. &c. p. 111, &c. cap. viii. p. 144. lib. iii. cap. i. p. 158, &c. [Among the

These founders of the Socinian sect were commonly called *Pinczovians*, from the town⁹, where the leaders of the sect resided. The greatest part of these, however, professed Arian sentiments respecting the divine nature; representing the Son and the Holy Spirit to be persons begotten by the one God, the Father, and inferior to him.¹

§ 9. As soon as the *Unitarians* became separated from the other communities of Christians in Poland, they had to conflict with many difficulties, both internal and external. Without, they were oppressed, both by the Papists, and by the Reformed and Lutherans: within, there was danger, lest the feeble flock should become torn by factions. For they had not yet agreed upon any common formula of faith. Some continued still to adhere to Arian views, and were called *Farnovians*.² Others proceeded further, and preferred ascribing to Christ nothing scarcely besides the prerogatives of an ambassador of God. The worst of these were the *Budwians*; who maintained, that *Christ* was born just as all other men are; and, therefore, was unworthy of any divine worship or adoration.³ Nor were they free from fanatical persons, who wished to introduce among them the practical notions of the Anabaptists; namely, a community of goods, a universal equality in rank and power, and

Polish Antitrinitarians must also be reckoned, the Frenchman, Peter Statorius, who came to Poland in 1559, and was rector of the school at Pinczow. To the same party, Gregory Pauli, a Pole, afterwards joined himself. He had taught with great reputation in the Reformed church at Cracow, was deposed on account of his erroneous opinions, and then openly associated himself with the Unitarians. The Stanecarian controversy contributed most to the discovery of the error of these people in regard to the Trinity. For many synods and conferences being held on that controversy, the Unitarians exposed themselves in them, and thus awakened the zeal of believers in the Trinity, to oppose them in the debates. In the years 1564 and 1566 appeared the first royal edicts against the Unitarians; by which they were banished the realm. Valentine Gentilis, therefore, retired to Switzerland; and Jo. Paul Alciat, to Prussia. Others found concealed retreats with some of the nobles, till they could openly appear again in public.

Under the same protection and patronage, they at length obtained churches, schools, and printing establishments of their own. *Schl.*]

⁹ [Pinczow. *Tr.*]

¹ This will readily appear to one who shall attentively peruse the writers just quoted. It is indeed true, that all who bore the name of *Unitarian Brethren* did not hold precisely the same opinion respecting the divine nature. Some of the principal doctors among them were inclined towards those views of Jesus Christ, which afterwards were the common views of the Socinian sect: but the greater part of them agreed with the Arians, and affirmed that our Saviour was produced by God the Father, before the foundations of the world: but that he was greatly inferior to the Father.

² [Concerning these, see below, § 22 of this chap. *Tr.*]

³ *Vita Andr. Wissowatii*; subjoined to Sand's *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 226, and Sand himself, on Simon Budnans, p. 54.

other things of the like nature.⁴ From these troubles, however, they were happily soon relieved by the perseverance and authority of certain teachers; whose plans were so successful, that in a short time they reduced those factions to narrow limits, established flourishing churches at Cracow, Lublin, Pinczow, Lucklavitz, and especially at Smigla, a town which lay in the jurisdiction of the famous *Andrew Dudith*⁵, and in many other places, both in Poland and in Lithuania; and, moreover, obtained license to publish books in two different towns.⁶ These privileges were made complete by *John Sieniński*⁷, waiwode of Podolia; who granted them a residence in his town of Racow⁸, in the district of Sendomir, which he built in 1569.⁹ After obtaining this

⁴ Lubieniecius, *Historia Reformationis Polonicae*, lib. iii. cap. xii. p. 240.

⁵ See Mart. Adelt's *Historia Arianismi Smiglensis*, Dantzig, 1741, 8vo. ["This Dudith, who was certainly one of the most learned and eminent men of the sixteenth century, was born at Buda, in the year 1533; and after having studied in the most famous universities, and travelled through almost all the countries of Europe," (visiting England, in 1554, in the suite of cardinal Pole,) "was named to the bishopric of Türia, by the emperor Ferdinand, and made privy counsellor to that prince. He had, by the force of his genius, and the study of the ancient orators, acquired such a masterly and irresistible eloquence, that in all public deliberations he carried every thing before him. In the council" (of Trent), "where he was sent, in the name of the emperor and of the Hungarian clergy, he spoke with such energy against several abuses of the church of Rome, and particularly against the celibacy of the clergy, that the pope, being informed thereof by his legates, solicited the emperor to recall him. Ferdinand complied; but having heard Dudith's report of what passed in that famous council, he approved of his conduct, and rewarded him with the bishopric of Chonat. He afterwards married a maid of honour of the queen of Hungary, and resigned his bishopric; the emperor, however, still continued his friend and protector. The papal excommunication was levelled at his head, but he treated it with contempt. Tired of the fopperies and superstitious of the church of Rome, he retired to Cracow, where he embraced

the Protestant religion publicly, after having been for a good while its secret friend. It is said, that he showed some inclination towards the Socinian system. Some of his friends deny this; others confess it, but maintain that he afterwards changed his sentiments in that respect. He was well acquainted with several branches of philosophy and the mathematics, with the sciences of physic, history, theology, and the civil law. He was such an enthusiastical admirer of Cicero, that he copied over three times, with his own hand, the whole works of that immortal author. He had something majestic in his figure, and in the air of his countenance. His life was regular and virtuous, his manners elegant and easy, and his benevolence warm and extensive." *Macl. See Schroeckh, Kirchengesch. seit der Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 738, &c. and Rees' *Cyclopædia*, article Dudith. *Tr.*]

⁶ Sand's *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 201.

⁷ Sieniencius.

⁸ Racovia.

⁹ Sand, loc. cit. p. 201. Lubieniecius, loc. cit. p. 239, &c. [Here all the most famous Unitarians were established as teachers: here they set up, in 1602, a school which they called *Atheneæ Sarmaticæ*, in which the number of students often exceeded 1000, and which was attended even by Catholics, because the mode of teaching was the same as that of the Jesuits, and no one was solicited to change his religion. Here also, they had, next to that at Lublin and one in Lithuania, their most famous printing establishment, first the Radeckish, and then the Sternackish, till the year 1688,

residence, the sect, now dispersed far and wide among its enemies, trusting that it had obtained a fixed and permanent location for its religion, did not hesitate to make this place [Racow] the established centre of its church.

§ 10. The first care of the leaders of this church, after they saw their affairs in this settled state, was to translate the holy Scriptures into the Polish language; the publication of which took place in 1572. They previously had a Polish translation of the Bible, which they had made in 1565, conjointly with the Reformed, to whose church they then belonged. But this, after they were ordered to separate themselves from the Reformed, they considered not well suited to their condition.¹ In the next place, they drew up and published a small work, containing the principal articles of their religious faith. This was in the year 1574; when the first *Catechism* and *Confession* of the *Unitarians* was printed at Cracow.² The system of religion

from which so many works of the Unitarians were issued. *Schl.*]

¹ See Dav. Ringeltaube, *Von den Polnischen Bibeln*, p. 90, 113, 142, who gives a more full account of Polish translations of the Bible by Socinians.

² This little work, from which alone the character of the *Unitarian* theology, anterior to the times of Faustus Socinus, can be learned with certainty, is not mentioned, so far as I know, by any *Unitarian* author, nor by any one who has either written their history or opposed their doctrine. I am ready to believe that the Socinians themselves, afterwards, when they had acquired more dexterity and power, and had shaped their theology more artificially, wisely took care to have the copies of this confession destroyed; lest they should fall under the charge of fickleness, and of abandoning the tenets of their predecessors, or incur the charge of forsaking their ancient simplicity, which is apt to produce divisions and parties. It will therefore be doing service to the history of Christian doctrine, to describe here, summarily, the form and character of this first Socinian creed, which was set forth prior to the *Racovian Catechism*. This very rare book is quite a small one, and bears the following title: *Catechesis et Confessio Fidei Cetus per Poloniam congregati in nomine Jesu Christi Domini nostri crucifixi et resuscitati. Deuteronom. vi. Audi,*

Israel, Dominus Deus noster Deus unus est. Johannis VIII. Dicit Jesus: Quem vos dicitis vestrum esse Deum, est Pater meus. Typis Alexandri Turobini, anno nati Jesu Christi, Filii Dei, 1574, pp. 160, 12mo. That it was printed at Cracow appears from the close of the preface, which is dated in this city, in the year 1574 *post Jesum Christum natum.* The *Unitarians* then had a printing-office at Cracow, which was soon after removed to Racow. The Alexander Turobinus, who is said to be the printer, is called Turobinezyek, by Christ. Sand, (*Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 51.) and undoubtedly derived his name from his native place, Turobin, in the district of Chelm in Red Russia. That the author of the book was the noted George Schomann, has been proved from Schomann's *Testamentum*, published by Sand, and from other documents, by Jo. Adam Miller; who gives a particular account of Schomann, in his *Essay, De Unitariorum Catechesi et Confessione omnium prima*, written since my remarks on the subject; and which is printed in Bartholomew's *Fortgesetzten Nützlichen Anmerkungen von allerhand Materien*; vol. xxi. p. 758. The preface, composed in the name of the whole association, begins with the salutation: "Omnibus salutem aeternam sitientibus, gratiam et pacem ab mo illo altissimo Deo Patre, per mignitum ejus Filium Dominum nostrum, Jesum

contained in this book is extremely simple, and free from all subtilities: yet it exhibits the Socinian form, altogether, on the

Christum crucifixum, ex animo precatnr *catus exiguus et afflictus* per Poloniam, in nomine ejusdem Jesu Christi Nazareni baptizatus." Their reasons for writing and publishing the book, are thus stated; namely, the reproaches, which in one place and another, are east upon the *Anabaptists*. Hence it appears that the people, who were afterwards called *Socinians*, were in that age denominated *Anabaptists*: nor did they reject, but tacitly admitted, this appellation. The remainder of the short preface consists of entreaties to the readers, to regard the whole as written in good faith, to read and judge for themselves, and, *forsaking the doctrine of Babylon, and the conduct and conversation of Sodom, to take refuge in the ark of Noah*; i. e. among the *Unitarians*. In the commencement of the book, the whole of the Christian religion is reduced to six heads: I. *of God and Jesus Christ*;—II. *of justification*;—III. *of discipline*;—IV. *of prayer*;—V. *of baptism*;—VI. *of the Lord's supper*. And these six topics are then explained successively, by first giving a long and full answer or exposition of each; and then dividing them into subordinate questions or members, and subjoining answers with Scripture proofs annexed. It is manifest, even from this performance, that the infancy of the Socinian theology was very feeble and imbecile; that its teachers were not distinguished for a deep and accurate knowledge of divine things; and that they imbued their flocks with only a few and very simple precepts. In their description of God, which comes first in order, the authors at once let out their views concerning Jesus Christ; for they inculcate that, together with all creatures, he *is subject* to God. It is also noticeable, that they make no mention of God's infinity, his omniscience, his immensity, his eternity, his omnipotence, his omnipresence, his

perfect simplicity, and the other attributes of the supreme Being, which are above human comprehension; but merely exalt God, for his wisdom, his immortality, his goodness, and his supreme dominion over all things. It would seem, therefore, that the leaders of the community even then believed that nothing is to be admitted in theology, which human reason cannot fully comprehend and understand. Their erroneous views of our Saviour are thus expressed: "Our mediator with God is a man, who was anciently promised to the fathers by the prophets, and in these latter days was born of the seed of David, whom God the Father hath made Lord and Christ, that is, the most perfect prophet, the most holy priest, and the most invincible king, by whom he created the new world," (for those declarations of the sacred volume, which represent the whole material universe as created by our Saviour, they maintain, as the Socinians do, to be figurative; and understand them to refer to the restoration of mankind; so that they may not, unwillingly, be compelled to admit his divine power and glory,) "restored all things, reconciled them to himself, made peace, and bestowed eternal life upon his elect; to the end that, next to the most high God, we should believe in him, adore him, pray to him, imitate him according to our ability, and find rest to our souls in him."* Although they here call Jesus Christ *the most holy priest*, which they afterwards confirm with passages of Scripture, yet they nowhere explain the nature of that priesthood which they ascribe to him. The Holy Spirit they most explicitly declare not to be a divine *person*, and represent him as a divine power or energy: "The Holy Spirit is the power of God, the fulness of which God the Father hath bestowed on his only-begotten Son, our Lord; that we being adopted might re-

* Est homo, mediator noster apud Deum, patribus olim per prophetas promissus et ultimis tandem temporibus ex Davidis semine natus, quem Deus Pater fecit Dominum et Christum, hoc est, perfectissimum prophetam, sanctissimum sacerdotem, invictissimum regem, per

quem novum mundum creavit, omnia restauravit, pacificavit, et vitam aeternam electis suis donavit; ut in illum, post Deum altissimum, credamus, illum adoremus, invocemus, audiamus, pro modulo nostro imitemur, et in illo requiem animabus nostris inveniamus.

points most essential to that system. Nor will this surprise us if we consider, that the papers of *Lælius Socinus* (which he un-

ceive of his fulness.)* Their opinion of justification is thus expressed: "Justification is the remission of all our past sins, for mere grace, through our Lord Jesus Christ, without our works and merits, in a lively faith; and the unhesitating expectation of eternal life; and a real, not a feigned amendment of life, by the aid of the Spirit of God, to the glory of God our Father, and the edification of our neighbours."† As they make justification to consist in a great measure in a reformation of the life, so in the explanation of this general account, they introduce a part of their doctrine of morals; which is contained in a few precepts, and those expressed almost wholly in the words of the Scriptures. Their system of morality has these peculiarities, that it forbids taking an oath, and the repelling of injuries. They define ecclesiastical discipline thus: "It is the frequent reminding individuals of their duty; and the admonition of such as sin against God or their neighbour, first privately, and then also publicly before the whole assembly; and finally, the rejection of the pertinacious from the communion of saints, that so being ashamed they may repent, or, if they will not repent, may be damned eternally."‡ Their explanation of this point shows how incomplete and imperfect were their ideas on the subject. For they first treat of the government of the Christian church, and of the ministers of religion, whom they divide

into *bishops, deacons, elders, or presbyters, and widows*: they next enumerate the duties of husbands and wives, the aged and the young, parents and children, servants and masters, citizens towards magistrates, the rich and the poor; and lastly, they treat of admonishing sinners first, and then depriving them of communion. Respecting prayer, their precepts are in general sound and good. But on the subject of baptism, they differ from other Christians in this, that they make it to consist in immersion and emersion, and allow it to be administered only to adults. "Baptism," say they, "is the immersion in water, and the emersion, of a person who believes the gospel and exercises repentance, in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, or in the name of Jesus Christ; whereby he publicly professes, that by the grace of God the Father, he has been washed in the blood of Christ, by the aid of the Holy Spirit, from all his sins; so that, being ingrafted into the body of Christ, he may mortify the old Adam, and be transformed into the celestial Adam, in the firm assurance of eternal life after the resurrection."§ Lastly, concerning the *Lord's supper*, they give such a representation, as a Zwinglian would readily admit. At the end of the book, is added, *Œconomia Christiana, seu pastoratus domesticus*: that is, brief instructions, how the heads of families should preserve and maintain piety and the fear of God in their houses;

* Spiritus sanctus est virtus Dei, ejus plenitudinem dedit Deus Pater Filio suo unigenito, Domino nostro, ut nos adoptivi ex plenitudine ejus acciperemus.

† Justificatio est ex mera gratia, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, sine operibus et meritis nostris, omnium præteritorum peccatorum nostrorum in viva fide remissio, viteque æternæ indubitata expectatio, et auxilio Spiritus Dei vite nostre non simulata, sed vera correctio, ad gloriam Dei Patris et ædificationem proximorum nostrorum.

‡ Disciplina ecclesiastica est officii singulorum frequens commemoratio, et peccantium contra Deum vel proximum primum privata, deinde etiam publica, coram toto cœtu, commonefactio, de-

nique pertinacium a communione sanctorum alienatio, ut pudore suffusi convertantur, aut, si id nolint, æternum damnentur.

§ Baptismus est hominis Evangelio credentis, et penitentiam agentis, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, vel in nomine Jesu Christi, in aquam immersio et emersio, qua publice proficitur, se gratia Dei Patris, in sanguine Christi, opera Spiritus sancti, ab omnibus peccatis ablutum esse, ut in corpus Christi insertus, mortificet veterem Adamum, et transformetur in Adamum illum cœlestem, certus, se post resurrectionem consequatur esse vitam æternam.

doubtedly left in Poland) were in the hands of a great many persons; and by these, the Arians, who had formerly had the upper hand, were led to change their opinion respecting *Jesus Christ*.³ The name *Socinians* was not yet known. Those who afterwards bore this name, were then usually called by the Poles *Anabaptists*; because they admitted none to baptism in their assemblies, but adults, and were accustomed to re-baptize such as came over to them from other communities.⁴

§ 11. The affairs of the *Unitarians* assumed a new aspect, under the dexterity and industry of *Faustus Socinus*; a man of superior genius, of moderate learning, of a firm and resolute spirit, less erudite than his uncle *Laelius*, but more bold and courageous. When, after various wanderings, he went among the Polish *Unitarians*, in 1579, he at first experienced much trouble and opposition from very many, who accounted some of his opinions wide of the truth. And in reality, the religious system of *Faustus* (which he is said to have derived from the papers left by *Laelius*,) had much less simplicity than that of the *Unitarians*. But the man, by his wealth, his eloquence, his abilities as a writer, the patronage of the great, the elegance of his manners, and other advantages which he possessed, over-

and containing also forms of prayers to be used morning and evening, and at other times. The copy of this *Catechism*, which I now possess, was presented by Martin Chelm (whom the Socinians name among the first patrons of their church,) to M. Christopher Heiligmeier, in the year 1580; as appears from a long inscription at the end of the book. Chelm there promises his friend other writings of the same kind, if this should be received cheerfully and kindly: and concludes with these words of St. Paul: "Infirma mundi elegit Deus, ut fortia confundat."

³ This we are clearly taught, by George Schomann, in his *Testamentum*, published by Sand, p. 194, 195. "Sub id fere tempus (A. D. 1566) ex rhapsodiis Laëlii Socini quidam fratres didicerunt, Dei Filium non esse secundam Trinitatis personam Patri coessentialem et cœqualem, sed hominem Jesum Christum ex Spiritu Sancto conceptum, ex virgine Maria natum, crucifixum et resuscitatum: a quibus nos communiti, sacras literas perscrutari persuasi sumus." These words most clearly show, that the Pinczovians, (as they were called,) before

they separated from the Reformed in 1565, professed to believe in a *Trinity*, of some sort, and did not divest Jesus Christ of all divinity. For this Schomann was a doctor of great authority among them; and in the year 1565, (as he himself informs us,) at the convention at Petricow, he contended (pro uno Deo Patre) for *one God the Father*, in opposition to the Reformed, who (he says) Deum trinum defendebant, *maintained a three-fold God*. Yet in the following year, he, with others, was induced by the papers of *Laelius Socinus* to so alter his sentiments, that he denied Christ to be a *divine* person. He, therefore, with his Pinczovian flock, before this time, must necessarily have been, not a Socinian, but an Arian.

⁴ This the *Unitarians* themselves attest, in the preface to their *Catechism*, as we have observed above: and it is confirmed by the author of the *Epistola de vita Andr. Wissowatii*, subjoined to Sand's *Bibliotheca*. For he says, (p. 225,) that his sect bore the name of *Arians*, and of *Anabaptists*; but that the other Christians in Poland were all, promiscuously, called *Chrzescians*, from *Chrzest*, which denotes baptism.

came at length all difficulties; and by seasonably yielding at one time, and contesting at another, he brought the whole *Unitarian* people to acquiesce in those opinions of his, which they had before contemned, and merging all disputes, to form themselves into one community.⁵

§ 12. Through his influence, therefore, the ill-digested, dubious, and unpolished religion of the old *Unitarians* became greatly altered, was more ingeniously stated, and more artfully and dexterously defended.⁶ Under the guidance of so spirited and respectable a leader, the body also, which before was a little feeble flock, rose in a short time to distinction and honour, by the accession to it of great numbers, of all orders and classes, among whom were many persons of illustrious birth, of opulence, influence, eloquence, and learning. Of these, some helped forward the growing church by their wealth and influence, and others by their pens and their genius; and they boldly resisted the enemies whom the prosperity of the community every where called forth. The *Unitarian* religion, thus new-modelled, and made almost a new system, required a new *Confession of faith* to set forth its principles. Therefore, laying aside the old *Catechism*, which was but a rude and ill-digested work, *Socinus* himself drew up a new religious summary; which being corrected by some, and enlarged by others, resulted at

⁵ See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, artie. *Socinus*, tom. iv. p. 2741. Sand's *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 64. Sam. Przypocopus, *Vita Socini*; prefixed to his works. Lamy, *Histoire du Socinianisme*, pt. i. cap. xxiv. p. 101, &c. pt. ii. cap. xxii. p. 375, &c. and many others.

⁶ It is, therefore, manifest, that the modern *Unitarians* are, with great propriety, called *Socinians*. For the glory of bringing their sect to establishment and order (if we may use the word *glory*, of what has little glory attached to it,) belongs exclusively to the two *Socini*. Lælius, indeed, who was naturally timid, died in the bloom of life, at Zurich, in 1502, a professed member of the Reformed church; for he would not, by setting up a new sect, subvert his own tranquillity. And there are probable grounds for supposing, that he had not brought to perfection that system of religion which he struck out; that he died in a state of uncertainty and doubt respecting many points of no small import-

ance. Yet it was he, who collected the materials which Faustus afterwards used; he secretly injected serples into the minds of many; and, by the arguments against the divinity of our Saviour, which he committed to paper, he induced the Arians of Poland, even after he was dead, unhesitatingly to unite themselves with those who maintained Christ to be a man on a level with Adam, that is, one whom God created. What Lælius left unfinished, Faustus, beyond controversy, completed and put to use. Yet what part he received from his uncle, and what he added of his own, (for he certainly added not a little,) it is very difficult to ascertain; because only a few of the writings of Lælius are extant; and of those of which he is said to be the author, some ought, undoubtedly, to be attributed to others. This, however, we know, from the testimony of Faustus himself, that what he taught respecting the *person of Jesus Christ*, was for the most part excogitated by Lælius.

last in that celebrated work, which is usually called the *Racovian Catechism*, and which is accounted the common standard of belief of the whole sect. The ship seemed now to have reached the port, when *James a Siemno*, lord of Racow, in the year 1600, renounced the Reformed religion, and came over to this sect, and two years after, caused a famous school, intended for a seminary of the church, to be established in his own city, which he had rendered the metropolis of the Socinian community.⁷

§ 13. In the year 1563, the doctrines of the Socinians were carried from Poland into the neighbouring Transylvania; by means especially of *George Blandrata*, whose exquisite skill in the medical art induced *John Sigismund*, at that time prince of Transylvania, to send for him, and make him his own physician. For this man, possessing intelligence and address, and being especially fitted for court affairs, together with *Francis David*, whom he took along with him, did not cease to urge the prince himself, and most of the leading men, until he had infected the whole province with his sentiments, and had procured for his adherents the liberty of publicly professing and teaching his doctrines. The *Bathoris*, indeed, who were afterwards created dukes of Transylvania by the suffrages of the nobles, were by no means favourable to Socinian principles; but they were utterly unable to suppress a sect so numerous and powerful.⁸ Nor were the lords of Transylvania, who succeeded them, able to effect it. Hence to the present time, in this one province, the Socinians, by virtue of the public laws and of cer-

⁷ See *Wissowatius, Narratio de Separatione Unitariorum a Reformatis*, p. 214. *Lubicniecius, Historia Reformat. Polonica*, lib. iii. cap. xii. p. 240, &c.

⁸ See *Sand's Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 28 and 55. *Paul Debrezenius, Historia Ecclesie Reformate in Hungaria*, p. 147, &c. *Martin Schmeizel, de Statu Ecclesie Lutheran. in Transylvania*, p. 55. *Lamy, Histoire du Socinianisme*, pt. i. cap. xiii. &c. p. 46, &c. *Chr. Aug. Salig's Historie der Augsburg Confession*, vol. ii. book vi. ch. vii. p. 847, &c. [In the year 1568, the Unitarians held a disputation with the Trinitarians, at Weissenburg, (in Transylvania,) which was continued to the tenth day; and in which, *George Blandrata*, there, and in the same year, published his *Brevis*

Enarratio Disputationis Albance; and *Caspar Helt* did the same, at Clausenburg, in the name of the Reformed. At the close of the debate, the Unitarians obtained from the nobles, who had been in the spot, all the privileges enjoyed by the Evangelical. They also got possession of the cathedral church of Clausenburg; filled the offices of instruction in the schools with Unitarians; and controlled all things according to their pleasure. Under *Stephen Bathori*, *Francis David* went so far as to oppose the offering of prayer to Christ. To reduce him, *Blandrata* called *Faustus Socinus* from Bâle, in 1578; and he so persecuted *David*, that he was condemned, in 1579, to perpetual imprisonment; in which he ended his days. *Schl.*]

tain compacts, enjoy their schools and houses of worship, and keep up their public meetings, though in the midst of continual snares.⁹ About the same time, this sect attempted to occupy a portion of Hungary¹, and of Austria.² But the united efforts of the papists and the followers of a purer faith rendered these attempts abortive.

§ 14. The Socinians having obtained a stable domicile for their fortunes at Racow, and being sustained by patrons and friends of great authority and talent, began zealously to seek the enlargement of their church, and the propagation of their religion through all Europe. Hence, in the first place, they procured a large number of books to be composed by their brightest geniuses, some explaining and defending their religious principles, and others expounding, or rather perverting the sacred Scriptures according to the views of their sect; and these books they printed at Racow, and dispersed every where.³ In the next place, near the close of the century, as appears incontrovertibly from many documents, they sent their emissaries into various countries to make proselytes, and to establish new congregations. But these envoys, though some of them had the advantages of a noble birth, and others possessed extensive learning and acuteness in reasoning, were almost every where unsuccessful. A small company of Socinians existed in obscurity at Dantzic for a time; but it seems gradually to have disappeared with this century.⁴ In Holland, first *Erasmus Jansen*⁵, and afterwards *Andrew Voidovius* and *Christopher Ostorodt*, great pillars of the sect, laboured to gain disciples and followers: nor were they wholly without success. But the vigilance of the theologians and of the magistrates prevented them from acquiring strength and establishing associations.⁶ Nor did

⁹ Gustav. Geo. Zeltner's *Historia Crypto-Socinianismi Altorfini*, cap. ii. p. 357. 359. [See also Dr. Walch's *Neueste Religionsgesch.* vol. v. no. 3. Schl.]

¹ Debrezenins, *Historia Ecclesie Reform. in Hungaria*, p. 169, &c.

² Henry Spondanus, *Continuatio Annalium Baronii*, ad ann. 1568, no. xxiv. p. 704.

³ A considerable part of these books were edited in the collection, entitled *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*, printed A. D. 1656. The collection, indeed, leaves out many of the productions of

the first founders of the sect: yet it is quite sufficient to acquaint us with the genius and character of the sect.

⁴ Gustav. Geo. Zeltner's *Historia Crypto-Socinianismi Altorfini*, p. 199, note.

⁵ See Sand's *Biblioth.* p. 87.

⁶ Zeltner, loc. cit. p. 31 and 178. [“Brandt, in his *History of the Reformation in the Netherlands*, tells us, that Ostorodt and Voidovius were banished, and that their books were condemned to be burnt publicly by the hands of the common hangman. Accordingly the pile was raised, the executioner approached,

Socinians find the Britons more accommodating. In Germany, *Adam Neuser* and some others, at the time when the prospects of the *Unitarians* were dark and dubious in Poland, entering into a confederacy with the Transylvanians, contaminated the Palatinate with the errors of this sect; but the mischievous design was seasonably detected, and frustrated. *Neuser* then retired among the Turks, and enlisted among the Janizaries at Constantinople.⁷

§ 15. Although the Socinians profess to believe that all knowledge of divine things must be derived from the sacred books of Christians, yet in reality they hold that the sense of the divine volume must be estimated and interpreted in conformity with the dictates of right reason: and therefore they subject religious truth, in a measure, to the empire of reason. For they intimate, sometimes tacitly, and sometimes expressly, that the inspired writers frequently slipped, through defects both of memory and of capacity; that they express the conceptions of their minds in language that is not sufficiently clear and explicit; that they obscure plain subjects by Asiatic phraseology, that is, by inflated and extravagant expressions; and therefore must be made intelligible by the aid of reason and sagacity. From such propositions, any person of but moderate capacity would readily infer that, in general, the history of the Jews and of our Saviour may be learned from the books of the Old and New Testaments; and that there is no reason to question the truth of this history generally; but that the doctrines which are set forth in these books, must be so understood and explained, as not to appear contrary to the common apprehensions of men, or to human reason. The divinely-inspired books, therefore, do not declare what views we should have concerning God and his counsels; but human sagacity it is that points out to us what system of religion we are to search for in the Scriptures.

§ 16. This opinion becomes still worse when we consider, what this sect understood by the term reason. For, by the

and the multitude was assembled, but the books did not appear. The magistrates, who were curious to peruse their contents, had quietly divided them among themselves and their friends." *Macl.*]

⁷ Burch. Gotth. Struve's *Pfälzische Kirchenhist.* ch. v. sec. 53. p. 214. Heur.

Alting's Historia Eccles. Palatin. in Meig's *Monumenta Palatina*, p. 266, &c. 337. Matr. Veysse la Croze, *Dissertations Historiques*, tom. i. p. 101. 127. Compare Bern. Ranpach's *Presbyteriologia Austriaca*, p. 113, &c. where he treats of John Matthæi, who was implicated in these commotions.

splendid name of *right reason*, they appear to mean that measure of intelligence, or that power of comprehending and understanding things, which we derive from nature. And hence the fundamental maxim of the whole Socinian theology is this: Nothing must be admitted as a divine doctrine but what the human mind can fully *understand* and *comprehend*: and whatever the holy Scriptures teach, concerning the nature of God, his counsels and purposes, and the way of salvation, must be filed down and polished, by art and reason, till it shall agree with the capacities of our minds.⁸ Whoever admits this, must also admit that there may be as many religions as there are people. For as one person is more obtuse than another, or more acute, so also, what is plain and easy of comprehension to one, another will complain of as abstruse and hard to be understood. Neither do the Socinians appear to fear this consequence very greatly: for they allow their people to explain variously many doctrines of the greatest importance; provided they entertain no doubts respecting the general credibility of the history of Jesus Christ, and hold what the Scriptures inculcate in regard to morals and conduct.

§ 17. Proceeding on this maxim, the Socinians reject, or bring down to their comprehension, whatever presents any difficulty to the human mind in the doctrines of God, or of the Son of God, Jesus Christ, or of the nature of man, or in the entire plan of salvation, as proposed by the inspired writers, or in the doctrine of eternal rewards and punishments. God is indeed vastly more perfect than men are, yet he is not altogether unlike them: by that power with which he controls all nature he caused *Jesus Christ*, an extraordinary man, to be born of the virgin *Mary*: this man he caught up to heaven, imbued

⁸ [Dr. Zeigler, in his condensed View of the peculiar doctrines of Faustus Socinus, (in Henke's *Neuem Magazin für Religionsphilosophie*, &c. vol. iv. st. ii. p. 204, &c.) controverts this statement of Mosheim; and maintains, that Socinus aimed to base his doctrines wholly on the Scriptures, and not on reason as a higher authority. Schroeckh, in his *Church History since the Reformation*, (vol. v. p. 560, &c.) replies to Zeigler; and while he admits that Socinus professed to regard the Bible as the source of all religious truth, and no where expressly allows reason to have dominion over re-

velation; he yet maintains that Socinus, who was but a poor expositor, took great liberties with the Scriptures, and, in reality, *practised* upon the principle stated by Mosheim, though perhaps without much consciousness of it. And the subsequent Socinians, he says, proceeded further and further, till they at last discovered what was the fundamental principle of their theology; and since this discovery, they do not hesitate to avow it. Hence he concludes, that Mosheim is quite justifiable in making such a statement as he here gives. *Tr.*]

him with a portion of his own energy, which is called the Holy Spirit, and with a full knowledge of his will: and then sent him back to this world, that he might promulgate to mankind a new rule of life, more perfect than the old one, and might evince the truth of his doctrine by his life and his death. Those who obey the voice of this divine teacher, (and all *can* obey it, if they are so disposed,) being clad in other bodies, shall hereafter for ever inhabit the blessed abode where God resides: and those who do otherwise, being consumed by exquisite torments, shall at length sink into entire annihilation. These few propositions contain the whole system of Socinian theology when divested of the decorations and subtle argumentations of their theologians.

§ 18. The general character of the Socinian theology requires them to limit their moral precepts entirely to external duties and conduct. For while they deny, on the one hand, that men's minds are purified by a divine influence; and on the other, that any man can so control himself as wholly to extinguish his evil propensities and passions; no course was left but to maintain that *he* is a holy man who lives agreeably to those precepts of the divine law which regulate the *words* and the *external actions*. Yet in stating and describing the duties of men, they were obliged to be uncommonly rigorous; because they maintained that the object for which God sent *Jesus Christ* into the world was to promulgate a most perfect law. And hence, very many of them hold it unlawful to resist injuries, to bear arms, to take oaths, to inflict capital punishments on malefactors, to oppose the tyranny of civil rulers, to acquire wealth by honest industry, and the like. And here also, we unexpectedly meet with this singularity, that, while on other subjects they boldly offer the greatest violence to the language of the sacred writers, in order to obtain support for their doctrines; they require, that whatever is found in the Scriptures relating to life and to morals, should be understood and construed in the most simple and literal manner.

§ 19. The *Racorian Catechism*, which is generally regarded as the only creed of the sect, and an accurate portrait of their religion, contains only the popular system of doctrine, not that which their leaders and doctors hold marked out upon the mind.⁹

⁹ Jo. Andr. Schmid has treated expressly, on the authors and the history of this celebrated book, in his essay *de*

Catechesi Racoriensi, published in 1707. Add Jo. Christ. Köcher's *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbol.* p. 656, &c. The very

A person, therefore, who wishes to know the grounds and the sources, from which the simple statements of the Catechism originated, must read and examine the works of their theologians. Besides, many doctrines and regulations of the Socinians, which might contribute to increase the odium under which the sect labours, and to lay open its internal character and state, are omitted in the Catechism. It appears, therefore, to have been written, rather for other people, to mitigate their indignation against the sect, than for the use of the Socinians themselves¹ And hence, it never has obtained among them the authority of a public rule of faith; but their doctors have always been at full liberty, either to alter it, or to exchange it for another. By what rules the church is to be governed, and in what manner public religious worship is to be celebrated, their doctors have not taught us, with sufficient clearness and uniformity. But in most things, they appear disposed to follow the customs of the *Protestants*.²

§ 20. Few are unapprised, that the first originators of the Socinian scheme possessed fine talents and much erudition. But when these were dead, or dispersed, the *Unitarians* of Poland seem to have had but little thirst for knowledge and

learned and veracious Geo. Lewis Eder, not long since, published a new edition of it, with a solid confutation annexed; Francf. and Lips. 1739, 8vo. [There are properly *two* Racovian Catechisms, a larger and a smaller. The writer of the smaller, was Valentine Smalcus, who drew it up in German, and first published in 1605. It is entitled: *Der kleine Catechismus zur Uebung der Kinder in dem christlichen Gottesdienst in Rakow*, 1605. The larger was likewise published in German, by the same Smalcus, in 1608: but Hieron. Mascorovius translated it into Latin, in 1609, under the title: *Catechesis Ecclesiarum, quæ in regno Polonia, magno ducatu Lithuania, et aliis ad istud regnum pertinentibus provinciis, affirmant neminem alium, præter Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, esse illum verum Deum Israelis*, &c. Afterwards John Crell and Jo. Schlichting revised and amended it; and after their death, Andr. Wissowatius, and Stegmann the younger, published it in 1665. In 1680, it was subjoined to Crell's *Ethica Aristotelica*, as an Appendix; in order to procure it a wider circulation. All these editions were in 4to. In the

year 1684 there was an edition in 8vo, still more complete, as it contained the notes of Martin Ruarus, Benedict Wisowatius the younger, and of one not named. *Schl.*]

¹ This may be inferred from the fact that they presented a Latin copy of it to James I., king of Great Britain, but a German copy, to the university of Wittemberg. [To show their gratitude, the theologians of Wittemberg allowed a feeble confutation of it to be drawn up by Frederic Baldwin, which was first published in 1619; and James I. condemned the book to the flames. *Schl.*]

² This appears from Peter Morscovius or Morskowsky's *Polita Ecclesiastica, quam vulgo Agenda vocant, sive forma regiminis exterioris Ecclesiarum Christianarum in Polonia, quæ unum Deum Patrem, per Filium ejus unigenitum in Spiritu sancto confitentur*; in 3 books, composed in 1642, and published by Eder, a few years since, at Nuremberg, 4to. This book is mentioned by Christ. Sand, *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 142; who says, it was written for the use of the *Belgic churches*.

intellectual cultivation; and not to have required their teachers to be men of acumen and well instructed in learning and literature. They adopted, however, other views, after they had obtained liberty to open schools at Racow and Lublin, and had discovered that their cause could not possibly be upheld, without defenders and vindicators in no respect inferior to their adversaries. Their love of learning became more ardent, from the time when *Faustus Socinus* undertook to sustain and to regulate their tottering and ill-arranged church: and not a few persons, noble by intellect as well as birth, appeared among them. For they were disposed to have the study of eloquence pursued, the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin literature taught to the young, and philosophy expounded to a few geniuses. The Racovians, according to the custom of the age, made *Aristotle* their guide in philosophy; as appears from John Crell's *Ethica*, and from other monuments of those times.

§ 21. At the same time, the leaders of the sect declare, in numberless places of their books, that, both in the interpretation of the Scriptures, and in explaining and demonstrating the truths of religion in general, clearness and simplicity are alone to be consulted, and that no regard should be paid to the subtilties of philosophy and logic: which rule, if the interpreters and doctors in the highest esteem among them, had considered as laid down for *themselves*, they would have given much less trouble to their enemies. For in most of their books, exquisite subtilty and art are found, combined with an indescribable amount of either real or fictitious simplicity. They are most acute, and seem to be all intellect, when discussing those subjects, which other Christians consider as lying beyond man's power of comprehension, and therefore, as simply to be believed. On the contrary, all their sagacity and powers of reason forsake them, just where the wisest of men have maintained, that free scope should be given to reason and human ingenuity. Although this may appear contradictory, yet it all flows from that one maxim of the whole school, that whatever surpasses the comprehension of the human mind, must be banished from Christian theology.

§ 22. The *Unitarians*, as soon as they were separated from the society of the Reformed in Poland, became divided into parties; as has been already mentioned. The subjects of dispute among them, were, the dignity of Jesus Christ; a Chris-

tian life and behaviour; whether infants are proper subjects of Christian baptism; whether the Holy Spirit is a *person*, or a divine *attribute*; and some other subjects. Among these parties, two continued longer than the others, and showed themselves less docile and manageable to the pacificators; namely, the *Budnæan* and *Farnovian* sects. The former had for its founder and leader, *Simon Budnæus*; a man of acuteness, who seeing more clearly than others, whither the principles of *Lælius Socinus* would lead, maintained that *Jesus Christ* was not to be honoured with our prayers, nor with any other kind of worship; and in order more easily to support this error, he declared, that Christ was conceived not by virtue of any divine power, but in the way that all other men are. These tenets, indeed, harmonise very well with the first principles of the Socinian scheme; but they appeared to most persons intolerable and execrable. *Budnæus*, therefore, who had many disciples in Lithuania and Russian Poland, was deposed from his ministerial office in 1584; and with his adherents, was excommunicated. But he is said to have afterwards given up his opinion, and to have been restored to the communion of the sect.³

§ 23. Into nearly the same error which had proved disastrous to *Budnæus*, a little while after, fell *Francis Davides*, a Hungarian, and superintendent of the Socinian churches in Transylvania; for he resolutely denied, that prayer or any religious worship should be offered to *Jesus Christ*. After *Blandrata* and *Faustus Socinus* himself, who had been sent for into Transylvania for this very object, in 1573, had in vain employed all the resources of their ingenuity in efforts to reclaim *Davides*; the prince of Transylvania, *Christopher Bathori*, threw him into prison; where he died at an advanced age, A. D. 1579.⁴ Yet his sad fate did not end the controversy which he had commenced. For *Davides* left behind him disciples and friends, who long contended strenuously for the tenets

³ See Christoph. Sand's *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 54, 55. *Epistola de vita Wissoratii*; *ibid.* p. 226. Ringeltaube von den Pöhlischen Bibeln, p. 144, 152, &c. Moreover, Samuel Crell, the most learned Socinian of our age, (in the *Thesaurus Epistolar. Crozianus*, tom. i. p. 111.) is of opinion, (how justly, I cannot say,) that Adam Neuser, a Ger-

man, was the author of this degrading opinion of Christ.

⁴ Sand, *loc. cit.* p. 55, 56. *Faustus Socinus, Opp. omnia*, tom. i. p. 353, 395. tom. ii. p. 713, 771, where is given his dispute with Francis Davides. Stan. Lubieniecius, *Historia Reformat. Polonica*, lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 228.

of their master, and who gave no little trouble to *Socinus*, and to his followers in Poland and Lithuania. Among them the following were most distinguished, *James Palaeologus* of Chios, who was burnt at Rome in 1585; *Christian Francken*, who held a dispute with *Socinus* himself; *John Sommer*, rector of the school at Clausenburg⁵; and some others. Moreover, this sect was usually called, by the Socinian writers, the sect of *Semi-Judaizers*.⁶

§ 24. Towards the *Farnovians*, the Socinians were much more indulgent; for they were not excommunicated, nor required to abandon the opinions which they held, but only to conceal them, and not advance them in their sermons.⁷ The

⁵ See, respecting these persons, Sand's *Biblioth.* p. 57, 58, 86. The dispute of Socinus with Francken, on this subject, is in Socinus' Works, tom. ii. p. 767. [Palaeologus was actually of the race of the Greek emperors, who bore this name. At Rome he fell into the hands of the inquisition; but he escaped by flight. In Germany he held himself for a protestant, and in Poland for a Socinian. They made him their rector at Clausenburg. But as he journeyed through Moravia, he was seized by order of the emperor Maximilian, and transmitted to Rome.—Francken was of Gardzlegen, and born a Lutheran. But he turned catholic, and entered the order of Jesuits. Afterwards he revolted to the Unitarians; and was made rector, first of Chmielnizk in Poland, and then of Clausenburg. As the Turkish war obliged him to go to Prague, he again turned catholic. His writings are mentioned by Sand, *loc. cit.* Sommer was a native of Pirna in Meissen; and went to Transylvania, at the instigation of Blandrata. *Schl.*]

⁶ Faustus Socinus wrote a book, expressly *contra Semi-Judaizantes*; which is in his *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 804. Socinus and his friends did not expend so much effort and care in the suppression of this faction, because they thought it very pernicious and hostile to the Christian religion. On the contrary, Socinus himself concedes, that the point in debate was of no great consequence, when he

declares, that it is not necessary to salvation, that a person should pray to *Christ*. In his answer to Wujek, (*Opp.* tom. ii. p. 538, &c.) he says: "But if any one is possessed of so great faith, that he dare always go directly to God himself, and does not need the consolation which arises from the invocation of Christ his brother tempted in all things; such a one is not obliged to pray to Christ.* According to his judgment, therefore, those have a higher degree of faith, who neglecting Christ, pray only to God himself. Why then so severely avenge the crime of Davides, who wished to lead all Christians directly to the Father? Lubieniecus also, in his *Historia Reform. Polonica*, lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 228, not obscurely detracts, very much, from the importance of this controversy, when he writes, that in Transylvania, (*there were billows raised in a tea-cup*;) "fluctus in simpulo excitatos esse." From which it appears manifest, that the Socinians made war upon Davides and his adherents, perhaps solely for this reason, lest by tolerating his opinion, they should inflame the enmity of other Christians against themselves, which they already felt to be sufficiently great; while they deemed the opinion, in itself considered, to be one that might be tolerated.

⁷ *Epistola de vita Wissowatii*, p. 226. According to the testimony of Sand, (*Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 87,) Erasmus Johannis was admitted to the office

* Quod si quis tanta est fide præditus, ut ad Deum ipsum perpetuo recte accedere audeat, nec consolatione, qua

ex Christi fratris sui per omnia tentati invocatione, indigeat, hic non opus habet, ut Christum invocet.

head of this party was *Stanislaus Farnovius* or *Farnesius*; who was induced by *Peter Gonesius* to think the Arian hypothesis better than the Socinian; and who maintained, that before the foundation of the world, *Christ* was either begotten, or produced out of nothing by the supreme God. What he thought of the Holy Spirit is less clear: but it is known, that he forbade his followers to pray to the Holy Spirit.⁸ When *Farnovius* separated himself from the other *Unitarians*, 1568, he had many adherents, who were distinguished both for influence and learning; among others, *Martin Czechovicus*, *John Niemoiovius*, *Stanislaus Wisnowius*, *John Falconius*, and *George Schomann*. But a part of these were overcome by the gentle treatment and the dexterous reasoning of the Socinians; and others were afterwards discouraged and disheartened by the discreet management of *Faustus Socinus*. At last the party, being bereft of its leader, *Farnovius*, who died in the year 1615, became dispersed and extinct.⁹

of teacher in the Socinian congregation at Clausenburg, on the condition, that in his sermons he should advance nothing to show that Jesus Christ existed before Mary.

⁸ Sand's *Biblioth.* p. 52, and in various passages, under the names we have

mentioned.

⁹ We omit here the names of the more distinguished Socinian writers of this century, because a large part of them have been already noticed in the preceding history. The rest may be easily collected from Sand's *Bibliotheca*.

* COUNCILS.

	A. D.		A. D.
Prague ¹	1405	FLORENCE.....	1438
Oxford ²	1408	Frisingen.....	1440
Città di Friuli ³	1409	Rouen	1445
Pisa ⁴	1409	Angers.....	1448
Rome ⁵	1412	Soissons	1456
London ⁶	1413	York	1466
CONSTANCE	1414	Cologne	1470
Saltzburg.....	1420	Aranda ⁷	1473
Cologne	1423	Pisa ⁸	1511
Siena	1423	LATERAN V.	1512
Copenhagen.....	1425	Bourges	1528
Paris.....	1429	Sens.....	1528
Tortosa.....	1429	Cologne I.	1536
BÂLE.....	1431	TRENT ⁹	1545

¹ Called by Sbinco, archbishop of Prague, by the desire of Innocent VII. to counteract the influence of Benedict XIII. or Peter de Luna, the rival pope, to whom many of the Bohemians adhered.

² Sometimes called the council of London, because although its canons were framed at Oxford, in 1408, they were not formally promulgated until the following year, and then in St. Paul's London. The suppression of Wickliff's followers was the chief business in hand.

³ Called for terminating the papal schism.

⁴ Called for the same purpose as the last, but by certain cardinals, and not by the pope.

⁵ Called to condemn the writings and followers of Wickliffe.

⁶ Called to denounce as a heretic, Sir John Oldcastle, who, in right of his wife, bore the title of Lord of Cobham.

⁷ Denominated in books, *Concilium*

Toletanum, it being a provincial council headed by the archbishop of that see. But its place of meeting was Aranda.

⁸ Called, like the former council of Pisa, by certain cardinals. Its object was to censure and obstruct the pope, Julius II. Hence Romish writers bestow upon it no higher designation than *Conciliabulum*.

⁹ The council of Trent opened Dec. 13, 1545, and closed Dec. 4, 1563; but it formed no continuous body, and really sat only during short detached portions of this long period. It sat under three popes, each of them presiding (if not nominally, at least really) over one of the three portions into which its sessions were divided. These pontiffs were Paul III. Julius III. and Pius IV. The first session was from Dec. 13, 1545, to Mar. 11, 1547, on which day its translation to Bologna was decreed, but in that place only formal business was transacted. Nor was the council very active while it remained at Trent. The second session

	A. D.		A. D.
Augsburg	1548	London ⁴	1563
Treves I.	1548	Rheims	1564
Cologne II.	1549	Toledo ⁵	1565
Mentz	1549	Cambray ⁶	1565
Treves II.	1549	Milan I.	1565
Wittemberg ¹	1551	Milan II.	1569
Narbonne ²	1551	Mechlin ⁷	1570
London ³	1552	London ⁸	1571

was from Sept. 1, 1551, to April 18, 1552. The third session was from Jan. 18, 1562, to Dec. 4, 1563.

¹ The assembly of divines there, in that year, has been ranked among councils, because its business and the fruits of it are of more importance than those which have distinguished the bulk of councils that appear in the regular catalogues. It prepared that confession of Lutheran doctrine which was offered to the council of Trent, and which may be seen in the Oxford *Sylloge Confessionum*, under the title of *Confessio Saxonica*, 207.

² This council shows decidedly the influence of the controversies then raging, and of the formal treatment of them begun at Trent. It places among articles of the catholic faith, a belief in seven sacraments, purgatory, sacramental confession, the adoration of the eucharist, the invocation of saints, and the veneration of images.

³ The convocation, or committee of divines, that sanctioned the Forty-two Articles, under Edward VI. Dr. Lamb asserts that these articles really were not sanctioned by convocation, and he cites as evidence, a paper of Archbishop Parker's among the C. C. C. MSS., which speaks of them as "carefully prepared by good and learned men, published by royal authority, and sent to all the bishops." The "good and learned men" might, however, be a committee of convocation, which has generally been thought the fact, and which seems the only way of accounting for their printed title. *The Articles agreed upon by the Bishops and other learned and godly men, in the last Convocation at London, in the year of our Lorde 1552.* Certainty upon this question is unattainable, the Convocation registers being lost. Collier, ii. 325. Lamb's *Hist. Account of the Thirty-nine Articles*, 4.

⁴ The convocation that sanctioned the Thirty-nine Articles.

⁵ This council appends to the Nicene creed, with some few exceptions, the creed of Pius IV. The omissions are, the articles affirming half-communion, the important word *invocandas*, in the article referring to saints, the important word *magistram* in the article referring to the church of Rome, the word *jurat*, in addition to *spondet*, referring to obedience to the pope, and the whole of the last clause, that which pronounces the Nicene creed with its new appendages to be the catholic faith. The preceding clause also varies, but not substantially, from its correspondent in the creed of Pius. Thus this council of Toledo, though called to stamp the Trentine faith with a formal sanction, declined to say any thing in favour of lay exclusion from the sacramental cup, to insist upon the *invocation* of saints, to acknowledge the Roman as the *mistress* of all churches, to ratify by *oath* an engagement of obedience to the pope, and to pronounce Romish peculiarities integral members of the catholic faith. Labb. et Coss. xv. 756.

⁶ A general and unhesitating assent is given by it to the doctrines affirmed at Trent.

⁷ All who came to this council were required to receive openly and unreservedly *ea omnia quæ a sancta synodo Tridentina definita et statuta sunt*.

⁸ The convocation of the province of Canterbury, assembled this year, may fairly appear in the catalogue of councils, because it enforced subscription on the clergy, and enjoined them to take that as the sense of Scripture in their public teaching, which antiquity has so taken. Of this latter fact, considerable use has been lately made. It is, therefore, necessary to observe, that the canons, among which occurs the one

	A. D.		A. D.
Milan III.	1573	Tours	1583
Torgau ⁹	1574	Bourges	1584
Milan IV. ¹	1576	Aix ⁴	1585
Milan V.	1579	Mexico ⁵	1585
Rouen ²	1581	Toulouse ⁶	1590
Milan VI.	1582	Avignon	1594
Rheims ³	1583	Città di Friuli.....	1596
Bordeaux	1583		

POPES.

Name and Surname.	Official Designation.	Accession.	Death.
Cosmato Megliorati ...	Innocent VII.	Oct. 17, 1404	Nov. 6, 1406
Angelo Corario.....	Gregory XII.	Dec. 2, 1406 ⁷	.....
Peter of Candia	Alexander V.	June 26, 1409	May 4, 1410
Balthasar Cossa	John XXIII.	May 17, 1410 ⁸	.....

prohibiting preachers from delivering any doctrine but such as is agreeable to the Bible, and "collected out of it by the Fathers and ancient bishops," never had the sanction of the lower house of convocation, or of the crown. These canons were, indeed, signed by the bishops of both provinces, but their want of royal and inferior clerical authentication, allows no one of them, unnoticed by the convocation of 1603, to claim the distinction of regular synodical recognition. The canon directing preachers to the Fathers, labours under this deficiency. Hence its authority can go no further than to show that Archbishop Parker, with some of his episcopal friends, unequivocally condemned a wild license of private judgment. Now, it was under this very archbishop, that the Thirtynine articles were formally sanctioned, and the Church of England regularly placed upon her present basis. Although, therefore, it may be concluded fairly enough, that those who carried through the Anglican arrangements, were anxious to have none set up for interpreters of Scripture, who would not be guided by the Fathers; it cannot be truly said, that Parker and his friends succeeded in finding a sufficient

standing for this principle in the church which their labours reorganised.

⁹ Convened for the purpose of appeasing dissensions among the Lutherans.

¹ This imposes subscriptions to the creed of Pius IV. without any variation, reciting that formulary. The first of these Milan councils under St. Charles Boromeo, the archbishop, enacts the same obligation, but does not recite the creed.

² This imposes and recites the creed of Pius without any variation.

³ This also imposes and recites the creed of Pius without variation.

⁴ All these councils also recite and impose the creed of Pius.

⁵ Imposes subscription to the creed of Pius without reciting it.

⁶ Imposes and recites the creed of Pius.

⁷ Deposed by the council of Pisa, June 5, 1409.

⁸ Deposed by the council of Constance, May 29, 1414, but the Roman see was not formally declared vacant until the deposition and degradation of Peter de Luna, or Benedict XIII. July 26, 1417. Nor did the council decree the election of a new pope until its

Name and Surname.	Official Designation.	Accession.	Death.
Otto Colonna	Martin V. ...	Nov. 11, 1417	Feb. 20, 1431
Gabriel Condelmerio .	Eugenius IV..	Mar. 3, 1431	Feb. 23, 1447
Thomas of Sarzana ...	Nicholas V. .	Mar. 6, 1447	Mar. 24, 1455
Alphonzo Borgia	Calixtus III. .	Ap. 8, 1455	Aug. 6, 1458
Æneas Sylvius Pico- lomini	Pius II.	Aug. 9, 1458	Aug. 14, 1464
Peter Barbo			
Francis della Rovere...	Sixtus IV. ...	Aug. 9, 1471	Aug. 13, 1484
John Baptist Cibò ...	Innocent VIII.	Aug. 29, 1484	July 25, 1492
Roderic Borgia ⁹	Alexander VI.	Aug. 2, 1492	Aug. 18, 1503
Francis Piccolomini ¹ ...	Pius III.	Sep. 22, 1503	Oct. 18, 1503
Julian della Rovere ² ...	Julius II.....	Oct. 31, 1503	Feb. 21, 1513
John de' Medici	Leo X.....	Mar. 11, 1513	Dec. 1, 1521
Hadrian Boyens	Hadrian VI. .	Jan. 9, 1522	Sept. 14, 1523
Julius de' Medici ³	Clement VII.	Nov. 19, 1523	Sept. 25, 1534
Alexander Farnese ...	Paul III.	Oct. 13, 1534	Nov. 10, 1549
John Maria del Monte	Julius III. ...	Feb. 7, 1550	Mar. 23, 1555
Marcellus Cervini.....	Marcellus II. .	Ap. 5, 1555	May 1, 1555
John Peter Carrafa ⁴ ...	Paul IV.	May 23, 1555	Aug. 18, 1559
John Angelo de' Me- dici ⁵	Pius IV.	Dec. 28, 1559	Dec. 9, 1565
Michael Ghislieri			
	Pius V.	Jan. 8, 1566	May 1, 1572

fortieth session, on the 30th of October next ensuing. (*L'Enfant, Conc. de Const.* ii. 92, 136.) "From the election of Clement the Fifth, in 1305, the popes had resided at Avignon, till Gregory the Eleventh, in 1376, again removed the see to Rome. On his death, two popes

were chosen; Urban the Sixth, who resided at Rome, and Clement the Seventh, at Avignon: each of these had a successor, and in 1409 the schism was increased by the election of a third pope at Bologna.

Rome.		Avignon.		Bologna.	
Urban VI.	1378.	Clement VII.	1379.		
Boniface IX.	1389.	Benedict XIII.	1395.		
Innocent VII.	1404.			Alexander V.	1409.
Gregory XII.	1406.			John XXIII.	1410.

The three last were deposed by the council of Constance, in 1417." Coxe's *Hist. of the House of Austria*, London, 1820, i. 212.

⁹ A Spaniard of a noble Valencian family, properly named Lenzolio. But his father, having married Joan Borgia, sister to Calixtus III. assumed her name instead of his own, with the pope's consent, and his descendants did the same.

¹ His family name was Todeschini, but like his predecessor, being nephew of a pope (Pius II.), he abandoned it for the family name of his distinguished

relative.

² Nephew to Sixtus IV.

³ Natural and posthumous son of Julian de' Medici, who was brother to Laurence de' Medici, father of Leo X.

⁴ Perhaps more often written *Caraffa*. Cardinal Pallavicino, however, writes Carrafa, though sometimes he uses the other form. *Ist. del Conc. di Trento*, ii. 51.

⁵ "Come of a family remotely, if at all, related to the illustrious family reigning at Florence." Bower, *Hist. of the Popes*, vii. 462.

Name and Surname.	Official Designation.	Accession.	Death.
Hugh Buoncompagno	Gregory XIII.	May 13, 1572	Ap. 10, 1585
Felix Peretti	Sixtus V. ...	Ap. 24, 1585	Aug. 27, 1590
John Baptist Castagna	Urban VII. .	Sep. 15, 1590	Sep. 27, 1590
Nicholas Sfondrati ...	Gregory XIV.	Dec. 5, 1590	Oct. 15, 1591
John Anthony Fac- chinetti	Innocent IX. .	Oct. 29, 1591	Dec. 30, 1591
Hippolytus Aldo- brandini.....			
	Clement VIII.	Jan. 30, 1592	Mar. 3, 1605

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

Name and Surname.	Consecration or Translation.	Death.
Henry Chicheley	July 29, 1414	Ap. 12, 1443
John Stafford	May 13, 1443	July 6, 1452
John Kemp	Sept. 23, 1452	Mar. 22, 1454
Thomas Bouchier.....	Ap. 23, 1454	Mar. 30, 1486
John Morton	Oct. 6, 1486	Sept. 15, 1500
Henry Dene ⁶	May 26, 1501	Feb. 15, 1503
William Warham	Nov. 29, 1503	Aug. 23, 1532
Thomas Cranmer	Mar. 30, 1533	Mar. 21, 1556
Reginald Pole	Mar. 22, 1556	Nov. 17, 1558
Matthew Parker	Dec. 17, 1559	May 17, 1575
Edmund Grindal	Feb. 15, 1576	July 6, 1583
John Whitgift	Sept. 23, 1583	Feb. 29, 1604

BISHOPS AND ARCHBISHOPS OF ST. ANDREW'S.

	A. D.	A. D.
Thomas Stewart ⁷	1401	-----
Henry Wardlaw ⁸	1404	Ap. 6, 1440
James Kennedy ⁹	1440	May 10, 1466

⁶ Thomas Langton, bishop of Winchester, had been elected archbishop in Morton's place, but he died of the plague before his translation was completed. Godwin, *De Præsul.* 132.

⁷ Son to Robert II. He was archdeacon of St. Andrew's, and although elected bishop, he declined the dignity, and seems never to have entered

upon it. He is thought to have lived about three years after his election; but this is uncertain. Keith, 27.

⁸ Founder of the university of St. Andrew's, and otherwise distinguished for munificence.

⁹ His mother was Countess of Angus, daughter of Robert III.

	A. D.		A. D.
Patrick Graham ¹	1466	.....	———— 1478
William Schives	1478	.....	Jan. 28, 1497
James Stewart ²	1497	.....	———— 1503
Alexander Stewart ³	1509	.....	Sept. 9, 1513
Andrew Foreman	1514	.....	———— 1522
James Beton ⁴	1522	.....	———— 1539
David Beton ⁵	1539	.....	May 29, 1546
John Hamilton ⁶	1546	.....	Ap. 1, 1570
John Douglas	1571		
Patrick Adamson ⁷	1576	.....	———— 1591

¹ Half-brother to Bp. Kennedy. The mother of these prelates, Lady Mary Stewart, first married the Earl of Angus, secondly, Sir James Kennedy, of Dunmure, and thirdly, Lord Graham. It was this son of her third marriage who obtained archiepiscopal honours for the see of St. Andrew's from the pope; a compliment to his nation which caused a series of persecutions to himself that lasted through life.

² Duke of Ross, second son of James III.

³ Natural son of James IV. The see of St. Andrew's was kept vacant for him from the death of his uncle, in 1503, till 1509, when pope Julius II. consented to his appointment to it. He was then only fourteen, but carefully educated on the continent, and said to be a boy of uncommon promise, as is generally the case with great people's children cut off in early life. He was killed with his father at the battle of Flodden field.

⁴ "Son to the laird of Balfour in the shire of Fife." Keith, 35.

⁵ Nephew of the last archbishop, and third son of John Beton, or Bethune, of Balfour. He was born in 1494, and educated in France. In 1525, he sat in Parliament, as abbot of Arbroath, a benefice which his uncle, the primate,

resigned in his favour. In 1533, he was sent to France, to conclude a marriage between his own sovereign, and Magdalen, daughter of the French king. In this business he gave so much satisfaction, that Francis preferred him to the bishopric of Mirepoix, in Languedoc, to which he was consecrated on the 5th of December, 1537. The same sovereign used his influence to have him made cardinal. He was afterwards made coadjutor, and designed successor to his uncle. In 1545, he received from the pope a legatine power over all Scotland. In the following year he was murdered. *Ibid.* 37.

⁶ Natural son of James, first earl of Arran, by a female, named Boyd, of good family in Ayrshire. He became a warm and able partisan of the unfortunate Mary, and falling into the hands of his enemies, on the surprise of Dumbarton castle, whither he had fled for safety, he was hanged at Stirling, April 1, 1570. *Ibid.* 39.

⁷ "He did not receive, for what we know, any ecclesiastical consecration." (*Ibid.* 40.) After his death, the see of St. Andrew's was kept vacant, and its revenues were conferred upon the Duke of Lennox.

ARCHBISHOPS OF ARMAGH.

	A. D.		A. D.
Nicholas Fleming	1404	.....	1416
John Swayn	1417	.....	1439
John Prene	1439	.....	1443
John Mey	1444	.....	1456
John Bole	1457	.....	1470
John Foxalls	1475	.....	1476
Edmund Connesburgh ⁸	1477	.....	1479
Octavian de Palation ⁹	1480	.....	1513
John Kite ¹	1513	.....	1521
George Cromer	1522	.....	1542
George Dowdall ²	1543	.....	1558
Hugh Goodacre	1552	.....	1553
Adam Loftus ³	1562	.....	1567
Thomas Lancaster	1568	.....	1584
John Long	1584	.....	1589
John Garvey	1589	.....	1594
Henry Ussher.....	1595	.....	1613

⁸ He resigned the see.

⁹ By birth, a Florentine.

¹ He resigned the see.

² He was born in the county of Louth, and promoted to the see of Armagh by

Henry VIII. He could never obtain a provision from the pope, another having been appointed by him to the primacy. Ware, 91.

³ Translated to Dublin.

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