



Library of the Theological Seminary,

PRINCETON, N. J.

Presented by Mr. Samuel Agnew of Philadelphia, Pa.

Division

5W911

Section

F83

Number

V. 2

BR 157 .F744 1846

Lectures on foreign churches

1092

LECTURES
ON
FOREIGN CHURCHES,

DELIVERED IN

EDINBURGH AND GLASGOW IN 1846,

IN CONNECTION WITH THE OBJECTS OF THE

COMMITTEE OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

ON THE STATE OF

CHRISTIAN CHURCHES ON THE CONTINENT
AND IN THE EAST.

SECOND SERIES.

EDINBURGH :

W. P. KENNEDY, ST ANDREW STREET.

GLASGOW : D. BRYCE. BELFAST : W. M'COMB.

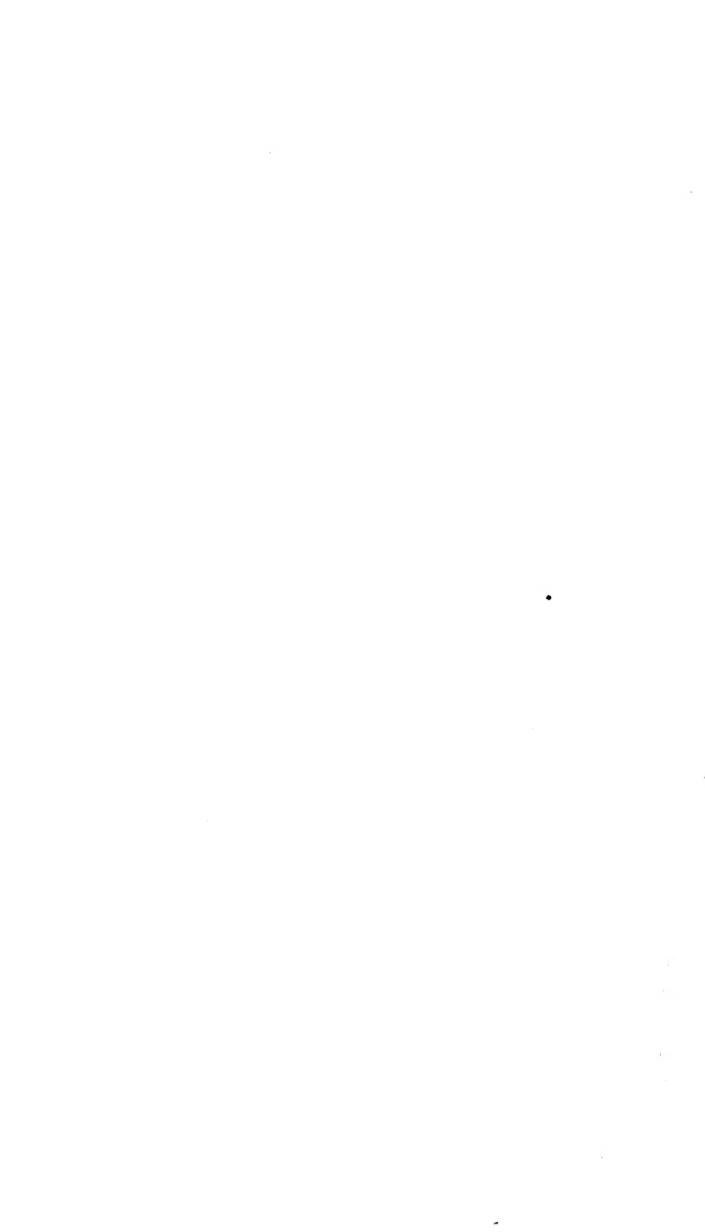
LONDON : HAMILTON, ADAMS & CO., AND JAMES NISBET & CO.

MDCCCXLVI.

EDINBURGH : PRINTED BY JOHN GREIG.

CONTENTS.

- I. THE PAPAL EASTERN CHURCHES. By JOHN WILSON, D.D., F. R. S., of the Free Church of Scotland's Mission at Bombay, Page 1
- II. ON THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY. By JOHN FORBES, D.D., LL.D., Minister of Free St Paul's Church, Glasgow, 87
- III. THE PRESENT STATE AND PROSPECTS OF EVANGELICAL RELIGION IN GERMANY; WITH A SKETCH OF ITS HISTORY FROM THE TIME OF LUTHER. By the Rev. PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, Minister of Free Church, Salton, 149
- IV. THE STATE OF RELIGION IN ITALY FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE TILL THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE REFORMED DOCTRINES INTO THAT COUNTRY. By the Rev. JAMES BRYCE, Minister of Gilcomston Free Church, Aberdeen, 197
- V. ITALY AND ITS RELIGION. By the Rev. W. K. TWEEDIE, Minister of Free Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh, 255
- VI. THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF SPAIN AT THE PERIOD OF THE SUPPRESSION OF THE REFORMATION, AND, IN PARTICULAR, THE GREAT LEADING FEATURES AND EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF POPERY IN THAT COUNTRY AT THAT PERIOD, WHEREBY IT WAS ENABLED TO CRUSH THE REFORMATION. By the Rev. WM. M. HETHERINGTON, LL.D., Minister of Free Church, St Andrews, 347
- VII. THE PROSPECTS OF CHRISTENDOM. By ROBERT BUCHANAN, D.D., Minister of Free Tron Church, Glasgow, 387



LECTURE I.

THE PAPAL EASTERN CHURCHES:

Degeneracy of the Independent Eastern Churches—Pretensions of Rome and her efforts for their incorporation—The Maronite Church—Greek Catholic Church—The Eastern Latin Church—Greek-Catholic, or, so-called, Melchite Church—Armenian-Catholic Church—Syrian-Catholic Church—Chaldean-Catholic Church—Coptic-Catholic Church—Doings of Rome in Abyssinia—General Remarks.

BY JOHN WILSON, D. D., F. R. S.,

OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND'S MISSION AT BOMBAY

IT must have appeared from our lecture on the "Independent Eastern Churches," that, though they are religious communities existing in the interesting countries in which the great mystery of godliness was first revealed, and in which the doctrines of our holy faith were first promulgated; and though there are many circumstances connected with both their past history and present condition mightily calculated to call forth our sympathy, our supplications, and our support, they have in too many matters of essential importance, both in regard to doctrine and practice, departed far indeed from the simplicity of the truth as it is in Jesus, and as it was propounded by his own inspired messengers and apostles. When they act in accordance with their avowed principles, as set forth in their symbolic books and liturgies,

they, perhaps with a single exception, disparage the holy scriptures, by associating with them, almost on terms of parity, the doctrines and commandments of men. Their worship is polytheistic and idolatrous, in as far as it is extended to the angels and saints in heaven, and to pictures, crosses, and relics on earth. They substitute, to an alarming extent, bodily ceremony for the work of the truth and Spirit of God in the soul of man. They support a consecrated sacerdotalism, as the direct channel by which all blessings directly flow from the Saviour to the sinner; which, by the potency with which it is endowed, either transmutes mere symbols into the real body and blood of Christ, which they only represent, or incorporates the material body and blood of Christ with these symbols; and which, in the dispensation of the sacraments and ordinances appointed by God, or devised by man, is an effective and irresistible instrumentality for accomplishing spiritual regeneration, effecting a renewed propitiation, and securing a free or conditional justification. The salvation of Christ, they represent as procurable by the merit or service of men; and they overlook that righteousness of God which is revealed from faith to faith. In all these respects, they are under the influence of the spirit of Antichrist, allied to the Church of Rome, which forms its most perfect embodiment. With this simple alliance, however, the Church of Rome is not, and never has been satisfied, since in its lordly head it professed to have the vicar of Christ upon earth, and the veritable successor of the alleged primate of the apostles. It assumes and asserts, that as the infallible interpreter of the divine word, and conservator of those traditions which are of co-ordinate authority, it is the supreme expounder of the faith, and

guardian of the orthodoxy of the universal Church. It maintains that it is the soul of Christian unity and catholicity, of exertion and enterprize. It declares that it has unlimited powers of legislation and absolution, and that it is paramount in the establishment and maintenance of authority and order, and the exercise of discipline. It claims the subjection, the reverence, and the obedience of every portion of the Church of Christ. All beyond its pale are schismatics and heretics; and none of them ought to indulge the expectation of salvation.

In this state of matters, it is easy to imagine that the church of Rome never can have looked with a tolerant or friendly eye on any of the religious communities of the East which may have disputed its domination, or sought to free themselves from its tyranny. From first to last it has earnestly and perseveringly sought either their subjection or dissolution. It has treated them in every respect, according to its means and opportunities, exactly as it had done the more modern Christian communities formed in connection with the Reformation of the West. It has tried to secure their allegiance by publicly accredited messengers and disguised emissaries, by open effort and concealed artifice, by boastful declamation and gentle insinuation, and by the falsification of history and the misrepresentation of present events and occurrences. Like Judaism in the day of its corruption and degeneracy, it has offered hire with its own harlotry. It has allured by promises, and conciliated by compromise, and by gifts of wealth, of title, of patronage, and of power. It has excited and fomented quarrels and disturbances. It has terrified by threats and curses, and restrained by oppression and persecution. By the hand of the civil and military powers,

when they have been favourable to its views, it has distributed arrows, firebrands, and death, thinking, or alleging perhaps at the same time, that it has been doing God service. Not a single one of these charges do I advance either in a spirit of levity or uncharitableness. Many of them individually have been admitted and deplored by candid and intelligent Roman Catholics. By facts too numerous, and too painful, they find a melancholy confirmation and illustration.

The success of the church of Rome in the subjection and incorporation of the Eastern churches, has not accorded with the measure of either her desires or endeavours. That success, however, has not been small. She has had her converts among every one of them, and some of them she has reduced to small dimensions. She has formed out of each of them a body in communion with herself; and she is now diligently plying the work of further proselytism. She boasts of distinct societies devoted to her interests, occupying the sublime and beautiful ridges of the gigantic Lebanon; seated on the hills of holiness in the land of Israel's inheritance and the Saviour's incarnation; scattered over the fertile plains of ancient Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylon, and the classic regions of the Lesser Asia; visible on the prolific banks of the mysterious Nile; about to appear on the crest of the mountains of "jealous Abyssinia"; and discernible even on the romantic heights of Malabar and Travankur in distant Hind. Of these different communities, and the past and present doings of Rome connected with them, it is my duty now to give some account. I regret that, as given in a public course of lectures, it must necessarily be short and imperfect; but, as far as I can order it, it shall not be incorrect. I

trust that it will not be useless in connection with our general survey of the Christian world; but impress upon us some important lessons, which can be learned only by our looking not only on our own things, but every one also on the things of others, by extending our view, in fact, to the most remote parts of the world. Especially I pray, that it may deepen our compassion for those who have been seduced and injured by the papal power, and for those who are now in imminent peril from its continued and extended influence.

I. THE MARONITE CHURCH.

Of all the churches in the East in union with Rome, this is the one which it regards with most confidence, and which is most thoroughly devoted to her influence, and boastful of her patronage. Romanists speak and write of it as do evangelical Christians of the Church of the Waldenses. They declare, that, even during the revolt of the other eastern churches from Rome, it unswervingly maintained its union and loyalty. They speak of it as a steady and glorious beacon, dispelling the darkness of ignorance, and withstanding the waves and billows of heresy. They are frequently at a loss for terms by which to express their sense of its excellence. Let us take, as an example of the manner in which they not unfrequently represent it, the following eulogium pronounced upon it by the Jesuit father Fromage before the Grand Synod of Lebanon in 1736, which we shall afterwards have occasion to mention. "Illustrious Maronites, how I love to contemplate the glory and the beauty of your church! I find in it nearly all the traits which distinguished and which characterized

the infant church of Jesus Christ, whilst it existed in the bosom of judaism and paganism by the most surprising of all miracles issuing from the hands of God, its author. I would willingly compare this church to the mysterious fleece of Gideon, upon which the dew of heaven fell in abundance. Whilst all that surrounded it was dried up, devoured by the burning heat. I would willingly compare it to that nation cherished by heaven, which the Lord was pleased to conduct himself, through the deserts, the rocks, the mountains. Whilst their haughty enemies marched through the midst of the thickest darkness, a brilliant and luminous pillar dispelled the horrors of the night, and guided their footsteps. Do not disavow those comparisons; they are neither uttered at random nor out of place. It forms a chosen (*séparée*) flock, of which the sheep, always obedient to the voice of the Sovereign Shepherd, never wander at any time to strange pastures, and who, on account of their obedience, shelter themselves from the rage of the wolves. We say more, and speak without fear,—they form in the very midst of infidelity, an entire people of true worshippers, who withstand the contagious blast, and the infection of schism and heresy; and it becomes me to say of you what is said in the sacred text concerning the first of the faithful, you persevere unanimously and constantly in the doctrine of the apostles, *Erant perseverantes in doctrina Apostolorum.*”* Passages of the same character, almost without number, may be quoted from the writings of priests, prelates, and popes, for nearly the last two hundred years. †

* *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, tom. i. p. 422.

† The following is the latest which I have seen. It is from a pamphlet by Nicolas Murad, the Maronite archbishop of Laodicea,

The Maronites themselves trace their name to a Syrian monk named Maro, a contemporary of Chrysostom, who lived on the banks of the Orontes about the year 400, but more particularly to John Márún, or Maro, their "Antiochian patriarch," who flourished about the year 700, and who is alleged by them to have been in the communion of the Romish church.*

With regard to the origin of their designation, we have no inclination to quarrel with them. Its existence for so many centuries, however, is calculated to throw suspicion on their original connexion with the Roman Catholic Church, which, it is known, denominates its different sections according to their respective countries, and not according to the names of their most distinguished partizans.

That the Maronites had a Syrian origin is evinced by

the present representative of the Maronites at the Holy See, published in Paris in 1844. "S'il est, en orient, une nation qui puisse se glorifier d'avoir toujours et partout professé, d'un sentiment unanime et avec une fermeté inébranlable, la sainte foi orthodoxe et de n'avoir jamais varié dans la discipline, c'est sans contredit la seule nation Maronite, ce que prouvent jusqu'à la dernière évidence le monumens les plus authentiques, les plus sacrés. Et cette foi de leurs ancêtres les Maronites la conservent aujourd'hui encore, et en tous lieux, saine, pure, sans tache, et avec une telle uniformité de sentimens, que, quelque nombreux qu'ils aient été et soient en ce moment, quelque environnés qu'ils se voient de toutes parts, d'infidèles, d'hérétiques, de schismatiques, jamais, relativement à la foi, le moindre différend ne s'est élevé parmi eux, jamais aucun schisme ne les a désunis, jamais enfin un seul d'entre eux n'a altéré la pureté de la doctrine catholique, ce qui est attesté d'une manière non équivoque par le témoignage ci-après d'un souverain pontife." — *Notice Historique sur l'Origine de la Nation Maronite, et sur ses Rapports avec la France*, pp. 6, 7.

* For the Life of John Maro, see the *Bibliotheca Orientalis of Assemani*, tom. i. pp. 496-520.

their ecclesiastical language, which is the Syriac, and by the locality in which, from time immemorial, they have been found. They are doubtless the descendants of the Christians who remained unconquered and independent, and who took refuge in the Mountains of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon on the invasion and conquest of Syria by the Muhammadan Khalifs in the seventh century. According to Cedrenus, the Maronites or Mardaites, opposed to the Melchite Greeks, took possession of Mount Lebanon about the year 677, and from that time proved very troublesome to the Saracens or Arabs by their predatory incursions into the open country below. The Khalifate at Damascus was greatly distressed by their incursions, and Moáwiyah, in order that he might suppress them, concluded a peace with the Greek emperor Constantine Pogonatus, with whom he had been carrying on war in Cilicia. About eight years afterwards Justinian III, when he came to the throne, engaged with the Khalif Abd el-Malek, in furtherance of the treaty of peace with him, which was confirmed, to bring the Maronites under subjection; and with this view he invaded their country and did them much damage, assassinating their chief and removing from their territories no fewer than about 12,000 persons. From this time they were content to continue principally within the boundaries of the great mountainous asylum which they had sought for themselves.* The same sovereign afterwards sent troops against them under Marcian and Maurice, who destroyed their principal monastery at Hamáh, and killed about five hundred of them, and carried war into the very interior of Lebanon. They afterwards obtained their vengeance against Mau-

* Hist. Com. vol. i. p. 437, &c.

rice, completely vanquishing his troops and destroying himself in battle.* “From this period,” says Volney, “we lose sight of them till the invasion of the Crusaders, with whom they were sometimes in alliance, and sometimes at variance. In this interval, of more than three centuries, they lost part of their possessions, and were reduced to their present limits, paying tribute, no doubt, as often as the Arabian and Turkman governors were able to compel them. This was the case with the Khalif of Egypt, Hakem Be-umar-Ellah, who, about the year 1014, ceded their territory to a Turkman, Prince of Aleppo. Two hundred years after, Sálah-ed-dín (Saladin) having driven out the Europeans from this country, they were obliged to submit to his power and purchase peace by contributions..... The peace they enjoyed under the Memluks was disturbed by Selim the Second; but this prince, occupied by more important objects, did not take the trouble to subject them. This negligence emboldened them, and in concert with the Druses, and their Emír, the celebrated Fakr-ed-dín, they made daily encroachments on the Ottomans; but these commotions had an unfortunate issue, for Murád the Third, sending against them Ibrahim, Páshá of Cairo, that general reduced them to obedience in 1588, and subjected them to the annual tribute they still pay.”†

Their connection with Rome, in the earliest periods of their organization, cannot be established from authentic history. On the contrary, there are express testimonies from that source, according to which it is evident, that for long they stood altogether aloof from its communion, and were probably supporters of what has been called the Monothelite heresy. Some of these

* Volney's Travels, vol. ii. p. 12.

† Vol. ii. p. 10.

authorities it is proper to submit to your consideration. They are those of ecclesiastical annalists both within and without the pale of the Romish Church.

“There was at the time of Maurice the emperor of the Greeks,” says Euty chius, “a certain monk named M ár un, who asserted that there were two natures and one will, and one operation and person, in our Lord Christ, and corrupted the faith of men. Most of those who embraced his doctrine, and, reckoning themselves his disciples, professed the same, were inhabitants of the city of Hamah, and Kennesrin and A’wás em, with some Greeks; and his followers who asserted the same with himself were Maronites, a name taken from his own name Maro. Upon his death the inhabitants of Hamah erected there a monastery called *Deir M ár un*, and professed his faith.”* Sáyid Ben Batrik, or Euty chius, the patriarch of Alexandria, flourished in the early part of the tenth century.

Similar to this is the account given in the Arabic history of Makrizi, to whose work I referred in my former lecture. “In the time of the emperor Maurice Cæsar,” says this respectable Muhammadan author, “a monk named Maro taught that the Messiah (upon whom be peace!) had two natures, *one will*, and one person. The inhabitants of the city of Hamah, Kennesrin, and Awásim, and many of the Greeks, adhered to him; and those who professed his doctrine were called Maronites among the Nazarenes. Upon the death of Maro a monastery was built in the city of Hamah after his name.”†

* Euty ch. Annal., tom. ii. p. 190.

† Hist. Eccles. Copt. Makrizii, versic. 281-28.—Since the publication of the first volume of these Lectures, a German transla-

The celebrated William of Tyre, the principal historian of the Crusades, distinctly mentions both the conversion of the Maronites to the Romish church in the reign of Baldwin IV., and gives an account of their origin and their devotion to the Monothelite heresy, as it is called, substantially agreeing with that of the Egyptian ecclesiastical historians. "In the mean time," he says, "when the kingdom enjoyed a temporary peace [A.D. 1180], a certain nation of Syrians in the province of Phenice, about the ridges of Lebanon, living near to the city of Biblus (Jebeil), suffered a very great change in its state. For, though for about five hundred years, they had followed the error of a certain heresiarch named Maro, and on this account were called Maronites, and separated from the church of the faithful, took their sacraments apart, they repenting by a divine impulse, and having laid aside their languor, became an accession to Aimeric the patriarch of Antioch, who is now the third of the Latins who presides over that church. And having abjured their error, by which to their danger they were so long detained, they returned to the unity of the Catholic Church, accepting the orthodox faith, and prepared with all veneration to embrace and preserve the traditions of the Roman Church. There was no small number of this people, but said to exceed the amount of 40,000, who, as we have before said, dwelt in the bishoprics of Biblus, Botrys, and Tripoli, and the neighbouring ridges of Mount Lebanon. They were a brave people and active in arms, and very useful to our people in most of the affairs which they were in the habit of

tion of this interesting work, accompanied by the original text, from the MSS. at Gotha and Vienna, has appeared at Gottingen. The title is Makrizi's *Geschichte der Copten, von Ferd. Wüstenfeld.*

transacting with the enemy. Whence our joy at their conversion to the true faith is very great. The error of Maro and his followers, as is learnt from the Sixth Synod, which it is known was collected against them, is and was, that in our Lord Jesus Christ there was from the beginning, and will be, one will and operation. This article having been reprobated by the church of the orthodox, they added, when separated from the congregation of the faithful, many other pernicious things, for which having separated, they returned to the Catholic Church along with their patriarch and some of their bishops, who, as they had preceded them in impiety, took the pious lead of them in returning to the truth.”* This is a most important testimony; but though it comes from a Roman Catholic writer of authority and celebrity, it has been assailed by Naironi, Assemani, La Roque, and other apologists of the Maronites. The grand objection which they urge against it is, that its author blindly followed Eutychius in his impeachment of the orthodoxy of the Maronites. But granting, for the sake of argument, and without proof, that William of Tyre was actually guided by the Egyptian patriarch in his account of the *opinions* of Maron, it ought to be borne in mind, that his testimony as to the *original disagreement of the Maronites with the Church of Rome and their accession to it, in his own day, and at his very door*, remains with all its force. It is the perfection of absurdity to suppose, that he could fall into a mistake about a religious movement of the magnitude mentioned, which is said to have taken place before his own eyes, and that his statements, if incorrect, could have been received by

* Willermi Tyrensis Arch. Hist. lib. xxii. 8.

his contemporaries, and those who were his immediate successors.

Jacob de Vittry, another historian of the Crusades, and the bishop of A'kká or Ptolemais, who wrote in 1220, and who consequently must have also been well acquainted with the facts of the case, gives an account entirely in accordance with that now quoted, and almost in the same words.*

A similar account is given by Marinus Sanutus Torsellus, in 1321. "The Maronites derive their name from their founder Maro; and they assert that there is only one will and operation in Christ. The author of this error was Macarius, bishop (antistes) of Antioch, who was condemned in the Sixth Synod, that of Constantinople, and rejected as a heresiarch from the community of the faithful. The Maronites, dwelling among the ridges of Lebanon in the province of Phenice, not far from the city of Biblus, and about Bastrus (Botrys) and Tripoli, well accomplished and instructed in bows and arrows, about 60,000 in number, and separated from the holy church and the communion of the faithful, dispensed the sacrament at their own pleasure; but after repenting in the time of the last king Baldwin, they professed the Catholic faith in the presence of the venerable father Aymeric, the patriarch of Antioch, and followed the traditions of the holy Roman (Church). So that, while none of the Oriental prelates, except the Latins, use a ring (*analo*) and mitre, and pastoral staff, or have the people congregated by bells, but by beating bells by a mallet or staff, the aforesaid Maronites use all the aforesaid for a sign of obedience, and observe all the

* Jacobi de Vitriaco Histor. Hierosol. in lib. cui tit. Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 1093.

rites of the Latins. Their patriarch (antistes) was present at the Lateran Council under the venerable pope Innocent III. They use the Chaldaic (Syriac) character, but speak in the common Saracenic idiom (the Arabic language).”*

These authorities are very express as to the time of the first union of the Maronites to the Church of Rome, which must have been well known to the writers, though they are silent on the particular circumstances which brought about that event. The historian Baronius records his belief about the Maronites as entirely agreeing with them.† It is no objection to them, as has been urged by some of the modern Maronites, as Fauste Naironi,‡ Assemani, and others, that the name of Maro does not occur in connexion with the proceedings of the Sixth General Council. The historians of the Crusades, it is obvious, refer to that council principally as condemning the opinions of the Monothelites. It is obvious that it could not be directed against Maro individually, for it was called by Constantine Pogonatus in the year 680, before Maro had appeared conspicuously on this terrestrial scene.

There can be little doubt, we are inclined to conjecture, that Aymeric, the third Latin patriarch of Antioch, backed, as he must have been, by the kings of the Crusades, gained over the Maronites, through the influence of their patriarch and some of their bishops for the time being. The connexion formed between the Maronites

* Mar. Sanuti Torsell. *Secreta Fid. Cruc.* lib. iii. pars 8.

† Ad annum 1182, n. 4.

‡ Faust Naironi's Dissertation was published at Rome in 1679. It is entitled, "*Dissertatio de Origine, Nomine, ac Religione Maronitarum.*" The sum of the work is given tolerably correctly by La Roque and Le Quien.

and the Church of Rome was probably, in the first instance, of a very slight character, and more nominal than real. The Maronite patriarch, though he may have consented, probably for selfish purposes, to receive the *pallium* of investiture from Rome, did not surrender the original authority, which he associated with his office quite independently of that See. To the present day each of his successors has denominated himself "Peter the patriarch of Antioch," thus insinuating that he considers himself as the genuine representative and spiritual descendant of the Apostle Peter in the East. To the ordinary seal of the patriarchate, an engraving of which is given by La Roque, I refer in corroboration of this statement.* History is not silent on the difficulties long experienced by Rome in the management of its allies on the ridges of the Lebanon. The papal bulls of Innocent III, of Alexander IV, and of Leo X, accusing them of various errors, both in doctrine and practice, have proved rather troublesome documents to those who argue for the integrity of their attachment to the "Holy See."† It is the boast of Mare de Lisbon, in his Chronicle of the Order of the Franciscans, that father Gripho had to bring them back from heresy and idolatry so late as the year 1450.‡ Unpleasant reports of them, however, still continued to be circulated, so much so that the Pope Clement VIII. sent the Jesuit Dandini to Lebanon, in the year 1576, to inquire into their actual condition, and, if necessary, to reduce them to order and submission. He found matters in a much better state than had been reported; and he received the assurance from the

* Voyage de Syrie et du Mont-Liban, p. 11.

† La Roque, vol. ii. p. 88.

‡ La Roque, tom. ii. p. 64.

patriarch and other ecclesiastical authorities, of their devoted attachment to his master. Some erroneous books which he found among them were disclaimed by them, under the allegation that they had been circulated by the Jacobites; and he was able to give a favourable account on the whole of all that transpired amongst them. That neither they, nor he, at this time, had any persuasion of their connexion with Rome having lasted from the first, is, I think, evident, from the following passage of his report delivered to the Pope on his return. "I began, after the second day of my arrival, to discourse of my affairs with the patriarch. I explained unto him the design of my voyage, with which he testified himself to be well satisfied. However, he could not forbear to tell me of two things which much troubled him: the first that his holiness had sent him only but a simple brief, instead of addressing to him a large and solemn bull, which might authentically set forth the *antiquity of their belief*, and their *reunion with the Holy See*, as the popes, his predecessors, had done. . . . He complained also that his holiness had sent him no answer to his entreaty of being confirmed in his *ancient title of patriarch of Antioch*." It is not, it will be observed, uninterrupted communion with Rome that is here supposed to have existed. A "reunion with the Holy See," on the contrary, implies a former separation. The old patriarch is not content to lay aside his ancient title, which we have already seen has not been withheld by Rome from his office.* It is curious to notice the explanation of the sanction of the title, which Roman

* Dandini's Voyage to Mount Libanus in Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels, vol. x. p. 287.

Catholics now submit. "In the middle of the thirteenth century," says a calm and not undignified writer, in a late number of the *Dublin Review*, "Bandicar, sultan of Egypt, got possession of the city of Antioch. His cruelty and fanaticism drove into exile the Catholics who had been living there for years, and with their patriarch Elias at their head, and accompanied by the clergy of the city, they took refuge among their brethren of Libanus. Simon, the patriarch of the Maronites, received them with kindness and hospitality.....The holy father manifested his gratitude for the kindness shown to his afflicted children, by *appointing Simon patriarch of Antioch on the death of Elias a few years after*. This dignity was confirmed to the successors of Simon by the pontiffs of later times."* But what would this reviewer, who honestly follows his authority the present agent of the Maronites at the "Holy See," have said to the claims of the patriarch of the Maronites to have his "ancient title" confirmed? What will he say to the fact, that the great Assemani himself makes even John Maro the "patriarch of Antioch," so early as the year 700?† The matter now referred to, as we shall afterwards see, is not the only compromise which Rome has made with the Maronites. Nothing but absolute necessity could have made her succumb to their ancient claim of jurisdiction.

In order to increase the influence of the Romish Church over the Maronites, Pope Gregory XIII. founded a college at Rome for the education of a select number of their youth, to be brought from Syria for the

* *Dublin Review*, March 1845, p. 49.

† *Biblioth. Orient.* tom. i. p. 496.

prosecution of their studies, and who should afterwards return to their native land, to occupy such situations in the church as might be considered proper for their talents and acquirements. It was in part to lay down regulations for the supply of young men for this institution, that Dandini, to whom we have now referred, was sent to Lebanon. It must be admitted, that, with whatever consequences the expedient was attended in strengthening and extending the power of Rome in the East, it was made to a great extent to subserve the general interests of oriental literature in Europe. Of its many distinguished alumni, Joseph Simonius Assemanus and Joseph Aloysius Assemanus are the best known. The former is the author of the *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, in which there is a review and analysis of the Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hebrew, Samaritan, Armenian, Ethiopic, Greek, Egyptian, Iberian, and Malabaric manuscripts in the Clementine Collection of the Vatican, which was mostly formed by his own industry in the East. The latter is the collector, editor, and translator of all the ancient liturgies, both oriental and occidental. The former, who was a native of Tripoli, and born in 1687, was the deputy of Pope Clement XII. at the great Synod of Lebanon, held in the year 1736, by which the affairs of the Maronite Church were finally settled, and according to whose decrees they are still administered.*

* See *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, tom. i. p. 406, &c. Speaking of the appointment of Assemani as the Pope's legate to the Synod of Lebanon, the *Dublin Review*, following Nicholas Murad, says, "Clement gave him full legatine powers, and after several conferences with the Patriarch and influential clergy, he succeeded in opening the Council on the 30th of September

According to the decrees of the Synod now referred to, the different orders of the Maronite Church are, Cantor, Lector, Sub-deacon, Deacon, Deaconess, Exorcist, Archdeacon, Economist, Presbyter, Parochial or Curate, Periodeute or Visitor, Arch-presbyter, Rural

1736. It was attended by eighteen bishops, of whom fourteen were Maronites, two Syrian, and two Armenian. The Abbots of several monasteries were also present, together with a multitude of the priests and chief people of the country. The state of the Maronite Church at this time may be judged of by the subjects that came under discussion. It was complained of by the more enlightened clergy, that dispensations to marry, excommunications, and even spiritual censures, were sold; that the eucharist was not administered but in the monasteries; that the clergy, in some instances, married again after the death of their first wives; that the decoration of the churches, and the support of the poor, were neglected; that the Patriarch arrogated to himself the exclusive right of blessing the holy oils, which he distributed to his suffragans and clergy at fixed prices; that in some congregations the liturgy was performed in the Arabic—the vulgar tongue; and finally, that the prudent reserve prescribed by the canons, was not observed by the clergy in their intercourse with the nuns. In the East, where females are wont to observe much more reserve towards the other sex than in our times and country, it is possible that even a trifling deviation from the ordinary etiquette may have given much scandal. However, it is evident from the nature of these complaints, that the church of the Libanus, however it may have fallen away from its first, had not swerved much from the line of essential discipline. The Synod held eight meetings, and applied remedies to every one of these abuses. Some of the members were dissatisfied, even the Patriarch thought some of the provisions bore too hardly on his authority; but the legatine character of Assemani bore down all opposition, and at the close of the Council he was empowered to embody its proceedings in a series of decrees, which have been since known as the decrees of the Council of Lebanon. *The money which was placed at his disposal by the Holy See for such a contingency, enabled him to secure for these decrees the authority of the Turkish government.*—*Dublin Review*, March 1845.

Bishop, Metropolitan Bishop, and Primate or Patriarch.* The distribution of titles corresponding with these orders, which are highly valued by the people, forms one of the great sources of ecclesiastical power and influence in the community.

The proper seat of the Maronite community is at present, as it has been for many ages, the mountainous district of Lebanon, from about Tripoli to Tyre. In these parts they form the main portion of the population, except in the more southern parts of this territory, where they are mingled with, or to a certain extent superseded, by the Druses, a sect of mongrel Muhammadans and heathens, who are not only their rivals, but too often their determined enemies. In the space of country now mentioned they may amount to 150,000 souls. In the district of Rasheiya, in Anti-Lebanon, according to a government census or estimate which I received in Syria, they number 360, and in the adjoining district of Hasbeiyah, 580 souls. In the valley of B'albek, in Celo-Syria, the amount of their population is reckoned at 250 persons. In the agricultural district of the Haurán, south of Damascus, they are estimated at 7651 souls. In the páshálik of Aleppo,† and in scattered towns and villages of Syria, in the northern part of the island of Cyprus, and Cairo, and Constantinople, they have certainly not more than a population of 30,000. Altogether, they are to be reckoned at 200,000 souls. The American Missionaries, in an interesting document lately published by them, give them at 220,000 persons.

* Cod. Liturg. Eccles. Univ., lib. viii. p. 120, &c.

† I have not noticed an estimate of the number of the Maronites at Aleppo later than that of Dr Russell, who reckons them (in 1774) at 3030 souls.

Nicholas Murad, the Maronite agent at the court of Rome, in his pamphlet lately published at Paris, reckons them altogether at 525,000, of whom, he says, 482,000 inhabit the valleys of Libanus. This dignitary, either wittingly or unwittingly, is guilty of gross exaggeration. The Dublin Reviewer seems to hint his dissent from the statement, as he gives the estimate of the Abbé Gerambe, which is 200,000. Colonel Campbell, the British Consul-General of Egypt, proceeding on government documentary estimates, reckons the whole number of souls connected with the Papal Churches in Syria at only 260,000.*

The patriarch, who is the head of the Maronite church, enjoys not only all the powers, immunities, and privileges conferred upon his office by the sacred canons, but rendered according to the use and wont of his own nation. He is elected from among the bishops, who must all be professionally monks, by a majority of their votes, but he receives the robe of investiture from Rome. His summer residence is at the convent of Kannobin, in the romantic defiles of the Kadishah; and his winter residence is at the convent Bkerki, in the Kesrawán, or holy land, of the Maronites. He also visits the convent of Dimán, which is likewise his property. He is almost deified by the people among whom he lives; and his income is large for the demands which are made upon him, being estimated at about £2000 per annum. His See extends throughout the whole bounds of the ancient patriarchate of Antioch, over the metropolitan Sees of Tyre, Tarsus, Edessa, Apamea, Hierapolis, Bozra, Selucia, Damascus, Cyprus, Anazarbus, and Amida; † but

* Bowring's Report on Syria, p. 3.

† Ass. Cod. Lit. Eccles. Univ., p. 161.

practically it is much more restricted, much more so in fact than when the Synod of Lebanon was held. His jurisdiction extends over nine metropolitan sees, which are served by individuals elected by the people, and whom he is required to consecrate, when they are chosen in an orderly manner. These sees are those of Aleppo, Damascus, Beirút, Sidon, Eopolis or B'albek, Jebeil, Ehden, Tripoli, and Cyprus. The occupants of these sees are styled Metrâns (metropolitans). The same title is given to the two vicars, or assistants of the patriarch, one of whom has to do principally with the temporal, and the other with the spiritual affairs of the church, to the patriarch's agent at Rome, and to three presidents at the principal monasteries or colleges.*

Respecting other matters connected with the church establishment of the Maronites, the present agent of the patriarch at the See of Rome, gives us in 1844 the following information:—"The monasteries or Maronite convents, both of monks and nuns, amount to 82. Those for monks, which are 67 in number, contain 1410 religious. The remaining fifteen contain 330 nuns. All these houses have very rigorous statutes confirmed by the Holy See. There are, exclusive of convents, 356 churches in the country. They are served by 1205 priests, under the authority of their bishops and patriarch. The people also recognise and reverence the ecclesiastical authority, and discharge with assiduity and piety all the duties of Christianity at the holy season of the Pasch. There are four public seminaries, each of which contains from twenty to twenty-five pupils. They are gratuitously instructed in the Arabic and Syriac languages, philosophy, dogmatic and (moral) theology.

* Nicolas Murad, p. 17.

Those who study theology must, however, previously engage to embrace the ecclesiastical state, promise obedience to the patriarch, and devote themselves to the missions of the country. For some years past, the patriarch has been in the habit of appointing a particular spot, where he collects according to his own desire, and under a superior appointed by him, zealous and instructed priests, who go every year to preach in the different districts. This is called *The National Mission*.*

When the extent of the Maronite population is adverted to, it must be seen that the number of monks and nuns here mentioned is very large, proportionally more so indeed than can perhaps be found in any other portion of the world. I do not think that, in the statement of this number, there is much, if any, exaggeration. The American Missionaries, in a document which has just come to hand, present actual lists, of which they say:—"The number of convents contained in the preceding lists, is fifty-seven; and of coenobia, fourteen; of monks, one thousand one hundred and two; and of nuns, five hundred and seven. These estimates are but approximations, yet probably they are not far from the truth. Among the monks there may be six hundred in priest's orders; the rest are lay brothers. These monastic priests are not included in the estimate already given of the ordinary priesthood. Among the nuns there are no deaconesses."†

Connected with the convents and nunneries, some extremely curious and interesting matters are to be specially noted. These institutions were found to exist in great numbers when the Maronite church first

* Notice Historique, pp. 18, 19.

† Miss. Herald, Sept. 1845, p. 317.

fell under the domination of Rome ; and it was some time before it could interfere to any extent with the settling of their affairs. Father Dandini, in the year 1576, writes of their habits and practices to the Pope as strange and peculiar. “The religious,” he says, “have none of that distinction of order and profession that is used elsewhere, they are all alike : I am persuaded that these monks are the remnants of those ancient hermits which lived separate from mankind, and dwelt in great numbers in the deserts of Syria and Palestine ; there are excellent authors that have treated of them, and I believe I have myself good proofs for to support that opinion. The first are the places of their abode ; for their residence is not in delicious plains, or on pleasant little hills, accommodated with agreeable prospects, nor in well-peopled cities and places frequented by men, but they are retired to the most abstruse parts of these mountains, separated from all commerce, and living under great rocks ; so that they seem to dwell in grots and caverns, fit rather for wild beasts than habitations for men. Their poor and ordinary apparel serves for a second proof ; they wear but a pitiful, unvaluable, ill-shaped coat, wherein they wrap themselves, with a black cowl upon their heads ; and this vestment descends only from the shoulders to the girdle, without any thing to cover their shoulders withal ; neither is there any other habit cut according to the fashion of these, that are used amongst all the community of their religious. Their manner of living furnished us with a third proof : they only live upon that which the earth itself produceth, and never eat any flesh, though they be sick and in danger of death. As for wine, they very rarely drink any. They have no particular rules, nor written

constitutions for to be observed by every one, as may be seen in all other religious houses who are established to live in community. They make no express profession of the three vows of religion; to wit, poverty, chastity, and obedience; but when they are received into the monastery where they make profession, one holds a book in his hand and reads only something that belongs to them, advertising them, that they ought to live in continence, and adds many the like things. These advertisements are sufficient to make them keep a perfect chastity. You shall never hear any scandalous or ill report of them, although they continually go alone up and down, and stay oftentimes many days together out of their monastery. They have goods and money of their own, and can dispose thereof at their death. If they have no longer a mind to stay in the monastery, they go into another, without the leave of their superiors. In the fourth place, they are never permitted to exercise any ecclesiastical function; they have no spiritual exercise in common for the good of their neighbours, and have no power either to preach or to confess, so that they are only for themselves. In the fifth place, they give to their superiors and chiefs the name of Abbot, as the hermits did of old. Finally, I shall take for the sixth and last proof, the name they bear of the Monks of St Anthony; and it is this that ought to make some impression upon the spirits of those who would search out the cause why those religious are so called.”*

The Pope, it is evident from these statements, had had but little to do with those curious anchorets, an indirect proof that the Maronites had been long removed

* Father Jerome Dandini's *Voyage to Mount Libanus*. Pinkerton's *Vovages and Travels*, vol. x. p. 293, 294.

from his influence and authority, a fact which the Romanists are so anxious to conceal. What the Pope has actually now made of the monks and nuns, will appear from the following account by the American Missionaries :—

“ The Maronite convents are of two kinds, regular and irregular. The regular convents are of three orders, called the Country, Lebanon, and Alepine orders, of which the first is the most, and the last the least, numerous.....Each convent has its own superior, and each order its superior-general. The superior-general is assisted by four managers.....His authority is independent of the patriarch, except by appeal, and the income of the office of the superior-general of the country order, consisting of some eight hundred piastres weekly for masses, 130,000 piastres annually from glebes, and half of the contributions to the convent of Khazeiyya, is greater than that of the patriarchal see. Each superior-general holds over his order the rank of a bishop over his diocese. He carries high masses, but has not the power of ordaining priests. This is usually done by the bishop in whose diocese the candidate is living. The diocesan bishops have also some other rights over the convents, though very few. Most of the affairs of the convents are under the absolute control of the superior-general, who has a prison of his own in which to imprison culprits. He is chosen by ballot in a convocation held every three years. The members of this convocation are the superior-general, the managers, the superiors of convents, and those who have formerly held some one of these offices. The other monks, though they may be in the priesthood, have no voice in the matter. No rule prevents the re-election of the same superior-general, as often as the vote of the convocation may fall upon him. The same triennial convocation elects also the managers and the superiors of all the convents.....The monks take the vow of chastity, poverty, and obedience; but not until they have passed a term of trial, which with the Country and Alepine orders is two years, and with the Lebanon order one year. Up to that time they do not put on the cowl, and can go back to the world and marry. No entrance-fee is demanded, and most who enter are in straitened circumstances. Poverty or indolence moves them to take the step, under the cover of seeking Christian perfection. Their dress is a coarse woollen garment, coloured black, with a cowl and a leathern girdle. Silk they are forbidden to put

on, nor may any one carry in his purse more than ten piastres. If at death any one is found to have more than that sum about him, he is denied Christian burial. Meat they are never allowed to taste, nor may they smoke tobacco. For the former they substitute fish, and for the latter snuff. Their employment is agriculture and the mechanic arts. Some plough and reap, some weave, some make shoes, &c., and they are generally kept hard at work. With the exception of the two schools, hereafter to be mentioned, hardly any measures are taken to improve their education. They are generally left in profound ignorance, and are the most stupid class in the community. Hardly one in seven, it is supposed, can read at all. The benefit of the convents to the community at large is extremely small. Among them all there may be a dozen schools, of the most common kind, for the children of the people. They are generally the centre and source of ignorance, superstition, and intrigue. One of the most obnoxious of their habits is that of shameless begging. Every year swarms of them go forth in all directions on this errand, and so importunate are they, that they seldom enter a house without taking away something; in this, resembling the gypsies, though they are generally better off than those from whom they beg. The return made to those who contribute to the convents is, that on Saturday all the priests offer their masses for the souls of those who have aided their convents by contribution or labour. At present there is a schism in the country order. All the monks north of Ibrahim river, are in rebellion against their superior-general. The movement commenced a year or two ago. They have driven away all the superiors and monks who belong to the farther south, have armed themselves, and taken possession of their convents. The patriarch's interference to support the authority of the superior-general, has only turned their wrath against him. The governing Emir has more than once sent soldiers to reduce them to obedience, but accomplished nothing. The Pope has been appealed to, and his orders have produced no effect. Their position of hostility they still maintain, and are encouraged in it by their countrymen inhabiting the districts in which the convents are situated. Some Maronites who are longing for a more complete downfall of the patriarch's power, almost expect that the affair will end in an extensive secession from the church. The irregular convents, or as they are called the convents of devotees, are independent of the three orders above described and of each other. They are founded by particular families, with special

conditions, one of which is that the superior in each convent shall be of the family of the founder. Each one has its own superior and laws, independent of every other, and the superior retains his office during life. These convents are in all respects under the superintendence of the bishop of the diocese in which they are situated. He inspects their accounts, and presides over them. What has been said of convents for men, applies in general to nunneries. They are also regular and irregular. The regular are divided among the same three orders, and subject to the superiors-general. They must be in all cases at least forty cubits distant from any convent for men. An entrance-fee is demanded of every candidate for admission, varying from 500 to 10,000 piastres, according to her ability, and the necessities of the establishment. The nuns, like the monks, take the vow of chastity, poverty, and obedience. They are all taught to read, at least Syriac, in order to be able to assist in worship at their chapels. In this they take a public part, especially in chanting. Schools for children, or young persons, they have none. Their work is sewing and embroidery; chiefly embroidery of a species of charm, called garments of the Virgin, which they make for sale. Their costume is a dress of cotton cloth, coloured black. The devotee nunneries are like the similar establishments for males; except that the superiors of them are frequently changed. The nunnery at Aintura, though occupied by native females, is subject to European rules, and has its support from abroad. The employment of its inmates does not differ from that of the others. The income of all the convents and nunneries of the sect, is supposed to amount to 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 piastres. Of this, about 1,000,000 are from masses, contributions, and vows; the rest from lands, houses, mills, and the like. The old Emir Beshir is said to have given the monks or the patriarch 600,000 piastres annually for masses for the whole family of the Shehabs. The landed property of the convents is immense, and until the late civil war was rapidly increasing. Formerly it was exempt from taxation, but the present government has assessed it at the same rate as all other real estates."

This particular statement, by our American brethren, though principally statistical, is necessary to our right understanding of the present Maronite society. In connection with it, however, I must call your attention to the following striking passage from a communication

which I have just received from my respected and valued friend, the Rev. William Graham of Damascus. "In Lebanon the conventical system is in the most vigorous operation. In most other countries these institutions have been on the decline since the era of the Reformation; but on the goodly mountain fanaticism and superstition, like the power of its vegetation, have been increasing and multiplying with startling luxuriance. The waters, the trees, and the fertility of Lebanon are well known. Filled with villages and teeming with population, these charming valleys and sunny terraces, where the choicest fruits of the earth reach their highest perfection, have in every age formed a refuge for Christianity against its ruthless and relentless persecutors. The Moslems have never possessed it. Its deep passes, easily defended, and its stout hardy mountaineers, have presented formidable barriers to the progress of the Crescent; and, at this moment, were the Druses and Christians united, they might proclaim their independence, and successfully bid defiance to the Moslem world. But the abundance and variety of Nature's gifts are the very conditions in which alienated human nature finds the fittest opportunity for the development of its evil! Division perverts their councils, and fanaticism stains their conduct, and the heathenish Druse and the superstitious Maronite are hardly distinguishable from each other in the moralities and charities of life. In the extensive district of Kasrawán a Protestant would not be allowed to settle; and, if he could be permitted to pass through it with insult or injury, he might be very thankful. This is the result of the Monastic Institutions, for the peasants are a quiet, tranquil, and industrious race. The whole mountain is filled with convents. Their numbers I do

not know; but it must be prodigious. Some of them, like that of the Deir el Kalla are very rich, possess the choicest old wines of the country, and the reputation of indulging in the unnatural enormities which brought destruction on the cities of the plain. Many of the monks are totally ignorant, and can neither read nor write. In such circumstances, it may easily be imagined how incompetent their motives, hopes and fears, must be to control, not the vices of our nature only, but its very principles also! Apostolic morality is not sufficient. They aim at the supposed angelic excellency of the celibate, and they fall into pollutions below the level of the brutes."

The number of priests among the Maronites, which the patriarch's agent states at 1205, is given at between 700 and 1000 by the American Missionaries.* It will have been observed that it is much in excess of the number of churches. The Pope has been obliged to make a compromise with the Maronites in the matter of the marriage of the clergy. As it is no objection to the priests that they take a wife, before entering into sacred orders, most of them are married men. They are not permitted, however, to marry at all, should they happen to take priest's orders before marriage, and not permitted to remarry, when they are bereaved after being in the priesthood. The literary qualifications required of the clergy are not of the highest character. They must be able to read Arabic, the vernacular tongue of the people among whom they officiate, and in which the gospels and epistles are partly read in the churches, and Syriac, the language in which the Pope, in deference to that custom with which he doubtless

* Miss. Herald, Sept. 1845.

durst not interfere, has permitted their masses and liturgical services, properly so called, to be performed. It is worthy of notice, that they are elected to office by the people of their parishes, who, notwithstanding their professed subjection to ecclesiastical dignitaries of the various grades which we have already mentioned, and even to the great Pope himself, have, by the right of call and nomination which they hold and exercise, retained more of their inherent liberty, in these most important matters, than the majority of the Christian protestant bodies of Europe. The priests are ordained by the diocesan bishops or the patriarch, under whose superintendence they labour. Their duties are similar to those of Roman priests in general, with the addition, to a great extent, of those of civil judgment and arbitration among the people of their charge. They are not allowed now to follow any secular profession, though they may be occasionally seen working in the fields, gardens, vineyards, and mulberry plantations, for which Lebanon is so celebrated. It is no part of their business as priests to preach to the people, though, as I noticed when among them, they occasionally add a few remarks to the lessons which they read. Most of them are quite incapable of composing a sermon. The churches in which they officiate are in general little to be distinguished from those of the better class of residences belonging to the higher classes of the inhabitants of Lebanon. They have all bells attached to them, which are tolerably distinct intimations of their comparative independence of the oppression of the Turks, to whose ears nothing is more abhorrent than the public call to Christian worship. Those into which I entered were destitute of seats. The images of the Saviour and the Virgin which they con-

tained were very rude and of small dimensions ; and in some instances coarse pictures appeared to be occupying their place. One church at Jebeil or Biblus, described particularly by Maundrell, appeared to be very ancient. The priests have parsonage houses of their own ; but the produce of their glebes is applied by the churchwardens to defray the ordinary expenses of the churches. Their pay, which is derived from the portions of produce offered to them by the people, and by fees for baptisms, masses, marriages, and funerals, is, though small according to our reckonings, quite sufficient for their comfortable living.* Unmarried priests generally have no parishes, owing to the unwillingness of the Maronites to allow their women to approach them in the confessional. They are superiors of convents, or employed, under their superiors, in the discharge of special duty.

The patriarch's agent alludes to the preachers of the Maronites who are connected with the national mission. The American Missionaries mention the names of eight individuals who are at present distinguished for their services in this department. "These," they say, "have authority to preach wherever they may be. Besides them very few others are known as preachers..... Preaching is considered by the Maronites to have been one of the peculiar offices of our Saviour, and a preacher is very highly respected. No one is allowed to undertake this duty without a written permission from the patriarch, or the bishop of the diocese. Occasionally permission is given to laymen to officiate as preachers. The head-quarters of the national college of preachers, it

* The American Missionaries say, " Their income altogether ordinarily amounts to not more than 2000 piastres, but is sometimes as high as 9000." *Miss. Herald, Sept. 1845.*

is intended should be at A'intúra, formerly belonging to the Jesuit missionaries. For the institution the patriarch has already secured certain endowments. "Besides the Maronite preachers," say the American Missionaries, "certain Latin monks of the Jesuit, Capuchin, and Franciscan orders, also undertake the office of preaching in the convents, and sometimes in the neighbouring churches, as missionaries of the pope; but in consequence of their limited command of the language (the Arabic) they are imperfectly understood. The people consequently do not respect them, and sometimes treat them with derision."*

When I was in Syria, I made some inquiries into the state of education among the Maronites, and visited some of their schools, one of which is generally to be found in every considerable village of the country. These humble institutions are taught sometimes by the priests, and sometimes by lay-instructors. At some places they meet in summer within or around the churches, and at others in houses specially appropriated to their use. The reading of Arabic and Syriac is taught in them, in the olden style, and with a very small supply of books. Of those in the Syriac language, I procured some specimens. They have been printed at the press of the convent of Kazheiyah, the only one belonging to the Maronites, and the workmanship of which is very indifferent. They consist principally of scripture extracts and prayers. Many books for the use of the Maronites and other eastern Christians, both in Arabic and Syriac, are printed at Rome.

For the information which I possess respecting the higher seminaries of the Maronites, I am principally in-

* Miss. Herald, Sept. 1845, p. 318.

debted to the excellent American Missionaries, who are labouring with great zeal and ability to diffuse among them, and the other Christian bodies of Syria, a knowledge of the principles of evangelical religion. Of colleges, or high schools, they have eight: three *general*; those of A'in Warkah and Rumiah in the Kasrawán, and Már A'bd Harhareiyah in the Fatúh, which receive pupils from all parts of the country, and from all sects of Christians: three *diocesan*; those of Mar Yohánná Máron of the See of Jebeil, Mishmúshah near Jazzín of the See of Sidon, and of Karnet Shehwán in the Kati'a, of the See of Cyprus; and two *monastic*; those of Bír Suneih and Kenfán. The Maronites may send six scholars also to the Propaganda at Rome. Attendance at these colleges, on the part of candidates for the priesthood, is not compulsory; and but few persons, comparatively, avail themselves of their advantages. Some of their pupils are the friends and relatives of the Sheikhs, and wish to remain laymen. The branches taught in the higher colleges, according to the American Missionaries, are "Syriac, Arabic grammar, logic, moral theology, and preaching; and in A'in Warkah, there have been introduced, Latin, Italian, rhetoric, physics, and philosophy. Doctrinal theology was once taught for a time, but being found to lead the scholars into reasoning that inclined them to Protestantism, it was abandoned.....The number already graduated amounts to about 105.....It should be remarked, that among these graduates, and especially among those of A'in Warkah, there are some of enlightened and liberal minds, who have more or less inclination for evangelical truth. One of our most valued native helpers, who is also an esteemed brother in our little church, spent eight

years in A'in Warkah." This individual, I had the pleasure of seeing in Syria. Asa'ad esh Shidiak was also a scholar of the same academy; and the missionaries state that it was his vow of obedience to the patriarch, which enabled this spiritual tyrant to seize, persecute, and finally to secure his destruction.

From the incidental notices which I have just given, you must have observed, that the Romish Church, in order to get the Maronites to recognise the headship of the Pope, has been obliged to make with them compromises of no insignificant character. These and other concessions it may be well now collectively to mention. To use the words of Cerri, the secretary of the Propaganda, in his confidential review, presented to Innocent XI, of all the Roman Catholic missions throughout the world, they are "governed by a Patriarch, whom they call 'Patriarch of Antioch,' [*with the concurrence of the Pope,*] though the Patriarch of Antioch is a Greek, who resides at Damascus."* They have been allowed to maintain most of their own customs and observances, however much at variance with those which Rome is usually content to sanction. They are allowed to preserve their own ecclesiastical language, the Syriac, while Rome has shewn her partiality for the Latin rite, by bringing it into use wherever practicable, as in the case of the community to which we shall next have occasion to advert. They dispense the communion in both kinds, dipping the bread in wine before its distribution among the people. Though they now observe the Roman

* Cerri's State of the Rom. Cath. Rel. (Steele's trans.), p. 91.—The Pope has now recognised other two "Patriarchs of Antioch," the head of the Greek Catholics, and the head of the Syrian Catholics, whom we shall afterwards have occasion to notice!

calendar, as far as the time of feasts and fasts is concerned, they recognise local saints which have no place in its commemorations. They have retained the custom of the marriage of their clergy previous to their ordination. Though they profess to be zealous partizans of Rome, it dare not so count upon their attachment as to force upon them all that in ordinary circumstances it thinks desirable. In order to secure its present influence over them, it is subjected to an expense of no small magnitude.

I conclude these notices of the Maronites, by saying that, in a civil point of view, there is much in their circumstances deserving of attention. From the time of their subjection to an annual tribute by Murad the Third in 1584, they have contrived, under many difficulties, and frequently with a display of great valour, to preserve for themselves a large degree of independence. The Druses, however,—who took their rise about the beginning of the eleventh century, from the propagation in the mountains of Syria of the monstrous doctrines of the apotheosis of the fanatical Khalif El-Hákim of Cairo by ed-Derází, from whom they derive their name, and Hamza, the son of Ahmad, another Persian sufi and messenger, — gradually became a more powerful, though not a more numerous body than themselves. Fakr ed-Dín, the Emir Beshír, or chief noble, of the latter, got the predominance over the Maronite Emir and sheikhs and people, about the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries; but the Maronites, nevertheless, maintained their ground as a people in their own districts, and, devoting themselves principally to agriculture, they have continued to multiply and increase in numbers to the extent

which they have now reached. The family of Fakr ed-Dín became extinct about the beginning of last century, and the Maronite family of Sheháb,—in Wádí et-Teim, near Mount Hermon, where the mountains of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon unite together,—which had been allied to it in marriage, was by the election of the sheikhs called to the exercise of authority in the mountains. After serious disturbances with Jezzár Páshá of Acre, which led to various changes, the celebrated Emir Beshir, at first a Druse, got possession, in 1790, of the chieftainship, which he retained for about half a century. This individual, for political reasons, made a sort of profession of Christianity, and joined the Maronites, persuading, at the same time, the Emirs of Metn, and the house of Belimmah, with whom his family intermarried, to follow his example. When Muhammad A'lí, the Páshá of Egypt, extended his pretensions to Syria, this chief declared for his interests, whilst the leaders of the Druses were friendly to the cause of the Sultán. When the four allied powers of Europe, however, in 1840, determined on the expulsion of Muhammad A'lí from Syria, and the Maronites, who had been armed anew by our country, began to co-operate, the Emír Beshír succeeded to a certain extent in stirring up the Druses, who had been offended by the treatment which they had received from the Maronites in the few preceding years, to a threatened support of the Páshá. The Emír, in the course of events, was forced to withdraw to Malta and Constantinople, and the Druses succumbed. The Egyptian rule in the country was terminated; and another Emír Beshír of the house of Sheháb was appointed in the name of the Sultán; the chief control of the mountains, however, being reserved for the Turkish

governor-general of Syria, the Páshá of the united districts of Tripoli and Sidon. The Maronite patriarch so wrought upon his people, that they proceeded to such a harsh treatment of the Druses as goaded them to civil war in 1841. Their feuds have been renewed in the present year, with a fearful destruction of life and property. The Turkish government has again, as far as practicable, disarmed both parties; but it is probable that matters will not long remain quiet. Communications which I have lately received from Syria, written by gentlemen who have the best opportunity of observing the country, and forming an impartial judgment of its weal and its woe, to some extent blame the Maronite patriarch and his priests, and the emissaries of Rome, for the late calamities. If they are founded in fact, as I fear they are, they convey both warning and instruction which are not to be despised. On these matters, however, it is not expected that at present I should enlarge.

II. THE EASTERN LATIN CHURCH.

Christianity had its early triumphs among the Roman officials and subjects in Syria, and other parts of the East who used the Roman tongue; and when prelatical ambition began to influence the Christian community, Cesarea, the Roman capital of Palestine, gradually asserted its superiority over Jerusalem, where the work of human redemption was accomplished. The great majority of the Christian inhabitants of the country, however, at this time, spoke the Syrian and Greek languages, the first of which, being strictly cognate with the Hebrew, may be said to be almost indigenous, while the

latter, in consequence of the conquests of Alexander the Great and his successors, had obtained such a footing, that it was found impossible to dismiss it altogether from use, even in the public business of the Roman empire.

On the conversion of the Emperor Constantine to Christianity, and the introduction of the monastic system into the Holy Land from Egypt about the same time, great multitudes of pilgrims began to rush to the country, in order personally to survey the hallowed scenes of Bible history, and of the greatest events which have been recorded in the annals of time. These pious, or rather superstitious, devotees came from the very ends of the earth, and many of them from the countries in which the language, as well as the influence, of Rome was predominant. In the year 372, the celebrated Jerome retired to the deserts of Syria, and shortly afterwards he went to Jerusalem and Bethlehem to study the Hebrew language. After having been secretary to the Pope at Rome, he finally took up his abode in the mountains of Bethlehem, where he continued engaged in literary works, some of which were of the greatest importance, till his death in 420. Paula, a noble lady whom he had instructed at Rome, about this time proceeded to the same destination, where she is said to have built four monasteries. These and similar institutions were available to all bodies of the church-catholic, belonging both to the west and the east. Toward the end of the sixth century, when divisions to a considerable extent had appeared in these bodies, particularly in connexion with the monophysite and other controversies concerning the person of Christ, and when the bishop of the new Rome, or Constantinople, began to rival the Pope in his pretensions, Gregory the Eighth sent the abbot Probus to Jerusa-

lem for the erection of a hospice, particularly designed for the accommodation of the western pilgrims. Other conventual establishments were founded and repaired by Romanists, as that of Sancta Maria de Latina by the merchants of Amalpi in Italy, about the close of the tenth century. The oppression of the pilgrims by the Saracens soon afterwards reached its height, and the hosts of Europe, scarcely less ferocious than the warriors of the desert, took possession of the country, and established their government in the land. They kept possession of Jerusalem for eighty-eight years, and of other parts of the country for a longer period. Though, in their ecclesiastical establishment, they professed to regard the authority of the Christians of the Greek rite, of whom they avowed themselves to be the liberators, they acted always under the strongest Roman bias and supported the interests of the Pope. They formed an extensive church establishment of their own, embracing the Sees of the Greeks.

The Church of Rome has long ago made new arrangements and dispositions of the Eastern Sees, extinguishing some of them or making them merely titular. The only remains of the Church establishment of the Crusaders at present in the East are the monastic institutions of the Terra Sancta, intrusted to the friars Minorites of the Observance, better known among us as the Franciscan monks, who are the recognised custodiers and guardians of the holy places, and the pastors of the small portion of the population which adheres to the Latin ritual. Of these I shall allow the Romanists to give their own account. "They," the monks now mentioned, "are indebted for this glorious inheritance to the piety of their patriarch St Francis, who, with twelve of

his earliest disciples, sought in Syria the labours of the apostleship and the crown of martyrdom. This last he failed to obtain, but he secured for his order the privilege of praying and dying between the cradle and the sepulchre of Christ; and to this day these good monks, whose costume even the infidels respect, and whose hospitality calls down the benedictions of numerous pilgrims, have a roof and an altar at Jerusalem, at Bethlehem, at Nazareth, at Jaffa; indeed, wherever the history of redemption has left a memorial. Their superior, whose title is 'Most Reverend Warden,' and who holds his appointment immediately from Rome, has under his direction about 100 Italian or Spanish priests, divided among twenty-two convents, and having under their pastoral care 11,000 Latin Catholics residing in their vicinity; thirty-eight secular priests and sixty lay brethren take part in their labours: two colleges, raised by their industry, contain more than 460 students. Europe, however, seems to esteem lightly these good deeds, which do her so much honour in the eyes of foreigners. The alms of the crowns of Spain and Portugal have ceased, and the guardians of the Holy Land must have left the post of honour in which the church has placed them, if the Society for the Propagation of the Faith had not pledged their daily bread."*

The grants made to these Monastic Institutions by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, now the principal organ of the support and extension of the papal cause in foreign parts, according to the report for 1844, was 25,267 francs 16 cents. It is entered "to the Most Reverend Guardian of Jerusalem for the Missions of the Holy Land."

* Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1840.

Of the convents now referred to, I am able from my personal inquiry in Syria, and the assistance which I have derived from my fellow travellers, Messrs Smith and Graham, to mention the stations. They are those of Jerusalem, where there are two convents, Bethlehem, A'in Karim, or St John's in the Desert, near Jerusalem, Ramlah, Yáffa, Nazareth, Haifa (now reduced to non-entity), A'kka, Sidon, Harissa, Tripoli, Latakía, Aleppo, Damascus, Constantinople, Larnica, and Nicosia in Cyprus, Rosetta, Alexandria, Cairo and Faiyum in Egypt, and Beirut. In several of these establishments I lodged during my journey in the East, and to others of them I paid a visit. The monks, with a few exceptions, are quite incapable of communicating instruction in the vernacular languages of the people among whom they officiate ; and, at present at least, they are making little or no progress in the work of proselytism. Though one or two of their number dispense the papal sacraments among the people of the Latin rite who dwell in their neighbourhood, a great part of their time is occupied in the entertainment of pilgrims and travellers, who generally present them with an equivalent for the attention and kindness which they receive at their hands. I observed when among them nothing in their personal conduct which I thought particularly censurable, though I noticed abundant reasons for mourning over the delusion and superstition by which they themselves are influenced, and by which they effectually influence their fellow men. My friend Mr Graham, who has the best opportunities of learning their actual state, thus adverts to their position and practice. "In the Holy Land, the fires of superstition have found for many years their most appropriate fuel. Here the wonders

of Divine condescension, and the truths which have brightened and might have illuminated the moral world, have been pressed into the service of cruel fanaticism and degrading superstition. Morality is separated from religion, and the agency of the divine Quickener attached to formalities only, so that the free Spirit, if he move at all, must flow in the channels which ignorant man has prepared for him! Indeed, I may observe here, that the work of the Holy Ghost in quickening and sustaining the divine life in the soul, as understood and preached in Europe and England, is altogether unknown in the East. The Americans have been labouring here for more than a quarter of a century, and they never found a native Christian who had any notion of spiritual agency apart from forms, and especially the breathing in the act of baptism and the imposition of hands in ordination. In the midst of these dark and hazy sentiments in which the mind of the Oriental Churches is shrouded, what must be the influence of the monastic institute with its grinding ritual services, and under the powerful but indescribable awe of holy places! No mind could stand it. The delusion is so deep, the ingredients of the fatal draught so subtle and overpowering, that the most masculine understanding must eventually sink before it. Jerome was the greatest man of his age, yet he wrote the life of St Anthony, recorded and believed (I suppose, and even hope) all his fables, in which there is nothing more ridiculous in Homer, Ovid, or even Alban Butler! This Institute, like the cup of Circe, has brutalized the human nature wherever it chanced to prevail, and no Ulysses has yet been found to break the spell of the sorceress.

‘ Sirenum voces et Circes pocula nosti,
 Quæ si cum sociis stultus cupidusque bibisset,
 Sub domina meretrice fuisset, turpis et excors,
 Vivisset canis immundus vel amica luto sus.’

Yet, this is the system which the Oxfordists are labouring with all their might to introduce into free and protestant England! Would they indeed like the Christians of London to become like those of Jerusalem, Cairo, or Damascus? It may be so, and God in his wrath may give us up to the devices of our own hearts, and incline us to listen to their delusions; but blind and stubborn must be the fanaticism which can labour and pray for such an awful situation!”

Besides the Terra Sancta monks, we have several other European fathers in the Holy Land, and in the countries adjoining. “Several monastic orders,” says the report for 1840 of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, “have been desirous to be represented by some of their members at this rendezvous of all Christian tradition. They are by no means inactive there. 1. The Carmelite fathers have rebuilt the useful retreat which they have possessed from time immemorial on Mount Carmel, the first seat of their order, and chief place of their missions in Palestine. Five of them reside there. 2. The reverend fathers, the Capuchins, reckon four missions, Beirut, Tripoli, Damascus, lately stained with blood by the murder of one of them; Aleppo, where their charity supports one school; and three other stations on Mount Lebanon. 3. The reverend fathers, the Jesuits, having re-established their ancient residence on Mount Lebanon, are labouring with an effective zeal to found a college at Beyrout. 4. Messrs, the congregation of St Lazarus have four missions, occupied by six priests;

Antoura, with a college; Aleppo, Damascus, with two schools for both sexes; Tripoli, with two stations, and the schools of Eden and Sgorta." All this is exclusive of what is called, "The Apostolic Delegation of Mount Lebanon and Apostolic Vicariate of Aleppo," of which it is said in the same document, "The Latin Catholics of Aleppo, to the number of about 1000, are alone under the immediate jurisdiction of the Apostolic vicar; but the prelate, who bears that title, is also the representative of the holy see, to the patriarchs of the United Communions which are spread through those countries."

The Carmelites here alluded to, have within these few years, and principally by the exertions of one of their number, Jean Baptiste, erected large and extensive buildings on the Mount from which their name is derived. They principally devote themselves to the rites of hospitality, and every person who may have paid them a visit, admits that their "hotel," for such it may be called, is the best in Syria. The Jesuits commenced their labours at Aleppo in 1625, and they brought high talent and learning to bear on the work of bringing the Oriental Christians within the pale of Rome. Judging from a manuscript Arabic and Latin Dictionary, in the handwriting of one of their number, bearing the date of 1638, which I procured at Bombay, I should think that they applied themselves to the study of the Eastern languages with a devotion seldom surpassed. As soon as practicable, they established three congregations respectively for the Franks, Armenians, and Maronites and Syrians. They generated and encountered much opposition from the páshá and the communities among whom they laboured. They enjoyed the protection of the French authorities, and in 1679, the king

of France, in order to give facility to their labours, appointed them chaplains to his consulate. They brought a considerable number of persons within the pale of the Romish Church, and to contentment with the Roman ritual; and they paved the way for the ultimate establishment of the papal Greek, papal Armenian, and papal Syrian sects. About the year 1717, if I can guess the date, they professed to have brought over to their views the patriarchs of Antioch, Damascus, and Alexandria.* The Jesuits of Aleppo, says one of my correspondents, are "subtle, insinuating men of the world, mixing with the Frank society, and the upper classes of that voluptuous and profligate city. Their morality is of the loosest kind." He even, on the best authority, gives them a worse character, adding, however, that they are now all removed, with a single exception. The Jesuits established themselves at Damascus about the middle of the 17th century. Respecting that place, Father Rousset, one of their number, when writing a century later, says, that then "there were not more there than three Catholic families."† The Cordelier and Capuchin fathers had preceded them; but they durst not extend their labours to any people but the Maronites, whom they served as curates, when they were permitted by the patriarch. The Jesuits opened a public school.‡ As the name of Jesuit in the east, is even perhaps more horrible and abominable than in the west, the Jesuits at Damascus, Aleppo, and some other places, denominate themselves Lazarists, or brethren of the company

* See Father Nacchi's communication in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, vol. i.

† *Lettres Edif. et Cur.* vol. i. p. 118.

‡ *Ibid.*

of Paul of Vincent, a fact which those who seek to trace their movements in different parts of the world would do well to keep in mind. At present there are at Damascus two convents of Latins, supported entirely by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, and striving to extend the influence of the Pope. They complimented the Presbyterian missionaries to the Jews, on their establishment in that important city, by denouncing them from the altar. They have a school, into which I looked, with 130 boys learning Arabic, and 36 learning French. Of the proceedings of the other monks and missionaries in the other parts of Syria, comprehended in the Delegation of Mount Lebanon, I must draw upon the interesting paper of the American Missionaries, from which I have already made one or two extracts:—

“ In this part of Syria, there are four *Capuchin convents* ; namely, one at Beirut, with seven or eight monks, one at Solima with two or three, one at Ghazir, now empty, and one at 'Abeih, with one monk. They never preach in Arabic, and indeed are ignorant of the language. Nor do they hardly ever have any thing to do with schools. A little school, with some twenty children at 'Abeih, opened since our mission was established there, is a solitary exception. They are proverbial for their inactivity and quietness ; and usually live a sort of hermit's life, hardly having to do with anything outside of their convents. All they usually attempt for the natives is to confess such as come to them, and say mass for them. Their income is from their order, and from contributions in the country.

A single convent at 'Aintura belongs to the *Lazarists*. In it are three or four monks, who keep a boarding school of considerable value. In this are usually some thirty or forty scholars, all boarders. The Shehab and Khazin families have each the right to send to it two scholars to be gratuitously educated ; their expenses being paid by assistance from France. The rest pay from twelve hundred to twenty-four hundred piastres a-year for board and tuition ; furnishing themselves with clothing, and buying their books of the establishment. The branches taught are Italian, French.

Turkish, Arabic grammar, and a little of astronomy and mathematics. No regard is had to the religion of those who enter, but when there, they are obliged to receive the religious instruction that is given, and attend the daily worship of the convent. The Lazarists have nothing to do with Arabic preaching, and confine their labours to their school.

“Of old the *Jesuits* had establishments at Solima, Bakfeiyah, 'Aintura, and Zgharta, which had passed into other hands, or become deserted, until about 1836, when the order made its appearance again in these parts. The number of members which have arrived is still small, not exceeding eight or nine. But they have given indications of having an abundance of means at command, and large plans in prospect. At Beirut they some time ago bought property for one hundred thousand piastres, built a chapel, erected a bell, and were going on with extensive improvements. But the attention of the Turkish government was directed to them soon after its restoration to Syria, and they were ordered to stop. It turned out that, as a society, they have no European protection, therein differing from all the other European monastic establishments in the land, which are by treaty under French protection. And as no consul interposed in their behalf, they were obliged to discontinue their building, and take down their bell. But, with the exception of the bell, they retained the ground they had gained. A school they had opened was continued, and worship in their chapel was not interrupted. The latter is attended by large numbers, chiefly Maronites. The school has upwards of a hundred scholars, who come from all sects, even the Druses and Moslems. It is only a day-school, and most of the scholars merely learn to read and write. There are, however, classes in Arabic grammar, Italian, and French. Three native teachers are employed, and instruction is gratuitous. The *Jesuits* themselves conduct the daily worship of the chapel,—which all the Christian pupils are required to attend,—give instructions in religion and morals, and study themselves the Arabic language. They have also bought an Emir's palace at Ghazir for 165,000 piastres, which they are fitting up for an extensive boarding-school. In the mean time, they have established there an extensive day-school, which contains from thirty to thirty-five scholars. In it are taught Arabic reading and writing, and a little Italian. In the convent at Salima, now in the hands of the Capuchins, they have another common day-school of about the same size. They have also a small school at their estab-

lishment at Bakfeiyah. At Muallat Zahleh they have also made a lodgment ; and they were attempting to erect an establishment in Zahleh, but some misunderstanding occurred between them and the inhabitants, and the latter obliged them to retire. But at Beirut and Mount Lebanon, it is not known that they have formed any establishments ; and their revival in this vicinity is generally understood to be for the purpose of raising up an influence antagonist to the encroachments of Protestantism. But for fear of these, the Maronite patriarch, it is believed, would not tolerate them, as he is known to dislike them. They have the reputation here, as everywhere, of being the best defenders and propagators of the Romish faith, and of meddling in politics as well as religion. Report characterises them as learned, wise, well-conducted, self-denying, mild, and winning. They are looked upon as having a sort of charm, by which they are able to gain the good-will and confidence of all with whom they have to do. In fact, however, they seem not to have been so very successful in these their late attempts at education. We hear many complaints among the papists themselves, that their scholars do not learn ; and there is an opinion forming, that their schools are not worth much. . . . The Pope is always represented in Syria by a legate, of the rank of a bishop, who resides in a convent at 'Aintura, appropriated to him. His duty is to make annual circuits among the Roman Catholics of every sect, visiting their patriarchs, bishops, convents, and leading men, and report to the Pope whatever needs attention ; such as disagreement between patriarchs and their bishops, mismanagement of ecclesiastical funds, and the like. If he finds books in circulation opposed to the papal faith, he is expected to see them burnt or otherwise destroyed. He also acts as a judge in certain causes that are carried up to him by the people ; provided he do not interfere in the affairs of the patriarch and bishops, where he has no canonical right to do so. If he pursues a course displeasing to the clergy and laity, they can complain to the Pope and procure his recall. Neither he nor the Pope has a claim upon the people of Syria for any income. But the legate receives presents from the clergy of all ranks,—the convents, and the leading men of the laity. Besides these, he has a stipend from the Pope, amounting to about sixty thousand piastres. Besides this agency of the legate, any of the bishops have a right to address the Pope himself, either through their patriarch or directly ; and that on any subject. But a personal visit to Rome they can-

not make, without having written thither first and obtained permission.*

In addition to the monasteries of the Holy Land, and the establishments of the Vicariate-apostolic of Aleppo, sometimes called the Delegation of Lebanon, the Latins have an archbishopric of Smyrna, and bishoprics of Chio, Famagousta, and Babylon in Asia.

Of the state of matters at *Smyrna*, the Rev. Mr Calhoun, one of the American Missionaries whom I had the pleasure of meeting in the East, gives the following account in a paper which has been forwarded to me by one of his brethren. "There are in Smyrna, one Roman Catholic bishop (archbishop) and sixty-seven priests. Of the latter, forty are secular or parish clergy, nine are Capuchins, seven are Zoccalonti, ten are Lazarists, and one is a Dominican. The Capuchins or Zoccalonti are friars of the Franciscan order, and derive their names, the one from their hoods, and the other from their wooden shoes. There are also twelve 'Sisters of Charity.' In Smyrna there are three large churches and two chapels. One of the latter is in the French Seamen's hospital. There is also a church at Bujah, and another at Burnabit. The churches in Smyrna are usually known by the names of French, Austrian, and Lazarist. The regularly officiating clergy in the French church are the Capuchins; in the Austrian, the Zoccalonti; and in the Lazarist, the Lazarist priests. The Capuchins and the Zoccalonti have each a monastery. The Lazarite priests have an elementary school of about three hundred boys. The 'Sisters of Charity' have a school of about three hundred girls. The branches taught by the latter are read-

* Missionary Herald, Oct. 1845.

ing, writing, sewing, and embroidery. The college of the Propaganda is under the direction of the bishop, and contains about two hundred pupils, fifty of whom board in the establishment. Most of the professors are of the secular clergy. Among them are three Armeno-Catholic priests. Languages are chiefly taught in the Propaganda. Instruction is given in some of the higher branches of science, but the means to this end are limited. Few conversions to the Roman Catholic faith, as far as we know, occur in Smyrna and the vicinity. The system is principally aggressive, we apprehend, by means of the schools. Considerable numbers of youth, even Protestant youth, are thus brought under the influence of the Roman priesthood; and the result will probably be, either that they will become papists, or be indifferent to all religions. Among the Protestants there are few who are decidedly anti-Roman Catholic. Of the papal population in Smyrna and the adjacent villages, we cannot speak with certainty. There are probably from eight to ten thousand. This estimate does not include a few papal Armenians and Greeks." When I was at Smyrna a public examination was held of the Jesuit college there. It was attended by the French admiral, then at the place, and by the officers of his suite.

The Roman Catholics by whom the Latin rite is observed at *Constantinople*, are under the apostolic vicar of that place, and are principally the descendants of the Genoese and Venetians, who have long been established in Pera and Galata, the European merchants, and the members and agents of the different embassies of the countries which profess the faith of Rome. A good many individuals, too, some of high influence and attainments, are connected with the Russian, Prussian, and Eng-

lish embassies at the Sublime Porte. Before the foundation of the Greek-Catholic Church, the Jesuit and other missionaries at this place were successful in bringing considerable numbers of the members of the Greek Church within the pale of the Romish Church;* but these now form a distinct community. The Latinists generally enjoy the protection of the European ambassadors, and are not considered as the direct subjects of the Porte. They are reckoned about 9000 in number at the capital. Another thousand, according to information which I have received from an active and learned member of the American Mission there, Mr Homes, may be thus distributed:—At Adrianople 170; Rodonto 42; Buyukdereh on the Bosphorus, 419; Dardanelles 30; Brusa 46; Trebizond 36; Enos 33; Nicomedia 20; Erzerum 13; Angora, Sinope, and Samson, 29; Salonica 150; besides a few in other places. This estimate is exclusive of papal strangers. How diligent the Latinists at Constantinople are, will appear from the following details, furnished by Mr Homes.

“ There are nine churches. Of these, two are parish churches in Galata, and two are parish churches in Pera. There are also nine ‘places of prayer;’ of these, three belong to the ambassadors of France, Spain, and Naples; two belong to the Franciscans; and four are in private houses. Houses of prayer are in fact churches, for the performance of all church ordinances. They exist as a subterfuge from the bigotry and intolerance of Mussulmans, which will not readily allow any new church to be built. There are churches at Adrianople, Rodosto, and Salonica. In 1843 there were forty-six priests, of whom twenty-one are secular or parish clergy, and twenty-five are regular or monastic clergy. There are two priests at Adrianople, one at Rodosto, three at Buyukdereh, three at Salonica, and all the rest are at Constantinople. The other places mentioned have no priests regularly. There are six religious com-

* *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, vol. i. *passim*.

munities of men, who also serve in some of the churches. Among the Dominicans in Galata there are five monks, with the Franciscans seven, with the Conventuals eight, with the Observantines one, with the Capuchins three, with the Lazarists eight. The Conventuals and Observantines are branches of the Franciscans. Three of the parishes have public schools. These, and the higher schools, are adapted to the spirit of the age as far as possible, and as far as Romanism can make it consistent. The Lazarists in the former Jesuit college of Saint Benoit at Galata, have a school, where gratuitous instruction is given to three hundred and fifty boys by the 'Brethren of Christian Doctrine,' a comparatively modern order. There is also connected with the same college a school of girls, containing about sixty boarding pupils, and the same number of day-scholars, under the supervision of the 'Sisters of Charity,' who live in the same building, but apart from the males. The Lazarists have also a college at Bebek, under their own immediate supervision, with about fifty pupils, (all but about seven or eight of whom are children of Europeans; perhaps three of them are Armenian-Catholics, and perhaps five are Armenians proper, supported by money from France.) Here they pretend to give a complete academical education, and to fit the students to receive honorary degrees at the Paris universities, the king of France having admitted the college to the same rank with the royal colleges. Young men of merit are also to have the privilege of being sent to France to be further educated. The course of instruction is similar to that of other academical institutions, but great pains are bestowed upon the religious education of the pupils. There is a school for boys and girls at Salonica. There are two or three private boarding and day schools in Pera, where the teachers and principals are papists. There is also a private boarding and day school for females of all nations, kept by an English Roman Catholic lady. In the Lazarist convent there are two printing presses, hitherto chiefly employed in mercantile printing, and in issuing reading books, almanacs, and catechisms; but it is now becoming more controversial. There are two plague hospitals, and two national hospitals, under the joint protection of France, Austria, and Sardinia. A house of refuge for the poor is under the joint protection of the Catholic Ambassadors."

Of the Latins in Egypt, I can say but little. The Pope has there, with a small establishment of priests

and monks, a new "Delegation Apostolic of Alexandria." The Latinists are principally found at Alexandria and Cairo; but the natives of the country belonging to their communion are but few in number. The following is the last papal notice which I have seen of proceedings on the banks of the Nile. "A new Delegation Apostolic embraces Egypt, Alexandria, Sees opened under the care of the congregation of St Vincent, a college, and a house of Nuns of Charity. The Fathers Minors [already alluded to in our notice of the Terra Sancta Convents] preserve these schools and hospitals, and the presence of the Latin clergy sustains the piety of the united Copts."* To the Coptic-Catholic Church here alluded to, I shall afterwards refer.

III. GREEK-CATHOLIC, OR, SO-CALLED, MELCHITE CHURCH.

Of this body, the following notice is given in the Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, in 1840. "This name [Greek Melchites] is given [surreptitiously] to the Catholics of Asia, who are attached to the Greek ceremonial. Their patriarch unites to the title of Antioch, the jurisdiction of Jerusalem and Alexandria. The number of bishoprics was lately nine,—Aleppo, Beirut, Acre, Bozrah, Zahleh and Ferzal, Heliopolis and Baalbek, Damascus. The last is under the administration of a patriarchal vicar. Three new Sees have been erected at Tripoli, and two other points. The clergy is filled up in part from the ranks of the order of St Basil, which has three distinct congregations in Syria. Catholics 50,000." From a more recent document, the

* Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1844.

General Statement for 1844, it would appear that the number of the superintending authorities of this sect has been lately increased.* The American Missionaries estimate the total number of Greek Catholics at between 30,000 and 40,000 souls.

As far as I can ascertain, the Greek-Catholic church is the fruit of the Jesuit missions to Aleppo, which, as already said, had their commencement in the year 1625. These crafty fathers soon saw that it was inexpedient to force their converts from the Greek church to the adoption of the Latin rites; and they, and the other Roman coadjutors in the east, in due time succeeded in getting the Papal authorities to sanction a compromise, on terms even more disadvantageous to Rome than we have seen exemplified in the case of the Maronites. The great object at which the Greek Catholics have sought after in their alliance with Rome, seems to be that of securing its assistance in disseminating among their families the civilization of the west, and securing greater splendour for their religious services. It has succeeded in getting from them little more than an acknowledgment of its supremacy, and the renouncement of the Greek dogma, that the procession of the Holy Spirit is from the father only. They retain the oriental calendar, regulating by it their feasts and fasts as therein entered, and according to the computation of what has been called the "old style." In Syria they celebrate their liturgical services in their vulgar tongue, the Arabic, which must be viewed as a

* "Melchite Greeks. Patriarch of Antioch.—Archbishoprics of Aleppo, Tyre, Bozra, Diarbekir, Seyd (Sidon) and Beyrouth.—Bishoprics of St Jean D'Acre, Furzoli, Baalbek, Tripoli and Homes.—12 bishops, 180 priests."

great desecration, as, according to Papal notions, nothing is sacred that is not mysterious. They receive the communion in both kinds, using unleavened bread and the cup, like the members of the Orthodox Greek Church from which they have separated. Their priests are allowed to marry before entering into sacred orders; but their bishops must observe the celibate. They claim the right of the popular use of the sacred scriptures, though alas! they too seldom avail themselves of its advantages. All that I have seen and heard of them, leads me to believe that they are amongst the most liberal and intelligent native Christians in the east.

It is at Aleppo and Damascus that the Greek Catholics are the most numerous and influential. In the latter place their patriarch usually resides; but he is at present at Constantinople seeking from the Turk such a confirmation of his jurisdiction, as he had had from the Egyptian government when it was in Syria. The title of "patriarch of Antioch" *κατ' ἐξουχίαν*, which is claimed by him, will not be accorded to him distinctively by the Turkish government, as Antioch is one of the established patriarchates of the Greek Church, which it constitutionally recognises. By persevering negotiation and bribery, however, he may be permitted to use the title in a restricted sense, as applied to his own sect, as he was allowed to do by the Egyptian government. The Greek Catholics have the most splendid church at Damascus, and it is at present their patriarchal cathedral; but in its services it is difficult to recognise the solemnity and simplicity of Christian worship. "The building inside is elegant," says Mr Graham; "and on festival days when brilliantly lighted up, the scene is grand and imposing. The floor is beautifully varie-

gated marble. The roof is ornate and lofty, is supported by a row of stately marble columns on either hand as you go in, and between these and the exterior walls and the female galleries. Seats there are none, save a few chairs around the walls and encircling the altar. Hundreds, I might almost say a thousand silver lamps, fill the house with insufferable brightness; while priests clothed in rich oriental costume are walking in solemn procession, and filling the house with incense almost insufferably pleasing, and accomplishing the service before the altar and in the neighbouring recesses. The people meantime are not idle. There is no order. They go and come just as they please. Some are kneeling and beating their brows before the *picture* of a favourite saint; others are gazing on the Virgin and her infant, and muttering inarticulate prayers; some are squatting on the marble, crossing, and bowing, and adoring before a hirsute monk of the olden time; some are standing upward making awkward genuflexions, and at intervals prostrating their foreheads on the stone-floor; some are talking with one another; all are intent, each at *his own business* whatever it is, and all is done aloud or in a mumbling muttering voice. Quiet silent prayer is not known or practised in the east. The bells are ringing, the priests are reading the service with a loud voice, and with the rapidity of lightning the censers are waving to and fro, filling the house with odours; the people are kneeling, standing, sitting, muttering prayers, talking, prostrating, weeping, sighing, beating their breasts, making the *common prayer* (so called), a scene of sound and confusion without parallel, save in the synagogues of Sáfed and Tiberias. Attached to this church are very good school-rooms, and an Episcopal house, which

the patriarch occupies when in Damascus. The popish patriarch is Maximus Mazlúm, and has done more than any other to confirm, extend, and consolidate the papal interest in the east. He is clever, restless, and intriguing, a good oriental scholar, and thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his mission. He published an Arabic grammar at Rome, and presented it to the National Greek Melchite-College of Ain-Teráz in Mount Lebanon in the year 1830. I sometimes use it. He was formerly Archbishop of Aleppo."

Of the Greek Catholics in Syria, the American Missionaries, whose estimate of the body I have already mentioned, give some further statistical information, which I may here bring before your attention: "The sect has only about fifty-five priests, of whom a large part are unmarried. The reason of there being so few is, that the duties of their office in cities are generally discharged by monks.....The Greek Catholic convents and nunneries are of two orders; viz., the Mákhállisíyeh, and the Shaweiríyeh. Their regulations differ not materially from the Maronites.....To these fourteen convents and three nunneries should be added about ten coenobia. The whole number of monks is about two hundred and fifty, and of nuns ninety. The Greek Catholics have one printing establishment. It belongs to the convent of Shaweir, and is worked entirely by the monks. Only one small font of type belongs to it; but for this they have the punches and matrices..... It has been employed almost exclusively in printing ecclesiastical books; and for the last year or two has done very little. The Greek Catholics are more generally able to read than the other Christians, though they less frequently have schools of their own.....Their

patriarch is an educated man, and, some years ago, he founded a college for his sect at 'Ainterâz, in the Jurd. But the progress of its organization was slow, and at the time of the Druse war the building was burnt, the valuable library scattered, and the establishment completely ruined. The Greek Catholics have now no college. But the convent of Mâkhallis, having one or two learned monks, and a library of some value, receives scholars and renders valuable service to the cause of education. It did much more before the Druse war than since."*

There are a few members of the Greek-Catholic Church in Egypt. I was introduced at Cairo to their bishop, who acts as the representative of the Greek Catholic "patriarch of Alexandria," a See which, we have observed, is combined with those of Antioch and Jerusalem. He was a young man of great mildness and intelligence. In passing, I must give a simple note of his conversation with me. "When you hold so strenuously," he said, "the interpretation of scripture, according to its apparent meaning, why don't you take the words, 'This is my body' in their literal sense?" My reply was simply this:—"When I entered your apartments, casting my eyes on that object on the wall, I asked your honour *Who is this?* and your reply was, *He is the archbishop of Constantinople.* Did you mean me to understand that that picture is really that ecclesiastical dignitary?" "Oh no," he quickly observed in reply, "you were in no danger of confounding the picture with him whom it represents, and I did not think it necessary to study greater precision of language." "Just so," I answered, "the disciples of Christ, could not have confounded the

* Miss. Herald, Oct. 1845.

body of Christ with the bread which was its sign, more particularly as he used the language, 'This is my body which is broken for you,' even before he was called to his last sufferings." He answered me with a smile. He has, according to the papal reckoning, the superintendence of 4000 souls.

The Greek Catholics in other parts of the East generally use the Latin ritual. Of those at the capital of Turkey, Mr Homes gives some curious information :—

"We have never been able to learn the whole number of Greek Catholics in Constantinople; but it is very small compared with the whole number of the Armenian Catholics, there not being five hundred families. The attempts of the papal missionaries on the Greek Church, in modern times, have here been entirely without success. The Greek Catholics now to be found are not the result of any modern missionary operations, but they are chiefly the remains of the Italian conquests in the East; and most of them are emigrants from abroad, many of them having protection as subjects of some foreign power. A small number of Greek Catholics, subjects of the Porte, of whom the most are originally from Aleppo, were not able to endure being under the Armenian Catholic patriarch, who by his firman is patriarch of all the Catholics. And accordingly they petitioned for leave to choose one for themselves, who should be their responsible head, and through whom they would communicate with the Porte and pay the poll-tax. This petition being granted, they chose a Musalman to perform this office to them! And this state of things has lasted the past two years. This privilege they gained when that man of most liberal views, Reshid Pasha, was high in office, and when the new character of Gul Hani, with its institutions, was yet fresh and strong. Although it had the appearance of being an act of justice to them to render their burdens equal, yet we have great reason to believe that it was a device emanating from Rome; and that, as the result, not only shall we see that the Armenian Catholics are acknowledged of the empire, but that Rome has contrived to get Latin Catholics acknowledged as a sect, and the Pope, in fact, acting as their head. The documents that issue from the dragoman of the Divan,—the Musalman who is their surety and deputy,—are in the name of the community called Latins! All these Greek Catho-

lies follow the Latin or Roman rite on almost all occasions, having no church of their own. And now their occurs a thing which was before unheard of, that foreign (Roman) priests baptize, confess, and bury, the born and actual subjects of the Turkish government. While the Armenian Catholics, in addition to their civil patriarch, have an ecclesiastical patriarch of their own, these Greek and Latin Catholics, having a Musalman for a civil head, have an Italian Bishop and Vicar Apostolic sent from Rome for their ecclesiastical head. There is a mysterious connection, to the bottom of which we have never yet been able to go, between the subject Latin Catholics and some of the embassies, especially with the French. By belonging to this new sect, they obtain a sort of civil protection in case of law-suits and difficulties. And it is said that the French chancery takes cognizance of the names of all this sect. For seven years past, perhaps for a longer time, there has been a violent contest between the Greeks and the Greek Catholics, because the priests of the latter having persisted in wearing the distinguishing dress of the former. This custom,—which they began first in Syria, during the government of Ibrahim Pasha,—they afterwards introduced into Constantinople. The Greek patriarch then pretended that this portion of the subjects of the Porte were rebels against his own power, and that he could no longer be responsible for them. They, on the other hand said, “We are an old sect, and have been for a hundred years what we are now;” and they implored the Porte to appoint some one, any one, through whom they should be known at the Porte. Owing to the peculiarly favourable juncture to which we have alluded above, combined with the use of money and the interposition of the French Ambassador, the affair was arranged. Such a head as they asked was granted them, but their priests were required to wear a distinguishing mark.”

The Roman Catholic missions have for many years been diligently plying their vocation, and not without some success, among the Greek and Armenian churches which exist in the province of *Georgia*. Owing to the opposition which they there encounter from the Russian Government, which as little respects the principles of religious liberty as the most bigoted nations devoted to the interests of the Pope, they have been much reserved in the publication of accounts of their

proceedings. The following paragraph lately appeared in the *Journal des Debats*. The *Revue de Paris* announces the arrival at Friedland, on the 1st ult. of the nine Catholic missionaries expelled from Georgia by the Russian Government. 'They are,' it says, 'monks of the order of Capuchins, placed under the direction of the Roman Propaganda. The mission to Georgia has been long in existence, for, during the last 200 years, Rome has constantly maintained missionaries in that idolatrous country, who generally resided at Teflis. The number of Roman Catholics of the Latin and Armenian rites in Georgia, amounts to about 10,000. Seeing the influence daily acquiring by the missionaries over the minds of the population, Russia had resolved to compel those monks, by threatening to expel them, to serve her views with regard to the Catholics of Georgia, whom she was anxious to bring under the control of the schismatic Church. The poor clergymen engaged in so unequal a contest, were exposed to all sorts of annoyance, and their property, convents, and churches were at last confiscated, and given to the Armenian clergy, who have acknowledged the Russian authorities. The Christian Government of St Petersburg, more unmerciful than the Porte toward the Catholics of Armenia, ultimately called on the Capuchins to recognise not only the temporal authority, but also the spiritual authority of the 'Lord-Emperor;' and they were moreover enjoined to submit to the Armenian Bishop, Schakulvoi, the chief of the Georgian Catholics, by the will of the Autocrat. Those injunctions were met by a refusal; the government made every exertion to conquer the courageous resistance of the missionaries, but its offers, as well as its menaces, were unavailable. Finally, after a last

summons, addressed to them from St Petersburg, the monks, persisting in their refusal, were expelled the country."

IV. ARMENIAN-CATHOLIC CHURCH.

In the learned work of Galanus on the conciliation of the Roman and Armenian Churches, referred to in my former lecture, there are various notices of the correspondence of some of the adherents of the Armenian Church with that of Rome, from the time of the secession of the Armenian Church from the Catholic body, and its rejection of the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon. On some of these Galanus doubtless lays too great stress. To those of them which are of most importance, however, it may be proper to allude. The Armenian patriarch Gregory sent an embassy to Rome in the year 1080, professing his regard to that See, and received a favourable response. In the year 1145, the Armenian patriarch is said to have actually proffered the subjection of the Armenian Church. He was probably induced to do so in consequence of the advance of the Saracens on the then declining kingdom of Armenia, which about the same time caused the patriarchate of the Armenians to be removed from the greater Armenia to Sis in Cilicia. Various proposals, communings, and consultations were held on the subject; but nothing was permanently decided about the union of the churches, till Leo the Armenian king, wishing to have the concurrence of the Pope in his own coronation, got Johannes, the Armenian Catholicus, and a large body of his clergy, formally to

declare for Rome. This was about the end of the twelfth century. Though Leo was sometimes opposed to the Latin clergy who came into his dominions, his own royal family remained in the profession of attachment to Rome. In the Council of Adina in 1314, the union of the churches is said to have been expressly declared. It was far, however, from being general or abiding. The Romish missions commenced a few years later. With some intermissions they have been continued to the present day, and they are represented as freeing many Armenians from the pestilence of heresy.* The Catholic-Armenians, however, are not yet, and probably never will be, a numerous body.

The following is the fullest papal account of their statistics which has been lately published. "Armenians. The patriarch of Cilicia resides at Mount Lebanon. Several bishops assist him as vicars. Two others only have separate dioceses, Aleppo, Mardin. The number of Catholics belonging to this patriarchate amounts to 40,000."

I am inclined to think that even here there is, as usual, some exaggeration. The American Missionaries in Syria, in a document just come to hand, say of the Armenian Catholics, "These are extremely few, and bear the same relation to the Armenian church, that the Greek Catholics do to the Greeks. They have a patriarch and three bishops. Their convents in Mount Lebanon are three, viz. Beit Kháshboh, el-Kareim, and Bzumár, all in Kesrawán. The latter convent is the residence of the patriarch. The monks are about fifty

* See the first volume of Galanus, *passim*. Compare with the accounts of Galanus, Smith and Dwight's *Researches in Armenia*, p. 433.

in number.”* Of those at Constantinople, in Asia Minor, and Armenia, which are included in the papal estimate, Mr Homes writes as follows, interspersing his statistical notes with the mention of some rather curious facts :—

“ The Armenian Catholics in the city are estimated at from 10,000 to 13,000 souls. They are found also in Smyrna, Angora, Tokat, Trebizond, and in small numbers in various parts of Armenia. There are perhaps 250 families at Mardin dependent on their own patriarch, who resides in a convent on Mount Lebanon ; and this patriarch governs the Armenian-Catholic population of Aleppo and Syria. They have no monasteries in Asia Minor, but they have one at Venice and another at Vienna. Their priests are for the most part educated abroad, at these two places, or at Rome or Padua. Those located in this city can generally, therefore, speak one or more European languages. Their ecclesiastical organization is complete in itself, except that they have a political patriarch appointed from among themselves to represent them at the Porte, while their ecclesiastical patriarch is appointed by the Pope. Many of their clergy are jealous at the interference of the French and Italian missionaries. Indeed, the rival interests of their clergy, —according as they happen to have been educated at Rome, Venice, or this country,—has produced no inconsiderable degree of strife. The clergy of Venice are far more liberal than those from any other school. They sympathize much more with the great mass of the Armenian community, and are not regarded as so anti-national as the others. On the contrary, they are so entirely national in their feelings that they may be regarded as only half papists. They publish now a monthly magazine, similar to what our own was, in which they have praised the temperance reformation in America. The influence of Jesuit missionaries, and of papal operations generally, must be exerted on the Armenian mind chiefly through this already existing sect. Since they have been acknowledged by the Porte, however, as one of the sects of the empire, or as a sect in Constantinople rather, they have not perceptibly increased. We hear now and then of a bishop, a priest, or of a layman joining them ; but we hear of perhaps as many who go back and join their ancient sect. The laws of the land do not authorize any such changes ; yet it is not always

* Miss. Herald, Oct. 1845.

difficult to effect them. The great motive of those who join the papal Armenians is for the sake of the additional protection which they gain as Catholics on account of the interest taken in them, and the aid afforded the sect by many of the Catholic ambassadors. The Armenian Catholics have one large church in Galata, and a church in Orta Koi. Connected with an hospital belonging to them in Pera, they have also a 'house of prayer.' The Turkish government interposes so many obstacles to the building of new churches, that, though they have made many attempts, they have never been able to get more than permission for a 'house of prayer,' as if for the use of the hospital. But a 'house of prayer' is all that evangelical Christians will ever want. They have also a plague hospital. There is a parish public school connected with the church, and there is now building a college, or high school, at Pera, in connection with the monks of the Venice monastery. Quite a number of young men also are pursuing their studies in Pera preparatory to becoming priests. Many families send their daughters to either the boarding or the day schools of the 'Sisters of Charity,' in Galata."

V. SYRIAN-CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The origin of this church is to be attributed to the different missions sent to Syria during the last two and a half centuries, and especially to that of the Jesuits to Aleppo, which, as already mentioned, was commenced in the year 1625.

A Jesuit missionary about the middle of last century, when writing of the success of the missions at Aleppo, says, "The half of the Syrian nation is already Catholic; and we flatter ourselves that, in a few years, all the Syrians of Aleppo will be reunited to the fold of the church."* In conformity with this statement, Dr Russell, in 1794, says, "The Syrians, in matters of faith, are mostly reconciled to the Romish Church; that is

* *Lettres Edifiantes*, vol. i. p. 392.

those of Aleppo. They preserve in general their ancient rites, and in their church divine service is performed partly in Syriac and partly in Arabic. None of them speak the Syriac language, and few understand it, but they often, in the same manner as the Maronites, write the Arabic in the Syriac characters, [called the *Karshuni*]. Some few of their youth, who are destined for the ecclesiastic life, are sent to Rome for their education.”*

All things considered, however, the papal Syrians form but a small body. The Society for the Propagation of the Faith† estimates them at 30,000 souls. Their ecclesiastical chief is denoted the “patriarch of Antioch,” and in addition to his duties as such, he administers the affairs of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Below him are four bishops, those of Nabeh and Homs in Syria, and Mosul and Mardin in Mesopotamia.

The Romo-Syrians in Malabar and Travankur in India, which are served by their own bishops and priests, amounted in 1836 to 56,184 souls.‡ The history of the conversion of their forefathers to Rome, which is related at length by La Croze, Geddes, and Hough, and which was brought about by the desperate, cruel, and deceitful measures of the Portuguese ecclesiastics of Goa, is painfully interesting and instructive. The attempt to effect it was first vainly made by the Cordeliers or Franciscan Friars in

* Natural History of Aleppo, vol. ii. p. 33.

† Report for 1840.

‡ The Christians of Malabar and Travankur, I associate with the Syrians, the representatives of the Jacobites, though I am aware that throughout the greater part of their history, they have been connected with the Nestorians. The Independent Syrians now use the Jacobite liturgy, if the copy which I have examined be genuine; but when they commenced to do so I do not know.

1545. It was afterwards, also without success, repeated by the Jesuits. Mar Joseph, the Syrian bishop, was circumvented and sent to Europe. He proved an unworthy character; but after various tergiversations, on his return to India in the interest of the Portuguese, he was ultimately permitted to go to Rome and obtain ordination from the Pope. A second time he proved unfaithful in the East, and he afterwards died in Italy. Dom Alexis de Menezes, archbishop, and afterwards governor, of Goa, was by most unhallowed measures the instrument of the perversion of great numbers of the native Christians of India, and of the formation of the Romo-Syrian Church, which, with diminished numbers, still exists.

VI. THE CHALDEAN-CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The establishment of the Chaldean Church is said by the Romanists to comprehend the "patriarchate of Babylon, and the archbishopricks of Diarbekr, Jizeirah, Morab, Aderbiján, and the bishopricks of Mardin, Siríd, Amadia, Salmás, and Karkut, with ten bishops and 101 priests." "The actual number of Chaldean Catholics," they also state, "appears to have been reduced to 15,000." These converts are principally the fruit of the Romish missions to the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris within the last hundred and fifty years. They form, I am sorry to say, a great portion of the Nestorians west of the mountains of Kurdistán. To the title which the Pope has given to them of "Chaldean Christians," they have no exclusive claim, not such a strong claim, indeed, as their countrymen around them, and to the further east, who have not yet acknowledged the papal supremacy. The Roman Catholics are at present making great efforts in the

parts of the world to which they belong, and among the Nestorians of the mountains and of Persia; but the presence of several able and devoted bands of American Missionaries at Mosul and among the uncorrupted Nestorians, bids fair, with the divine blessing, to counteract their efforts and their intrigue. In their late documents, the papal missionaries accuse the American "Methodists" of stirring up persecution against themselves and adherents, particularly in the Persian dominions;* but persecution directed even against religious opponents, is the last thing which would be resorted to by our American brethren.

VII. COPTIC-CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The Church of Rome has more or less directed its attention to Egypt since the times of the Crusades. The success which it has experienced, however, on the banks of the Nile, has not corresponded with the magnitude of the efforts which it has there made to extend its influence. I have already alluded to the Terra Sancta monasteries, which are of an olden date, and to the "Delegation Apostolic of Alexandria," the jurisdiction of which extends over the Frank population of that city, and of all lower Egypt. Besides this establishment there is that entitled the "Vicariate Apostolic of the Copts." Altogether the papal church establishment of Egypt is estimated at two bishops and fifty priests. At Alexandria a new college and a house of nuns of charity have been lately occupied. "The Coptic nation, the only remaining fragment of the ancient Egyptians, after so many centuries and so many conquests, professes the

* See *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, September 1844.

Eutychian heresy. Yet twelve or fifteen thousand souls, reconquered by the zeal of the Missionaries, form a Catholic community, which subsists and increases under the conduct of about thirty priests and a bishop at Cairo. This poor, but respectable, church has preserved its national liturgy.”* This small progress is rather remarkable, when we consider the great number of Italians and Frenchmen, members of the Romish Church, resident in Egypt, and the influence which a few of them exercise in connexion with the public services of the country, under the Páshá. It must be remembered, however, that some of them have but little concern about religion of any kind, while others of them, men of enlarged views and liberality, would wish either the faith of the Copts in their own system to remain undisturbed, or exchanged for a purer form of Christianity than that which the messengers of Rome seek to propagate.

VIII. DOINGS OF ROME IN ABYSSINIA.

Rome commenced her intercourse with the Ethiopian branch of the Coptic Church, through the Portuguese, towards the close of the fifteenth century. In the beginning of the next age the Portuguese sent several embassies to Abyssinia, and formed political alliances with its emperor. That chief requested their assistance against the Muhammadans, and when it was rendered to him by Christopher de Gama, the son of the famous navigator Vasco, his subjection to Rome, the surrender of the third part of his kingdom, and his acknowledgment of Bermudes, a Portuguese, as patriarch of the country, were

* Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1840-1844.

modestly asked of him as the recompence. These demands were indignantly refused. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, when he formed his ambitious plan of conquering the world to the faith and rule of Rome, wished himself to proceed to Abyssinia, as the hero of the Vatican ; but he was ultimately contented to dispatch thither some of the first and choicest spirits of his order, to whom he thought he could commit the enterprize. Thirteen in number, to represent Christ and his apostles, they left the shores of Europe. Three of them, after touching at Goa, entered into Abyssinia as spies in 1555. They returned to the Portuguese settlements in India, without effecting any thing except bringing with them Bermudes, the Portuguese " patriarch of Ethiopia," who had been forced for a time to suspend his pretensions. Oviedo and some of the other Jesuit fathers, however, set out for Abyssinia after the return of the party to Goa. They reached the country, but the emperor Claudius strongly resisted and refuted their claims ; and his successor Adam forced such of his subjects as had united themselves to the Catholics, to return to their ancient religion, particularly on account of the destruction which had befallen Claudius from the Musalman arms, when he was engaged in his controversies with the Jesuits. The missionaries asked troops from India, but their request was not granted ; and the fathers, at the suggestion of the Pope, were recalled. A second Jesuit mission set out from Goa for Abyssinia in 1588 ; but it never reached the country. Other emissaries of Rome, principally Jesuits, however, entered within its borders. Deception, treachery, mischief, murder, war, and destruction, to which our time will not permit me to call your attention, were the consequence of their movements and

labours. The behaviour of the parties was so indiscreet and wicked, that the Abyssinians became aware of their danger, and Ethiopia was lost to Rome in the middle of the seventeenth century. The finale, I set before you in the words of Gibbon :—

“ Fremona, a place of worship, or rather of exile, was assigned to the Jesuit Missionaries. Their skill in the liberal and mechanic arts, their theological learning, and the decency of their manners, inspired a barren esteem ; but they were not endowed with the gift of miracles, and they vainly solicited a reinforcement of European troops. The patience and dexterity of forty years at length obtained a more favourable audience, and two emperors of Abyssinia were persuaded that Rome could insure the temporal and everlasting happiness of her votaries. The first of these royal converts lost his crown and his life ; and the rebel army was sanctified by the *Abuna*, who hurled an anathema at the apostate, and absolved his subjects from their oath of fidelity. The fate of Zad-eaghel was revenged by the courage and fortune of Susneus, who ascended the throne under the name of Segued, and more vigorously prosecuted the pious enterprise of his kinsman. After the amusement of some unequal combats between the Jesuits and his illiterate priests, the emperor declared himself a proselyte to the Synod of Chalcedon, presuming that his clergy and people would embrace without delay the religion of their prince. The liberty of choice was succeeded by a law, which imposed, under pain of death, the belief of the two natures of Christ. The Abyssinians were enjoined to work and to play on the Sabbath ; and Segued, in the face of Europe and Africa, renounced his connection with the Alexandrian Church. A Jesuit, Alphonso Mendez, the Catholic patriarch of Ethiopia, accepted, in the name of Urban VIII, the homage and abjuration of his penitent, [in 1626.] ‘ I confess,’ said the emperor on his knees, ‘ I confess that the Pope is the vicar of Christ, the successor of St Peter, and the sovereign of the world. To him I swear true obedience, and at his feet I offer my person and kingdom.’ A similar oath was repeated by his son, his brother, the clergy, the nobles, and even the ladies of the court. The Latin Patriarch was invested with honours and wealth, and his missionaries erected their churches or citadels in the most convenient stations in the empire. The Jesuits themselves deplore the fatal indiscretion of their chief, who forgot the mildness of the gospel, and the policy of his order, to introduce the liturgy of Rome and the

inquisition of Portugal. He condemned the ancient practice of circumcision, which health, rather than superstition, had first invented in the climate of Ethiopia. (?) A new baptism, a new ordination, was inflicted on the natives, and they trembled with horror, when the most holy of the dead were torn from their graves, when the most illustrious of the living were excommunicated by a foreign priest. In the defence of their religion and liberty the Abyssinians rose in arms with desperate but unmerciful zeal. Five rebellions were extinguished in the blood of the insurgents; whole legions were slaughtered in the field, or suffocated in caverns; and neither merit, nor rank, nor sex, could save from an ignominious death the enemies of Rome. But the victorious monarch was finally subdued by the constancy of the nation, of his mother, of his son, and of his most faithful friends. Segued listened to the voice of pity, of reason, perhaps of fear; and his edict of liberty of conscience instantly revealed the tyranny and weakness of the Jesuits. On the death of his father, Basilides expelled the Latin patriarch, and restored to the wishes of the nation the faith and the discipline of Egypt. The Monophysite churches resounded with a song of triumph, 'That the sheep of Ethiopia were now delivered from the hyænas of the west;' and the gates of that solitary realm were for ever shut against the arts, the sciences, and the fanaticism of Europe."*

Within these few years Rome has recommenced her mission to Abyssinia. A late announcement of her position there is brief and emphatic, "Five priests of the congregation of St Vincent, two brothers, a chapel, a school, some hundreds of neophytes, are the humble commencement of this work. But the old resentments are dissipating, the name of Rome is blessed, and the Ethiopians are turning with a pious curiosity towards that supreme chair which has not forgotten them."

Letters which I have just received from natives of Abyssinia inform me, that the agents of Rome at present in that interesting country seem much inclined to

* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. 47.—For particular information on the matters here referred to, see 'The Church-History of Ethiopia,' by Dr Geddes, 1696.

follow the example of their predecessors in their intercourse with its inhabitants. Their apparent success, to a small degree, in the accomplishment of the objects of their mission, is to be attributed principally to bribery and deception. Let them beware of all unrighteousness and hypocrisy, for the day of reckoning may come sooner than they expect. There are some around them who understand both their character and their movements.

I shall not farther extend these painful details. I conclude this lecture with some general observations, which the facts which have passed before our notice, and others of a similar character connected with the operations of the papal churches in the East, have forcibly suggested to my mind.

1. Rome is well aware of the great importance of establishing her influence in the lands in which the eastern churches exist, not only because of their great intrinsic importance, but because of the immense influence for good or evil which they are destined to exert on the other regions of the earth. The extensive and expensive efforts which she is making to effect their conversion, are palpable proofs of the fact. Rome herself most distinctly declares the estimate which she has formed of them, and glories in the endeavours which she is making in their behalf. When alluding to Western Asia, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in 1840, says:—"These countries are surely the most venerable in the world. There was the cradle of the human race. There the miraculous calling of the human race was accomplished. There was placed, so to speak, the theatre of profane antiquity, the scene of the Iliad, of Cyrus, and of Alexander. But above all, it

is the soil which has been fertilized by the Saviour's blood, and consecrated by his tomb; the territory of the primitive churches; the native land of those countless generations of martyrs, of anchorets, and teachers of the faith. Finally, is it not to this region that an irresistible influence seems to be drawing the partialities and interests of modern times, as if the destinies of the human race must be decided in the very places whence they parted to meet again—from the tower of Babel to the valley of Jehoshaphat? So also the Catholic Church maintains a filial regard for that maternal land. She avoids no expense to save her from calamity. She went there to die and conquer in the middle age, with the millions of the Crusaders; she has watched there for six centuries over the holy sepulchre, with the intrepid monks, whom no outrage has discouraged; she shows herself there still, surrounded by all the lights of learning and all the treasures of charity, raising up, from Smyrna to Tauris, from Damascus to Beirut, her schools, her colleges, her benevolent institutions, her apostolic stations. There she encounters all the hostile systems which the spirit of evil has raised up to oppose the truth. Idolatry survives in the mysteries of the Druses; the Gnostic sects show themselves at some obscure points of Mesopotamia; Nestorianism sits among the ruins of its ancient greatness; the Eutychian delusion unites half the population of Armenia and Chaldea; the Greek schism still sits in many episcopal chairs; the Muhammadan scourge chases before it the wandering flocks; and, in addition to all the rest, Protestantism has lately come to spread new snares, by scattering in all parts its disfigured Bibles and slanderous tracts. It may be said that all lies clothe themselves in immortality under the

heavens of the East, which seem to smite men and things with an incapacity of change. Yet the signs of better times are too plain to be misunderstood. The three Musalman powers, among whom these vast regions are divided, the Porte, Egypt, and Persia, all desire and solicit the benefits of Christian civilization. Their ambassadors have appeared at the Vatican. A tolerance before unknown allows the preaching of the gospel to the followers of Muhammed, and the word has not fallen among them in vain. (?) Heresy has seen several of its bishops return to our ranks. The water of baptism has flowed upon the face of the Druses, whom neither instruction nor force had formerly been able to tame. (?) Vainly does a powerful patronage attempt to rally the schismatics of all denominations for the promotion of its designs. Asia will see the dangers which are concealed under that haughty protectorate.* The only disinterested proselytism which seeks her conversion, she will at length perceive, is that which belongs to no political interest, to no earthly ambition—that of the holy Roman Church.” Much more to the same effect appears in other similar documents.† Would that an equal zeal in behalf of the lands of the Bible, of redemption, and of the ultimate triumph of truth, were manifested by the churches of a purer faith and a more holy practice! Alas, that in the matter of daring and devoted enterprise in any one part of the world, there should be even the appearance of the children of this world proving wiser in their generation than the children of light! If the Protestant Churches

* The allusion here, I suppose, is to Russia, the guardian of the Greek Church.

† See especially the Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in 1844.

of Britain and the Continent would but do their duty to the Eastern Churches, as those of America, which give the very flower of their missionary body to their evangelical regeneration, the efforts of Rome, I am persuaded, would not only be surpassed, but, to a great extent, rendered abortive.

2. Rome has skilfully adapted her measures to the exigencies of the people, whose attachment she has sought to secure. Knowing the jealousy and fear with which she is regarded by the different bodies of Oriental Christians, she has, generally speaking, in the first instance at least, gone very gently to work among them, and sought to secure their attachment and respect by works of charity, gifts of education, and offers of political protection, which her known alliance with France in particular has enabled her to present. That in thus directing her agency, she has commonly acted with truth and uprightness, I am very far from saying, for the very contrary is the case; but, according to mere human expediency, she has thus acted prudently, and, to a great extent, successfully. Let her example be followed, only in so far as it can be done openly, sincerely, disinterestedly, righteously. Let us render the poor, afflicted, depressed, and persecuted eastern Christians, all the relief which is in our power. Let the Protestant nations, who, with others, support what is called the "integrity of the Turkish empire," take care that in acknowledgment of their support, ample toleration be granted within its wide dominions to all who bear, or may choose to bear, the Christian name in connexion with any communions which have been formed, or may yet be formed. Let us seek to secure liberty to the peaceful preacher of the gospel in those very lands in which, under even the heathen

government of Rome, the temple, the synagogue, and the private apartment, the narrow street and the public highway, the open plain and the lofty mount, the garden and the wilderness, the bank of the river and the margin of the sea, were equally consecrated and hallowed by the Heavenly Teacher and his devoted apostles. Let us give the blessings of a Christian and general education in all their amplitude to the Eastern Christians ; and let us acquire from them all the information respecting the early history of the Christian Church, which they have in their power to bestow upon us, who are indebted for almost all the knowledge which we possess on the subject to the Roman and Byzantine Fathers, to the almost total neglect of those of Syria, Armenia, and Egypt. Let us prepare for these churches, as soon as possible, a small body of evangelical literature. The need of such a help to the Eastern Churches is great indeed. Mr Graham, the able and learned representative of the Presbyterian Church at Damascus, has lately noticed, what I myself observed in Syria, that almost all the Christian literature of the East is in the hands of the Romanists ; and directed my attention to some striking facts illustrative of the remark. "The theology of Rome," he says, "her catechisms, and the lives of her saints, have been translated into the Arabic language, and assiduously circulated. I have never heard of, or seen, a lexicon or grammar in the Arabic tongue, the work of a Christian, which does not belong to them. Anshimus, or Onesimus, the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem and all Palestine, did, indeed, in 1792, publish a good commentary on the book of Psalms, and a passable work on general and philosophical subjects ; and within the present year, Mr Joseph Haddad of this city, has, under the auspices of the patriarch of

Antioch and the Russian Consul-General at Beirut, translated into Arabic a famous catechism of the Muscovites. But these are the exceptions, and generally speaking, the Greeks have neither literature nor learned men amongst them. View in connexion with this statement, the fact, that the Roman priests are a far better educated, more diligent, and intelligent class of men than those of the Greeks. In country districts the Greek priest differs in no respects, save by the imposition of hands, from the peasants which surround him. He cultivates his little farm like the rest of them, and if on Sundays and festivals he is able to read over the church service, nothing more is expected from him. The Romish and Maronite priests, on the contrary, are intelligent and educated men. They have been at 'Aintúra or 'Ainteráz, or the Arabic college of Rome, and are, in consequence, much better qualified to defend or enlarge the boundaries of their church." Proper attention to the circumstances and situation of the Eastern Churches, would deprive the Romanists of the monopoly of these advantages.

3. Rome has used very dishonourable means, when it has had the opportunity, of arraying the civil and military powers on its side, in the different countries of its proselyting enterprise. Connected with this subject, had your time permitted, I might have submitted to you the most harrowing details, particularly in reference to the procedure of the Romanists on the mountains of Malabar and Ethiopia, to which I have been contented to make a mere allusion. It is alleged by those who watch her movements in Syria, that she is not scrupulous about stirring up opposition to her rivals, and securing for herself the desired privileges, by the basest measures. "Rome,"

says my friend Mr Graham, “ has money. Not only has she the states of the church, but she has also a great and untold revenue from the papal nations and churches throughout the world. If a privilege is to be obtained from the Porte the *only means is money* ; if a patriarch is to be recognised and protected, the *only means is money* ; if the unjust aggressions of the priests, as in the case of the Nestorians, are to pass unpunished, the *only means is money*. But the Porte has no predilection for Popery ? Be it so : the Nestorian, Armenian, Greek, Papist, and Protestant are all the same to the Divan. But

“ Χρυσος ἀνοίγει παντα και αἰδου πυλας.”

Or, let us use a less bold but equally classic illustration,

“ Aurum per medios ire satellites
Et perrumpere amat saxa potentius,
Ictu fulmineo.”——

‘ Nothing for nothing’ is the motto, or at least the practice, of the Ottoman Empire ; and in no quarter in these lands can *poor* justice enter the lists with *affluent* crime. The decision was given in favour of the Protestants of Hasbeiya. They were ordered to return to their habitations, and the authorities, civil and religious, commanded to respect the principle of religious toleration. I read the order. Next day a hundred thousand piastres reversed all this. In the times of peace, the paths to preferment, in Moslem governments, are gold and sodomy. No officer is expected to do simple justice, much less to confer a favour, without a bribe. You remember when we went to the governor of Nablus or Shechem, in behalf of the persecuted Jews ; they presented him before our face with a bribe of tobacco

This is expressed by the Arabs under the idea of eating. They say of a corrupt public functionary, ‘He eats a great deal,’ using the word in the sense of devour. Rome hath a sop for Cerberus, and the canine Janitor of the East is never so effectually quieted as by a savoury joint. Rome also has high-sounding names and flattering titles at her command. It is said the Maronites were first brought under fatal influence, by sending a *pallium* to their chief. A school and printing-press in Mount Lebanon is dignified with the title of ‘The National Greek-Melchite College of A’interáz.’ Vicars and apostolic vicars, primates and patriarchs, and other vain dignities of the present evil world, are not the least effectual means by which the mother of abominations has succeeded in corrupting the judgment and soothing the vanity of mankind.” The readiness of Rome, by resorting to bribery, to encourage the Turkish authorities in their unjust exactions, here alluded to by Mr Graham, is well illustrated by the following extract of a letter from one of her own emissaries to the east, M. Eugene Bore. “In Turkey, the Christian can offer to God the prayers and homage appointed by his liturgy, without ever fearing that the governor or the iman, interfering with the interior of the sanctuary, will disturb its rights and ceremonies. But, through a capricious contradiction, this church in which he is so free, he is not free to build. He must, in the first instance, show an anterior title, acknowledged by the Musalman authority, and proving that this place was, before the conquest, dedicated to divine worship; otherwise, the erection of a monument would not be permitted whose destination is opposed to the faith of the Coran. It is true that we easily elude this legal interdiction, *and then, particularly, we have recourse to*

the decisive argument of the richoet, a special word, which is happily unknown to our language and our usages, as it expresses the present offered to the great and to the judges to purchase their approbation. This defect has invaded all classes of society, the palace, the ministry, the divan or the tribunal of justice, the mosque, the market, and the artizans' stall."*

4. Rome, in order to gain the admission of her supremacy in the Christian Church, as may be observed in the case of every one of the Eastern Churches, is ready, for the time being at least, to make no inconsiderable compromise of her principles. Of this compromise and accommodation, she actually boasts, having, in communion with her in the Eastern Churches, to use her own language, "people of six different rites," with "all their ancient liturgies respected as so many monuments of the unity of belief in the midst of the variety of rites and discipline." There has been scarcely any limit, in fact, to her concessions to the churches of which we have been speaking; and there is no saying to what extent they may yet be developed. Mr Perkins in his interesting work, entitled "A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians," says, "one of the newest measures that has been reported to us, is an order purporting to be fresh from the Pope to his agents in this region, to *canonize Nestorius*, whose name and memory every papist has been required so many centuries to *curse*, and to *anathematize* the Lutherans, *i. e.* the Protestant Missionaries."† In the view of what has been done in the East, we may clearly

* Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, March 1845, p. 71. Rome has yet to learn the meaning of the divine maxim, that of those who do evil that good may come, the damnation is just.

† P. 23.

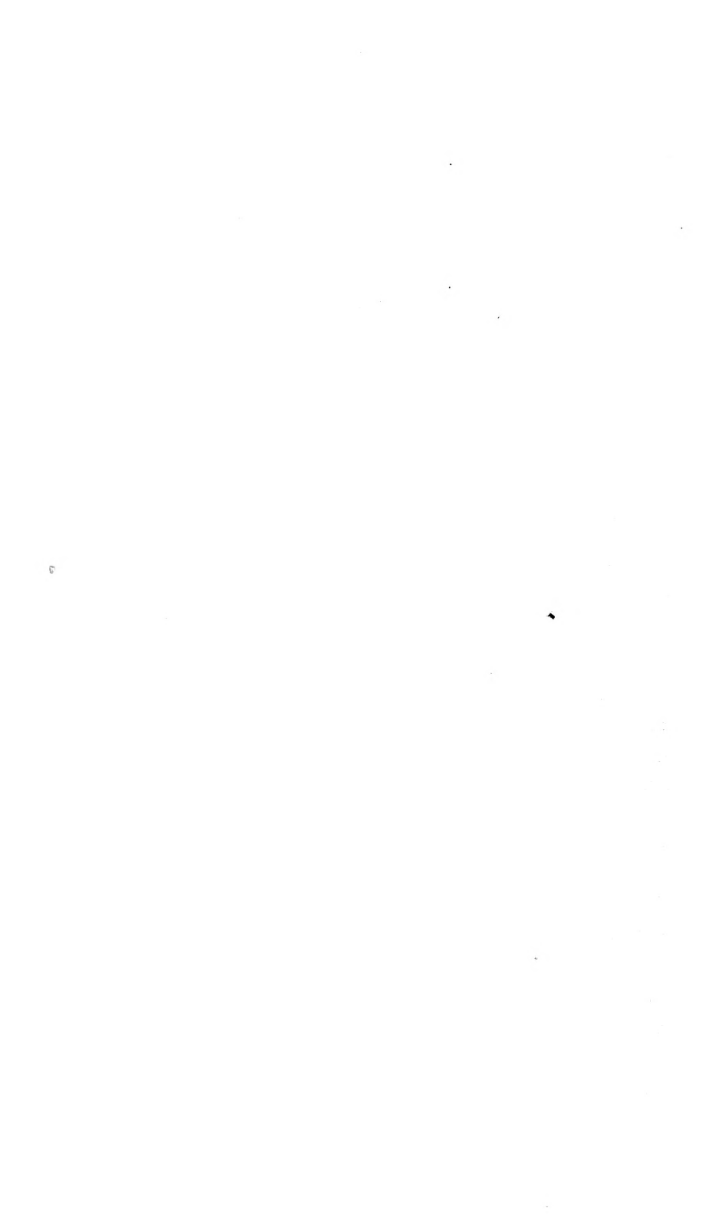
see, that to secure the assent of our own country to the supremacy of the Pope, she would gladly permit the formation of an Anglo-Catholic Church, not differing in a single principle from the tenets and observances of the Tractarians of Oxford, or of those who, perhaps earlier settled in their own belief, fraternize with them in Scotland. Even their ecclesiastical orders, she could contrive to admit, overlooking, as in the East, the schisms and heresies with which hitherto they have been associated in her maternal eyes.

5. Great though the missionary efforts of Rome be among the Eastern Churches and the heathen nations,—to which the subject of my lecture does not call me particularly to advert,—it is worthy of notice, that taking them as a whole, those of the Protestant Churches already surpass them in magnitude and importance, as far as the free and open dealing of mind with mind is concerned. Such a statement as this may be entirely novel to some of my auditors; but it is one which I do not rashly hazard. The contributions of the whole papal world to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, which is now the universal nurse and support of all its missions, when reduced to English money, at the most favourable rate of exchange, amounted, in 1843, to no more than £165,131:7:3, which is not equal to the income of two of our largest missionary societies. I am aware that, in aid of this sum, old endowments are to a large extent applied; but making every allowance for these, the whole sums expended by Protestants in missionary efforts *in partibus infidelium*, are annually double of those expended by Rome. In the dissemination of education, in the wielding of the press, and in the work of public preaching, Protestantism is actually

doing throughout the world an incalculably greater extent of work than Romanism. It is instructing and training the minds of nations in some quarters, while Rome is content merely to allure individuals and bodies of men to change by the promise of secular advantages, and the fictitious splendour of her idolatrous and theatrical services. It is in the number of her foreign adherents in all parts of the world, principally that Rome has the advantage of us; but these adherents are the fruit of her missions when the Protestant Churches were doing nothing abroad, and not, generally speaking, of the missionary effort of the present day, extended though it be in the different regions of the world. In the distribution of her missionary force, which, as in the case of the Eastern Churches, is regulated by consummate wisdom, she excels us too; but Christian union and consultation, I trust, will not long permit her exclusively to possess this advantage. I say nothing of the fact here, that so many of the kings of the earth are still giving their power and authority to the beast, except to direct our attention to that grand cardinal truth, which must ever support the faith and animate the endeavours of the friends of the truth, that their exalted Saviour has on his vesture and on his thigh a name written "King of kings and Lord of lords." Though the last struggle between truth and error may probably not be far distant, and though it may be unexampled in its terrors and its consequences, Christ, and not Antichrist, is finally to triumph in this guilty and depraved world.

6. If Protestantism, the religion of the Bible, become soon aggressive to the extent that it might, defections may be expected from the Papal Eastern Churches, as well as from other communities attached to Rome. The

cry "Come out of her my people," is not being made in these Western parts of the world at present, without meeting with a response from multitudes; and it will probably not be made in the East altogether in vain. Notwithstanding the fearful corruption and obscuration of divine truth by the Romish Church, there may be many individuals, especially in those countries where her domination has not been challenged for ages, who may be seeking for the truth as it is in Jesus, and who, by the grace of the Spirit of God, may be ready to receive it when it is offered to their attention. That truth, let us convey to them in the spirit of humble benevolence. Let us proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; and the acceptable year of the Lord may speedily arrive. In all our dealings with Romanism, let us proceed according to the dictates of principle, and not the injurious impulses of prejudice. Let us show to those who have been subjected to its influence, that we really desire and seek their welfare, their true exaltation and not their humiliation, God's glory and not our own honour. Let us seek the divine blessing; and his own work will prosper in our hands.



LECTURE II.

ON THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

BY JOHN FORBES, D.D., LL.D.

MINISTER OF FREE ST PAUL'S, GLASGOW.

It has been universally admitted by writers upon both sides, that, at the beginning of the 16th century, the Papal Church had reached the extreme of corruption and dissoluteness : ignorance, indolence, avarice, and voluptuousness, prevailed throughout all grades of the hierarchy, from the highest to the lowest ; whilst the overwhelming influence at its disposal, exercised so unsparingly in persecuting those who opposed its errors or condemned its views, reduced the enlightened and the virtuous to the inaction of despair, sighing for all the abominations which were done in the midst thereof. The Waldenses were too feeble and secluded to operate with effect upon the general state of sentiments and manners throughout Europe ; whilst the Bohemian reformers, the disciples of Huss, were not only divided among themselves ; but worn out by a long series of contentions, no longer continued to lift up an effective testimony. The individuals who filled the Papal chair at this period, were, to a remarkable degree, at once an evidence of the

depravity of the system which could permit their elevation to such distinction, and gave a decided impulse to the degeneracy to which they owed their aggrandizement, by patronizing and encouraging all the abuses of the age. That neither the scandalous crimes of Alexander VI., nor the military ferocity of Julius II., dissipated the blind homage which superstition paid to their office; nor even weakened their authority as the pretended Vicars of Christ, and the Heads of the church on earth, may well authenticate the deep and hopeless prostration of mind to which a lengthened spiritual despotism had reduced the nations of Europe. It may accordingly be described to have been “a day of darkness and of gloominess; a day of clouds and of thick darkness, as the morning spread upon the mountains,” which ushered in the era of the Reformation. Suddenly and unexpectedly a light appeared in the universal gloom: but small and seemingly unequal at its first gleam to effect any great or permanent alteration on the degeneracy, by collision with which it had been ignited; but waxing brighter and brighter, it cast a broader and a stronger ray over the nations, till one great mind after another caught the sacred fire; and all Europe at length felt the unwonted illumination—sending error and vice to their refuges and hiding place, whilst Truth lifted her head, and Piety came forth unfettered to worship the God of heaven.

In leading your consideration to the great work of the Reformation, we cannot pretend, within the limits to which we are necessarily restricted, even to give a summary of the various eminent individuals who were connected with the cause—the events which successively marked its progress, and influenced its history—nor the

stupendous and eminently blessed consequences in which it issued, whether as regards the religion, liberty, civil and spiritual, or the sciences and civilization of modern times. But referring you for the filling up of the outline which we mean to give to Seckendorf, Luther's works, Maimbourg, Mosheim, and Milner, and we need scarcely add the name of an author, at once so recent and decidedly popular as D'Aubigné; we shall, without further preface, proceed to submit such views concerning this mighty conflict of principle, as may contribute to deepen our convictions of the importance of the truths contended for,—the value of the victories achieved by the Reformers, and the responsibility under which we lie of maintaining the ground they so nobly gained, and of proceeding in their spirit to revive and spread the work of reformation with renewed energy both at home and throughout the continental nations.

Many secondary causes, which it is instructive and conducive to the future development of the subject now to notice, contributed their influence in preparing the way, with various efficacy, for the great revival and extension of pure Christianity, which Luther and his brother reformers were instrumental in originating and carrying forward to such a triumphant extent. One of these, to which we shall afterwards have occasion to allude more particularly, was the invention of the art of printing in 1440, forty-three years prior to the birth of Luther, and the revival of learning, to which it gave a powerful influence. Averse to allow the benefits of instruction to be diffused, the Papacy, with the exception of some of its higher orders, arrayed itself against the revival of learning; whilst it formed a bond of union between the Reformers and the learned, and afforded the means of circulating

their writings, and in particular the translation of the Bible into German by Luther, with unexampled rapidity and extent. The family of the Medici, of whom Leo X., who succeeded Julius in the Papal chair, was descended, zealously encouraged the revival of learning, and perhaps on this account the pontiff gave that favourable consideration to the career of Luther, which he is known to have expressed at an early period of the Reformation, by saying to one who shewed him some of Luther's writings, "Brother Martin is a man of very fine genius, and these squabbles are the mere effusions of monastic envy." At that stage, Luther, to use the ironical expression of Erasmus, had but touched the bellies of the monks, and not the crown of the Pope; and a pontiff who plumed himself on his patronage of letters, could excuse the efforts of a genius which was understood to make war only with the ignorance of the monastic orders.

Another circumstance which proved auspicious to the budding of the Reformation, was the intense and almost universal desire which began to prevail, that a General Council might be called, to check the evils of the church, and to regulate many important matters connected with its government. Princes and statesmen felt solicitous to see some restrictions laid upon the exorbitant sums drawn from their people, to support the pride and luxury of the papal court and its various dependants. All who were not dead to the interests of morality and religion were concerned to see the unnatural laws of Rome concerning the priesthood reformed, and a permission to marry allowed, to put an end to the heinous crimes which were occasioned by the existing laws. The power of the Pope was more threatened in France than

in Germany, which led to a greater jealousy about the state of the former than that of the latter country, in consequence of the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, the great charter of the liberties of the Gallican Church, and the substitute of the Concordat between Leo and France. Every church chose its bishop, and every monastery its abbey, under the Pragmatic Sanction, agreeably to the principles of election to ecclesiastical offices in the earliest times of the church. The Pope gave the entire patronage to the king, and as a return received the annates or first-fruits of all the benefices which became vacant. “The raging thirst of domination that consumed those pontiffs, and their arrogant endeavours to crush and oppress all that came within their reach, was accompanied with the most insatiable avarice. All the provinces of Europe were in a manner drained to enrich these ghostly tyrants, who were perpetually gaping after new accessions of wealth, in order to augment the number of their friends and the stability of their dominions.”*

Another cause which the intelligent student of this eventful period cannot but often have occasion to notice, was connected with the remarkable political movements of the age, and their bearing on the protection or advancement of the Reformation. Thus in the diet of the German Empire, just as the condition of Luther became critical and perilous in the extreme, the Emperor Maximilian died, and Frederic Elector of Saxony, the reformer's friend, patron, and disciple, became during the interregnum the head of the empire, and the chief source of power. Though solicited to become a candidate for the high office, he declined the distinction, and

* Mosheim's Church History, p. 12.

gave his casting vote, in a competition between Charles V. of Spain and Francis I. of France, in favour of the former, who thus became emperor. Gratitude, combined with that respect in which the character and talents of Frederic were universally held, gave him the greatest influence with the young emperor, who, on many occasions, was led to disappoint the desires, and refuse the sanguinary requests of Rome, urging Luther to be surrendered to the power of his enemies. Besides, the wars between Francis and Charles so occupied the attention of the latter, that he had little leisure to give to civil or religious affairs, so that the work of the Reformation had attained a maturity and vigour before these causes ceased to operate, that it was impossible thereafter for the power of Charles to do it any injury.

But in enumerating the favourable circumstances which contributed to protect and secure the Reformation, it would be injustice not to dwell in a more particular manner on the services rendered to it by the piety, prudence, protection, and countenance of the Prince already referred to. It is impossible not to acknowledge the wisdom and goodness of Divine Providence in raising up in this prince, one who had so many admirable qualities for the important relation in which he stood to the men and the work, which have given an imperishable name to his electorate and reign. With the deepest conscientiousness, and a remarkable firmness, he was characterised by a caution in forming his opinions and taking his courses amounting almost to an excess; and felt the utmost dread to proceed either too fast or too far, even in what he felt to be, in the general strain, the cause of Divine truth. Thus he calmed the apprehensions of the other princes of the empire, who might have

been alarmed for the consequences had a less prudent patron been politically at the head of the Reformation,—whilst his private counsels, and respect for his wishes, exercised a happy effect in tempering the spirit and actions of the reformers themselves. The very qualities in Frederic which looked like a defect of zeal and decision were overruled for good,—and like the inertness, not without its own range of activity nevertheless, of that part of an engine which imparts equability to its motions, and restrains a violence which might effect a dislocation of its parts, and the total destruction of its action; his calmness, moderation, and slowness, combined, as they were, with a full appreciation of the justice of the reformers' cause, and the excellence of their spirit, exercised a most happy influence upon the progress of that great movement, which doubtless shall continue to go on until the whole earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, and only cease when the voice of the angel shall put an arrest upon all sublunary agencies, and terminate the whole movements of providence, by proclaiming that time shall be no longer.

But the grand immediate and direct cause of this unparalleled awakening of the general mind of modern Christendom, to the truths, motives, and privileges of evangelical religion, with its duties and ends—must be ascribed solely to the grace of God bestowed upon the men who were raised up, and so remarkably endowed with natural gifts and talents, eminent learning, and above all, with love to God, zeal for the honour of the Saviour, and desire to save souls from the wiles of Satan, and the snares of an anti-christian apostasy in the centre of Germany and Europe. Of the man of all others whose name is most closely asso-

ciated with the movement both by friends and foes—the solitary monk who moved the world,—it is difficult to speak in a manner worthy of his admirable endowments, without appearing to substitute eulogy for narration, and the idolatry of the creature, which above all things he abhorred, for the just acknowledgment of the grace and talents which God bestowed upon him, and enabled him to exercise with admirable power and effect. Brought into contact and comparison with the great men of a period of surpassing intellectual and moral superiority, and surrounded by contemporaries and coadjutors, each worthy of holding a high place in the estimation of posterity, as has been fully conceded to them, Luther possessed a combination of great and splendid qualities, which at once engage our attention to him as the principal personage in the group, and place him above any of the princes and great men in Israel, who had appeared since the days of the apostles.

Amongst the natural peculiarities of Luther's mind, some exercised so remarkable an influence upon his character and proceedings, that it is impossible not to be struck with the circumstance, and to admire the happy effect with which they purified, without impairing the reformer's zeal, and regulated his conduct. He had what may be termed a decidedly conservative temperament or disposition; in other words, an aversion to change merely for the sake of change; and a slowness in arriving at his conviction of the necessity of the various steps in the work of reformation, in which he successively proceeded to cut off the many heads of the Hydra of papal corruption. His was a judgment too solid, a sincerity too deep, and a charity too benignant, to permit him to strain after distinction by propounding mere novelties, or even

to assume the existence of evils which demanded eradication before his conscience was fully enlightened with regard to the necessity of the case. But in Luther, as is generally the case with men of the same character, this disposition was united with an admirable firmness of resolution ; so that whatever position he undertook to defend, it was with the indomitable determination not to retract a single hairbreadth. Doubtless, grace exercised in this department of his character a decided influence,—by increasing his conviction of the sacredness of the cause in which he was engaged ; but it is impossible to conceive of Luther as acting in any other spirit but that of a grave, sincere, staunch, incorruptible man. His mind was decidedly German, and in his rich participation of the elements of the national character, he with instinctive readiness appreciated the feelings and views of his countrymen, and was himself understood better than any other of the leading men of the time. And in short, he may be regarded as in some measure the type and representative of the serious and intelligent classes in all ranks of society throughout the German confederation. The grave and serious spirit of Luther strongly recommended him as a safe leader in a mighty conflict of principle, and at the same time lessened that apprehension of violence and disorder which the enemies of the truth might have been able to excite, had a more Phætonic spirit been seen to have taken into his hands the reins of innovation. At the outset of his career, Luther had no conception of the magnitude and importance of the impending Reformation. He came forth as a conscientious and enlightened Romanist, merely to wage war with one of the rampant abuses of a corrupt church, which in his charity he conceived that the higher

authorities, on its being exposed, would repudiate and condemn. You are doubtless all fully aware of the particular circumstances which first called him forth into the arena of polemical discussion, and of the remarkable dealings of God with his own soul preparatory to the distinguished course which he was destined to pursue. He was born in 1483, at Eisleben; his father being a superintendent, and ultimately a proprietor, in the mines of that place, who discharged public offices there, and was esteemed by all men for his integrity. In 1505 his son resolved, in opposition to the wishes of his father, to enter a monastery, with a view to lead a monastic life; from a sudden resolution, alleged to have been formed under the deep concern produced on his mind by the death of a young friend who was killed by his side during a storm of thunder and lightning. The awakened conscience of Luther found no relief from its convictions of sin, in the habit and monastic rules of his new condition; and in the depth of his dejection and melancholy, he disclosed his mind to Staupitz, the vicar-general of the order of the Augustine Monks in Germany. This individual has the credit of having been a kind and judicious friend and adviser of Luther, both in regard to the concerns of his soul and in some of his subsequent public proceedings; but at length drew away as the battle of the Reformation thickened, and contented himself with sinking into the condition of the holder of the wealthy abbacy of Saltzburg, leaving it to others to bear their part in the contendings of the age for Christian truth.

“You do not know,” said Staupitz to Luther, as if with a supernatural foresight into the remarkable future which was then about to open; “you do not know how

useful and necessary this trial may be to you. God does not thus exercise you for nothing. You will one day see that he will employ you as his servant for great purposes." In the second year after entering the monastery, when twenty-four years of age, he appears to have experienced the work of conversion in his soul, and to have been born again by the Holy Spirit. Accidentally finding, in the library of the monastery, a Latin Bible, he began to read it with surprise and interest, and in a prayerful spirit, when his understanding became gradually enlightened to know and receive the divine remedy provided for us in the righteousness of Christ, so that his soul became enriched with evangelical comfort and peace. None can sufficiently understand the deep struggle through which he had to pass, without reading in D'Aubigné the exercises of his mind under the work of the law, and the fruitless nature of all the painful and zealous efforts which he made to provide a righteousness and peace for himself by his own merits. In 1507, he was called to the Professorship of Theology in the university of Wittemberg, where he also officiated as pastor latterly, and where the Reformation had its commencement. During this part of his life, he was sent to Rome in 1510. Suffice it only to add, that Luther was called by Staupitius to exercise the office of Subaltern Vicar, and had forty monasteries under his charge, which he was requested to visit. These facts are important, as shewing the estimation in which his worth and talents were held, and have not only restrained the papal historians from injuring his reputation, but forced them to acknowledge, as Maimbourg has done, his eminent qualities. The delineation of him by the Jesuit historian, though evidently drawn up with a view to detract as much

as possible from his worth, may be perused with interest. "He possessed a great and penetrating genius: he was indefatigable in his studies, and frequently so absorbed in them, as to abstain from meat whole days together. He acquired a great knowledge of languages and the fathers. He was remarkably strong and healthy, and of a sanguine choleric temperament. His eyes were piercing and full of fire. His voice sweet; and vehement when once fairly raised. He had a stern countenance, and though most intrepid and high-spirited, he could assume the appearance of modesty and humility whenever he pleased, which however was not often the case. In his breast was lodged plenty of food for pride and presumption: hence his indiscriminate contempt of whatever opposed his heresies: hence his brutal treatment of kings, emperors, the pope, and of every thing in the world that is deemed most sacred and inviolable. Passionate, resentful, and domineering, he was continually aiming to distinguish himself by venting novel doctrines, and on no occasion would he retract what he had once advanced. He maintained that Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Bonaventura, and others, had undermined the foundations of true philosophy and of Christian theology; and he endeavoured to raise up a system of his own upon the ruin of those very great geniuses. This is an exact portrait of Martin Luther, of whom it may be truly said, there was in the man a great mixture both of good and of bad qualities. The bad predominated; but he was abundantly more corrupt in his thoughts and sentiments than in his life and manners. He was always reckoned to live sufficiently blameless while he remained in the monastery, and till he absolutely ruined all his good qualities by his heresies."

From 1507 to 1517, a period of ten years, Luther was employed in the duties of his professorship and as vicar. At this period Tetzl, a Dominican monk, had received a commission from Albert, Archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburgh, to preach and proclaim the indulgences of Leo X, which administered the remission of all sins, past, present, and to come, to those who were rich enough to purchase them. This person had previously signalized himself by the success which he had in the same unholy traffic, and by his shameless effrontery and impieties was well fitted to force his wares upon the acceptance of a deluded and superstitious people. Riding upon a mule, having a large red cross carried before him, the sign of his official authority, he was received by crowds in the different towns, who thronged to hear the merits of his indulgences, and to purchase the inestimable advantages which they offered. Not to pollute our pages with all the gross ribaldry and outrageous profaneness which he is reported to have used on these occasions, he is alleged among other things to have said, "that he had saved more souls from hell by these indulgences, than St Peter had converted to Christianity; the soul of your father and mother may go to heaven in the very moment in which the money is cast into the chest." The reason assigned for this crusade upon the purses of the Germans, was to meet the drain made upon the treasury of the Pope, by the building of St Peter's; and there can be no doubt that it was a method of levying supplies, which was deemed very unworthy by many of the more enlightened in the Catholic communion. Hume pretends that the offence done to the Augustines, in taking the work from them and giving it to the Dominicans, was the reason why the zealous Sub-

altern-vicar of the Augustine monks began the controversy with Tetzel. But the Augustine monks were never employed by the pontiffs in this matter, and so scandalous was it, that they had no reason to desire it, as even the Dominicans and Franciscans opposed it publicly, both in their discourses and in their writings.

A very remarkable feature in this controversy, which we cannot too highly appreciate, from its being the opening question of the Reformation, consisted in the circumstance, that it led more directly and immediately than almost any other to a discussion of the grand vital truth of Christianity—the divinely appointed method of a sinner's acceptance with God. As a matter of honesty and good faith, in which the interests of public morality were deeply involved, it was material to check the fraudulent practices which Tetzel, and others similarly engaged, were pursuing; as it could not fail, sooner or later, to bring discredit, not only upon those immediately concerned, but upon religion itself. And as an economic matter, affecting the wealth of Germany, it was not without its importance. Like the discussion concerning the Holy Coat of Treves, it was highly right and necessary to expose fraud and avarice, and that the more when practised under the sanction of the sacred name of religion, and by the professed ministers of the cause of truth and righteousness. But all these considerations are of very inferior importance, compared with the spiritual light in which Luther was prepared to view the matter,—as trampling on the knowledge of the glory of God in connexion with the only way of salvation, and as shutting up the kingdom of heaven; whilst it drove men to the use of the most false and ruinous means in a subject where, of all others, they most needed and required to be

directed by the sure guidance of Scripture. His own mind long previous to this, had been taught to feel the importance and efficacy of the doctrine of justification through the infinite merits of the Saviour; and he was grieved to perceive how little this was known during his age, and other means resorted to for purchasing reconciliation and peace with God.

Thus, in 1516, in a letter to a friend, you find him saying, "I desire to know what your soul is doing; whether, wearied at length of its own righteousness, it learns to refresh itself and to rest in the righteousness of Christ. The temptation to presumption in our age is strong in many, and especially in those who labour to be great and good with all their might, and at the same time are ignorant of the righteousness of God, which in Christ is conferred upon us with a rich exuberance of gratuitous liberality. They seek in themselves to work that which is good, in order that they may have a confidence of standing before God adorned with virtues and merits, which is an impossible attempt. You, my friend, used to be of this same opinion, or rather. this same mistake; so was I, but now I am fighting against the error, but have not prevailed." One who saw so clearly, and felt so deeply, the danger of those who seek in themselves to work that which is good, to have a ground of confidence in their merits before God, could not but be utterly grieved and horrified to think on the arts by which Tetzal trifled with the interests of souls, by inducing them to depend upon the fictitious virtue of unscriptural and delusive indulgences. There are some who, in later times, have termed Protestantism a cold and lifeless system of negation; but certainly such was not the Protestantism of Luther or of the Reformers;

and they but discover their ignorance of the spirit and principles of those eminent men, who can for a moment regard their cause in such a light. They loved the truth, in its divine fulness and spirituality, which reveals to us that salvation is wholly of grace, through the merits of Jesus ; and it was to present and commend this that they regarded as the grand end for which they braved so many dangers, and incurred such an amount of toil and exertion. Luther's controversial writings all prove, that it was in this solemn light that he habitually viewed the question. "A Christian," he says, "may become a partaker of the grace of Christ without pontifical indulgences. A Christian may glory that in Christ he has all things ; that all the righteousness and merits of Christ are his own, by virtue of that spiritual union with him which he has by faith ; and on the other hand, that all his sins are no longer his, but that Christ, through the same union, bears the burden of them. And this is the confidence of Christians—this is the refreshment of their consciences, that by faith our sins cease to be ours judicially, because they are laid on him, the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world."

That he was not insensible to the other evils connected with this traffic, is indeed true : but he intimates that these had become the subject of public discontent and hatred against the hierarchy, and needed little to excite them to greater strength. "I was compelled in my conscience," he continues, "to expose the scandalous sale of indulgences. I saw some seduced by them into mischievous errors, others tempted into an audacious profaneness. In a word, the proclaiming and selling of pardons proceeded to such unbounded licentiousness, that the holy church and its authorities became subjects

of open derision in the public taverns. There was no occasion to excite the hatred of mankind against priests to a greater degree. The avarice and profligacy of the clergy had for many years past kindled the indignation of the laity. Alas! they have not a particle of respect and honour for the priesthood, except what solely arises from fear of punishment; and I speak plainly, unless their dislike and their objections be attended to and moderated, not by mere power, but by substantial reasons and reformatations, all these evils will grow worse."

Strong in the importance and goodness of his cause, and in the integrity and uprightness of his views and intentions, Luther stood fast amidst all the various currents which were stirred into commotion with a view to induce him to fall from his stedfastness. It is not our province to go into minute details on the progress of the great controversy: but it may not be without its use, to bring into view the policy which Rome pursued against the reformers from this period, and the influence produced by it in sifting the genuine friends of the gospel from the mere nominal adherents of the cause; whilst it tended to awaken the mind of Luther to a more full view of the anti-christian apostasy against which he was engaged.

On the 31st October 1517, he published his 95th theses, or propositions on the doctrines of penance, charity, indulgences, and purgatory, which he affixed to the church adjacent to the castle of Wittemberg, and to which a challenge to a public disputation were subjoined, according to the practice of the age in regard to theological and philosophical controversies, with a request to all who might not be able to attend to transmit their observations in writing. Referring to this period in the preface to his works, he says, "You will find in my earlier

writings, with how much humility, on many occasions, I gave up very considerable points to the Pope, which I now detest as blasphemous and abominable in the highest degree. This error my slanderers call inconsistency; but you, pious reader, will have the kindness to make some allowance on account of the times, and my inexperience. I stood absolutely alone at first, and certainly I was very unlearned, and very unfit to undertake matters of such vast importance. It was by an accident, and not willingly or by design, that I fell into these violent disputes, I call God to witness. In the year 1517, when I was a young preacher, I dissuaded the people from purchasing indulgences, telling them that they might employ their time much better than in listening to the greedy proclaimers of that scandalous article of sale. I felt assured that I should have the Pope on my side, for he himself, in his public decrees, had condemned the excesses of his agents in that business. My next step was to complain to my ordinary, and also to the Archbishop of Mentz; but I knew not at that time that half of the money went to the last-mentioned prelate, and the other half to the Pope. The remonstrances of a low, mean, poor brother in Christ had no weight. Thus despised, I published a brief account of the dispute, along with a sermon in the German language on the subject of indulgences, and very soon after I published also explanations of my sentiments, in which, for the honour of the Pope, I contended that indulgences were not entirely to be condemned, but that real works of charity were of far more consequence. This was to set the world on fire, and to disturb the whole order of the universe. At once against me single, the whole popedom arose.”

Tetzel, relying on the powerful protection of the patrons by whom he was put forward, persisted, with resolute effrontery, in his impious traffic; and even proceeded to defend himself, by opposing to Luther's Theses 106 propositions justificatory of his proceedings, and intended to overthrow the principles laid down by the Reformer. But such conduct only excited the indignation of men beyond all bounds; and so zealous were the people of Wittenberg in testifying their detestation both of his cause and his defence, that they burned his writings with every mark of disapprobation and ignominy, a circumstance which Luther not only did not authorize, but which he regarded with much grief.

The enemies of the truth at first endeavoured to represent this controversy as a mere political measure, which the Elector of Saxony had instigated Luther to commence, with a view to disgrace and injure the Archbishop of Mentz,—a rumour which, perhaps, they propagated with a view to draw forth some strong disclaimer from the elector, and by detaching him from the cause of the Reformer, to get him to deliver him more readily into their power.

At the same time two celebrated Romanists, Eckius of Ingolstadt, and Prierias, a Dominican master, of the sacred palace at Rome, not willing to leave the defence of their cause in the hands of Tetzel, opened a controversy with Luther, which the Reformer conducted on his part with an ability and moderation, which even his enemies have acknowledged. The representations of the Emperor Maximilian to Pope Leo, respecting the rapid extension of the principles of the Reformer in Germany, and the necessity of checking their progress, induced the pontiff to summon Luther to Rome, to

vindicate his conduct before the tribunal of the Head of the Church. Frederic, honourably distinguished by historians as the *Wise*, protested that the cause of Luther belonged to the jurisdiction of a German tribunal, and that it ought to be decided by the ecclesiastical laws of the empire. The pontiff yielded to this remonstrance, and ordered Luther to appear before Cardinal Cajetan, then legate at the diet of Augsburg, to justify his principles and proceedings; a step which in its issue widened the division which it was intended to heal. The haughty and imperious disposition of the cardinal would not permit him to enter into any discussion with Luther on the merits of the cause, and demanded a distinct and absolute recantation as the only condition of his reconciliation with Rome. At one of the interviews the Reformer, on being charged with having transgressed the bull of Clement VI., defining the nature and extent of indulgences, pleaded the authority of the Holy Scriptures in his defence, as having more weight than a pontifical decision. Cajetan in reply exalted the authority of the Pope above all councils, above the church, and even above the scriptures themselves. To this Luther opposed the appeal of the University of Paris, whose reputation always stood high, as the parent of science and the defender of the purest Christianity. Cajetan in a rage declared that the Parisians would meet with due punishment, and that Gerson, whose writings Luther had quoted, was damned, together with all his followers. This proud son of the church maintained to the most extreme extent the efficacy of indulgences, contending for the tenet contained in Pope Clement's Bull, that "a single drop of the blood of Christ having been sufficient to redeem the whole human race, the remaining

quantity that was shed in the garden and upon the cross was left as a legacy to the church, to be a treasure from whence indulgences were to be drawn and administered by the Roman pontiffs." This he insisted on Luther's acknowledging, a concession which was altogether impossible on the principles of the Reformer, who was not averse to admit indulgences in the sense of the mere remission of ecclesiastical penalties, but who held it to be unscriptural and impious to assign to them an efficacy of the nature belonging to the blood of Christ, in cleansing from guilt and delivering from eternal punishment.

Luther, who required the protection of a safe conduct before he could entrust himself to appear before Cajetan, on perceiving that any further communications with that dignitary would be useless, was induced, by his own judgment and the advice of his friends, to quit Augsburg very early on the morning of the 19th October 1518, to avoid being seized and imprisoned; but not before he had formally appealed from the Pope's legate, nay from the Pope himself, "ill informed, to the same most holy Leo X., on his being better informed." Cajetan, on his part, wrote the Elector of Saxony, complaining of Luther's insolent and insincere behaviour, and urging him either to send the Reformer to Rome, or to banish him from his dominions. "As to himself," he said, "he washed his hands of so pestilential a business; but his highness might be assured, that the cause would go to Rome: it was too important to be passed over in silence, and he entreated him not to sully the glory of himself and his illustrious house for the sake of a paltry mendicant monk."

On this occasion it was that Staupitius, the early friend of Luther, and his adviser in regard to his spiritual state, and hitherto his supporter in the controversy of indulgences, was drawn away from his stedfastness, either by an apprehension of danger or by the solicitations of Cajetan. He ceased from all farther share in the trials and labours of the Reformer, and withdrew to Saltzburg, where he was rewarded by being advanced to the dignity of abbot. Nothing can be more instructive than the study of the personal character and conduct of the men of that period, as seen beneath the strong light which the events of the time caused to bear upon them.

But the loss sustained by the withdrawal of Staupitius, was more than compensated to Luther by the marked and decided expressions of approbation and support, which, in the increasing peril with which he was threatened, the Elector of Saxony was induced to communicate to him. On his return to Wittemberg, the sagacity of Luther did not fail to appreciate the full extent of his immediate and prospective difficulties. Every day the contest grew more and more perilous. The cause had now become not merely national but European in fame and magnitude. But what it gained in this respect made it more peculiarly a test of the opinions and characters of men. As the lofty mountain chain becomes the water line which separates and divides the falling rain, which, after pursuing its downward parallelism, branches off on opposite sides, forming rivers which flow to widely distant oceans, and each with a momentum and acceleration proportioned to the elevation of their disconnecting source; in like manner, the exalted principles which rose with the Reformation divided society in a most extraordinary manner, and if on one side

there was the bringing together into coalescence of the pious and the good, there was, on the other, a combining of the elements of ungodliness, persecution, and superstition, into a torrent of unparalleled strength and fury.

There was, however, still one attempt made by the court of Rome, to gain over, if possible, the Reformer to a modification of his principles, with a view to a pacification. This negotiation was entrusted to Miltitz, a Saxon knight, a man of politeness and accomplishment, who bore the golden consecrated rose to the Elector Frederic, which the Popes were accustomed to send to royal personages as a special mark of their favour and regard. He was allowed by his master to disclaim the proceedings of Tetzal, and indeed expressed so strongly the indignation of the Pope against him, that the unhappy victim, thus sacrificed, soon afterwards died of grief and vexation. Certain terms of agreement were arranged between Miltitz and the Reformer, in which it was conceded by Luther that he assailed indulgences only under the character given of them by Tetzal, that is, as conferring the remission of sins and spiritual punishment; whilst it was conceded by the legate, that the odious conduct of Tetzal and the avarice of Albert, archbishop of Mentz, were condemned by the Roman See. Even Mosheim, who views this part of Luther's conduct so unfavourably as to speak of his *weak submissions*, admits that there were, properly speaking, no retractation of his former tenets, nor the smallest degree of respect shewn to the impious traffic of indulgences. But the truce thus attempted to be established was too feeble to exist in the state to which the minds of men were brought in the course of this great controversy.

The discussions on indulgences had led to a deep inquiry into the very foundations of the papal authority, and of many other papal institutions, and Luther in particular had dropt some words in the course of controversy unfavourable to the power of the Popes as of divine right. The zeal of Eckius, a man burning with a desire for distinction, and eager to obtain preferment by his ostentatious support of the Roman See, challenged Luther and Carolstadt to discuss several of these new questions, which had come up incidentally in the progress of the Reformation. With Carolstadt, the matter in dispute was the freedom of the will, or the limits of nature and grace; and in the controversy on this subject, according to Luther's own admission, the difference between the disputants appeared to be more in words than in any real opposition of views. But very different was the case in the controversy with Luther himself, which related to the supremacy of the Pope as of divine appointment. Up to this period, and in the course of this discussion, all that Luther denied was the *divine* right of the pontifical jurisdiction; for he still admitted the necessity of a supreme visible head of the church, and justified the popedom as a useful and requisite ordinance. But the effect of this controversy, which extended over the period of ten days, was to induce him to inquire more deeply into the subject; and the result of his reading and meditation was, that he came to recognise in the Pope the very antichrist of whom mention is made in scripture. His observations on the progress of his views at this period are very characteristic of his candour and sincerity, and deeply interesting. "My own case," he says, "is a notable example of the difficulty with which

a man emerges from erroneous opinions of a long standing. How true is the proverb, Custom is a second nature. How true is the saying of Augustine, Habit, if not resisted, becomes necessity. I who, both publicly and privately, had taught divinity with the greatest diligence for seven years, insomuch that I retained in my memory almost every word of my lectures, was, in fact, at that time only just introduced into the knowledge and faith of Christ. I had only just learned, that a man must be justified and saved, not by works, but by the faith of Christ; and lastly, in regard to pontifical authority, though I publicly maintained that the Pope was not the Head of the Church by a *divine* right, yet I stumbled at the very next step, namely, That the whole papal system was a Satanic invention. This I did not see, but contended obstinately for the Pope's right, founded on human reasons; so thoroughly deluded was I, by the example of others, by the title of Holy Church, and by my own habits. Hence, I have learned to have more candour for bigoted papists, especially if they are not much acquainted with sacred, or perhaps even with profane history."

Now no terms were to be kept with him on the part of Rome. He had touched the Pope's crown—the most unpardonable of all impieties, and the greatest of heresies. At the discussion between Luther and Eckius, Philip Melanethon, Professor of Greek at Wittenberg, then a young man of twenty-three years, and one of the most eminent scholars of the age, was present, and became so fully convinced of the truth and excellence of the Reformer's cause, that he forthwith declared himself for the reformation, and he became a distinguished instrument, in advancing the great work,

by his counsels and writings. The magnanimity and principle implied in this step, will be better estimated from considering the dreadful peril to which Luther was committed, in having hurled at Rome the gauntlet of stern and indomitable defiance.

Eckius, after the controversy with Luther at Leipsic, instantly repaired to Rome, and instigated the papal court to direct the thunder of their anathemas against the Reformer, and expel him from the communion of the church. Accordingly, the pontiff issued a bull, dated 15th June 1520, in which forty-one pretended heresies, extracted from his writings, were solemnly condemned, his writings ordered to be publicly burned; and in which he was again summoned, on pain of excommunication, to confess and retract his pretended errors within the space of sixty days, and to cast himself upon the clemency and mercy of the pontiff. The reformation became from this period a great contest in behalf of spiritual religion, as contradistinguished to the political, superstitious, and antichristian system of Rome; and left, therefore, many behind, who were willing to follow it as long as they regarded it as merely opposing the vices and abuses which lowered the credit and defeated the ends of that system. Amongst this class, it is with unfeigned regret that we are called to rank Erasmus, the most eminent scholar of his age, but a man who valued his own ease more than the high claims of spiritual religion. How painfully does he contrast in this respect with the far more timid and modest, yet, where conscience was concerned, decided and resolute Melancthon. Nothing seems more remarkably to shew the wretched expedients which men can resort to with a view to justify themselves for not bearing the cross of Christ,

when they are without love to his truth, than the defence put forth by this eminent scholar but flexible man. Although the age of time-serving is by no means gone, nor its arts obsolete, few even of its most practised proficientes would imitate the candour of Erasmus, or choose to adopt the same wide category of non-essentials in religion, which they would be ready to discard rather than sacrifice their interests or endanger their peace. "If," said he, "I were called upon to suffer for the truth of the gospel, I should not refuse to die; but yet I have no disposition to suffer for Luther's paradoxes. The present disputes are not concerning articles of faith, but whether the pope's supremacy is of Christ's appointment; whether the order of cardinals is a necessary part of the Church; whether there is authority for the practice of confession; whether free-will contributes to salvation; whether *faith confers salvation*; whether the mass can in any sense be called a sacrifice. On account of these points, which are the usual subjects of the scholastic contentions, I would neither endanger my own life, nor venture to take away the life of another."

In the zeal of self-sacrifice he differed from Luther; in the zeal of persecution he was opposed to the pope and his myrmidons. His was the neutrality of multitudes, who have a strong desire to follow truth until it commits them to a course of difficulty and self-denial.

The following is Mosheim's account of the reception of the papal bull at Wittemberg.

"As soon as the account of this rash sentence pronounced from the papal chair was brought to Luther, he thought it was high time to consult both for his present defence, and for his future security; and the first step he took for this purpose was the renewal of his ap-

peal from the sentence of the Roman pontiff, to the more respectable decision of a general council. But as he foresaw that these appeals would be treated with contempt at the court of Rome, and that when the time prescribed for his recantation had elapsed, the thunder of excommunication would be levelled at his devoted head, he judged it prudent to withdraw himself voluntarily from the communion of the church of Rome, before he was obliged to leave it by force; and thus to render the new bull of ejection an exercise of authority without any object to act upon. At the same time, he was resolved to exercise this wise resolution in a public manner, that his voluntary retreat from the communion of a corrupt and superstitious church might be universally known before the lordly pontiff had prepared his ghostly thunder. With this view, on the 10th December 1520, he had a pile of wood erected without the walls of the city, and there, in presence of a prodigious multitude of people of all ranks and orders, he committed to the flames both the bull that had been published against him, and the decretals and canons relating to the Pope's supreme jurisdiction. By this he declared to the world, that he was no longer a subject of the Roman pontiff, and that, of consequence, the sentence of excommunication against him was entirely superfluous and insignificant."

Now it was that the firmness and influence of Frederic of Saxony stood in admirable stead to the Reformer, the avowed enemy of Rome, and the object of her deepest and most immitigable hate. Maximilian had died during the preceding year, and his grandson Charles, by the casting vote of Frederic, was raised to the imperial throne. Immediately after the burning of the pontiff's

laws, another bull was issued against Luther, pronouncing upon him and his followers the eternal anathemas of Leo, in which the Pope designated himself, most impiously, "The divinely appointed dispenser of spiritual and temporal punishments." As to the former, Luther believed that he had no claim,—and as to the latter, he found that a gracious Providence was able to preserve him from being reached by the sanguinary laws of Rome. Aleander was instructed by Leo instantly to repair to the elector and the emperor, and to crave of them liberty to burn Luther's books, and to obtain that they would either put the author of them to death, or imprison him till he should be sent to Rome. The person thus selected to be the popish executioner, was a man of ability but of profligate morals, whose hatred of Luther was the effect, not of superstition exclusively, but of the aversion which he felt for his holy and unblameable character. As to the emperor, he replied, that he must first hear what the Elector of Saxony had to say on the subject; but at length, to conciliate both parties, he permitted Luther's writings to be burned, but resolved that he himself should not be interfered with, till called before a diet of the empire, appointed to be held at Worms in 1521.

During the interval which elapsed previous to the assembling of the diet, the magnanimity, zeal, and untiring energy of Luther were peculiarly exhibited. "While his friends trembled," says Milner, "for the issue, he himself seems to have rejoiced that even so short a season was afforded him for pursuing his studies and labours. He published an incredible number of sermons, paraphrases, and polemical tracts. And he evidently valued life only as it gave him the opportunity

of carrying forward and accelerating the great revolution which had taken place in the views of his country upon the truths of religion." Then it was that, amongst his multifarious duties, he published his Exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians, and gave the world a proof of the accordance of his views concerning the freeness of divine grace, and the method of justification, with the inspired writings of Paul.

At length the period arrived when Luther was called to bear the most remarkable testimony in behalf of evangelical religion, which has been lifted up in the history of modern times. The attention, not of Germany only, but of all Europe, was fixed upon the august assembly which was convened at Worms, of the princes, and nobles, and citizens of the empire, presided over by the young emperor in person, before whom Luther was summoned to appear. The diet was composed of three colleges; the Electoral College, in which the eight electors sat, who had the exclusive privilege of a vote in choosing an emperor; the College of Princes, in which all the lay and ecclesiastical princes sat, not electors, each of them for the territory of which he was the immediate sovereign; and the College of the Cities, where the representatives sat of the free cities of the empire.

"The Elector of Saxony," says Milner, "foreseeing the important questions, of a political as well as of a religious nature, which would be agitated at the next diet, took care to be at Worms some weeks before the meeting of the general assembly. Then this wise and good prince, in conversations with the emperor and others, soon discovered that mischief was meditated against Luther." His enemies in general were con-

triving to have him brought before the diet, with the design no doubt of securing the person of the heretic : and we find that the emperor had once so far acceded to their wishes as to issue express orders for his appearance. The summons for this purpose was sent to the elector, but the prince refused to concur in that method of conducting the business, and Charles recalled the summons. All this took place before the middle of January 1521. In fact, at that moment the cautious Frederic scarcely knew what course to steer. Perfectly upright and conscientious, he wished for nothing so much as an impartial hearing of the whole cause, and an equitable sentence in consequence ; but he had great fears lest, by calling Luther to Worms, he should entangle him in the dangerous snares of his adversaries ; and moreover, he did not then know what Luther himself might think of such a proposal. In this obscurity of circumstances, the good sense and good principles of the elector determined him to adhere steadily to two points ; first, by no means to compel Luther to appear among his adversaries against his own will ; and second, in every event not to permit him to stir a step towards Worms without a complete and unequivocal safe conduct, nor to write any letters of passport in his behalf without the express directions of the emperor. In the mean time, he caused Luther to be made acquainted with the intention of his malignant adversaries, and the question to be proposed to him, what he would do if he should be cited to appear at the diet ?

The answer of Luther was communicated in a letter addressed to Spalatinus, the elector's secretary and chaplain, and a distinguished friend of the Reformer's, and discovers, in an eminent manner, the exalted faith

and self-devotion of this extraordinary man. "Thought kings and princes," he wrote, "conspired together against the Lord and his Christ, yet, as it is written in the same Psalm, 'Blessed are they who put their trust in him.' It is not our business to determine whether more or less benefit will accrue to the church from my life or death; but it is our bounden duty to beseech God, that the reign of Charles may not commence with bloodshed in an impious cause. And for my part, as I have often said, I would much rather die by the Romanists alone, than that he should be involved in this business. But if I must die, not only by pontifical but by civil injustice, God's will be done. You have here my resolution. Expect from me any thing rather than flight or retractation. I mean not to flee, much less to retract. So may the Lord Jesus strengthen me. I can do neither without scandalizing godliness and hurting the souls of many."

The policy of the Romish agents at this celebrated diet, Aleander and Eckius, was either to get the diet to summon Luther to appear before them as a condemned heretic, who, on refusing to recant, should be instantly delivered up to the See of Rome, or else to use every effort to prevent him from appearing at all. In the former case, the business before the diet would consist in simply receiving from him an answer to the question, whether he would recant or not; but in the event of his being allowed to come forward without any recognition of the bull of the pope against him by that diet, they were afraid that, as Luther would have an opportunity of entering upon the merits of the whole case, the privilege which he would receive of discussing the questions involved, would materially conduce to

promote and extend his cause. Accordingly, when Charles, at the request of Frederic, gave the Reformer a safe conduct, Aleander complained bitterly that a downright heretic, already condemned by the Roman pontiff, should be treated with so much lenity and concession. He ought to have been heard no farther; or if it were thought proper to condemn him again with new formalities, most certainly the public faith ought not to be granted to him, which would have been denied to any man who was only accused of the crimes for which Luther stood already condemned. He was, moreover, a factious man, of great volubility of language and great presence of mind, who spoke with such tones of voice and ardent looks as to be capable of raising a sedition.

Luther, accompanied by Justus Jonas, principal of the Collegiate Church at Wittenberg, and several other friends, set out for Worms, where he arrived on the 16th April 1520; and was received in a most gratifying manner. He entered the city in an open carriage, preceded by the Emperor's herald on horseback in his official dress; and as he stepped on the ground in the presence of a prodigious concourse of people, he expressed these words, "God will be on my side." It is characteristic of the Reformer, and worthy to be noticed, from its connexion with the history of recent events in our own country, that though expressly forbidden to preach at any of the towns through which he had to pass, Luther declared that he had never promised to obey that injunction, and that the word of God ought not to be fettered; and accordingly he preached at Erfurt as he went, and at Eisenach as he returned, and in various other places. Remembering the fate of John Huss, though

enjoying the protection of a safe conduct, many of the friends of Luther endeavoured to turn him aside from his purpose of proceeding while upon his journey; and it was at one of the solicitations which were made to him to that effect, he rendered the memorable reply:—
“ Though he should be obliged to encounter at Worms as many devils as there were tiles on the houses of that city, this would not deter him from his fixed purpose of appearing there; and that these fears of his friends could only proceed from the suggestions of Satan, who apprehended the approaching ruin of his kingdom, by the confession of the truth before such an august assembly as the diet at Worms.” “ So fearless,” said Luther afterwards, when near his death, “ can God render a man, I do not know whether at this day I should be so bold.”

It would be impossible even to give an outline of the various important details connected with the Reformer's presence at Worms on his occasion, consistent with a regard to the space to which we are limited. Suffice it to say, that on the first day of his appearance before the diet, he was required to give in a reply to two questions; the first, whether he acknowledged those books which went by his name to be his own? and the second, whether he intended to defend or to retract what was contained in them? On the following day, Luther, first in German and afterwards in Latin, addressed the diet in a speech remarkable for its firmness and moderation, to the very great satisfaction of all his friends, and in particular of the Elector of Saxony. “ Permit me,” said Luther among other things, “ to suggest for the consideration of us all, that as Almighty God is wonderful and terrible in counsel, surely it behoves this august assembly to examine with special care, whether the object

which my enemies so ardently long to compass, does not in fact amount to a condemnation of the *divine word*, and whether such a measure adopted by the first German diet of the new Emperor might not lead to a great deluge of evils.”

The grand foundation of which Luther never for a moment allowed himself to lose sight—on which he placed the merits of his cause, was described by these words. Whether in the presence of the diet, or having to meet the insidious private solicitations of those who would draw some concessions from him, his constant appeal was to the word of God. At one of his subsequent appearances before the diet, the Elector of Brandenburg said, “Are we to understand, then, that you will not give way unless convinced from the Holy Scriptures?” “Yes, most kind and gentle sir,” said Luther; “or by very clear and evident reasons.”

At last finding the Reformer immovable, and that nothing farther could be done to serve the ends of conciliation, Luther received from the Emperor a message which directed him to leave Worms, and allowed him twenty-one days to return home, during which the public faith was pledged for his safety; but he was strictly enjoined not to preach to the people in the course of his journey.

The situation of the Reformer was now dark and perilous in the extreme. His only friend among the potentates assembled in the diet was Frederic, the Elector of Saxony; whilst all the others, including the Emperor, were zealous adherents of the Roman See, and some of them eager to destroy Luther. Among the latter was George of Saxony, uncle of Frederic, who, from the proximity of his territory, was peculiarly zeal-

ous in opposing the progress of the Reformation among his own subjects, and solicitous to suppress them in the electorate of his nephew. Soon after, as all foresaw, on the 8th May 1521, the diet, after acknowledging, in an edict, that the Pope was the only true judge of the controversy, declared Luther “a member cut off from the church, a schismatic, a notorious and obstinate heretic; and denounced the severest punishment against all who should receive, entertain, maintain, or countenance him, either by acts of hospitality, by conversation or writing; and all his disciples, adherents, and followers, are involved in the same condemnation.”

From the subsequent conduct of George of Saxony, it is evident that he was prepared to pursue the execution of this edict, even to the extent of depriving Frederic of his dominions as a protector of Luther—not only from bigotry, but from the ambitious desire to acquire his relative’s territories. Aware of the disposition of his uncle and the Romanist party, Frederic had recourse to an expedient for saving Luther, and preserving his own interests unendangered—which forms one of the most singular incidents in the history of the Reformation. He sent three or four persons in whom he could confide, disguised by masks, to meet Luther on his way from the diet, and to conduct him with the utmost expedition and secrecy to the castle of Wartburg.

In this seclusion, Luther remained concealed from the whole world; an object of concern to his friends, who entertained the suspicion, that his enemies had cast him into confinement, or taken away his life; whilst they, on the other hand, conscious that he was not in their possession, felt extreme surprise at the nature of his sudden and inexplicable disappearance. It may suffice to state,

concerning this period of the Reformer's history, that it was in the castle of Wartburg, which he called his Patmos, that he found leisure for composing many of his works, and in particular, that he applied himself to the greatest of all his undertakings, the translation of the Bible into the German language. From this period, the Reformation, which hitherto had stood in a defensive attitude, began to assume an offensive or aggressive character, and to extend its progress with marvellous rapidity, acquiring both an increased purity, and a wider diffusion of principle and zeal. But as it will be necessary to employ the utmost succinctness in our observations on this part of our subject, we would preface what we have to state by some general remarks, which may serve to give a more connected and luminous view of the progress which distinguished this great work.

There may be recognised three distinct principles in the development of the energies of the Reformation, which exercised a correspondingly various influence upon the destinies of this mighty movement. In the first place, there was the principle of intellectual and spiritual enlightenment, which claimed for men the exercise of the right of private judgment in the concerns of religion, maintained the word of God to be the exclusive standard of authority in matters of faith or duty, and which deemed it to be essential to bring the soul under the operation of divine truth, with a view to gain the grand end of the Reformation,—the glory of God in connection with the salvation of men. Of this principle, the genuine and appropriate principle of the movement, Luther was at once the most zealous and enlightened advocate and representative. But, unhappily, there came into operation two other principles, which exercised, though in different

ways, the most unfavourable influence over the progress of the great cause. One of these was the enthusiastic principle adopted by a mass of ignorant and rash innovators, of a divine right to employ physical force in removing idolatry, and in advancing the interests of religion, and maintaining its authority, contrary to the express testimony of Christ and his apostles—that the weapons of the Christian soldier are not carnal. The Reformation, which consists in purifying the principles of men, and in silently leading them to embrace the truth, and submit themselves to its operation, was too slow and calm a process for these impatient zealots to esteem; but their rugged efforts only awakened the disgust and dread of society at their progress, and combined into opposition against them all the lovers of order and peace, as well as the interested supporters of superstition, and its various abuses. They verified the prophecy of our Lord, That whoso taketh the sword shall perish by the sword. The other principle was one which, though it bore the sanction of civil authority on its side, was equally pernicious, in a religious point of view, on the due development of the grand leavening process which the reformers desired to extend throughout the nations. Certain princes, actuated in part by an enlightened detestation of the pretended authority and claims of the Church of Rome, as injurious to their own power and the interests of their kingdoms, and in part by an earnest zeal to glorify God in promoting true religion among their subjects, anticipating the silent progress of the truth, introduced an enforced and compulsory reformation into their kingdoms. The consequence was, that a formal amelioration of the state of religion was established, without any corresponding awakening or improve-

ment in the religious state of the people. And the cause of an unduly precocious reformation, instead of coming to maturity, was suffered to lag at the stage, however imperfect, to which it was brought by the hand of civil authority. The first principle desired to advance the reformation through conviction, the second from force, and the third by the word of command; and the effects accordingly soon became manifest of this diversity:—and serve to afford an instructive lesson to all who are willing to accept the services of history, not only as a remembrancer of the past, but as a counsellor in respect to the future.

As might be expected, the zealous and enlightened labours of Luther continued during his absence to give an impulse to the cause of reformation at Wittenberg of the most gratifying nature. The Augustinians left off in that city the celebration of private masses, new preachers of the gospel daily lifted up their voice throughout the electorate of Saxony, and though some of the higher ranks, both among the magistrates and clergy, were intimidated by the imperial edict of Worms, the common people gladly attended to the pure doctrines of salvation. The enlightened views of the reformer were admirably supported by the policy of Frederic, who while he stood as a wall of brass between the reformation and its enemies, left his subjects to follow implicitly their own judgment, and granted the utmost toleration to the adherents of Rome. Thus divine truth was left to pervade society, and to regulate men's views and principles by its native power, and, separating the impurities of superstition like scum from its hold on the general mass, the process of defecation ultimately came to be as easy as it was effectual of accomplishment,

At Zwickau, Nicholas Hausman accepted the pastoral office this year, concerning whose piety Luther bore this distinguished testimony, "what we preach he lives." And there also Frederick Myconius, who afterwards came to England under the auspices of Henry VIII., to superintend the interests of the reformation, having fled from the rage of George of Saxony, fixed his residence and pursued his labours as a minister of the gospel.

At Friberg, the capital of a very small territory presided over by Henry of Saxony, a brother of George, the truth was generally embraced at this early period; and though that prince himself, subsequent to the diet of Worms, separated himself, in some degree, from the cause of the reformers, his Duchess, Catherine of Mecklenburg, exhibited a laudable pattern of Christian fidelity in the profession of divine truth. Whilst Luther was gratified in his retirement by the rapid spread of the truth in Germany, of which he received intelligence, two circumstances occurred at this period which he felt to be disagreeable; the first was the condemnation of his writings by the University of Paris; and the second, the appearing of Henry VIII. in opposition to the Reformation, by publishing a refutation of the principles of the Reformer contained in his treatise on the Babylonish Captivity,—a royal contribution to the cause of Rome which earned for its author the title, since borne by the possessors of the British throne, of Defenders of the Faith. In the month of December this year Leo X. died, and was succeeded in the papal chair by Adrian of Utrecht, formerly tutor to Charles V., and now by his influence exalted to be the head of the Popish Church. In the month of March following, Luther left his Patmos to return to Wittenberg, without waiting

the permission of Frederic, in order to check the violent zeal of some who excited tumults in Saxony, and were acting in a manner equally prejudicial to the true interests of the Reformation, and the tranquillity of the state. Carolstadt, a professor in the University of Wittenberg, a man of eminent talents and zeal, but injudicious in many respects, was, if not an encourager of these violent proceedings, at least less unfavourable to them than he ought to have shewed himself. But instead of entering at present into the question how far he was implicated in them, or to what extent the alienation which at this time ensued between him and Luther, had an influence in imbittering the controversy which afterwards took place between them, concerning the nature of the Lord's Supper; we shall proceed to give, in a connected view, such information as we possess concerning the progress of the Reformation in the surrounding nations of Europe. He who placed Israel in the midst of the earth—like a candle in a candlestick, to enlighten the whole house—manifested his divine wisdom in a similar manner in selecting the most central part of Europe to be the birthplace of the Reformation. The blow there struck and the flame kindled, reverberated and spread rapidly and widely in every direction; and the cause of Luther and the Reformation became an object of interest from the farthest eastern limits of Christendom to the Atlantic, and from the shores of the Northern Ocean to the islands of the Mediterranean.

The following extract from Milner, to whom we have been indebted for many particulars, will give a very distinct idea of the extent to which the Reformation had spread so early as 1523:—

“ During this vehement exercise of the voice and pen

of Luther on the one hand, and the suffering of the Protestants from the sharp sword of persecution on the other, the word of God was preached with much success in several parts of Germany, particularly at Nuremberg, at Frankfort on the Main, at Ulm, and at Halle in Swabia. At Milberg the gospel was taught by the learned Protestant reformer John Draco; also at Bremen and Magdeburg by two fugitive Augustine monks, one of whom had stolen out of his prison at Antwerp, and the other had been forced to leave Halberstadt. At Zerbst, the first city in the principality of Anhalt, Luther himself preached to a crowded audience in the Augustine monastery, with great effect on the minds of the people. The reformation was begun likewise at Stettin and Lunda, two very flourishing towns in the anterior of Pomerania. The inhabitants of the former requested two pastors to be sent to them from Wittenberg; at the latter, unfortunately, the gospel was disgraced by the riotous proceedings of the tumultuous populace, who broke to pieces the images of the saints, and drove the monks from their monasteries in one day. A Danish domestic of Luther's appears to have sown the first seeds of evangelical truth at Stolpen, in the higher Pomerania. Cnophius and Bugenhagen were schoolmasters of such great reputation at Triptow, that numerous pupils, not only from the neighbouring towns, but even from Livonia and Westphalia, came in quest of their instructions. Both these learned men, however, were so persecuted on occasion of their principles, that Bugenhagen repaired to Wittenberg; and Cnophius, with his Livonian scholars, also left Triptow, applied himself to the ministry, travelled to Riga, Revil, and Dolphat; and in all those great cities, particularly

Riga, inveighed against the popish abuses, and preached the leading doctrines of Christianity with much animation and fidelity. About this period, as appears from Luther's letters, the important city of Hamburg publicly renounced the papal jurisdiction, and even the Frieslanders desired pastors to be sent to them from Wittemberg.

The light of the reformation, says Mosheim, was received in Denmark so early as the year 1521, in consequence of the ardent desire discovered by Christian II. of having his subjects instructed in the principles and doctrines of Luther. It is, however, proper to observe, adds that historian, that in all his proceedings Christian II. was animated by no other motive than that of ambition. It was the prospect of extending his authority, and not a zeal for the advancement of pure religion, which gave life and vigour to his reforming projects. His very actions, independently of what may be concluded from his known character, evidently shew that he protected the religion of Luther with no other view than to rise by it to supremacy, both in church and state; and that it might afford him a pretext for depriving the bishops of that overgrown authority and those ample possessions which they had gradually usurped, and of appropriating them to himself. A revolution, occasioned by his avarice, tyranny, and cruelty, prevented the execution of this bold enterprise. The states of the kingdom, exasperated, some by the schemes he had laid for destroying the liberties of Denmark, others by his attempts to abolish the superstitions of his ancestors, and all by his savage and barbarous treatment of those who dared to oppose his avarice or ambition, formed a conspiracy against him in the year

1523, by which he was deposed and banished ; and his uncle, Frederick Duke of Holstein and Sliswic, placed on the throne.

The queen of the deposed monarch was the sister of Charles V., and an eminent ornament of the cause of the Reformation ; and Luther justly observes, that if she could but have been persuaded to deny the gospel of Christ, she might perhaps have been restored to her kingdom, through the active interference of her powerful brother the Emperor, and of her other brother Ferdinand, the Arch-duke of Austria. This extraordinary personage, after a severe discipline of humiliating afflictions, died in peace, and, there is every reason to hope, found rest in the application of that gospel, to the relief of her spiritual necessities, which the brothers denominated and treated as heresy, schism, and sedition.

The cold dignity of general history disdains to include such events in its descriptions of public personages ; and few of those who are familiar with the military glory and exploits of the Emperor Charles, have ever heard of the piety of his sister Elizabeth. We may here remark, as not a little singular, that the sister of the great rival of Charles, Francis I., Margaret, queen of Navarre, was extremely favourable to the new doctrine, which delivered pure Christianity from a great part of the superstitions under which it had been long disguised. "The auspicious patronage of this illustrious princess," says Mosheim, "encouraged several pious and learned men, whose religious sentiments were the same as her own, to propagate the principles of the reformation in France, and even to erect several Protestant churches in that kingdom. It is manifest," he continues, "from the most authentic records, that so early as the year 1523, there

were in several of the provinces of that country, multitudes of persons who had conceived the utmost aversion both against the doctrine and tyranny of Rome, and among them many persons of rank and dignity, and even some of the Episcopal order.

“As their numbers increased from day to day, and troubles and commotions were excited in several places on account of religious differences, the authority of the monarch, and the cruelty of his officers, intervened to support the doctrines of Rome by the edge of the sword and the terrors of the gibbet; and on this occasion, many persons eminent for their piety and virtue were put to death. This cruelty, instead of retarding, rather accelerated the progress of the Reformation. It is nevertheless true, that under the reign of Francis I., the restorers of genuine Christianity were not always successful and happy. Their situation was extremely uncertain, and it was perpetually changing. Sometimes they seemed to enjoy the auspicious shade of royal protection; at others, they groaned under the weight of persecution, and at certain seasons they were forgotten. Francis, who had either no religion at all, or at least no fixed and consistent system of religious principles, conducted himself in such a manner towards the Protestants as answered his private and personal views, or as reasons of policy and public interest seemed to require. When it became necessary to engage in his cause the German Protestants, in order to foment sedition and rebellion against his mortal enemy Charles, then did he treat the Protestants with the utmost equity, humanity, and gentleness; but so soon as he had gained his point, and had no more occasion for their services, then he

threw off the mask, and appeared to them in the aspect of an implacable, persecuting tyrant.

“About this time the famous Calvin began to draw the attention of the public. He was born at Noyon in Picardy, on 10th July 1509. and was bred up to the law, in which, as well as in all the branches of literature then known, he greatly excelled. Having acquired the knowledge of religion by diligent perusal of the Holy Scriptures, he began early to perceive the necessity of reforming the established system of doctrine and worship. His zeal exposed him to various perils, and the connections he had formed with the friends of the reformation, whom Francis was daily committing to the flames, placed him more than once in imminent danger, from which he was delivered by the good offices of the Queen of Navarre. To escape the impending storm, he retired to Basil, where he published his *Christian Institutions*, and prefixed to them that famous dedication to Francis I., which has attracted universally the admiration of succeeding ages, and which was designed to soften the unrelenting fury of that prince against the Protestants.”

In Sweden, the cause of the Reformation was powerfully fostered and developed under the patronage of Gustavus Vasa Ericson. This generous prince had, in the previous part of his life, before ascending the throne, been an exile; and having taken refuge at Lubeck, he there imbibed the principles of the reformation. He employed Olaus Petri and Laurentius, two of the disciples of Luther, to diffuse the truth among his subjects; and appointed Andreas, his chancellor, to translate the Scriptures into the Swedish language. No means, in short, were omitted for enlightening the minds of the

people; and Sweden, from that day, has maintained a national testimony in behalf of the doctrines of the Reformation. The greatest opposition was made by the interested supporters of a powerful hierarchy to the enlightened zeal of Gustavus; and "induced him to demit the crown, from the impossibility of carrying out his principles. The great body of the Swedish representatives, namely, the Commons, in the national convocation, were now so much enraged at the conduct of the refractory bishops and their adherents, as to signify to them in no obscure terms, that if they did not instantly comply with the pleasure of their beloved sovereign, they would soon feel the vengeance of the people, as a return for their obstinacy and disobedience. At length the crisis became so great, that, with the exception of a small minority of the more violent partisans of popery, the Assembly concluded its proceedings by beseeching Gustavus to resume the government, and by limiting and reducing the ecclesiastical privileges and revenues of the hierarchy."

It may now be necessary, previous to bringing to a close our remaining observations on the progress of the Reformation throughout the principal kingdoms of Europe, to look back to the progress of events in Germany from the period to which we brought down the narrative of Luther's proceedings.

Informed in his retirement of the turbulent proceedings which were going on in Saxony, the Reformer hastened to resume his place at the helm, and to re-establish order and a regard for the public peace among those who had been led into those irregularities. We have hitherto seen him setting at defiance the unscriptural authority of the Roman antichrist and his officials; we

now find him resisting the tumults of the people, and at the risk of forfeiting his hitherto unexampled popularity, boldly opposing himself to the course of lawless outrage and violence.

“ Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Menti quatit solida.”

He immediately proceeded to deliver a series of discourses from the pulpit, in which he communicated his views of the duties which were required in the circumstances in which they were placed. Theological controversy unhappily mingled with the questions in dependence between the reformer and the violent party, who naturally adopted the sentiments of Carolstadt concerning the nature of the Eucharist, who was understood to favour them; whilst Luther held that tenet which regarded the elements as more than mere signs and seals of the covenant of grace, and as becoming by consecration consubstantial with the body and blood of Christ. Nothing tended more to divide the reformers, to maintain controversy, and to produce an inauspicious effect upon the great cause, than the obstinacy with which Luther adhered to the view which he had taken upon the subject; and in which he was opposed not only by Carolstadt, but by Zwingle and the whole body of the Swiss reformers. Under the popedom of Adrian, an attempt was made through Francis Cherigato, the pope's legate, at the diet of Nuremberg, to obtain the speedy and vigorous execution of the sentence pronounced at the diet of Worms, and at the same a promise was given that the pontiff was ready to remove all the abuses and grievances which existed in the state of ecclesiastical affairs. “We have all,” said the Pope, “every one of

us turned to our own way, and for a long time none hath done good, no not one. Let us give glory to God and humble ourselves before him, and let every individual among us judge himself that God may not judge him in his wrath. Nothing shall be awanting on my part to reform the court of Rome, whence perhaps all the mischief hath originated, that as this court hath been the source of the corruptions which have thence spread among the lower orders, so from the same a sound reformation may proceed." In regard to the schism which Luther had made in the church, Adrian requested the diet to inform him what method they judged most expedient for suppressing it. Thus invited, the diet, after applauding the Pope's intention to reform the court of Rome, exhibited an hundred articles, technically called *centum gravamina*, containing a list of their complaints against the abuses of the Church of Rome; and in fine, they declared that they prohibited all innovation in religious matters, until a general council should decide what was to be done in an affair of such high moment and importance. Luther, immediately upon this, published an address, in which he gratefully acknowledged the satisfaction which the edict of the diet gave him, and drew among other conclusions from it, the following important inference. "By this decree, I do maintain that Martin Luther stands absolved from all the consequences of the former sentence of the Pope and Emperor, until a future council shall have tried his cause, and pronounced definitive sentence. For if this be not the meaning of the decree, I am at a loss to find any other; neither can I understand what else can be the design of this suspension of judgment, and this appeal to a general council." From the friendship between Adrian and the Emperor, it is

impossible not to conclude, that in a little time they would, by their combined influences, have brought Luther to a violent end, had not Providence interposed, and by the death of Adrian, terminated this powerful and ominous combination between the heads of the ecclesiastical and civil powers. He died in the year 1523, and was succeeded in the popedom by Clement VII, the official designation of Julius de Medici, who was placed in the papal chair by very uncanonical means, and had in this a personal reason for dreading a general council, and the scrutiny which it might institute into the validity of his election. This pope sent Campegius as his legate to another diet, held at Nuremberg in 1524; but although he got the emperor to second his demands, by the orders which he sent to his minister at the diet, to insist upon the execution of the sentence pronounced at Worms, nothing final was done. The members of the diet promised to observe the edict of Worms *as far as they could*, a plain admission that the increased strength of the reformation rendered it impossible to attempt to proceed against Luther and his followers by penal measures; whilst they, at the same time, renewed their demands of a general council, and appointed the 11th of November next for a new diet, to meet at Spire, to make temporary regulations of all matters in dispute, until a general council should be summoned. The decision of this diet was equally reprobated by the Pope, the Emperor, and Luther; and in writing to the Elector of Saxony on the subject, Charles could not refrain from intemperate and acrimonious language. It belonged to himself and the Pope, he said, to call councils, and to fix on the place where they should meet. He absolutely forbade the princes to assemble at Spire, and

enjoined the strictest observance of the edict of Worms. He called Luther a *profane savage*, who, like Mahomet, was aiming at great power, by poisoning men's minds by the contagion of his agreeable doctrines. During the following year, the Rustic war, or the War of the Peasants, broke out in Germany, which originated in causes purely secular, such as oppressive taxes, and the cruelty of the local governments. Munzer, indeed, at the head of a party of fanatics, took advantage of the commotion pretending that he was divinely inspired,—to introduce a new form of religious doctrine, discipline, and worship,—to suppress every kind of civil government,—and to establish a pure and unspotted church. Luther distinguished himself as a patriot and Christian minister on the occasion, by using all his influence to reclaim the people from these anarchical demagogues, and to re-establish order and tranquillity in the empire. During these commotions, the Elector Frederic departed this life, continuing to the last the prudent, firm patron of the reformation, and was succeeded in the electorate by his brother John, who took a more decided course, by assuming a supremacy in ecclesiastical as well as in civil matters, and who established in his dominions a church upon the model since called Lutheran, in doctrine, discipline and government.

We can now, in conclusion, only devote a short notice to the remaining events which occurred until the meet- of the Diet of Augsburg, when the celebrated articles were presented by the friends of the reformation to the diet, which are known by the name of the Confession of Augsburg. And this we shall proceed to do in the words of Mosheim :—

“ Things being reduced to this violent and troubled

state, the patrons of popery gave intimations that were far from ambiguous, of their intention to wage war upon the Lutheran party, and to suppress by *force* a doctrine which they were incapable of overturning by *argument*. And this design would certainly have been put in execution, had not the troubles of Europe disconcerted their measures. The Lutherans, on the other hand, informed of their hostile intentions, began also to deliberate upon the most effectual methods of defending themselves against superstition armed with violence, and formed the plan of a confederacy which might answer this prudent purpose. In the mean time, the diet assembled at Spires in the year 1526, at which Ferdinand the Emperor's brother presided, ended in a manner more favourable to the friends of the reformation than they could naturally expect. The emperor's ambassadors at this diet were ordered to use their most earnest endeavours for the suppression of all farther disputes concerning religion, and to insist upon the rigorous execution of the sentence which had been pronounced at Worms against Luther and his followers. The greatest part of the German princes opposed this motion with the greatest resolution, declaring that they could not execute that sentence, nor come to any determination with respect to the doctrines by which it had been occasioned, before the whole matter was submitted to the cognizance of a general council, lawfully assembled; alleging farther, that the decision of controversies of this nature belonged properly to such a council, and to it alone. This opinion, after long and warm debates, was adopted by the great majority, and at length consented to by the whole assembly; for it was unanimously agreed to present a solemn address to the emperor, beseeching him to assemble without de-

lay a free general council ; and it was also agreed in the mean time, that the princes and states of the empire should, in their respective dominions, be at liberty to manage ecclesiastical matters in the manner they should think most expedient ; yet so as to be able to give to God and to the emperor an account of their administration when it should be demanded of them.

“ Nothing could be more favourable to those who had the cause of pure and genuine Christianity at heart, than a resolution of this nature. For the emperor was at this time so intensely taken up in regulating the troubled state of his dominions in France, Spain, and Italy, which exhibited from day to day new scenes of perplexity, that, for some years, it was not in his power to turn his attention to the affairs of Germany in general, and still less to the state of religion in particular, which was beset with difficulties, that, to a political prince like Charles, must have appeared peculiarly critical and dangerous. Besides, had the emperor really been possessed of leisure to form, or power to execute, a plan that might terminate the religious disputes which reigned in Germany in favour of the Roman pontiff, it is evident that the inclination was wanting, and that Clement VII, who now sat in the papal chair, had nothing to expect from the good offices of Charles V. For this pontiff, after the defeat of Francis I. at Pavia, filled with uneasy apprehensions of the growing power of the emperor in Italy, entered into a confederacy with the French and Venetians *against* that prince : and this measure inflamed the resentment and indignation of Charles to such a degree, that he abolished the papal authority in his Spanish dominions, made war upon the pope in Italy, laid siege to and sacked Rome in the year

1527, blocked up Clement in the castle of St Angelo, and exposed him to the most severe and contumelious treatment. These critical events, together with the liberty granted by the diet of Spire, were prudently and industriously improved by the friends of the Reformation, to the advantage of their cause, and to the augmentation of their number. Several princes, whom the fear of persecution and punishment had hitherto prevented from lending a hand to the good work, being now delivered from their restraint, renounced publicly the superstition of Rome, and introduced among their subjects the same forms of religious worship, and the same system of doctrine, that had been received in Saxony. Others, though placed in such circumstances as discouraged them from acting in an open manner against the interests of the Roman pontiff, were, however, far from discovering the smallest opposition to those who withdrew the people from his despotic yoke; nor did they molest the private assemblies of those who had separated themselves from the Church of Rome. And in general, all the Germans, who, before these resolutions of the diet of Spire, had rejected the papal discipline and doctrine, were now, in consequence of the liberty they enjoyed by these resolutions, wholly employed in bringing their plans to a certain degree of consistency, and in adding vigour and firmness to the glorious cause in which they were engaged. In the mean time, Luther and his fellow labourers, particularly those who were with him at Wittenberg, by their writings, their instructions, their admonitions, and counsels, inspired the timorous with fortitude, dispelled the doubts of the ignorant, fixed the principles and resolution of the floating and inconstant,

and animated all the friends of genuine Christianity with a spirit suitable to the grandeur of their undertaking.

“But the tranquillity and liberty they enjoyed in consequence of the resolutions taken in the first diet of Spires was not of long duration. They were interrupted by a new diet, assembled in 1529, in the same place, by the emperor, after he had appeased the commotions and troubles which had employed his attention in several parts of Europe, and concluded a treaty of peace with Clement VII. This prince, having now got rid of the burthen that for some time overwhelmed him, had leisure to direct to the affairs of the church, and this the reformers soon felt to their disagreeable experience. For the power which had been granted by the former diet to every prince, to manage ecclesiastical matters as they thought proper until the meeting of a general council, was now revoked by a majority of votes: and not only so, but every change was declared unlawful that should be introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the established religion, before the determination of the general council was known. This decree was justly considered as iniquitous and intolerable by the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the other members of the diet, who were persuaded of the necessity of a reformation of the church. Nor was any of them so simple or so little acquainted with the politics of Rome, as to look upon the promises of assembling speedily a general council, in any other light than as an artifice to quiet the minds of the people; since it was easy to perceive that a lawful council, free from the despotic influence of Rome, was the very last thing that a pope would grant in such a critical situation of affairs. Therefore, when the princes and members now mentioned found that all

their arguments and remonstrances against this unjust decree made no impression upon the abettors of the ancient superstitions, *they entered a SOLEMN PROTEST* against the decree on the 19th April, and appealed to the emperor and a future council. Hence arose the denomination *PROTESTANTS*, which from this time has been given to those who renounce the superstitious communion of the Church of Rome."

It may now be expected, before concluding, that we should resume our view of the progress of the Reformation, at least so far as to trace it to the introduction of the great principles of the Protestant faith into our own land. Nothing can be more dissimilar than the manner in which the work took place in the southern part of the island, compared with its rise and advancement in the kingdom of Scotland. Henry VIII, who, as a younger son, received in his youth the education of one who was destined to be an ecclesiastic, entered the lists with the German reformer as a controversialist, and impugned the principles contained in his treatise on the Babylonish Captivity. Luther shewed little deference to the monarch in his reply to the author, and had even used an acrimony of language of which his friends complained, and for which he himself afterwards expressed his regret to Henry. It is unnecessary to refer to the well-known events in the history of this dissolute and obstinate monarch, which, notwithstanding his intolerant bigotry, at length induced him to renounce the supremacy of the pope, and to sanction the cause of the reformation in his dominions. It is, however, to be carefully noticed, that Henry did little more than transfer to himself the authority and patronage which hitherto had belonged to the Pope, a circumstance which, from

his well-known character and principles, was productive of little benefit to the interests of genuine religion. He still adhered to several of the most indefensible doctrines of Rome; frequently threatened with death such as opposed his religious opinions; and conceived that, as Defender of the Faith he was the master of the religious sentiments of his subjects, and authorized to prescribe modes of faith according to his own fancy. He was an instance, in short, of a reformer after the fashion of Christiern of Denmark, though capable, by his greater energy and power, of giving effect to his determinations, notwithstanding the opposition of many of his subjects. But like all reformations which stand upon authority rather than flow from conviction, the effects produced by Henry's protestantism were more apparent than real, and had no tendency to exceed the standard presented by the arbitrary will of the sovereign. Accordingly, nothing can be more painful than the fluctuations which occurred in the state of the national religion in England during this and the following reigns, and which painfully adapted themselves to the various principles and characters of the successive possessors of the throne. And even to this day, it is not difficult to discover in the motley ecclesiastical condition of the Church of England, and in the vague equivocal testimony of her standards on certain important doctrines, the consequence of the precipitate steps by which she was conducted from her condition as a Popish institution to that of a Protestant Church. The following reproof from the pen of Melancthon, addressed to Henry, will shew how little satisfactory his conduct was to the reformers of Germany:—
“ Deeply do I regret these proceedings, illustrious king, both for your sake and the sake of the church of Christ.

You have openly rejected the tyranny of the Church of Rome, and with truth have denominated him Antichrist; yet you defend those laws of the Romish antichrist which are the sinews of his power, such as private masses, celibacy, and other superstitions. You threaten to inflict the most cruel torments upon excellent men, the members of Christ's body: you quench the enlightening truths of the gospel in your church. This is not taking away antichrist, but confirming his power. I implore you, therefore, for the sake of the Lord Jesus Christ, pollute not your conscience by defending the articles which your bishops have set forth. It is no light sin, to establish the idolatry, the errors, cruelties, and lusts of antichrist. If the bishop of Rome had a synod assembled at this moment, what articles would it concoct and impose upon the world, but such as those your bishops have devised? Beware, I beseech you, of the snares of Satan, who is accustomed especially to assault and tempt those in authority; and since he has been the enemy of Christ from the beginning of the world, so he has especially, by using crafty devices, endeavoured to depreciate Christ, by disseminating impious tenets, and exciting men to idolatry. And he has laboured to pollute the human race with unrighteous cruelties and sinful lusts. To attain this object, he has made use of the abilities of hypocrites, and the power of rulers. The histories of every age have shewn how mighty monarchies have raged against the church. But God has been pleased to bring some princes from the armies of his enemies, to join his church, and to acknowledge the doctrines and worship of truth. Much rather would I desire that you were one of that number, than to behold you amongst the enemies of Christ, contami-

nated with idolatry, and sprinkled with the blood of saints, for whom God will take vengeance, as many examples testify."

With regard to the reformation in Scotland, it is unnecessary to enter into any particular observations, as the events connected with its rise and progress are, through the distinguished labours of Dr M'Crie and others, familiar to all. Suffice it to say, that it presents, perhaps, the best instance on record, of a reformation neither enforced by authority, nor precipitated by violence and anarchy, but matured and developed by the growing intelligence and convictions of a religious people. There existed an under current of evangelical principles among the humbler ranks of society from the days of the Culdees, particularly in the western districts; and while ecclesiastical and civil tyranny gave our public institutions a form decidedly hostile to freedom, it either overlooked or found itself incapable to destroy the principles of piety which were cherished among the peasantry of the land. This indigenious protestantism was powerfully affected by every instance of the revival of pure religion in other countries. Most joyfully did it receive tidings of the labours of Wickliffe in the 14th century, and accept, as a very precious boon, the translation of the Bible, for which the cause of truth was indebted to the labours of the Rector of Lutterworth. The more general and commanding movements of Luther were hailed with even a deeper interest; and when Wishart and Hamilton began to preach the doctrines of the reformation publicly, they found a people already deeply imbued and powerfully attached to these principles. The rigorous despotism, both civil and ecclesiastical, maintained at that period, repressed with its utmost

energies the cause of truth ; and would have overborne and crushed the work, had it not been characterised by a vitality and endurance altogether divine. And to this fact we have to ascribe much of that purity, solidity, and power which characterised it on its subsequent development, and which, after the disintegrating agency of centuries, still renders the Protestantism of Scotland eminently resolute, enlightened, and uncompromising. Like the mountains of our land, which, in their rugged and stern aspects, indicate the superincumbent pressure which afforded the subterranean flames scope for the intense action which penetrated and moulded these indurated masses into their present form—the religion of Scotland bears the decided impress of the circumstances in which it was originated and developed. The silent invisible operation of the truth, quickened by the divine influence of the Holy Spirit, exerted through the masses of society a power all the more penetrating and impressive from the opposition and persecution to which the reformation was subjected. Scotland to this day is a land of ruined cathedrals and dismantled castles ; and at the same time a land of Bibles, Sabbaths, and Churches, beyond almost any other in Christendom.

In the former we see the relics of that depressing dynasty which bore down the purity, intelligence, and liberty of an awakened nation ; and in the latter the effect of that rising spirit which, formed in the deep convictions and emotions of society, at length burst forth into an irrepressible and overflowing torrent, blessing and enriching the age in which it appeared, and destined to be the source of lasting blessings to future generations. Let us never forget that the great lesson which the Reformation teaches, is to place the most

perfect reliance on the ultimate ascendancy of divine truth, when quickened in the hearts of men by the operation of the Holy Spirit. No force, no tumult, is necessary to accelerate the agency ; and all the boasted combinations of human policy and strength will not restrain it. Like a fountain of living water springing up to eternal life, there is a salient vigour in divine grace, which must triumph in the end over all opposition. The great men of the reformation were fully confident of this, and occupied themselves exclusively in sowing the seed of the divine word through society, and in watering it with their prayers. Far from them was the barren ambition of raising themselves to distinction and power, by an eloquence and policy adapted to stir up the energies of men to restless discontent and a resolution for change. They were men of God ; whom an ardent zeal for the divine glory, and a deep concern for the immortal well-being of their fellow men, constrained to count all things but dross for the excellence of the knowledge of Jesus Christ their Lord.

LECTURE III.

THE PRESENT STATE AND PROSPECTS OF EVANGELICAL RELIGION IN GERMANY; WITH A SKETCH OF ITS HISTORY FROM THE TIME OF LUTHER.

BY THE REV. PATRICK FAIRBAIRN,

MINISTER OF FREE CHURCH, SALTON.

THE first great object of Satan's policy toward the church of God, is to destroy its existence; and when failing in that, his next is, to corrupt it from the simplicity that is in Christ, and thereby undermine its vitality and usefulness. This policy, in both its departments, was directed against the great Head of the Church himself, the incarnate Redeemer. To make sure, if possible, of his destruction in infancy, the cruel edict was issued for a general slaughter of the babes in Bethlehem. But that wicked purpose having been defeated by the timely interference of Divine Providence, the child that was born having at last sprung to manhood, and appearing on the stage of the world's history as the anointed Jesus of Nazareth, then every nerve was plied to compass his overthrow, by betraying him to abandon the principles of a child-like obedience, and especially, by spreading before him for his covetous embrace the riches and glory of the world. No sooner had he finished the

work given him to do, than a course of procedure precisely similar began to be adopted toward the church which he left behind him as his witness on earth, but, unhappily, with different success. For though we see the prince of darkness striving in vain, through the combined hostility of the powers of this world, to crush her existence in infancy, we see him by degrees insinuating the foul leaven of the world into her bosom,—corrupting with false mixtures the soundness of her doctrine, perverting her principles of action, and at last, through the fulness of her earthly portion, depraving her spirit and character, till they became essentially one with those of the world.

The revived Christianity, which, after the lapse of many ages of darkness and corruption, sprang up in Germany, through the instrumentality of Luther, and his fellow-labourers in the work of the ministry, in its future history but too closely resembles that of the primitive church. By the wonderful providence of God, thwarting the designs and checking the fury of the adversaries, this Church of the Reformation succeeded well in weathering the fearful storm with which it was at first assailed; the gates of hell could not prevail to quench the flame that was then kindled, or to arrest the progress of the truth, till judgment was brought forth into victory; and after passing through many formidable dangers and death-like struggles, the Church, in one at least of its two grand divisions, the Lutheran, was, by the Convention of Augsburg in the year 1555, publicly recognised, and secured in the free enjoyment of its rights and liberties. By that memorable Convention all Germans were permitted with equal freedom, either to adhere to the Church of Rome, or to believe in the Augs-

burg Confession, the creed of the Lutherans : the members of both churches were placed on the same footing as citizens and members of the empire ; and 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.

It is true that the benefits of this important pacification were expressly limited to the adherents of the Augsburg Confession, and that those who belonged to the Reformed or Calvinistic churches, had no legal claim to its provisions. It would seem, however, that though not legally entitled to the toleration established, they actually enjoyed it ; and that in so far as their relations to the empire were concerned, both churches met substantially with the same treatment. But the Catholics were never satisfied with the peace agreed to at Augsburg ; and continued to try various artifices, by which they hoped to obtain a retraction of the conceded liberties, and even to extirpate the reformed opinions from Germany. These views came to be more openly avowed and acted upon from the time the Jesuits began to acquire the ascendant in the courts of Catholic Europe ; and chiefly at their instigation, the house of Austria proceeded, shortly after the commencement of the seventeenth century, to make the most violent and unconstitutional encroachments on the rights and properties of the Protestants.* This led to the long and harassing war between the Catholics and Protestants, which is known by the name of the Thirty Years' War, carried on, with various success, from about 1618 to

* Mosheim, b. iv. art. xvii. sect. 2. Richter (*Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts*, p. 75), ascribes the breach of peace partly to the Jesuits, and partly to the inclinations of the Catholic princes themselves.

1648, during a considerable part of which, the Protestants were assisted and headed by the famous Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, whose fall on the plain of Lutzen, in 1633, revived the hopes of the adversaries, as his previous successes had filled them with terror. But at length, both parties being tired of the protracted warfare, and their resources exhausted, the peace of Westphalia was concluded in 1648, which finally adjusted the contending claims of the Romish and Protestant churches, and fixed their relative position on the basis which, with no essential variation, has been maintained to the present day. By that treaty, which included the Reformed, as well as the Lutheran churches, perfect equality of rights was secured to the existing religious parties; so that all religious matters were henceforth to be disposed of, not by the will of the majority, but by mutual consent, and friendly arrangement between the Catholic and Evangelical states. In regard to the adherents of any other confession than those thus recognised, the power was granted to the princes within their respective territories, and by virtue of their civil supremacy, either to give or to withhold permission to form themselves into a church. But even when this liberty was refused, the right of household devotion, of civil traffic, and an honourable burial, was confirmed to them. And in regard to the three recognised churches themselves, the Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed, any one was left free to choose to which he would attach himself, after coming to the years of discretion, or, if he should see cause, to change from one communion to another.*

Thus by the peace of Westphalia, the terms of which may justly be regarded as the Magna Charta of the

* Richter, as above, § 36, seq.

civil rights and liberties of the Protestant Churches of Germany, the first grand object of the adversary was finally defeated; they attained to a recognised place among the public institutions of the empire, and all hope perished of strangling their political existence. But the more he was foiled in this first object of his endeavours, he seems only to have applied himself the more industriously to carry his second, viz. to corrupt these churches from the simplicity that is in Christ, and by internal disorder and decay to unfit them for prosecuting the great ends for which they were planted. After the peace of Westphalia we hear little of the cause of Protestantism in Germany, as a spirit of life contending with the powers of darkness, and diffusing far and wide the blessings of the gospel. It had been so long struggling for a political existence and a position of safety, that when it finally attained to this, instead of starting from it anew as from a better vantage-ground, it settled down into a state of security and repose, as if all had been won which it was necessary to strive for. The wish, so naturally cherished in such circumstances by the flesh, of doing nothing to provoke an adversary that had involved them in such harassing conflicts, and brought their very existence into peril, easily induced the churches to be content with what they had already obtained, and to cease from all vigorous attempts to encroach on the domain of popery. The jealousy, besides, which from the first had subsisted between the Lutheran and the Reformed sections of the Protestant Church—carried often even into the pulpit, and discovering itself sometimes in the most intemperate language—had the effect of distracting the minds and weakening the evangelistic efforts of both parties, as it

must also have proved unfavourable to the life of godliness within their respective communions. The severity, and we might almost say ferociousness, which was displayed in these party contests, especially on the Lutheran side, seems now almost incredible. Luther himself, unhappily, had set the example, by repulsing, with the most unbending resolution, the advances made by the Reformed, with Zwingle at their head, though the latter pleaded for the union even to tears. So thoroughly was Luther's spirit, in this respect, caught by his followers, that in 1553, when the Calvinistic Protestants of England fled to the Continent during the reign of the bloody Mary, they were, by the advice of the Lutheran theologians, denied shelter, even in the depths of winter, at Copenhagen, Bostock, Lubeck, and Hamburg; the cry raised was, "Better Papists than Calvinists, better Mahometans than Reformed." Books were published with such titles as these: "Proofs that the Calvinists have 666 errors in common with the Turks;" "Brief evidence that the present attempt at union (1721) with the self-styled Reformed, is in direct opposition to the Ten Commandments, to all the articles of the Apostle's Creed, to all the petitions of the Lord's Prayer, to the doctrine of Baptism, the power of the Keys, the holy Communion, as well as the whole Catechism." In a volume of sermons, still in existence, published in 1590, the Calvinists are classed with Papists, "as two furious armies of incarnate devils, who dispute about the holy supper," and the heathen Ovid is declared to be "a better theologian than the Calvinists." And even in a catechism for the young, the question is put to the Lutheran child, "Dost thou believe, that instead of honouring and worshipping

the true and living God, the Calvinists honour and worship the devil?" and answered, "I do from the bottom of my heart."* It is true that nothing like the same bitterness of spirit is to be found among the Reformed toward the Lutheran, who were influenced, no doubt, in some measure by the noble example of Calvin, who declared that if "Luther should even call him Satan, he would not cease to acknowledge and honour him as an illustrious servant of God." But still they must have partaken, to some extent, of the feeling of antipathy that was engendered, and suffered from its blighting influence.

Further, the Lutheran churches, which were by far the most numerous in Germany, were, from a very early period, agitated with keen and fruitless controversies among themselves, which took off their regard from the great things of salvation, and wasted the strength which should have been reserved for better purposes. The first of these controversies was the Adiaphoristic, respecting things indifferent, which arose from the Interim of 1548 being assented to on the part of Melancthon and others, in so far as it contained things indifferent. It was found that not a few of the things which were reckoned indifferent, were among the number of those which Luther had justly denounced as contrary to the word of God; and hence the more zealous Lutherans, at the head of whom was Flacius, vehemently protested against such a halting course, and such latitudinarian views, and raised so determined an opposition, that for some time a split in the body seemed inevitable. A tendency also, which discovered itself at a very early

* Taken from D'Aubigné's *Lutheranism and Reform*, and *Amand Saintes*, p. 52.

period, in different quarters of the Lutheran body, to espouse the distinctive tenets of Calvinism, further increased this controversial spirit ; and when, after many vexing discussions and anxious negociations, the Formula of Concord was agreed to in 1576, with the view of healing the divisions and cementing the Lutheran body, the violent attacks which were made on this document, both by the Reformed churches and by some of the Lutheran party themselves, only kindled anew the flame of controversy, and perpetuated the elements of discord. Finally, the authoritative standards of the Lutheran church, or Symbolical Books as they are called, were so numerous, and from the circumstances of the times, the clergy were called so often to defend them against misgivings from within and attacks from without, that even this had an unfavourable effect upon the spirit and character of their ministrations. They were constantly plying the people with dry, metaphysical, elaborate discussions on such points as liberty and necessity, predestination and God's decrees, the ubiquity or universal presence of the Lord's human nature. So incessantly were these and such like points debated during the latter part of the sixteenth and the earlier part of the seventeenth century, that the discourses, even of the more eminent and distinguished men in the church, seem to have left almost entirely out of view what was fitted to beget a living faith, or to nourish a spiritual and godly life ; as may be understood from one of these, Andreaë, the principal author of the famous Formula of Concord, distributing the matter of his discourses into the four following parts : The first treating of the difference between Lutheranism and Popery ; the second, of that between the Church of Christ and

the Zwinglians; the third holding an argument with Schwenckfeldians; and the last directed against the Anabaptists.*

It is also to be taken into account in forming our estimate of the state of the churches of the Reformation in Germany, from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, that there were serious practical evils in the constitution of these churches, which could not fail to exercise in the course of time a pernicious influence on their general character and prosperity. For the Lutheran churches, while they held it to be essential to a true church to possess the preaching of the gospel, the administration of sacraments, the exercise of the power of the keys, and the maintenance of discipline according to the word of God—while they demanded that nothing in doctrine or worship should be imposed on the church without her own consent, at the same time yielded to the supreme power in the state the *jus episcopale*, the prime and ultimate authority in the church; and hence admitted the respective sovereigns, who espoused the Protestant cause, to interfere both personally and by their representatives in the government of the church. It was therefore in perfect accord-

* *Amand Saintes Hist. du Rationalisme*, also Tholuck's Lectures in the American Bib. Repository, vol. iv. "To designate any one as a noted theologian of that age, is the same as to say 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."—*Mosheim's History*, vol. iii. p. 341, (Murdoch's Translation). The symbolical books of the Lutheran Church were the Augsburg Confession, the Articles of Smalcald, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms of Luther, and the Formula of Concord—first, too numerous; secondly, too minute and philosophical in some of their statements; and thirdly, scripturally unsound in others, especially on the decrees of God and the Lord's Supper.

ance with the constitution of the Lutheran Church, that wherever it formed the established religion, the rights of civil patrons should remain in full force, and that civil should sit along with properly ecclesiastical officers in the consistories, whose part it was to direct the government and discipline of the church in the several localities.* That a loss of spirituality, and a relaxation of the purity and order becoming a church of Christ, would not be long in discovering itself as the result of this worldly intermixture, might be inferred with the utmost certainty. And we are by no means surprised to hear Mosheim testifying, that though at the first the Lutheran Church was distinguished by the wise and temperate use of discipline, "in process of time it fell into disuse, and in his own day (the eighteenth century), scarcely a vestige of it in most places remained." He justly adds, "This restraint upon wickedness being removed, it is not strange that the morals of the Lutherans should become corrupted, and that a multitude of persons living in open transgression should everywhere lift up their head."†

* Richter, as above, § 29, 30. Mosheim, iii. p. 327. "It is true (says D'Aubigné) that Luther at last made a proper distinction between the two swords of the church and the state; but after him, and even in his day, the Lutheran princes invested with the territorial episcopacy, absorbed all liberties, and all ecclesiastical independence."

† Hist. vol. iii. p. 329. One may be disposed to question how far Mosheim was right in saying that the Lutheran church was at first distinguished by the wise and temperate use of discipline. Indeed, Luther's own history seems to speak another language, for the close of his days was clouded by the moral disorders which broke out around him in Wittemberg, the very field of his ministerial labours, and the place of his greatest influence; and it was with the greatest difficulty that he was prevented from leaving it

In those districts where the Lutheran was not the established religion, the process of degeneracy might be somewhat slower, but it did not fail to proceed. And in the Reformed churches, matters in this respect seem to have been no better. For very few of these adopted in its full extent the platform of Geneva, which, as is well known, was based on the principle of entirely excluding the civil magistrate from interfering with the government, any more than the doctrines of the church, and of having every thing regulated by means of her own officers in the respective judicatories of the church, and in strict accordance with the word of God. Most of the evangelical churches even in Switzerland rejected this apostolical constitution, and preferred following the views of Zwingli, who held, indeed, that the government of the church is in the hands of the church; but with such an entire confounding of the temporal and spiritual, in disgust. How different the close of Calvin's life, not only dying in outward peace and honour, but able also to appeal to those whom he left behind him, that "matters are not ill constituted," and only needing to charge them, that they would, after his decease, "preserve the established order, and not suffer them through negligence to fall into decay!" So well did they for a long time acquit themselves of this charge, and so admirably did the system with its sound theology and effective discipline work, that fifty years afterwards, one of the most zealous Lutherans of his day, Andreae, could not help, as D'Aubigné informs us, with all his prejudices, writing thus: "What I have seen there (in Geneva, which he had just visited) I shall never forget. The most beautiful ornament of that republic is its tribunal of morals, which every week inquires into the disorders of its citizens. Games of cards and chance, swearing and blasphemy, impurity, quarrelling, hatred, deceitfulness, infidelity, drunkenness, and other vices, are repressed. Oh! how beautiful an ornament to Christianity is this purity. We Lutherans cannot too deeply deplore its absence from us. If the difference of doctrine did not separate me from Geneva, the harmony of its morals could have induced me to remain for ever."

jurisdictions, that according to him it belonged to the Christian magistrate to settle and arrange every thing that concerns the external order of the church, so that the ministers of religion had no right to exclude transgressors from the church, or deprive them of the communion.* These views of Zwingle were generally adopted by the Reformed churches in Germany ; and the chief difference between them and the Lutheran in point of government, consisted in the somewhat larger share which the members of particular churches had in the administration of their affairs, and in the right of the presbyteries and synods to enact laws for the whole. But from the nature of their constitution, the reins of discipline must from the first have been held with a slack hand, and, as an inevitable result, the pure and blessed character which they should have maintained and exhibited, must have been sadly marred, and an open door left for the entrance of corruption and every evil work.

If we put all the influences together, which have now been shortly recounted—the frequent, long-continued, and harassing wars through which the churches of the Reformation in Germany had to maintain their cause during the first century and more of their existence—the fierce war of opinion and controversy, which was waged between the two grand divisions of the churches themselves, and in the largest division between the members of their own communion—the substitution to which these controversies to a great extent led, of me-

* Richter § 31. Mosheim, iii. p. 416, who quotes the statement of Gualther, that “neither Zwingle nor Bullinger ever approved of excommunication, and opposed those who sought to introduce it, and that when Ecolampadius set it up in Basle, it was against Zwingle’s advice, and was of short duration.”

taphysical subtleties and logical argumentation for the quickening and wholesome truths of the gospel, and of reputed orthodoxy of belief for the possession and exercise of a living faith—the defective and unsound constitution of the churches as to the administration of discipline and the preservation of order and purity in the communion ;—if we put all these things together, and think what must have been the amount of their combined influence operating through a succession of generations, we may well be prepared to expect, that, by the middle or close of the seventeenth century, there wanted little to be realized of the second great object of Satan's ambition—the loss, in the evangelical churches of Germany, of the simplicity that is in Christ, and the decay in them of the life and power of godliness. No doubt, there would be many noble exceptions both among the ministers and the people ; by means of the Bible, the hymn-books, which were deeply impregnated with the spirit of the gospel, and other pious productions, the divine light would be kept burning, and the souls of men nourished into healthfulness of life, in places and families of which no record exists on earth. And it is a proof at once of the low state of the Protestant churches generally, and of the great number of scattered individuals, who still breathed a better spirit and sighed after a revived Christianity, that John Arndt, who during a long life had given himself with most exemplary zeal and assiduity to the proper work of a Christian pastor, was reviled and denounced as a heretic by his brethren in the ministry, his writings represented as “ poison,” “ containing the residue of all heresies ;” while these same writings, and especially his True Christianity, which is characterized by vigorous thought and a health-

ful piety, passed through numberless editions, and to this day is found in almost every house where religion itself has found a home.*

We may regard it as partly in consideration of the sighs and prayers of this pious remnant, that the Lord was pleased to send a time of revival to his church, which began shortly after the ratification of the peace of Westphalia. The chief instrument in effecting this revival, was Spener (born in 1635, and died 1705), a man of respectable, though not commanding talents and attainments, of deep humility, winning address, and high-toned, heaven-breathing piety. The kind of reformation he aimed at producing, as well as the special means he employed to produce it, took their character from the times in which he lived, when a dead and barren orthodoxy reigned paramount. His great themes, therefore, were the new birth, and in connexion with that, the divine life, and the word of the living God—in comparison of which creeds, the most correct and orthodox, were of no value, and without which, men could neither know nor believe any thing aright of the things of God. And to diffuse that better state of thought and feeling, which was so much needed, he not only pressed his views in his sermons, and a few printed productions, but endeavoured, by his conversations, to enlist men of all ranks and classes on his side, and by the institution of “colleges of piety,” as they were called, meetings for spiritual instruction and devotional exercise, to get hold of the minds of the intelligent youth, and especially of such as were preparing for the ministry. These meetings were established in Strasburg, Frankfort on the Maine, Dres-

* Arndt was born in 1555, and died in 1631, having exercised the pastoral office in three or four different places.

den, Berlin, and many other places ; and at Halle, he had the zealous co-operation of Anthon and Francke, who were incessant in their labours among the students at the university, and the latter of whom, Francke, was instrumental in rearing the famous Orphan Hospital there, (the history of which is one of the most singular accounts on record, of the power of faith and the efficacy of prayer,) in which hundreds of destitute children continually received the soundest instruction and the most scriptural training. Spener and his associates were decried on all hands by the more zealous Lutherans, and stigmatized with the name of Pietists. But the blessing of God manifestly attended their labours ; they had the happiness of seeing pure and undefiled religion spreading through the community ; the preachers, who came out, imbued with their spirit, were acceptably received, and eagerly listened to ; their party could, by and by, number in its ranks men of distinguished talents and learning, as well as piety ; even those, who still ranked themselves as opponents, appeared to have felt the better influence, and gave indications of a more softened and hallowed disposition ; and it seemed as if the sun of a second reformation was rising with its healing and benignant beams on the land of Luther, when, in the mysterious providence of God, a star of portentous magnitude and malignant influence made its appearance on the horizon, and that followed by another and another in rapid succession, till the very foundations came to be out of course, and it might almost be said of that land, that there “ all death lived and life died.”*

* A pretty full account of this interesting period in the ecclesiastical history of Germany, so far as the labours of Spener and Francke are concerned, may be found in Gillies' Historical Collections, a new edition of which, under the care of the Rev. Horace Bonar, is a

The unhappy turn of affairs to which I allude, was the rise of the Wolfian philosophy, which in the earlier part of last century began to attract the more ardent minds of Germany, and acquired such an extraordinary degree of popularity, that it filled the country with a sort of philosophical fury. It was no farther hostile to religion, than that by its principles it exalted reason to the supreme place, thus incidentally depressing revelation, and by the engrossing interest it excited, took off men's minds from spiritual things. After this system, came those successively of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, each advancing farther than its predecessors into the domain of what was called pure reason, and treating, not only scripture, but all ideas concerning things human and divine, as under its entire supremacy and control. They were, therefore, first infidel, and latterly panthe-

present issuing from the press. The plain histories of strong faith, and answers to believing prayer there given, especially as connected with the building of the Orphan Hospital at Halle, are so very remarkable, that they seem almost to raise the transactions recorded above the rank of ordinary events in providence. If viewed, however, in connection with the circumstances of the period, they will be found to have been precisely such as were designed, and thus fitted to convey, the special lesson which Germany at that time needed. Faith, living, realizing, active faith, was what the church then peculiarly required, what had almost perished from the midst of her, and what, if it had existed in sufficient force, would have effectually enabled her to make head against the stream of adverse influences, which were ready to burst in upon her. The Lord did not permit these influences to arise, till he had given full matter-of-fact proof, such as might have convinced and satisfied every inquiring mind, where the real strength of the church lay, and how, if full of the confiding and prayerful spirit of a genuine faith, she could draw upon the infinite resources of Heaven, and overcome the mightiest obstacles. Alas! she did not know the day of her merciful visitation, and the storm fell upon her in a great measure unprepared.

istic, or atheistic, in their tendency ; and as they succeeded in leavening all seats of learning with their influence, the teachers of theology, and through them the ministers of religion, imbibing the spirit of the times, became *rationalists* in religion ; that is, they exalted the rational above the revealed, reason above revelation, and rejected every fact and doctrine in scripture which did not seem to accord with enlightened views of things. Hence rationalism soon became but another name for deism, for it discarded all that is miraculous or supernatural in revelation, and resolved the peculiar doctrines there taught into Jewish ignorance or prejudice, leaving nothing more of a strictly religious nature to be believed or done, than what may be said to belong to natural religion. Besides, this undue exaltation of reason was accompanied by a perfect inundation throughout Germany of the infidel writings of this country and France, and some of the most noted infidels were treated as the bosom-friends of the greatest, in a worldly point of view, of all the kings of Prussia, Frederic the Great. The result of the whole was, that, toward the end of last century and the beginning of this, Protestant Germany formed one vast field of apostasy and corruption ; her ministers, with few exceptions, were priests of nature, rather than expounders of revelation, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men ; and her people were poisoned with error, or left to perish for lack of knowledge, except where, as in former times, the bible, the hymn-book, and works of piety, kept up the life and savour of godliness.

But what became, during this process of backsliding and apostasy, of the confessions of the Protestant churches, so full of sound doctrine ? When the professors of theology and the ministers of religion substan-

tially renounced the doctrines of the Bible, did they also lay aside their creeds and standards? That they could not formally do; for the laws and constitutions of the churches bound them to abide by these, and to have abandoned them, would have been to forfeit their civil standing and emoluments. Therefore all professors of theology and ministers of religion were still taken bound, sometimes by subscription, sometimes by solemn vow, to believe and teach according to the articles of the confessions;—but by mutual consent the obligation thus imposed was not enforced, and the professed belief in the Lutheran or Reformed confessions was understood to imply nothing more than the expression of adherence to the Lutheran or Reformed churches. Unhappily, the school of Spener tended to prepare the way for this shameful profligacy of principle; for seeing the abuse which was made in their day of the symbolical books, they treated them with indifference and neglect, and so contributed not a little to that still worse abuse, that utter contempt which subsequently befell them.

It is also important to notice, as it reads an instructive and solemn warning to good men in all ages, that this was not the only way in which the school of Spener helped to lay the foundation for the destructive operations of Rationalism. Strange as it may seem, yet it is a melancholy fact, that the religious spirit which so eminently characterized the Pietists, in its practical results tended to depreciate the written word of God, and thus served Rationalism with a ready excuse and a fitting opportunity for setting its plainest declarations aside. This disastrous effect was produced by too constantly turning men's eyes inward upon the feelings of a renewed nature, and aiming too exclusively at the ex-

citation and nourishment of such feelings; hence treating as of little moment, as comparatively worthless, an acquaintance with the literal statements and simple truths of Scripture. So strongly did such a tendency develop itself, that in 1742, when Bengel, a man at once of profound learning and solid piety, first published his *Gnomon*, we find him writing thus in the preface: "The manifold abuse, or rather the impious contempt of sacred scripture has now risen to its height; and that, not merely with profane men, but even with those who seem to themselves wise, nay spiritual. The *It is written*, with which the Son of God in his conflict with Satan overcame all assaults, is treated with such utter contempt, that they who are fed by scripture, all and alone, are thought to want the Spirit, or to be but babes. Thus will the false prophet find the gates open." A true prediction, most lamentably verified! The false prophet was even then almost at the gates, which he found so completely open, that he went freely in, and laid waste all around him. And so difficult is it, when once the foundations are fairly out of course, to have them properly re-established, that from that day to this, no one has ever yet been able to get the gates shut again—to bring back the German mind to a simple, childlike confidence in the "It is written" of God's word.

It could serve no good purpose here, to trace more minutely the history and progress of Rationalism in Germany; and to mark the particular influences under which its successive leaders were formed to play the parts they did, and the influences which they again exerted on those who came after them. There is certainly a wide distinction between Ernesti, Michaelis, and Semler, who may be regarded as the first actors in the

drama, and such men as Strauss, who deny altogether the reality of the facts of gospel history, and convert the whole into a philosophical myth, or “cunningly devised fable,”—just as there was also a vast difference between Wolff, and Schelling, or Hegel, in their respective systems of philosophy. The earlier rationalists did not differ in their avowed belief very materially from the standards of their respective churches. But they took the lead in bringing the merely human and rational element into the domain of revelation, and giving it the ascendancy; the inspiration of scripture was thrown completely into the background, and its historical and doctrinal statements put precisely on a level with those of this world. It consequently seemed but a small step in advance, from regarding the scriptures as simply human, to hold them to be imperfect or erring, the more especially as the human, the rational, was unquestionably at the time when, and in the places where the scriptures were written, in a very inferior state of development to what it had since attained by the aid of learning and philosophy. And thus the ark of man’s faith and testimony being fairly loosed from its moorings by the sure word of the living God,—this word itself being taken as a loose, restless, uncertain ocean, through which the pilot Reason might steer her course as she pleased, here discovering a deep to be dreaded, there a shallow to be avoided, and there again a solid rock to anchor on,—things having reached this state of supposed freedom and enlargement, it was impossible to say to what lengths future inquirers might run; and the differences between the earlier and the later, the moderate and the ultra rationalists, is a difference only in degree. Indeed, Rationalism, as a system, can have no fixed resting-place

—no settled or permanent ideas or doctrines of faith; its creed must always advance towards, or recede from, the truth of scripture, according to the school of philosophy in which it has been educated, or the greater or less maturity of science in the age to which it belongs; it is itself a sea of uncertainty, fluctuation, and disorder.

It is from this essential diversity in the very nature of rationalism, that opinions and blasphemies, which astonish Christendom, both claim and find a place in the bosom of the church, beside sentiments, which are nearly akin to those of evangelical Christians in this country. For reason being once admitted to be the proper arbiter of what is to be believed, what bounds can justly be set to its discoveries and conclusions? What point can be fixed beyond which it is not to go, in its antagonism to the recorded statements of scripture? Hence, however strange and monstrous it seems to us, it is perfectly consistent with the views which distinguish a rationalistic church, that such a fraternity as that of those, who call themselves "THE PROTESTANT FRIENDS," or "THE FRIENDS OF LIGHT," should arise and obtain free scope to their operations within the evangelical church of Germany. The origination of this fraternity, as a separate and organized party, took place in 1841, and was headed by Pastor Uhlich of Pömmelte, in Prussian Saxony, a man of kind manners, of extensive influence, and of fine address. The principles agreed to at their first meeting, which was confined to a few individuals, were simply those of Rationalism. Loose and indeterminate, but essentially infidel, they acknowledged, that the Bible should form the foundation of their belief, not according to any creed, but as "explained by reason and

science." They have since held many meetings, which have been attended by vast crowds, and have excited a great stir, not in Saxony alone, but also in various parts of Germany—it being one of their grand objects to enlist the multitude on their side, and acquire strength by their numbers. The utmost freedom of opinion is allowed in the society, so that men are at liberty to "think what they please of Jesus, even as far as to hold the doctrine of the Trinity." At the same time, the leaders of the movement, Uhlich, Koenig, Wislicenus, in the boldest manner attack the authority of the Bible, and every essential doctrine contained in it; the miraculous conception of Christ, his divine nature, atonement and redemption, justification by faith, the resurrection from the dead, and the future punishment of the wicked, are discarded by them as antiquated notions, not in accordance with the present state of light and science; it was only Paul's Jewish, and Luther's monkish education, which led them to speak of themselves as "poor wretched sinners," needing salvation; but we, says Koenig, speaking the real sentiments of the party, "are not afraid of God's wrath, and seek no means of extinguishing it." These appalling declarations sound harshly now, and it is a melancholy thought that they should be proclaimed at any time to assembled multitudes, and circulated, as they are, with great industry, through the lowest classes of society; but every one acquainted with the state of matters, during the reign of rationalism in Germany, knows, that these are precisely the views which were taught till lately by the most distinguished professors in nearly all the universities, and secretly held, if not so openly proclaimed, by a large proportion of the ministers. Indeed Uhlich, who declares that "he does not know

who Jesus properly was, but only that he never could be the second person in the godhead ;” that “ he is no believer in original sin, and in himself finds no pride,” professes to be merely “ the representative of rationalism, as he was taught it in Halle in 1817.”* And the only advance which the friends of light can be said to have made in this wretched cause, is in their endeavours, especially by means of public conferences and affiliated societies, to leaven the multitude with the spirit of rationalism, and rally its sinking interests by the force of mutual counsel, and friendly combination.

The immense crowds, which have attended the meetings of these friends of light, might perhaps be partly accounted for from the novel character of the proceedings, and from the court which the leaders of the movement avowedly pay to the popular mind and will. But it gives one a sad impression of the religious state of Protestant Germany, when we are told, that declarations in favour of the society have been sent from many of the principal towns, and numerous signed, the one from Breslaw alone having 4922 names attached to it—that from three to four hundred pastors are said to have given in their adherence to it,—in the single province of Silesia, no fewer than 124 pastors, with three professors of theology, and thousands of others belonging to the learned professions, schoolmasters (of these 300), persons holding office in the state and army, merchants, and common people. It is deplorable to think, and is a bad symptom even of the prevailing tone of morality, that such numbers of persons, in all ranks of society, should be found ready to give their sanction to the movements of a party, the

* Evangelische-Kirchen-Zeitung for 1845, p. 231, 232, comp. with 33 and 34.

very soul of which is composed of ministers of a professedly evangelical church, who, in acting thus, should be regarded as proclaiming their own shame—since they are betraying the faith they are bound by their office to teach, and denouncing as lies the doctrines which every Sabbath, in reading the liturgy, they appear to own as divine truths. And what shall be thought or said of the government and discipline of the church itself, which can tolerate such members and ministers within its pale? Well might Hengstenberg, or a writer in his paper, after noticing the heretical opinions of Wislicenus of Halle, his incessant efforts to destroy the faith of his hearers, and flagrant corruption of the sacraments—ask, “If in the times of deepest apostasy in the church, a more shameless want of discipline had been found?” And after reproaching that portion of the pastors in the province, who are sound in the faith, for not at least lifting up their voice and protesting against such soul-destroying errors, he justly adds, “this timidity, this spirit of accommodation in such ministers, who perhaps would take it much amiss if one even doubted their orthodoxy, is the curse of the times.”*

It is right to add, however, that the improper silence here complained of, has in many instances been broken through; solemn and faithful protestations against the principles and tenets of the party, signed by numbers of ministers, have issued from various districts of Germany; books, pamphlets, and papers in periodicals, by men of talent and piety, have been put forth in refutation of their views; the large assemblages have been suppressed as endangering the public peace; Wislicenus, in the month of May last, was cited before the consistory

* *Ev. Kir. Zeit.* for 1845, p. 312.

of Magdeburg to answer for a book, in which his opinions are most offensively proclaimed, (entitled, *Ob Schrift, Ob Gheist*,) and was allowed some months to consider whether he would voluntarily resign his office in the Lutheran church; and in many places lively demonstrations in behalf of the word of God, and the ancient faith of the church, have been called forth by the exhibitions intended to bring them into contempt. Indeed, distressing as this rationalist movement is, and indicative of many elements of evil and disorder in the present state of German society, its very existence bespeaks a certain revival of living faith and spiritual religion. It is the convulsive struggles of darkness to resist the manifest progress of light; its language is, "The principles of rationalism are fast losing ground; the tide is turned against them, and setting in strong in the opposite direction; we must bestir ourselves to obtain a lodgment for them in the hearts of the populace—it will soon be too late." We shall now, therefore, cast our eye over the state of the PROTESTANT CHURCH generally in the German States, with an especial view to the detection of the better symptoms which have of late been discovering themselves.

In this point of view, that part of Germany naturally occurs first which is included in the Prussian dominions, as these form by much the most important part of Protestant Germany. Of the entire population of Prussia, which was 14,000,000 ten or twelve years ago, upwards of 8,000,000 were said to belong to the Protestant Church, and a little more than 5,000,000 to the Catholic. The Protestant Church has, as elsewhere, originally existed under the two divisions of the Lutheran and the Reformed, the first being for the most part the esta-

blished, the second the simply tolerated religion ; but a union was effected between them by the late king, and the united body became the Evangelical Church of Prussia. This union was conducted in a very arbitrary manner, with little respect either to the inherent liberties of the church, or to the rights of conscience. The violence was felt chiefly by some members of the Lutheran party, who still, perhaps, cherished something of the old antipathy to the Reformed, and were conscientiously opposed to the principle of union, which proceeded on the plan of requiring from neither party a surrender of their distinctive principles, but of forming a union on the great and fundamental principles on which both were agreed. This, of course, implied that there were fundamental and non-fundamental doctrines in the creeds of the respective churches ; and that the points on which they differed were not fundamental. Some of the Lutheran clergy were not prepared to admit this regarding the peculiar views of their church on the sacrament, election, and confession, and to consent to those changes in the liturgy which were necessary to adapt it to the opinions of the Reformed. Of these a part were gained over by the influence of the court ; and as the king was determined to carry his point, those whom neither persuasion could win, nor temptation bribe, had no resource left but to seek the freedom which was denied them at home in a foreign land. Various pastors preferred this alternative, and were accompanied by a portion of their people.

This arbitrary course of proceeding must, undoubtedly, have produced an unhappy effect for the time, and operated injuriously upon true religion—especially as tending to crush the spirit of religious freedom, tam-

pering with religious convictions, and exhibiting the church in an attitude of servile dependence upon the temporal power. But as the greater proportion in both churches had degenerated far from the leading principles of their respective confessions, and held by their creeds very loosely, the union could scarcely be supposed to have had any decided effect, of a general kind, upon the state of religion, and was chiefly political and external. The constitution and government of the church in Prussia is of what may be called a mixed nature—something between the properly Episcopal and Presbyterian. Essentially, however, it is Presbyterian; for though there are different ranks of ministers—pastors, superintendents, or bishops, deacons, and sub-deacons, there is no distinction of orders, and the government of the church is conducted by means of presbyteries and synods, or, as they are called in the provinces of Westphalia and the Rhine, local-presbyteries, district-synods, and provincial synods. A special constitution has been granted to the Evangelical Church in these provinces, by royal edict of 5th March 1835, which has given them the advantage of a more complete, and also, in some respects, a more liberal system of government, than the other provinces as yet possess. Every minister must, according to it, reside in the parish of which he has the charge. The members of the church, who attend upon the means of grace and lead respectable lives, have the choice of their own officers, in most cases also of their pastor. These officers, besides the pastor, consist of elders, who have to assist the pastor in the maintenance of order and discipline,—of deacons, who are charged with the oversight of the poor,—and church-masters or wardens, whose part it is to look after the property of the church.

These, along with the pastor, form the local presbytery, of which he is *ex-officio* preses, having power also to call its meetings. Then the pastors, and a like number of deputed elders from the parishes within the district, constitute the district-synod, which meets once a-year, is presided over by a superintendent, and in its powers corresponds nearly to our presbyteries. A single minister and elder chosen from each of those synods, together with the clerk and assessor of each, and the superintendents of the whole province, make up the provincial synod, which had the oversight of all matters of faith and discipline within its bounds, as well as what generally affects the well-being of the church—but is expressly interdicted, as are also the inferior courts, from discussing any thing of a political nature. Its ordinary times of meeting are limited to once in the three years. To the superintendent, who is also a pastor, it belongs to hold visitations throughout the district in each parish, to inquire of the elders if they have any thing against the pastor, and at the pastor if he has any thing against them or the other officers,—to look, not only into the state of the church property and externals, but also into its order and discipline, its administration of word and sacraments, and to give judgment upon any causes or disorders, which the local presbytery may have sought in vain to terminate. It were well if we might go no farther, if this well-arranged and orderly constitution was allowed freely to operate and develop itself. But state interference and control must every where make itself felt in Prussia; and hence, over all this fine machinery there is suspended a three-fold government agency, which must ever hang as a deadweight on all its movements, and cripple all its energies—the minis-

ter of ecclesiastical affairs, the provincial consistory and a general superintendent, who acts as the kind of government-deputy, and receives and communicates the instructions of the minister of ecclesiastical affairs ;—so that the whole presents the appearance, and really possesses the character, of a particular department of the concerns of the state.*

What we have now given is the best specimen which Prussia affords of an ecclesiastical constitution. In the other provinces there are the same general features, but not so well defined an order, and more intermingling of the temporal with the spiritual. Theoretically, the bondage to the civil power is the grand evil in the system—although practically, and as matters now exist in that kingdom, it is doubtful how far it might be attended with *immediate* good, if the state were altogether to withdraw its control—seeing, on the one hand, that there are so many elements of evil in the church itself, and on the other, that the interference of the state, so far as it is at present exercised, is put forth in behalf of evangelical, as opposed to the so-called rational, religion. There can be no doubt, that it is this twofold consideration which somewhat reconciles good men to their chains,—as may be gathered from the following contrast between Germany and Scotland, drawn by Hengstenberg, or a writer in his journal, and mentioned among several things, which seem to justify or excuse the friends of Bible principles in Germany, in being content with a less perfect model of government than has been realized here. “In Scotland,” says he, “the supreme civil power, from the Reformation downwards through a

* We give the above outline from the royal edict itself, as contained in Richter's Appendix

long period, took a hostile and pernicious direction towards the church. On the other hand, the princes with us were found the faithful and affectionate guardians of the rising church, and have also shewn themselves to be so in later times; indeed, down even to the present day, have rarely been behind the community in spiritual advancement, and have often anticipated it.* But still, there is a spirit now abroad in Germany, which renders these chains galling and obnoxious, and which is awakening from many quarters the cry for a larger measure of religious freedom. The "Friends of Light," have known to take advantage of this feeling, by putting it forth as one of the objects of their association to obtain "freedom from state-control in matters of religion." But many also of the best and most discerning men see, that the spirit of the times, as well as the genuine nature of Christianity, demands this. "The history of the church," says one of them, "presents various phases: external oppression with internal freedom during the first centuries; then, a victorious transfusion of the church into the state life; further on still, a complete ascendancy of the church over the state; since the Reformation, church freedom in the form of confessions, with thorough subordination to the state. The era now beginning to dawn must be one, in which there shall be realized church freedom with an unrestrained appeal to the word of God, and a recognition of the state as a co-ordinate, but not a super-ordinate region of life. Only in freedom can each confession properly unfold itself, and fulfil the part committed to it by the Lord. Only in freedom will the glory of the Lord manifest itself in his true church. Such a church will always

* *Ev. K. Zeitung*, 22d January 1845.

attain the more to the right understanding of the word of God, through the power of the Holy Spirit coming down upon it; it will in free love to the Lord always exemplify the more the worship of God in spirit and in truth; and purging itself by the application of a willing and cheerful discipline to the life, will exhibit itself as the church which has neither spot, nor wrinkle, nor any such thing.”*

This is not by any means a solitary passage, but one of a kind which is of very frequent occurrence in the present ecclesiastical literature of Germany. The demand for a church constitution really and scripturally free is rising on every hand, and an earnest desire expressing itself of having all regulated according to the principles of the word of God. “The church must rule spiritually,” says Henry, when speaking of the scriptural constitution of a church, which the age is now again striving to realize; “the church must rule spiritually, resigning all earthly power without reserve into the hands of the civil magistrate, who again must secure for her free and uncontrolled spiritual power upon the religious territory. All worldly dominion in the church is devilish, but her spiritual authority, no external power has any right to restrain.”† “The choice of a pastor,” says another, “by the church which he is to serve, has so clear a Biblical ground, and appears so natural, that where the right of exercising it exists, it must in no respect be interfered with, where it can by possibility be established, it ought to be granted to the church. Each church has unquestionably the deepest interest in the settlement of its pastor, and knows best its own wants,”

* Wiesmann, Superintendent in Lennep, in the *Monatschrift* of Nitzsch and Sack, for October 1845.

† Paul Henry, *Leben.*, Jo. Calvin, vol. ii. p. 53.

&c.* And, at a meeting of the provincial synod of Brandenburg, held in Berlin a little more than a year ago, we find such propositions as the following tabled, and giving rise to an animated discussion: "Christ is the only Head and Lord of his church, and he will have the latter guided according to his Holy Spirit and his word, and obediently towards every human ordinance; hence the idea of Christ's supremacy ought to be realized in the church, and neither a pope, nor a temporal prince can stand at the head of the church; and consequently, no individual, no corporation, no dignity or office can usurp the authority of Christ in his church, but every thing proceeds from the Holy Spirit, which Christ has promised to send to those that believe upon him. Since the church as to its internal nature is neither a political nor a hierarchical institute, in all spiritual matters, the head of the state is not the head of the church, and no positive or direct interference from the state should be exercised on the church," &c. It is stated, that at the conclusion of the debate, nothing seemed to be more in unison with the feeling of the assembly, "than the hope that there would soon be the carrying out of a radical reform of the church according to presbyterian principles."† In these sighs and wrest-

* Nees in the *Monat. of Nitzsch and Sack*, for July 1844.

† *Ev. K. Zeitung*, for 2d April 1845. It would seem, that the King of Prussia himself participates in these views and feelings, and is seriously meditating a change to the better in the constitution of the Protestant church. For amongst other things that could be mentioned indicative of this, we find D'Aubigné stating in his letter to the Bishop of Chester, dated 28th July last, though very recently presented to the public, "This truly Christian prince (the King of Prussia) has just caused all the ministers of the different circles of his monarchy to be assembled in synods—each circle

lings after a sounder constitution—one that will admit of a freer and fuller development of the spirit of the gospel,—we cannot but recognise a token for good, a symptom of returning life and vigour, which we trust will increase more and more till judgment has been brought forth to victory.

Another pleasing and hopeful symptom is to be found in the growing number of ministers in the Protestant churches of Germany, who preach what may be called evangelical doctrine. That the substance of the gospel is now proclaimed from many pulpits, from which not long since there was heard only a cold morality, or, still worse, doctrines utterly subversive of the gospel, is confirmed by undoubted testimony. And it is cheering to be told by those who have themselves sojourned in the country, as it is also a proof that God is honouring his faithful witnesses, that the people hear such ministers gladly; that the churches of the evangelical ministers are commonly filled with attentive audiences, while those of the Rationalists are as commonly deserted. This sowing of the gospel seed will doubtless in due time bear its accustomed fruit, and the reports have already reached us of not a few instances of a manifest reviving of the work of God. Indeed, one of the individuals quoted above (Weismann), does not hesitate to speak of his time, as one “distinguished by an important revival of faith, an earnest contest for the truth, and a remark-
separately—and has put before them these three questions: Should these synods meet regularly? Should lay members be added? Should there be a general synod for the whole Prussian church? Unanimously, if I am not mistaken, have they replied in the affirmative to these three questions. These replies are now before the king, and the organization of the Prussian church will, doubtless, not long be waited for.”

able outpouring of the Holy Spirit, insomuch that it has in a sense the character of a reforming period."

In a still larger proportion, however, than the ministers, have the professors of theology been taking of late an evangelical direction. The Rationalists have been rapidly losing ground in the Universities, excepting those of Giessen and Goettingen, where, it seems, they still maintain their ground. Most of the highest names in theology are now identified with the great truths and principles of the gospel. The shallowness of Rationalism, and its unsatisfactory results, have been so thoroughly exposed on the very soil which produced it, that some of its chief apostles have retracted in their old age several of the obnoxious tenets which they formerly propagated. And the young men who are now preparing for the ministry, are gradually drawing more and more to the professors who are most distinguished for evangelical sentiments, and more generally feeling and expressing the conviction, that they must get out of the region of philosophical theology, and, according to the school of Hengstenberg, take the simple record of God's word for their guide and standard in matters of religion.*

* This last fact, which I give on the authority more particularly of the Rev. J. Nelson, who testifies of what he himself saw and heard, implies that Hengstenberg is a believer in the inspiration of Scripture, and takes his stand on what is there written being in reality the word of God. I have often of late heard doubts expressed as to this being the case, but have not met with any thing in his writings that can fairly be regarded as warranting them, while in his Journal he distinctly avows himself a believer in inspiration. For example, in the *Ev. K. Zeitung* for 4th June 1845, he points to it as the great defect of Schleiermacher's opposition to the looser sort of Rationalism, that "he denied the inspiration of the Scriptures, on which their specific dignity rests, and gave to them only the place of an older sister, whom it is proper to listen

The formation a few years ago, and now vigorous and extensive operations of the Gustavus-Adolphus Society, is a still farther sign of returning life and zeal to the Protestantism of Germany, and is affording good hopes for the future. Its object is to befriend and assist poor or persecuted communities of Protestants in Roman Catholic countries, where they are exposed to many adverse influences, and stand greatly in need both of friendly counsel and pecuniary aid. It is meeting with every countenance and success,—is becoming a sort of rallying point for the real friends of truth on the Continent, and at its last general meeting was attended by deputies, not only from all parts of Germany-proper, but also from France, Switzerland, and Hungary. The King of Prussia places himself at its head; the King of Wurtemberg has also sent in his adherence; the Report of last year could tell of 60,000 Thalers being contributed to its general fund, besides of much that had been raised and expended by local associations, and while detailing its success in pecuniary matters, it gave, at the same time, a clear and to, though one is not bound to abide by her decisions.” And he declares, that so long as the inspiration of Scripture is denied, as “no right confidence can be placed in it,” so “the rock is removed on which the evangelical church is grounded, the heart vacillates to and fro in times of temptation, and there is only needed such a season of trial, as that of which the Lord spake when he said, ‘Simon, Simon, Satan hath desired to have you, that he might sift you as wheat,’ to find the saying of Luther verified, ‘Without this word we are undone, and from that moment shall be devoured by the devil.’” I have thought it of importance to make this statement regarding the eminent individual to whom it refers, not only for the purpose of shewing what his own views really are, but also because I should conceive it vain to hope for the overthrow of Rationalism, unless the advocates of evangelical truth come to take their stand on the inspired testimony of God’s word.

distinct utterance to the great truths of the gospel. Both as forming a bond of union among the scattered adherents of the truth, and as a means of extending help and encouragement to the needy, we look for much good from its operations; the more so, as in looking into the accounts of the third day's proceedings at the last annual meeting, it was resolved, after a long and animated discussion, that an aggressive movement should be made upon the domains of Rationalism and Popery, and that it is the duty of every Christian, in these eventful times, to hold forth the light of salvation through Christ, whenever and wheresoever he has the opportunity.

Such are some of the more encouraging and hopeful symptoms discovering themselves in connection with the Protestantism of Germany. We are, of course, not to forget, that with these there are coupled many things of an opposite nature,—instruments and tendencies of evil, which the revival of Protestant zeal and activity is serving to arouse and stimulate. Besides the movement of the Friends of Light formerly mentioned, it is not to be denied, that a great part of the servants of the church, even of those who have not joined that movement, “are still in the chains of unbelief; and if these for the most part belong to the older part of the present generation, it is not to be forgotten, that very many of the younger generation continue to stick at a sort of miserable and ineffective half-belief, and that the men who can really be depended on for aiding the church are comparatively few.”* This is the case in Prussia, and still more is it the case in most of the other German States, where the tide has not so decidedly turned against Rationalism, or where, in addition to the benumbing influence of this, Pro-

* *Ev. K. Zeitung* for 1st January 1845.

testantism has to struggle against the jealousy and manifold restrictions of Popish princes,—as in the Austrian dominions, which contain upwards of 3,000,000 of Lutherans and Reformed Christians, and in Bavaria, where there are upwards of a million, nearly all of the Lutheran persuasion. In Bavaria, though the edict by which ecclesiastical affairs are there governed (of date, 26th May 1818), asserts for all perfect freedom of conscience in matters of religion, and claims for the temporal power only a kind of general oversight and protection; yet the Protestant churches have been interdicted from receiving any aid from the Gustavus-Adolphus Society, and the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, the first journal of Germany, is not permitted so much as to name the German-Catholic Church, while various other more direct interferences with Protestant interests are constantly occurring. In Austria, the Romish influences, if not quite so palpably exercised, are yet seriously felt; and the Protestant churches within its bounds seem generally to be in a cold and languishing state, although now again beginning to shew signs of returning life, especially in Hungary, where the energetic and unremitting labours of Wimmer of Oberschützen, a man of apostolic zeal and devotedness, are producing manifest fruit.

There can be no doubt, that in the kingdoms just referred to, and indeed throughout Germany at large, the efforts of the Catholic party are now goaded on, and rendered much more vigorous and active than they once were, by the Jesuits, who are again every where directing the artillery of Rome. Hence, on the one hand, the German Protestant press is teeming with productions upon the history and principles, the arts and machinations, of the Jesuits; while, on the other, it is

felt, that a bitterness of spirit is manifested by the Catholics toward the Protestants, to which there has been nothing similar since the like exhibitions immediately before the Thirty Years' War.* From this quarter unquestionably evangelical Protestantism has to expect much and strenuous opposition. But still the worst and most dangerous enemies are within—the grand evil lies in its loose, disorganized, undisciplined state, the joint fruit of a licentious Rationalism, and a servile bondage to the elements of the world. These have hitherto caused, and probably for a considerable time still will cause, the confessions and constitutions of the Protestant churches to remain, even when sound and wholesome, comparatively a dead letter. If we except the churches in some of the Upper Rhine provinces, where matters are said to be in a somewhat better state as to outward order and discipline,† there is scarcely any degree of heresy, or any form of ungodliness of life, which does not claim and find for itself a home within the pale of the church. And then, the light and frivolous way in which the Sabbath is usually spent by even the more respectable portions of the community, both ministers and people, it being generally reckoned enough to attend only one service in church, while the rest of the day is devoted to pleasure-trips, to visiting, or to public entertainments, places serious religion, which can never exist or thrive without well-spent Sabbaths, at a disadvantage such as we can scarcely estimate in this country. Still, though the hindrances and enemies of the truth are as Legion,

* See, for example, the quotations given in the *Ev. K. Zeitung*, for 4th January 1845.

† Some account is given of these in Nitzsch's *Monatschrift*, for May 1844.

the word of the Lord can bring them to nought, if only wielded by the hand of faith, and seconded by the fervent prayers of a humble piety. And it is, to use the words of a German writer, "one of the favourable symptoms of the present day, that the Protestant church has now begun to shake itself free from its rationalistic and pantheistic elements, and to seize the only arms which can gain for it the victory—the testimony of a strong faith in the word of God."*

THE MOVEMENT OF RONGE.

One of the most striking events of recent times, and the most singular phenomenon now appearing in connection with Germany, still remains to be noticed. But there can be no need to dwell on it, or to enter into many particulars, as almost every thing of importance concerning it has already found its way into the public papers. The first occasion of it was, you are aware, the scandalous notice issued by Arnaldi, Roman Catholic bishop of Treves, to all the faithful, intimating that the holy relic, the very coat without seam worn by the blessed Saviour, preserved in the cathedral of Treves, would be exhibited for the space of six weeks, beginning on the 18th of August 1844, and promising, according to the terms of the bull of Pope Leo X., "a full remission of sins in all future time to all believers who go in pilgrimage to see it, sincerely confess and repent of their sins, or at least have a firm intention to do so; and moreover contribute with a liberal hand to the suitable decoration of the cathedral of Treves." From the first, immense crowds of pilgrims obeyed this invitation; and at

* Monatschrift, as above, for March 1844.

the close of the exhibition, a Treves newspaper reckons the total number of visiters to have been 1,100,000, while others give a considerably higher estimate. It was while this humiliating spectacle was proceeding under the highest patronage of the Catholic church, that a letter appeared in a Saxon paper, dated Laurahütte, 1st October 1844, and signed Johannes Ronge, Catholic Priest, breathing the most intense indignation against this religious farce, and calling upon his fellow-countrymen of all classes to rise and vindicate themselves from the degradation and infamy it was bringing on their land. His judgment, as he called it, on the holy coat of Treves, fell like a peal of thunder on the ears of his countrymen, and flew with the rapidity of lightning from one end of the land to the other. Since the days of Luther, no voice had been heard in Germany, which awoke such a deep response in the hearts of men, and communicated such a mighty impulse to their minds. Ronge, the obscure priest of Laurahütte, already silenced and suspended for former resistances to Romish thralldom and tyranny, became all at once the most celebrated man of his time; and while anathematized and excommunicated by Rome, he was enthusiastically hailed as a leader by thousands of his Catholic brethren in Germany. Seeing the effect produced by his first letter, he sought to continue and deepen the impression by various addresses; the main purport of which was to persuade the priests and members of the Catholic church to renounce the impositions, idolatry, mummeries, and ignoble bondage of Rome, and form themselves into a new German-Catholic church, such as might combine the character of true Catholicism with the idea of Nationality.

Meanwhile, through the operation of similar, yet quite

separate influences, John Czersky, the Roman Catholic pastor of Schneidemühl, a small town in the circle of Posen in Prussian Poland, was led, along with a considerable part of his congregation, to withdraw their connection with Rome, and to form themselves into a distinct community. Their declaration to this effect, forwarded to the Prussian government, bears date the 27th October 1844, and their existence as a church is prior to any of those churches which arose out of the movement of Ronge. In all probability, however, they would have stood nearly, if not altogether alone, but for the impulse, which was simultaneously given by Ronge in the same direction; for Czersky is a man of retiring character, not fitted by nature to be the leader of a great movement; and his grounds of separation from the Church of Rome were rather the offspring of his own private convictions and growing acquaintance with the word of God, than occasioned by public events. But as matters turned out in the providence of God, the step taken by him and his people was rapidly followed by so many others, that the news of every day brought tidings of additional separations from Rome; and though it is still little more than a twelvemonth since the first church was formed, there are now somewhere about three hundred of reported congregations.*

The movement was so simultaneous, and the formation of churches was conducted at first with so little concert, that not a few of them drew up and published each their own confession of faith. It was soon found

* The total number of priests who have attached themselves to the party, is said to be about twenty, of whom Dr Thenier of Hundsfeld in Silesia appears to occupy the highest standing for theological lore and general attainments.

desirable, however, to merge, if possible, these separate confessions into a common one, as this afforded the only prospect of their obtaining, as a distinct body, the recognition of the state, with a licence to marry, to administer the sacraments, and perform the rites of burial. Accordingly, on the 21st of March last, a general council was held at Leipsic, where certain articles were agreed on, but these so meagre, so negative, so destitute, especially of any distinct statement regarding the person or work of Christ, that Czersky felt constrained to protest against them in the meeting, and afterwards to publish a letter, disowning them as the confession of his faith. The orthodox party also in the city of Berlin, unable to reconcile themselves to so very defective a standard of faith, have withdrawn from their more Rationalistic brethren, and placed themselves under a pastor of evangelical sentiments. A considerable number of congregations, in the neighbourhood of Schneidemühl, have expressed their dissent from the Leipsic articles, and their determination to adhere to a more positive form of Christianity. On the other hand, it is proper to state that Dr Thenier, who is not behind Czersky in point of evangelical sentiment, has agreed to take charge of the very large congregation at Breslau, whose creed was nearly of as defective a character as that of the Leipsic conference. Ronge meanwhile maintains a profound silence as to the distinctive features of his own belief; he has never uttered a single word, as far as is known, against evangelical Christianity, or even expressed any dissatisfaction, at least in public, with Czersky for mar-
ring the external unity of the body; while still, his writings and sermons universally convey the impression, that his own views partake more of the Rationalistic

than the Evangelical character, and that the mainspring of his energetic movements is rather his honest love of free and manly thought, and inextinguishable hatred of the spiritual oppression and base hypocrisy of Rome, than the simple and constraining love of the truth as it is in Jesus.

Hence it is, no doubt, that we are partly to account for the unusually rapid growth of the adherents of Ronge, and the countless honours which have been heaped upon him. Had there been much of the humbling truths and searching spirit of the gospel in his discourses, his tours through Germany would certainly have partaken less of the character of triumphal processions; he would have known more of the reproach and sufferings of Jesus. "Addresses, cups, gold, have been poured upon Ronge, while hitherto the way of reformers has been the way of the cross. He receives the homage of the movement-party, the daily press, the Friends of Light, the youth of the cigar and the ball-room, the lowest part of the populace; the world loves its own. Had he stood forth in the name of the Crucified, the world would have put into his hands a cup of a different kind."* The picture may be somewhat overdrawn, but we cannot doubt its substantial correctness.

If we refer to the confession of Schneidemühl for the views of Czersky, and those who prefer rather to belong to the Christian Apostolic-Catholic, than to the German-Catholic church,† we find it express enough on the doctrine of the Trinity, but it is silent regarding the doc-

* *Ev. K. Zeitung*, for 2d April 1845.

† Of these two designations, the Christian Apostolic-Catholic was the first, having been adopted by Czersky and his congregation when they agreed to their creed on the 19th October 1844.

trines of grace and the ground of a sinner's justification ; while it holds the papal doctrines, though in a somewhat modified sense, of the seven sacraments and purgatory, and in the strongest manner, the doctrine of transubstantiation.

In the preface to their confession, they repudiate the pretended power of the Roman Catholic priests to change the *bread* into the real body and blood of Christ, and hence their right to administer the sacrament only in one kind ; whence it has sometimes been inferred, that the party have renounced the doctrine of transubstantiation. But all they have really renounced on this head, is the power to transubstantiate the bread alone, and by itself, into both the body and the blood of Christ—declaring still their belief, that “ the commemoration of Christ's bloody sacrifice upon the cross, which is celebrated in the holy supper, is profitable for the living and the dead ; and that in the most holy sacrament of the altar, the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ with his soul and godhead is truly and essentially present, and that the whole essence of the bread is changed into the body, and the whole essence of the wine into the blood through faith.”* We need not be surprised, that these remnants of Popery still adhere to Czersky and the Schneidemühl party, especially when we reflect how gradually the mind even of Luther was opened to the truth, and how a portion of the papal darkness regarding the sacraments stuck to him to the last. In Czersky there is every appearance of a sincere and earnest mind, which we trust will be guided into all the truth. But

* *Offenes Glaubensbekenntniss, &c.* For many of the *facts* mentioned in the preceding account, we are indebted chiefly to the intelligent and able correspondent of the “*Continental Echo.*”

as a very small portion of the new separatists from Rome seem to have any sympathy with these popish leanings, there is no probability of his confession being generally adopted. And as the sound part of its positive dogmas consists almost exclusively of an adoption of the Nicene Creed regarding the Trinity, while it affirms and denies nothing concerning the grand fundamental doctrine of justification by faith in the merits of Christ, it is not fitted to form, for the present times, a general basis of union, or banner of truth, around which men might gather to fight together the battles of the Lord.

In regard to Rongé, and the great proportion of those who compose the German-Catholic Church, there can be no doubt that they are deeply impregnated with the spirit of Rationalism. This is clear from the Leipsic Confession, which gives to reason a place along with the Holy Scriptures as the foundation of the Christian faith, and declares it to be the province both of the church and of the individual believer to bring their respective creeds into a correspondence with the principles of the age. It is also clear, from the absolute refusal of the majority at the Leipsic conference to insert, according to the proposal of Czerski and others, an acknowledgment of the divinity of Christ, the work of the Spirit, and the resurrection of the body. We are not, however, to conclude from this, that the party at large, or even the whole of those who rejected the proposal, actually repudiate these doctrines. Doubtless, many of them do, otherwise there would have been no temptation to reject the proposal; all would readily have concurred in the declaration of a fuller scriptural faith. But much must also be ascribed to the loose, unsettled, shifting spirit of Rationalism, which claims an unrestricted licence for

the church and all her members to believe what seems according to enlightened reason, and which, in the Lutheran and Reformed churches, so commonly presents the spectacle of the devout believer in the Trinity and all the peculiar doctrines of the gospel, worshipping side by side with him, whose real creed is all comprised in the three words, God, morality, immortality. It ill becomes the members of these Protestant churches to point the finger of scorn at the new German-Catholic church for its want of a living bond of union, when it is well known that their own union is but external. It ill becomes them to denounce the meagreness of its confession, when it is equally well known that, meagre as that confession is, it yet expresses to the full as much as the great majority of their own communities believe. And this new community has not at least the shame and the guilt resting on its head of publicly professing to embrace a confession, the most essential parts of which it actually repudiates.

This, however, is far from presenting the German-Catholic Church in a satisfactory light. It is not a church such as the apostle would recognise and own, "the house of God, the pillar and ground of the truth." Its union is only that of the world—not divine and living, but human and external—not based upon a distinct and harmonious perception of the truth, but comprehending within its bosom the most heterogeneous elements and irreconcilable principles. Such an union is not that which the gospel seeks to accomplish, and which Heaven has promised to water with its blessing; and so long as they remain in such a state, their councils must of necessity be divided, and their efforts paralyzed. Only, if they shall come to see—the Lord grant they

may come to see—that the word of God is paramount in the church, and Christ, the crucified Redeemer, paramount in that word, nay, its all in all—only then will they have the reality, as well as present the appearance of a house united in itself, and be in a condition to do battle properly and successfully with the powers of darkness.

“The community,” says an intelligent and impartial eye-witness, “is still in the process of formation. In sad confusion the negative and positive elements are as yet mixed up together; and one knows not, whether the one will absorb the other, or both will maintain beside each other a separate and substantial existence. But it is matter of fact, that the separation from the old church has been effected; the new party is labouring with all its might after a new confession, a corresponding worship, and a Christian life. It presents to our age the instructive spectacle of the formation of a new church, unexpectedly and vigorously struggling into life through the mightiest obstacles—either as a warning to all uncalled, conceited, self-seeking innovators, or as an admonition to all men of earnest minds and heaven-impelled consciences. To repress the movement, would be impossible, and could only produce a greater reaction. The principle of freedom of conscience is to be sacredly respected; the freedom of worship, which they seek, is already almost attained; the recognition of the State is in sight. The first stage is past, and the rest will inevitably follow.”*

NOTE.

* Monatschrift. for October 1845.

NOTE.

Since the foregoing Lecture was written and delivered, the position of matters has somewhat altered as regards Rongé, and the connection between him and certain, at least, of the more orthodox separatists. He has, it seems, at length declared himself a Rationalist, and consequently, a disbeliever in the divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the more peculiar doctrines of the gospel. A letter has been received from Czerski by the Convener of the Free Church Committee on Foreign Churches (Mr Lorimer), expressing, in the strongest terms, his opposition to the sentiments of Rongé, and his separation from him. We trust he will be joined by several of the leaders in the movement, and by not a few of the congregations. From the facts of the case one thing is obvious,—that with all the pretended uniformity of belief in the Church of Rome, there is as much real diversity and heresy there as in the ranks of Protestantism; and that when men get courage to shake themselves free from the external bondage and restraint under which she holds them, and to declare their genuine sentiments, their creed is found to range from the strictest Trinitarianism to the loosest Rationalism. But while this is in itself a melancholy circumstance, and tends sadly to diminish the prospect of good that might otherwise have been expected to arise from the movement, it furnishes at the same time aloud call to evangelical Christians in this country, to give it, if possible, before it settles down into a permanent form, a more wholesome direction, by taking steps to promote among the members of the young community, the circulation of the Scriptures, and such tracts as are fitted to bring them to sounder views of divine truth. Nor, surely, should the churches forget to pray in their behalf, that spiritual discernment may be given them to know the things of God, and that they may even yet be led into all the truth.

LECTURE IV.

THE STATE OF RELIGION IN ITALY FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE TILL THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE REFORMED DOCTRINES INTO THAT COUNTRY.

BY THE REV. JAMES BRYCE,

MINISTER OF GILCOMSTON FREE CHURCH, ABERDEEN.

ITALY presents unquestionable claims to the first rank among the nations of the earth, and to the first place among the kingdoms of Europe. Her history comes down to us almost without interruption from the Etruscans, who flourished long before the foundation of Rome, and whose antiquities have been investigated by modern archaeologists; and throughout the whole of that period she has been singularly illustrious. Before the Lord Jesus Christ appeared among men, the Romans had extended their conquests over the greatest part of the world, and the other countries of Europe become known to us in the writings of those who have recorded the warlike achievements and splendid victories of their conquerors. The history of Italy at that time included the history of the world, and the greatest of earthly sovereigns were compelled to bend the knee, and to do homage to the

haughty republicans. When the empire which Providence appointed to be reared by the courage of the legions, and by the skill and ability of their generals, fell by its own weight, and when the Italians, now a degenerate race, were conquered almost without a struggle by the northern invaders, it might have been expected that Italy, like the former great empires, would have passed away from the page of history, and would have been swallowed up by some superior dynasty. But the manner in which God was to deal with imperial Rome had been predicted by the prophets, and not one word that they have said can possibly fall to the ground. The empire of which Italy was the centre, was divided into ten kingdoms, and another of a totally different character immediately took its place. During ten centuries, from the fall of the Western Empire to the year 1500, a new species of sovereignty was matured and established; and the Bishop of Rome, having become a temporal prince as well as a spiritual ruler, exercised authority over the kings, the clergy, and the people of Europe, and aimed at wielding the sceptre of universal dominion. The power which he claimed was nearly co-extensive with that of consular and imperial Rome, and his commands were obeyed, and his threatenings dreaded, from Sicily to the coasts of the Baltic Sea. Nor was he contented with the influence which he possessed over the European nations; by an assumption of power which has no parallel in the annals of mankind, he bestowed on the kings of Spain and Portugal the lands which had been discovered by navigators in the unexplored countries, whose shores are washed by the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific. The papal dominion shed a lustre over Italy, when learning and science were little cultivated,

and when men had sunk into an intellectual lethargy, from which they were only effectually roused by the shock of the Reformation.

The civil and ecclesiastical history of Italy will be read and studied from generation to generation; and it is worthy of remark, that no other nation has been equally distinguished in both departments. and yet the religious character of the Italians is not entitled to very high consideration. Christianity was introduced into that country a few years after the resurrection of Jesus, and the apostle Paul has borne testimony to the exalted faith of the Roman converts, "a faith which was spoken of throughout the whole world."* We have the same high authority for believing that the gospel was received in the prætorian camp and in the imperial palace, and that some of Cæsar's household acknowledged its truth and experienced its power;† but the doctrines of the New Testament had evidently made no very extensive impression on the minds of the people at large. Italy has its catalogue of martyrs, and from time to time, both in the cities and rural districts, fines and imprisonments, tortures and death, were prepared for those who believed on the name of Jesus; but this fact proves the number of Christians to have been comparatively small, and as a body they seem to have had no political weight. The religion of Italy was essentially pagan till the time of Constantine, when he effected a change, which has rendered his reign one of the lasting eras in the history of mankind. It will serve to illustrate some of the views hereafter to be unfolded, if we briefly advert to the state of religion in Italy previous to the establishment of Christianity throughout the empire.

* Rom. i. 8.

† Philip. i. 13; iv. 22.

The writings of Plautus may be considered as a mirror from which are distinctly reflected the manners and customs, and the mode of speaking and acting, of the period to which they belong. No doubt, some allowance must be made for exaggeration and occasional caricature, which might be necessary to keep his audience or his readers in good humour; yet his grouping of Roman life must be admitted to be in general correct. In the piece entitled *Amphitruo*, the god Mercury is introduced as a cheat, a liar, and a buffoon, for the accomplishment of the most shameful purposes; and at the same time the supreme god Jupiter is represented as the grossest sensualist, and as perpetrating the most abominable crimes by means of the vilest deception. What are we to think of the religious feelings of men, who could take delight in a spectacle, in which the character of their highest divinities is treated as greatly inferior to the most worthless of men! Every student of classical antiquity must remember the disgusting familiarity with which the most ardent of the pagan worshippers coaxed their gods to grant their prayers; and when they were unsuccessful in any of their schemes, or disappointed in any of their expectations, they scolded, threatened, and heaped upon them the most contemptuous epithets. In the opinion of the heathens, the gods at whose altars they offered sacrifices were thus laid under a deep obligation, and owed them a large debt of gratitude. In the first book of the *Æneid*, Juno is represented as taking a great interest in the new colony planted by Dido, and setting herself against unchangeable fate, because the Carthaginians acknowledged her divinity, and brought victims to her altars. On the other hand, the worshippers took occa-

sion to remind the gods of the frequency and largeness of their offerings, and of the smallness of the return.

The religion of Italy was not enhanced by assuming a political aspect, and by the people offering divine honours to the emperors. Cæsar Augustus allowed his name to be enrolled among the tutelary gods of the city: and the shepherd in Virgil, who owed to him the preservation of his lands, declares that he would always reckon him as a god, and would offer from his folds a lamb to him, whose altars smoked with victims for twelve days in the year. No doubt, the personal character of some of the Roman emperors was superior to many of the ancient divinities; but an act of worship offered to the ruler, apart from its gross idolatry, was to reduce the people to the most degrading slavery. The funeral of the emperor was always accompanied with the apotheosis, and the term *divus*, applied to him after his death, was a proof that his subjects were at once flatterers and hypocrites. The letter of Pliny to Trajan states, as a crime imputed to Christians, their refusal to worship the statue of the emperor, and those who willingly made the usual offerings were dismissed. The result of this servile worship might have been easily foreseen,—men of rank and education treated the worship established by law with outward reverence and secret contempt, and even before the last days of the republic belief in the national creed was exceedingly rare in the upper classes of society. The omens and lying wonders, on which the pagan religion rested, had become familiar to the people, and they were not without very strong suspicions of deceit and imposture with regard to the miracles, which the priests professed to perform. Either the public mind had become more enlightened, or the priests

were less cautious in concealment; at all events, the occasional detection of mere jugglery produced not only indifference, but a scepticism strangely mixed up with superstition. The phenomena exhibited in some of the temples, in proof of the special favour of the gods, are ridiculed by all the popular writers. Horace, in the pleasant account which he has given us of his journey from Rome to Brundisium, makes himself merry with the wonderful stone at the threshold of the temple of Gnatia, which was said to melt the frankincense without fire. Many of the places, which had been consecrated by tradition, and which it would have been at one time considered an insult to religion to profane, had fallen into utter neglect, and were applied to the most ordinary purposes. Juvenal, in his third Satire, laments over the Fountain of Egeria, at which Numa met that goddess, and which for ages had been held peculiarly sacred; but now it was let for hire to the Jews, who made up the rent by begging. Virgil, in the eleventh book of the *Æneid*, mentions a pile of wood set on fire in honour of Apollo, and tells us of his worshippers walking barefoot over the red-hot embers; but later writers intimate their belief, that this dangerous feat was performed either by anointing the feet or by rendering them callous. While unbelief in the religion of the state pervaded all classes of the community, it is almost incredible to what extent superstitions were multiplied. Omens and prodigies were increased, and foreign rites were introduced into Italy. Temples were erected to Cybele, Bellona, and Egyptian Isis, and their worship was generally accompanied with the most infamous debaucheries. Astrology and magic were in great repute for obtaining a knowledge of future events, and for raising the dead; and it

is said that some of the emperors did not disdain to study these sciences. The horrid atrocities of witchcraft are somewhat coarsely, but very graphically, described by Horace.*

From this sketch of the pagan religion in Italy, it will not be difficult to form a just estimate of the state of morality previous to the age of Constantine. Its standard could not be high, when that of the gods which they worshipped was so extremely low; and the liar, the thief, and the adulterer, might plead in extenuation of their guilt the examples of the gods themselves. It is not intended to collect from ancient writers the views that were entertained respecting moral conduct; we can confidently refer to the 1st chapter of the Epistle to the Romans as furnishing the most authentic account of the state of morality in heathen Italy; and the supplementary information derived from Juvenal's Satires proves, even to unbelievers, that the picture, which Paul has given, is not overdrawn. In those days we look in vain for purity in private life, and for the practice of the domestic virtues. Dissolute conduct was the rule, and purity was the exception; and as licentiousness increased, selfishness and cruelty were found in its train. The public morals were supposed to be greatly affected by the gross corruption of the imperial court, and by the acknowledged cruelty and butchery of the public shows; but perhaps nothing so much tended to demoralize the people as the system of domestic slavery. Whatever may have been the cause of this universal depravity, the melancholy effect is undeniably true.

While heathen Italy was thus equally irreligious and immoral, Christianity was extending its influence, and

* See Epode V, book i. sat. viii.

the members of the church were gradually increasing. This prosperity was not without frequent interruptions. In addition to the persecutions which were carried on by the authority of the government, the Christians of Italy were made responsible for all the public calamities. If pestilence spread its ravages among the population; if harvests failed, and famine was the consequence; if continued rains brought down the mountain torrents, which swept away in their fury men and cattle; if thunderstorms terrified the people, and hail injured the ripening corn; these, and similar evils, were ascribed by the heathens to the anger of the gods for tolerating Christianity. Nevertheless, idolatry, as established by law in Italy, was hastening to its fall, and that too, notwithstanding the rage of princes and the tumults of the people. The courage and constancy of the faithful martyrs of Jesus were the means of extending the gospel, and their trials and sufferings rendered its doctrines still dearer to those who escaped the storms of persecution. In the first ages, the church of Rome deservedly held a high place among the Christian churches both of the East and West: and if we credit the early writers, it was long before it was tainted by any heresy. Various disputes, indeed, had taken place about matters of inferior importance, such as about the precise day on which Easter was to be celebrated, and about the admission of the lapsed into communion even at the hour of death; but Italy is stated to have fostered no heresy till the end of the fourth century. Now, all this may be true, if we understand by heresy some glaring deviation from the doctrines of Scripture; but it is equally true, that long before this period several corruptions had been introduced into the celebration of Christian worship, and into the

administration of religious discipline. Festivals had been instituted for which there is no scriptural authority, and the veneration for the Virgin Mary and the saints had assumed the appearance of actual worship.

Some are disposed to connect the abuses and corruptions, which were afterwards found in the church, with its establishment under Constantine; but this mistake will be easily corrected by a careful perusal of the early fathers, and the age of Constantine is at least guiltless of introducing rites and ceremonies, which are entirely unscriptural, and of devising pious frauds and gross impostures, which the credulity of Christians unhappily encouraged. The truth seems to be this, the people are naturally led away by external pomp and splendour, and the ministers of religion, instead of restraining the taste of the people within the bounds which the Bible prescribes, joined with them in seeking means for its gratification. The Jews and heathen, who were accustomed to the greatest magnificence in the celebration of their worship, spoke with contempt of the naked simplicity of the religious services in the Christian assemblies, and of the want of every thing calculated to attract the senses. It was on this account that the rulers of the church were induced to multiply rites and ceremonies, and as the *Bona Dea* had her mysteries in Italy, to which the initiated alone were admitted, so in process of time, the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper were termed mysteries, and none but the members of the church were permitted to be present at their celebration. When an entire change was to be made in the established religion, it might have been expected that idolatry would be destroyed, root and branch, and that some of the existing abuses in the church would

be swept away ; but it unfortunately happened, that the desire to allure the heathens to Christianity was so great, as to induce them to incorporate the Pagan rites with the Christian services. Popes and bishops thought, that as little violence as possible should be done to the existing prejudices ; and hence it appeared, that there was less difference between the religion which the people were required to abandon, and that which they were called to adopt, than might have been at first supposed. From the fifth century of the Christian era, the rites and ceremonies of the church were nothing better than christianized paganism ; for whenever a heathen festival or other observance could be adopted, it was done without scruple. The man who brought to the altar of his idol the appropriate sacrifice, and who believed in its efficacy to procure the favour of the god, was taught, when he assumed the profession of Christianity, that the bread and wine in the eucharist, changed into the body and blood of Christ by the officiating priest, was a propitiatory oblation, which would procure the pardon of sin, and was truly styled the sacrifice of the mass ; and hence the new religion was substantially the same as the old—only less burdensome and expensive. The Christmas festival took the place of the heathen Saturnalia. Easter, the festival of the Teutonic goddess Oстера, superseded the Minervalia, Megalesia, or Cerealia ; and the Easter fires and Easter eggs belong exclusively to the heathen feast. Lady-day, the feast of the Annunciation, was celebrated on the 25th of March, instead of the feast of Cybele. Christians were accustomed, in the first ages, to reproach the heathens for worshipping dead men ; but from the catacombs arose the worship of the martyrs, and the reproach might have been retorted with great force and

justice ; and what shall we say of the veneration for bones and relics, which became the disgrace of the Catholic Church ? In the temples of the gods, in which the Christians now assembled, shrines were erected to men, who had borne the most open testimony against every species of idolatry, and who had ever spoken of it as in the highest degree sinful. That religion, whose votaries assembled with fear and trembling in the darkness of the night, was openly acknowledged throughout Italy : and instead of tombs and caves, where their meetings were formerly held, the Basilicæ were converted into Christian churches. The apsis of the Basilica was furnished with statues of the Cæsars, but they were removed to make room for those of Christ and his apostles. The local deities became soon unknown to the people, and their temples no longer met the eye of the traveller : but instead of these, on the cliffs of the mountains, on the public roads, and on the house-tops, might be seen the cross, the emblem of salvation, the crucifix, or the figure of some favourite saint. The temples of the gods underwent a very slight change in their adaptation to Christian worship, and the altars of the old divinities merely received the names of the new saints ; their furniture continued much the same as before, and the votive tablet was suspended, and the incense was burnt as in former times. The same sort of garlands were placed over the doors of the churches, the aquaminarium still contained the water for purification, or, as it was now termed, the holy water, and the bell was rung, as in the time of Plautus, for the excitement of the worshipper, or for the expelling of evil influence.* Not only was the propitiatory sacrifice of bread and wine offered at the

* Plaut. Pseud., Act. i. Sc. 3-93. &c.

altar of the Christian church, but the ancient term *host* was still retained. In great calamities, when the public mind was deeply alarmed, the intercession of the saints was sought, much in the same way as it had been done in seeking the favour of the ancient gods. Processions were made to their shrines, and tapers, music, and a box of relics were employed to induce them to ward off the threatened danger. Hills and fountains were now peopled with saints, as they formerly were with nymphs and naiads, and multitudes offered their prayers at the former, or crawled upon their knees to the latter, till the blood flowed from their excoriated limbs, in the hope that these saints would relieve their distress. Instead of a statue of Mercury at the gates of private dwellings, the statue of St Peter acted as protector, because in Italy he was not only the prince of the apostles, but in their opinion, the first bishop of Rome. In the interior of their houses were no longer to be seen the Phrygian Penates, but there was a niche in the parlour or bed-room for St Sebastian or St Roch. Æsculapius or Apollo no longer protected the person, but a small image of St Vitale was worn for that purpose next the skin; and pollution was no longer kept from the walls of houses by Jupiter and the twelve gods, but by St Benedict. The crew of a vessel did not now look for a prosperous voyage to the sign of Castor and Pollux, but to St Nicholas; and the modern sailor was as ignorant as the ancient of Him whom the winds and the sea obey. From these facts, well authenticated, we must draw the conclusion, that the religion of modern Italy was essentially pagan; and it cannot fail to strike our minds, that the Virgin was

* *Hostia*, supposed to be derived from an obsolete verb, *Hostio*, to strike.

called the queen of heaven—a title which was given in the time of Jeremiah to the moon, and to whose deity the women of Judah baked cakes, and offered drink offerings.* In Christian worship, she occupied the place of Cybele in the ancient mythology, and even the beggars solicited alms, not as formerly in the name of the mother of the gods, but for the sake of our Lady.† Between the ancient and modern forms of worship, the difference was small; and it might be said of the Italians, as the prophet said of the Jews, according to the number of their cities were their gods.‡ Strange was the state of religious feeling in a country, where Paul might again be worshipped as Mercury, and Barnabas as Jupiter.

With these things before us, it cannot be matter of surprise, if, in the course of time, the peculiar doctrines of Christianity became entirely unknown to the great mass of the population. The gospel was engrafted into heathenism, and “bodily exercise, which profiteth little, was substituted for that godliness which is profitable unto all things.” From the age of Constantine to the Reformation, there is nothing which effectually dispelled the prevailing ignorance, and which opened the eyes of the people to their spiritual condition. Occasionally, indeed, a gleam of light broke through the gloom; but it resembled the passing meteor, which only rendered the darkness more sensibly felt. We shall have occasion afterwards, to shew that there were a few, who, like the children of Israel in Egypt, had light in their dwellings; but of the Italians generally, it may be said, “that they did not like to retain God in their knowledge.” Any attempt to describe the moral condition of

* Jer. xliv. 17-25.

† Per la Madonna.

‡ Jer. xi. 13.

Italy during the same period would certainly fail, for who can attempt to describe chaos? There was no motive for performing the relative duties arising out of the religion which they professed, because they fancied themselves under the protection of the saints, and therefore their religion had no influence on their affections and conduct. The history of modern Italy presents a strange mixture of heroism and crimes, of knightly splendour and horrible vice. The people must have been lost to all sense of moral principle, who could patiently endure the atrocities of Theodora and her daughter Marozia, who, by the most open profligacy, obtained such influence as to be able to place men, wicked as themselves, in the papal chair. Mosheim describes the popes of the tenth century as monsters of iniquity, and the result was, that anarchy universally prevailed. There was no security for property, which was seized by the strongest party—human life was little valued, and he who came between another and the attainment of his object was recklessly murdered. Among the clergy, immorality greatly increased from the reign of Gregory VII., and consequently their example became most pernicious. The monasteries and nunneries were richly endowed by the weak and superstitious; and when the ardour displayed in behalf of an ascetic life cooled, their wealth furnished the means of luxurious ease and of sensual indulgence. They began to lose their influence with the people, for even the profligate turned with disgust from an immoral clergy, and therefore they devised new miracles for the purpose of attracting the multitude; but when the novelty passed away, the character of the clergy, unsupported by a holy life, was lightly treated by all classes of the community. History presents to us no

picture less attractive than the religious and moral condition of Italy during the middle ages.

It may be necessary now to shew, that these views of the christianized paganism of modern Italy, are held by writers of deserved reputation, who distinctly trace the irreligion which overspread the land to the pagan rites, that remained unchanged from ancient times. Most of the ecclesiastical historians mention their introduction into Italy soon after the Council of Nice, and such of them as approve of the practice, and admire devotional splendour, defend them on the ground, that they were calculated to win over the heathen to Christianity, and to promote the piety of the faithful. To these writers it is not necessary more particularly to refer, as they all agree in the statement of the fact; but it is of importance to observe the opinions of men, whose works do not professedly treat of ecclesiastical affairs. The following passage from Hallam's Constitutional History of England is valuable for the reason now assigned, and especially as he is no very decided friend of the Reformation:—
“ Those who have visited Catholic temples and attended to the current language of devotion, must have perceived, what the writings of apologists and decrees of councils will never enable them to discover, that the saints, but more especially the Virgin, are almost exclusively the popular deities of that religion.” The same writer afterwards admits, that the object of the Reformation was to sweep away the fraud and imposture which was an essential element of the Popish church, and the polytheism, which arose from the worship offered to the saints. We do not say that the bestowing of divine honours on the martyrs was peculiar to Italy, but it was here, that unknown martyrs discovered themselves to

holy men in visions and dreams ; and we refer to the life and writings of Ambrose, bishop of Milan, for an illustration of this remark—especially to his letter addressed to St Marcellina, respecting the discovery of the tomb and relics of St Gervasius and St Protasius, and to his book *De Viduis*, for hints respecting the worshipping of angels. In Taylor's *Ancient Christianity*, the idolatries which were practised by Christians, are ascribed to the prevalence of the Gnostic doctrines ; but in Italy, we are disposed to connect them with the ancient paganism.

The Italian writers of the middle ages amply confirm the account which has now been given of the state of religion and morality in that country, and of the disastrous effects that were produced by the introduction of idolatry into the Christian church. The poets have made the character of the clergy the subject of their satire and the butt of their ridicule. Dante, who flourished about the beginning of the fourteenth century, was strongly attached to all the doctrines which were then approved by the church, and yet he often modifies them in a manner that excites our surprise. He admits the existence of purgatory, and allows the propriety of praying for the souls that are there ; but he condemns the traffic to which it gives rise, and tells us in plain terms, that it receives very few souls, as mankind generally rush to the bottomless pit. He has no quarrel with priestly absolution, but distinctly holds it to be inefficacious without repentance ; and, in illustration, speaks of the case of a priest or friar, who had sinned, by the suggestion of the Pope, under a promise that his holiness would open to him the gates of heaven, but who, to his utter astonishment, found himself in hell. He denounces, in the most unmeasured terms, the union

of spiritual authority and secular dominion, and predicts that it will be the ruin of the church. He speaks of the church as a harlot and a beast—terms which, we may suppose, he borrowed from the Apocalypse; and he represents those priests, who were active in promoting the existing abominations, as consigned to hell, where they engage in the most unseemly contests, and where they suffer the most terrific punishments. In his book, entitled “*Monarchia*,” which was written in defence of the Emperor, he inveighs against the Church of Rome, and holds up the popes and their defenders as notorious for ambition, avarice, and imprudence, and as persons who shewed themselves to be the children of iniquity and the devil, while it was their boast that they were the sons of the church. Dante was evidently little acquainted with the doctrinal parts of scripture, and he often speaks with childish ignorance about religion; but he was also deeply convinced that there was something radically wrong in the Italian church, and that religion and morality were at the lowest ebb.

Petrarch, who followed Dante, was not behind him in strong attachment to the doctrines of the church, and in pointed invective against its abuses and corruptions. The following is from his Sonnets, and one of the names is evidently from the Revelation:

Thou fruitful spring of woe, thou hapless home,
Where Heaven's displeasure finds its place of rest!
Temple of heresy! foul error's nest!
Thou impious Babylon, once hallowed Rome!
Forge of all fraud! dread prison-house and tomb
Of virtue thou, while vice thou fosterest!
'Tis strange, O hell, by living fiends possessed,
If Christ, at length, decree thee not thy doom;

For at thy birth thou lowly wast and chaste,
Now at thy parents dost thou lift the horn,
A shameless harlot! where then hast thou placed
Thy hope? In chamberings and in wealth ill born,
Take, Constantine, take back thy gift, or haste
And purge thy world, O God, o'er which we mourn.*

In others of his Sonnets the strength of his language does not fail in expressing the highest indignation at the corruptions, which had polluted the sanctuary. In one place, he calls down fire from heaven upon the church as the mother of all the wickedness which was abroad in the world. He says that Bacchus and Venus are its gods, and that Beelzebub sits among its bishops, blowing up with his bellows the flames of their evil passions. These strong expressions could only proceed from the pen of a man, who felt strongly the degradation to which the church had been reduced; for he himself was a churchman, held several benefices, and built a chapel to the Virgin at Arqua—a circumstance which gives a force to the censures of Petrarch, and comes to us with greater weight than those of his illustrious predecessor. Those who read the Sonnets of Petrarch at their first publication, could not fail to become acquainted with the abuses of the ecclesiastical state, and must have been taught to inquire into the best method of sweeping them away.

What had roused the indignation, and called forth the bitterest censures of Dante and Petrarch, was looked upon as mere matter of sport by Ariosto. The solemn earnestness of the former age had passed away, and jesting and ridicule were now freely directed against sacred things. It became the fashion to amuse the people,

* Petrarch's Sonnets, 193.

not only by exposing the vices of the clergy, but also at the expense of the Christian faith; and there was thus a foundation laid for that scepticism which pervaded Italy at the Reformation, and of which we have a type in the state of society in the time of the empire. Ariosto sings of Astolfo's visit to the moon, and of what he saw there; and nothing can be more ridiculous than the appearance of the alms which the sinner leaves behind him for his soul's salvation, and of the gift which Constantine was said to have bestowed on Pope Silvester. In another part of the same poem, he represents the Archangel Michael on a mission to discover the abode of Silence; and he seeks him in the abbey or the monastery, where the inhabitants of these humble cells spend a life of heavenly contemplation; but though Silence did once dwell there, he had long ago fled from the cloisters. There was also the expectation that Pity, Charity, and Peace, might perhaps be found there; but, alas! they too had fled, and their places were occupied by Pride, Hatred, Sloth, Lust, Rage, and Avarice. It was part of the archangel's mission to search for Discord, and of course her abode must be in hell; but who could suppose that she dwelt in a hell at hand, even among mass and matins? On the occasion of the election of an ecclesiastical officer by some neighbouring chapter, Discord had taken her place among the electors in the chapter, and the proceedings were conducted much to her satisfaction. Difference of opinion soon began to appear; the fierce passions of the electors were gradually excited; and breviaries flew in all directions, while Discord made herself merry with the unseemly fray. Such is the style in which Ariosto describes the character of

the Italian clergy, both secular and regular, in his writings; and if the priesthood were given up to every evil passion and every foul practice, we may easily conclude that the people had either become indifferent to religion, or must have been the slaves of the grossest superstition. Other writers go even farther than Ariosto, and not only censure the profligacy of the clergy, but cast contempt on religion itself. Berni seems to have had a correct view of what Christianity required, but he treats the priests with very little ceremony. They are charged with the vilest hypocrisy, and the weapon which he wields with great force is banter. He says that the clergy are glowing without and frozen within; and compares them to whitened sepulchres which are filled with corruption. He offers them his friendly advice, not to trim the outward part, or to adorn the body with purple and other costly garments, but to look within, for the purpose of purifying their affections and cleansing their hearts.

We have thus attempted to authenticate our statements regarding the religious condition of the Italians till the time of the great Western schism, and for this reason, that many are disposed to look upon the misconduct of the clergy, and the irreligion of the people, as themes for declamatory eloquence, and some are inclined to consider them as mere Protestant calumnies. We now hold the Christian paganism of Italy, and all the results to which it led, as facts in history, of which we have the most eminent writers in that, or perhaps in any other country, as the unquestionable witnesses. There is now before us the period preceding the Reformation, the extraordinary events that occurred during its progress, and the final triumph of Popery, by which the Italians were

bound hand and foot after the Council of Trent. From the preceding observations, it might be supposed impossible for the clergy and the people to become worse; and yet there is a point in irreligion and immorality which they had not yet reached. It will be necessary now to look into every department of the hierarchy, and it will be seen how its members, from the highest to the lowest, were filling up the cup of their iniquity. If we examine the general character of the bishops of Rome,—of those men who proudly styled themselves the successors of St Peter, and vicars of God upon the earth, we shall find none of those qualities by which Jesus was distinguished when he dwelt among men. Volumes have been written to prove their ambition, avarice, cruelty, and licentiousness. It would be great injustice, were we to say that all of them are involved in this charge; but perhaps the best of them would shrink from any very searching inquiry into their conduct, while some of them would be honoured by a comparison with the worst of the Roman emperors. The Council of Constance prudently avoided any investigation of the life of John XXIII, and declined to put him upon his trial, because they would thus be compelled to divulge atrocities which were calculated, even in that age, to bring indelible disgrace upon that church of which he was the head. The life of Alexander VI. was uniformly flagitious, and certainly for unadulterated wickedness he has seldom been surpassed. His son Cæsar Borgia has been called by a late eminent historian a virtuoso in crime, and it will be no easy matter to find language sufficiently powerful to describe his horrible wickedness and profligacy. The English literature of the present century has given us a most elaborate Life of Leo X, in four

quarto volumes ; but the reader looks in vain for a particular account of the religious opinions of this illustrious pontiff. He is praised, and apparently with great justice, for his encouragement of literature and the arts ; he is set forth as a man of taste, and an accomplished gentleman ; we see in him the man of the world and the politician ; but we learn nothing of his exertions in behalf of religion, or of the influence which it exercised over his own mind. His biographer could not describe what had no existence, but we could scarcely discover from this piece of biography whether its subject was a Christian, a Mahometan, or a Pagan,—and unless we had previously known, we could scarcely have guessed that he was the head of the Christian church. His political morality is said to have arisen out of the difficulty of his position, but it was such as to bring upon him the hatred and contempt of the most unscrupulous diplomatists. To extricate himself from his difficulties, he had occasionally recourse to perjury ; he relied on a dexterity which upright men would call cunning ; and when he entered into a treaty with one of two contending parties, he never failed to negotiate with the other. In the early history of Rome we read of Punic faith, and of the double-tongued race ; but in the days of Leo X, there will be found not only a double tongue and deceitful conduct, but also a double policy and revolting perjury, which no Carthaginian could have possibly exceeded. His wasteful extravagance and love of amusement belong to his personal character, which, with these drawbacks, was greatly superior to some of his immediate predecessors. His death took place amid the rejoicings for a victory which he had earnestly desired. So suddenly was he cut off, that there was no time for the ad-

ministration of the sacraments, and as he left a load of debt behind him, the Roman people followed his funeral with scorn and contempt. "You sneaked in," they said, "like a fox, ruled like a lion, and have gone off like a dog." A writer, who relates these facts, in a letter written at Rome in December 1521, uses this strong language, "I conclude that no pope ever died with a worse reputation since the existence of the church of God." During the time that Leo X. occupied the papal chair, it had become fashionable in good society, and even in the Roman curia, to express doubts regarding some parts of religion, or utterly to deny the truth of Christianity. Even the pope himself is alleged, though his biographer denies it, to have treated the religion of Jesus as nothing better than a fable. Literature and science had visited Italy, but they brought in their train profanity and infidelity. At Florence, Lorenzo the Magnificent had been very diligent in restoring the philosophy of Plato; and when his son John became pontiff, he carried along with him to the chair of St Peter the impressions made on his mind by early education. The Christian religion was only considered as the ladder by which he was to rise to worldly greatness, not as the only instrument for the regeneration of mankind. Hence the century in which the Reformation was commenced, was not merely remarkable for the flagitious conduct of the popes, but also for the total want of religion which the best of them displayed.

The ungodliness, which appeared in the character of the pontiffs, was reflected from the higher ranks of the clergy. They were generally ignorant of theology, especially of the theology of the Bible, and most of them, according to the fashion of the times, were infidels.

There was a grand mistake about the position which they held; they never supposed that they had received the property of the church as an equivalent for the Christian instruction of the people; it was looked upon as a temporal possession, which was commonly purchased in that age either by money or by services. A worldly spirit led them to secure as much money as they possibly could; and this desire of accumulation brought on disputes about rights and boundaries, which were often settled by an appeal to arms. From this mode of asserting their rights, the transition to civil politics was extremely short, in which the dignified clergy took a leading part; and in petty strifes, it would have often been extremely difficult to distinguish the spiritual lord from the temporal baron. There was, indeed, this difference,—the churchmen were by far the least scrupulous in the use of those means by which their ends were to be accomplished. This observation will be best illustrated by facts, and we select for this purpose the well-known conspiracy of the Pazzi, which was planned for the assassination of Lorenzo de Medici, and of his brother Giuliano. Of six conspirators three were churchmen, and the leader of the band was Francesco Salviati, Archbishop of Pisa. In carrying out the plan which had been formed, it was proposed to attack the brothers when they were engaged in divine worship in the church of the Reparata. The individual, who was selected to make the assault, was a layman, and he had no difficulty whatever in putting any man to death in a private house, but he shrunk from the commission of murder in a church. Two of the ecclesiastics had no scruples on that point, and they therefore undertook to assassinate the two Medici in the church, while the archbishop was

to seize the palace. The conspirators only partly succeeded, and met the fate which they so well deserved; but it is impossible not to reflect on the state of religion and morality in that country, in which the bishops and the clergy neglected their proper office, imbrued their hands in blood, and set the example of the most atrocious crimes.

Besides the dissolute lives of the clergy, and their utter ignorance, they were still farther unqualified for the instruction of the people, because religion was to the greater part of the priesthood little better than an idle jest. The duties, which they must perform, were hurried over with indecent haste, and their first wish seemed to be to turn all their emoluments into the means of rendering life a perpetual holiday. A proof of the truth of these statements may be found in the account of Luther's journey to Rome. The poor German monk, charged with an important commission from several monasteries of his own order, crossed the Alps, and with the highest delight cast his eyes over the fertile and populous plains of Lombardy. There was, indeed, a striking contrast between the wealth of Italy and the poverty of his native Thuringia. The new objects that were constantly rising up before him occasioned the greatest astonishment, but there were also some things that roused his indignation. As he proceeded on his journey, he entered a Benedictine monastery on the banks of the Po. This religious house had been most liberally endowed, and their revenues were expended in magnificent buildings, splendid furniture, and luxurious living. Luther was confounded, when he was conducted into rooms which might have vied with the halls of princes, and when he sat at a table which was covered with

the most delicate and costly dishes. Friday came, when all good Catholics fast, or at least abstain from flesh ; but neither fasting nor change of diet was practised by these voluptuous Benedictines. The table was spread, and flesh and other luxuries appeared as on the other days of the week. Luther had been greatly scandalised by what he had formerly seen, but was prudently silent ; now, however, he considered it to be an imperative duty to speak out, and accordingly he ventured to remark, that the Church and the Pope forbade such a mode of living. No small surprise was felt by the monks at the boldness of an unpolished German presuming to make remarks on their conduct, and to rebuke them for the liberal economy of their table, and it was proposed to get rid of him by putting him to death. A timely warning enabled the future champion of the Reformation to escape, and believing that the monastery which he had left was singular in defying the Church, and in violating the rules of the ascetic life, he proceeded forthwith to Rome. Nothing could exceed the deep feelings of reverence which Luther experienced, when he saw the bright beams of an Italian sun reflected from the churches and palaces of that city, which had been the queen of the nations, and which was now the capitol of the Christian world. He is said to have cast himself on the ground, and to have exclaimed, " Holy Rome, I salute thee ! " If he afterwards found that her glory had departed,—that her once animated form was an unsightly carcase, and that he was walking over the dust of buried generations of heroes, he might be excused for dropping a tear over fallen greatness ; but who can attempt to describe his feelings of horror, when he discovered, that the corruptions which had excited his indignation on the banks

of the Po were trifling, when compared with the atheism, the profanity, the luxury, and licentiousness for which the Roman clergy were pre-eminently distinguished? Julius II. at that time filled the papal chair, and this warlike priest set the example of all ungodliness. Holy things were used as the readiest means of procuring earthly enjoyment, and therefore the sacred offices and all religious services were regularly sold to the highest bidder. The masses, for which money had been paid, were read in the most irreverent manner, for the purpose of saving time; and when Luther said mass with that calmness and dignity, which shewed his deep feeling of the importance of the duty, one of the priests cried to him, "Get on, get on, let our Lady have her Son again;" an impious allusion to their own doctrine of transubstantiation. We have already mentioned the fact, that in the time of Leo X. it was fashionable to call in question the truth of Christianity, but long before his reign infidelity pervaded the priesthood. The younger clergy who frequented the curia in the reign of Julius II. when Luther was at Rome, and who were anxiously looking for the patronage of the Pope, spoke of orthodoxy as the device of certain saints, whose well-meant inventions had served the purpose of deluding mankind; and an attempt had been made by some wits of the time, to prove from the writings of Pliny, that there is no difference between the souls of men and beasts. Still Luther was unwilling to believe his own eyes; till, on one occasion, he was sitting at dinner with certain prelates, who, without scruple, turned into a jest the most sacred duties of the ministerial office. Among other things, they boasted that, instead of using the prescribed form for changing the bread and wine into the body and blood

of Christ, they merely said, *Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain ; wine thou art, and wine thou shalt remain.* By this conversation the veil was withdrawn from Luther's mind, and he now saw clearly the mass of corruption which rendered the religion of Italy loathsome in the eyes of all right-thinking men. "If there be a hell," says Luther, "Rome is built over it; it is an abyss, from which all sins proceed."

It will readily be believed from this description of the Italian clergy by Luther, that from the Gulf of Tarento to the Alps, the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ was as much unknown to the inhabitants of Italy as to their pagan ancestors. No doubt the remark admits of some important exceptions, of which we shall have occasion immediately to speak; but dealing with this question in its general aspect, it will not be very far from the truth if we say, that ignorance of this leading Christian doctrine extended over the vast mass of the population. The clergy, as we have been taught by Luther, doubted the truth of Christianity, and treated its most sacred ordinances as the subjects of trickery and jest; and there could not be in the minds of these men any ardent love for the souls of the people, and any burning zeal for their salvation. But mankind cannot live long without religion, and hence a superstition, founded on the rites of paganism, and handed down from father to son, was the only religion of the Italian people. We can discover no difference in the mode of worship, as we descend the stream of time toward the sixteenth century, with this exception, that the few grains of Christian truth, which appear even amid the pagan ceremonies, are entirely lost, and what remains is only chaff. The doctrine of justification was always in the Church, but

it was to be obtained by penances, and more easily by those who were able to pay for diplomas of indulgence. Besides, heaven was peopled with intercessors, and the earth was filled with good works, which remained beyond what was necessary for the salvation of the saints, and which might become the property of such persons as were able and willing to become their purchasers. It was thus that men were deluded with the hope of salvation,—they were taught to put their trust in every thing but in Christ, and a place in heaven might be procured for money.

The question will perhaps occur to those who contemplate the wretched condition of the Italian populace, what was the state of religious knowledge among the educated part of the community—the middle and higher classes of society? To answer this question would require a very profound acquaintance with the writers of Italy, and a very long course of investigation, to which the writer of these pages has no pretension; and, therefore, what he has now to present, is only a few meagre observations. One source of information is found in the sermons of that age which are still extant, and from which it would be almost impossible to derive instruction or improvement. The subjects of which they treat are the deeds of the saints, the value of relics, and the jejune learning of the schools. A new mode of preaching was introduced into Italy by Barletta, whose object was to render vice not only disgusting but ridiculous. There was occasionally a comic humour mixed with more sober discussion, and so popular did Barletta become as a preacher, that he was held up as a model,

* It became a common saying, *Qui nescit barlettare nescit predicare.*

which all were required to follow. The hearers of such sermons might be amused, but we may be permitted to doubt whether they were the instruments best fitted for informing the understanding and purifying the heart.

Another ground for believing that the educated classes in Italy were kept in ignorance of true religion, was the steady opposition made by the hierarchy against every attempt to put into the hands of the people, a translation of the scriptures into the spoken language of the country. No doubt, men of education might have read the Latin Vulgate; but it was the practice, if not the law, to reckon every person a heretic, who kept in his possession a copy of the scriptures in any language whatever, without giving due notice to the priest. This is no new fact in the history of the Italian church. Pope Gregory VII. considered it to be a serious evil to multiply copies of the scriptures even in the Latin language; and Gerson, the Chancellor of the University of Paris, gave it as his deliberate opinion at the Council of Constance, that for the common people to read the scriptures was merely gratifying an idle curiosity; and in this opinion, the Italian bishops, who were present, cordially concurred. All classes of society were thus made dependent on the priests for the attainment of spiritual knowledge, and it would have been too much to have expected them to communicate that of which they themselves were entirely ignorant. Hence the vineyard which the Lord planted in Italy by the hands of his apostles, instead of bringing forth grapes, brought forth wild grapes. We dare not assert that the church of Rome ever held the maxim, that ignorance is the mother of devotion; but the state of Italy, for several generations before the Reformation, would naturally give rise

to the remark, that it had at least been practically adopted.

A third ground for concluding, that total ignorance of religion pervaded the educated part of the Italian population, was the childish superstition which had equally enslaved the minds of the high and the low. The ancient Romans had their omens and prodigies, to which they paid the most devoted attention. The shepherd in Virgil gravely informs us, that he might have read his misfortune in the oak struck with lightning, and in the croaking of the raven on his left hand. An animal crossing the road at the commencement of a journey was a bad omen, and sneezing or spilling salt on the table foreboded evil, and it was necessary to use means for preventing the impending calamities. The modern Italians seem to have inherited the superstitious of their ancestors, and we are tempted to suspect the gravity of those writers in whose pages we find their detail. It was their belief, for example, that if they could only get a look in the morning at the image of St Christopher, they would be safe for that day at least from a violent death. They worshipped St Roch; but this worship was neither generous nor disinterested, for they expected him in return to protect them from the plague. They whispered prayers to St Barbara and St George, to preserve them from falling into the hands of their enemies; they observed fasts in honour of St Apollonia, that they might be cured of toothach; and visited the shrines of St Job, that he might ward off loathsome diseases of the skin. Erasmus, one of the most elegant of modern Latin writers, has entered into these details with amusing minuteness, and we rise from the perusal of them with the impression, that the modern Italians

neither knew nor acknowledged the true God as the God of providence, and as the only director of human affairs. We speak not of the horrid impiety of giving sensible representations of that glorious Being of whom there is no similitude, and of the delusion which those fondly cherished that looked for eternal life as the certain reward of repeating daily seven verses from the Psalms. So rank was superstition in Italy, that there was no room for the growth of true religion.

In estimating the moral condition of the Italians in the age of Leo X, we are warned by writers of high authority to distinguish between the city and rural population, and they are careful to inform us, that revenge by the stiletto was not common till after the republics were enslaved. Complaints are made respecting the injustice of historians and travellers, who fill their volumes with accounts of the crimes of the peasantry, while they pass by their numerous virtues. These complaints are probably well founded, because writers will always select such facts as are best calculated to make an impression on the minds of their readers; but if it be true, that sound morality can only flow from the religion of the Bible, then the difference of the moral character of the Italians, in various circumstances and at various times, may differ less in the reality than in the name. The lives of the Borgias, father and son, have been referred to; and they present an historical monument of the utter infamy to which the inmates of the Vatican can reach. The stiletto might not then be introduced as an instrument of revenge; but secret murders were perpetrated to an extent, of which it is difficult in these days and in our land to form any conception. In the year 1492, Innocent VIII. died, and almost as

soon as this event was known, three hundred persons were assassinated in the streets of Rome. Poison was a method of taking away life to which the wicked and the cowardly had frequent recourse, and the phrase *an Italian potion* obtained a significancy throughout Europe, which the words in themselves would scarcely suggest. Leo X. was the victim of poison, although an attempt was made to ascribe his death to a different cause; and Alexander VI. fell into the snare which he had prepared for another. Robberies, accompanied by murders, were common in those days, and though an Italian would have scorned to be seen in the same place with a thief, yet he would have done what he could to help a robber or a murderer to escape the hands of justice. There is another circumstance connected with Italian morality, which shews its small connection with scriptural truth—and that is, the little respect which was paid to the marriage relation, and the facility with which divorces might be obtained in some of the states. It is not intended to dwell on this topic, with which every one acquainted with the frame-work of Italian society must be perfectly familiar. We may be permitted, however, to remark, that this state of things struck at the very foundation of social life, and was the fruitful source of public disorders and of private misery. It has been said, that the rural population was exposed to fewer temptations, and therefore their moral character was greatly superior to that of the inhabitants of the towns; and perhaps this observation may be correct: but there is just cause for subjecting it to very serious modification. It is very pleasant, in the compositions of the poets, to read of the innocence and happiness of a country life; and yet let any one go in quest of them,

and he will find that they owe their existence to a lively fancy. Even the poets are witnesses against themselves, and while we read of the fortunate old man enjoying the cool shade amid the well-known streams and sacred fountains, and invited to sleep by the humming of the bees, we must not forget the unhallowed passions which raged in the breast of Corydon, or the harsh reproaches which Menalcas and Damœtas cast upon each other. The Italian peasantry were like that of any other country where religious instruction was neglected, and while they were not free from many vices, they are especially charged with a disregard for honesty and truth, where their interest was concerned. For such practices, they might have pleaded the example of the head of the church, who was said not to pay much regard to truth and honesty, where they stood in the way of an obvious advantage. The inhabitants of Italy are entitled to the praise of bravery and patriotism, and their struggles for liberty were frequently maintained amid great difficulty and discouragement, and we regret their inability to secure the continuance of their independence. In the occurrences which took place at the Reformation, we discover a fruitful source of speculation in regard to the very different aspect, which the religious and moral condition of Italy might have presented from that which we now contemplate. The history of the north of Europe is before us, and we cannot fail to remark, that the Protestant faith flourished wherever rational liberty had struck its roots; but speculation or analogy will not guide us in our attempt to discover what Italy might have been had she been free; for her case is peculiar, and she is subjected to a dominion which she is unwilling to renounce. The influence

of the Roman curia could not be resisted, and for many ages it has spread over this smiling land ignorance and spiritual death.

While the inhabitants of Italy were generally ignorant, immoral, and superstitious, there were also in some parts of the country not a few witnesses of the truth. And among these, the first place, whether we regard dates or numbers, is due to the Waldenses, who, about the end of the twelfth century, were established in Lombardy, and early in the thirteenth, they were to be found in Rome, at the very gates of St Peter's. These men condemned the corruptions and abuses of the Italian Church, and substantially held the same doctrines that were afterwards maintained by the Reformers. A confession of their faith, bearing date 1120, long before their tenets reached the south side of the Alps, contains, in fourteen articles, a clear view of scriptural doctrine, and a pointed renunciation of all the superstitious observances and doctrinal errors of the Church of Rome. Congregations of the Waldenses were established in Geneva, Florence, and Aquila, and many were brought by their teaching to the knowledge of Christ, who were themselves unknown. As the followers of this class of Christians became numerous, they began to attract the attention of the rulers of the Italian churches, and Gregory IX. published a bull, in which all the faithful were called upon to search out these heretics, and deliver them to the secular power to be punished. This bull was obeyed, and the Waldenses were exposed to a furious persecution; and yet, in the fourteenth century, they still continued to flourish in Italy, they corresponded with men who held the same sentiments in other countries, and Dr M'Crie states, on the authority of Wolfius and

Beza, that they had schools in Lombardy, at which young men received a thorough Christian education, and which were supported by contributions from Bohemia and Poland.

About the year 1370, a colony of the Waldenses was planted in Calabria, from the valleys of Pragela, and they took with them into that district their Bibles and their principles, and also their honest industry, which their religion had taught them. They built villages, fed their flocks, and cultivated their fields; and the proprietors of the lands were delighted, for they now obtained a liberal rent for that which had formerly brought them nothing. The priests alone were dissatisfied, because, while their demands for tithes were readily complied with, they received no money for masses, and the other fooleries of popery. They were determined to bring the case under the consideration of the pope, but the lords of the soil interfered, and entreated them not to molest the people, on the ground that the religion could not be bad which produced such good fruits. For two centuries, the Waldenses of Calabria continued to maintain their religious principles in the south of Italy, and even the priests themselves, finding their tithes yearly to increase, prudently overlooked their heresies; but at the Reformation, monks were appointed to convert them, and when they refused to receive instructions, troops were sent, who hunted the people as if they had been wild beasts—multitudes of them were taken prisoners, numbers were tortured, and many put to death. The colony of the Waldenses was entirely dispersed, and their barbarous extirpation, the deep disgrace of the Church of Rome and the Italian princes, is the last page of the history of pure Christianity in Lower Italy. The Wal-

denses in the valleys of Piedmont, were also exposed to great persecutions; the Inquisition was set up, to put an end to this species of heresy; and the annals of this sect of Christians are written in the blood of many martyrs. Their sufferings almost exceed belief, and one of the writers, who gives a detail of these persecutions declares, that he cannot refrain from tears, while he is relating the atrocious cruelties to which they were subjected. They were saved from utter destruction by the interference of the Swiss and the Protector of England, Oliver Cromwell. The Waldenses still inhabit the valleys of the Italian Alps, and the gospel still cheers their poor and humble dwellings. They have their fifteen parishes, their scantily-paid ministers, and their schools, at which 4500 children receive a Christian education. At La Torre, a seminary is established for the Latin language, at which twenty-four scholars attend; and a college, with one professor and ten students, was opened in the year 1831. The Waldenses occupy an important place in the ecclesiastical history of Italy, and from them we learn the lesson, that the light which the Lord kindles in any land, it is not in the power of man to extinguish.

Of individuals who boldly testified for Jesus Christ, the first, in order of time, was Arnaldo da Brescia, who was born in the twelfth century, and who took a prominent part in the events of that turbulent age. He preached against the wealth of the clergy, and the abuses to which it gave rise. Arnaldo's zeal for religion was mixed with the dross of secular politics; but the subject of his public discourses attracted the notice of his ecclesiastical superiors, and he was obliged to flee into France. He afterwards returned to Rome, and again appeared in public, censuring the abuses which in his absence

had not diminished. He went so far as to advise the people to cast off the papal authority, and to assert the freedom which their ancestors enjoyed. In this part of his conduct, he was probably under the influence of political feeling; and we cannot but approve of his desire to establish liberty on a basis similar to that of the ancient Roman commonwealth. It is also true, that the papal authority was demonstrably injurious to the interests of men, both religious and political; but still he who comes forward in the character of a Reformer, and descends into the arena of political strife, must be contented to have his motives misrepresented, and must bear the reproach of mixing an earthly feeling with the fervour of his zeal in the cause of religion. If Arnaldo of Brescia thus erred, severe was his punishment. A government so uniformly jealous as that of the Bishop of Rome, was not likely to remain long ignorant of Arnaldo's efforts for its subversion, and he was condemned to be burnt alive. It is even said by some writers, that without a trial he was put to death, his body burnt, and his ashes scattered on the waters of the Tiber. He has been held up as the type of the Italian patriot, and he is supposed to have conferred lasting benefits on religion, though a careful examination of his life will lead to a more moderate estimate of his achievements; yet it must be said, if he effected no reformation in his own age, his testimony was a guide to others, who, in after times, were pursuing the same path, and his martyrdom inspired noble minds to emulate his example.

The next step towards a reformation of the Church in Italy, was the famous dispute between John XXII. and Lewis of Bavaria, regarding the necessity of the

Pope confirming the election of the emperor. This dispute called forth men of ability on both sides of the question, and elicited opinions which gave the first blow to the papal authority. It happened in this case, that the discussions were more of a political than a religious character, and the question was substantially this, Whether the Bishop of Rome was entitled to maintain a superiority over the sovereigns of Europe? Marsilius of Padua, and John of Jandun (Genoa) took part in this controversy on the side of the emperor, and were joint authors of a work, in which the authority of any individual in the church, either with regard to doctrine or practice, is rejected as absurd; and they maintain the only ground of obedience to be the holy scriptures as interpreted by a general council. The book is intitled, "Defensor Pacis," and consists of three parts or dictions: the first treats of the origin and aim of the State; the second of the relation between civil and ecclesiastical power; and the third part consists of forty-one conclusions, deduced from the principles previously laid down. In these conclusions there are many points brought out, for which Luther afterwards most strenuously contended, and which are still considered unquestionably sound; but we must also take the liberty of remarking, that there are many conclusions drawn which are without a proper foundation, and from which the reformers dissented. It is only justice, however, to state, that this work, a curiosity in the ecclesiastical history of Italy, from the unwonted boldness of its reasonings, made the people of that age inquire into matters which had formerly been taken for granted, and furnished future theologians with ample materials for discussion and investigation.

We pass over Valla and Bracciolini, who are mentioned by Dr M'Crie in his History of the Reformation in Italy, and take up the character of Jerome Francis Savonarola, who lent his aid to the important work of reformation. He was born of an illustrious family in Ferrara, about the year 1452, and was early distinguished for the progress which he made in his studies. At an early age he entered a monastery of Dominicans at Bologna, and carefully practised all the rules of the ascetic life. His first attempt at preaching signally failed, for he had a weak and harsh voice and an ungraceful delivery, and his bodily strength was exhausted by too great abstinence. All these difficulties he finally overcame, and in seven years those who turned away from his public appearance with disgust, were surprised to hear a strong and pleasant voice, accompanied with a noble and graceful eloquence. It was one of Savonarola's misfortunes, that he believed the removal of all these difficulties, which prevented him from being an acceptable preacher, to have been miraculous, and he adduced it as a proof that he had been sent by God to accomplish a great reformation in the church. To the divine authority of his mission, there was added, in his own opinion, the gift of prophecy, which he did not hesitate to exercise. He finally fixed his residence at Florence, where he publicly urged the necessity of a reform in the church, till he was delivered into the hands of his enemies. The reformation, which he was eager to accomplish, went no farther than the amendment of the modes of administering discipline, which was abundantly corrupt, and excluding from the sacred offices of the ministry men of unholy lives. He seems to have entertained no doubt of the doctrines which were received by

the church, and never dreamed of subjecting them to the test of scripture. Probably he was prevented from this most important part of the work of a reformer by his enthusiasm or fanaticism; his attacks upon the established order of things were those of a man whose powers of reason were not under the ordinary direction of the Holy Ghost, but were guided by supernatural influence; in short, he considered himself inspired, and his object was to be attained, not by logical discussion, but by prophecies and miracles. He could not avoid taking part in temporal politics, and considered civil as scarcely less sacred than religious liberty. He contemplated with undisguised abhorrence the usurpation of princes, and held it impossible to retain power so acquired without renouncing their salvation. Of these opinions, which he openly avowed, the following anecdote will serve as an illustration: When Lorenzo the Magnificent lay on his deathbed, he sent for the monk Savonarola to grant him absolution, and his first question to the dying man was, whether he had entire faith in the mercy of God? The answer was satisfactory, and he proceeded to inquire, whether he was willing to restore to its rightful owners all the property which he had unlawfully accumulated? To this question there was also a satisfactory answer; and his third inquiry was, whether he was willing to restore the liberty of Florence and the popular government of the republic? This was too great a sacrifice of family influence, and too large a demand on Lorenzo's public virtue, and in the agonies of death he distinctly refused to make any alteration in the mode of administering the affairs of the state. Savonarola withdrew, and by far the greatest of the Florentine magistrates died without absolution. This reformer perished

in the flames in 1498, and his death did not extinguish the desire for a reformation of religion, which the glaring corruptions in the church evidently required.

Naturalists inform us of certain compensations, that are intended to preserve a balance among existing species of beings, so that no one, by undue multiplication, may destroy another. A similar arrangement is sometimes discoverable in the moral world, in which certain tendencies destructive of the social relations and religious feelings, are compensated or counterbalanced by other tendencies of a directly opposite character. A striking illustration of this remark will be found in the history of Italy during the reign of Leo X. We have observed several indications in former periods of a desire to obtain a reformation of the church; but either the men who undertook to carry on this work failed, or the means which they used were inadequate; certain it is, Leo ascended the papal throne without any apprehension of reform, and infidelity, as we have had occasion to remark, was fast gaining ground both among the clergy and people. There might now be some fear in the minds of the few friends of religion, that the tendencies seemed all to be towards the utter overthrow of Christianity; but a compensation was found in tendencies of an entirely different kind. A society of able men was formed under the eye of the Roman curia, and it is somewhat remarkable that they were not opposed to the Protestant views, but so far coincided with them, as to propose to stay the corruptions of the church by a revival of religion. This society was called the Oratory of Divine Love, and its members met together for the performance of spiritual exercises. The number of those who thus associated together was about sixty, and

some of them rose to the highest offices in the church. The minds of these men had been imbued with the doctrines of the German reformers, for their books, under assumed names, had been introduced into Italy, and were read by many who were ignorant of their authors, but who highly approved of the doctrines which they contained. About this time too, Italy had been distinguished by the publication of a complete Hebrew Bible at Soncino, by a family of Jews; and Erasmus published at Bâle the Greek Testament, which was received with approbation by the learned in Italy on account of the fame of its editor. Translations of the scriptures into the spoken language of Italy appeared at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries. From these and other sources the members of the Oratory of Divine Love were taught the doctrines of the gospel, and one of them wrote a small treatise on justification by faith alone, which was very highly recommended by Cardinal Pole. "Thou hast brought to light," says he, "that jewel which the church had kept half-buried." Pole fairly acknowledges by this language the precious doctrine of justification by faith alone, and congratulates Contarini, the author of this treatise, on his bringing it under the notice of the people. The same views were entertained by Flaminio, who in one of his letters makes the following statement: "The gospel is nothing else than the glad tidings that the only begotten Son of God, clothed in our flesh, has satisfied the justice of the eternal Father for us. He who believes this enters the kingdom of heaven; he enjoys the universal forgiveness; from being a carnal, he becomes a spiritual creature; from being a child of wrath, he becomes a child of grace; he lives in a sweet peace of conscience." These senti-

ments, which possess the savour of gospel truth, began to spread over Italy.

The Italians, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, were taught to turn their attention to true religion from various quarters. We have attempted to shew that the learned and educated class were induced to examine scriptural doctrine from the Bible, which was now more commonly read, and from the writings of the reformers, which had made their way into Rome itself. Another cause operated in regard to the common people. The army of Charles V, which that warlike monarch led into Italy, consisted chiefly of Germans, and as many of them had learned the doctrines of Luther, they sturdily maintained them in their intercourse with the Italians, whose minds were thus imperceptibly imbued with the truth. This will account for the readiness with which, in many parts of the country, the doctrine of justification by faith alone was received by the people. Even Naples, which may be considered the Sybaris of modern Italy, was agitated throughout its whole population by this fundamental doctrine of Christianity, which was taught by means of Juan Valdez, a native of Spain, and secretary to Don Pedro de Toledo. By his conversations and writings he obtained the favour of the nobility as well as of the people, and it is a matter of regret that all his works have perished. One of them was entitled "The Benefits bestowed by Christ," and here is the significant note appended to it by the Inquisition: "It treats in an insinuating manner on justification, undervalues works, and ascribes every thing to faith alone." Flaminio is said to have revised this work, but it seems to be generally understood that Valdez was its author. Several ladies of high rank em-

braced these doctrines, and the records of the Inquisition state that three thousand schoolmasters had imbibed the opinions of the reformers. This last assertion appears to be incredible; but we can easily estimate the influence which a much smaller number of that class must have exercised in the training of the youthful mind. There was evidently a great change in the opinions and sentiments of the Italians in regard to religion, and the practical atheism of the Roman curia, and the infidelity of the clergy, were counteracted by the introduction of the doctrines of the Reformation.

It is necessary, however, to peruse this part of the ecclesiastical history of Italy with great caution, lest we rush to conclusions which a calm investigation of facts will shew us to be unsound. Those great truths which the apostle Paul had impressed upon the minds of the Roman converts in his well-known letter to that church, had long been forgotten in the slumber of ages, and now they were brought before the minds of the people, who contemplated them with the most intense interest: but the purity of the Christian church was mixed with the alloy of human institutions. The authority of the Pope, and the unity of the church, were considered as equally important with the doctrine of the atonement, and no Italian of that age had thought of calling these points in question. The most eminent preachers of the truth were deeply impressed with the supremacy, perhaps with the infallibility, of the Pope, and they seem never to have thought of a thorough reformation of the church. Separation from the church was considered by them as the greatest of evils, and the sentiments of the whole may be found in the preface of Clario to an edition of the Vulgate: "No corruption could be so great as to

warrant a revolt from the hallowed communion of the church. Were it not better to repair what we have, than to commit ourselves to dubious attempts at producing something else. Our sole thought should be, how the old institution may be ameliorated and freed from its defects.”

Through this medium must we look at the Italian worthies, of whose labours and exertions we read during the period of the reformation. They seem to have known the doctrines of the gospel, but were trammelled by the claims of the successor of St Peter to the headship of the church. Many of these, such as Carnesecchi, Ochino, Martyr, Falengo, and Flaminio, along with others of equal renown, laboured faithfully in the instruction of the people; but they believed it to be unlawful to renounce the authority of the Pope. In the meantime, an attempt was made by the emperor to reconcile the Protestants to the Church of Rome, by conceding something to their prejudices, and by requiring them to adopt a modified popery. The bishop of Rome was represented by Contarini, whose honesty of intention is universally acknowledged, and whose doctrinal opinions approached much nearer to those of the Protestants than to those of the Papists. On points of doctrine it might have been possible to bring about an agreement, but they could not come together at all on the authority of the Pope, and on the discipline of the church. The Pope insisted, as a preliminary point, that his supremacy should be recognised; but Contarini was aware that, when the conference assembled at Ratisbon to discuss all points connected with a reconciliation, this one would at once be refused. He contrived so to arrange the business, that the question regarding the Pope's supre-

macy should be taken up last; and if there was an accommodation on the other questions, this one, he considered, was not likely to be resisted. The discussion of the other questions commenced, and on several of them there was no great difference of opinion; but as they proceeded difficulties arose, and even the politics of the time conspired to render abortive the attempt to reconcile the Catholics and Protestants. Much to the regret of Contarini, the conference of Ratisbon was broken up, and both parties were satisfied to let things remain as they were. It is very doubtful whether any great advantage would have accrued to Italy by the proposed reconciliation. There was no reformation in the Roman curia, and from the irresponsibility of the Pope, the tendency of ambition, and the proneness of the human mind to abuse the power with which it is entrusted, there was little hope of the Popes adopting measures to promote protestant principles; and as the discipline of the church continued unchanged, the condition of Italy would have become what it was in former ages, so soon as the faithful preachers had gone to their rest, and the excitement which their teaching produced had passed away. Rauke considers it a great misfortune that the union of Catholics and Protestants did not take place; but with the greatest deference for an authority so deservedly high, we would remark, that union may be purchased at too dear a price, and that peace in the church may be procured at the sacrifice of vital religion.

From what has now been stated, it appears that at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Head of the church, the Lord Jesus Christ, had bestowed upon Italy, in common with the other countries of Europe, the privilege of becoming acquainted with the doctrines of

grace at the fountain-head. Men were raised up by Him at that period, who zealously devoted themselves to the spiritual instruction of the people; and there is good reason to believe that many experienced the teaching of the Spirit, and found Jesus to be the only way of salvation. It is not intended to give any specific account of the persons or places that became famous by a profession of the pure gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, as this would lead us beyond all reasonable bounds; but it may not be unimportant to observe, that the truth of God was more extensively adopted and more warmly embraced in the north of Italy, in the neighbourhood of the godly Waldenses. The influence of their example had long been felt by the peasantry of Lombardy, and they were thus better prepared than those in other parts of the country to listen to the preaching of Christ's faithful servants. The reformation in Italy was a tender plant, which required to be carefully nurtured, and duly sheltered from the burning sun and from the nipping frosts; but that careful nurture was not bestowed, and it speedily drooped, withered, and died. Some of the causes of this unfortunate result it will be necessary very briefly to consider.

Those who have carefully studied the history of religion in Italy, can scarcely fail to have observed, that there was wanting in that land some man of bold and undaunted spirit, like Luther in Germany, or John Knox in Scotland, to go forth in the strength of the Lord, and lay the axe to the root of all the corruptions which had sprung up in the church; and there was required some prince of extensive influence, who, like Frederic of Saxony, was ready to stimulate and protect this bold reformer in carrying on his great work. There were, no

doubt, many who declared the truth of God, but they needed a master-mind to lead them to a higher walk in reformation than in Italy they ever attained; for the preachers there shrank from all interference with the authority of the Pope, and with the wicked practices which prevailed. They could not bear the thought of reducing the Roman See to the level of an ordinary bishopric, and of placing the government of the church on the "foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." Their conduct resembled that of the man who builds a house without a foundation, and at the same time expects it to resist the fury of the tempest. So it happened with the preaching of the gospel in Italy; they were without a leader and without a protector; there was nothing to bind them together; and when the storm of persecution began to rage, they were widely scattered, and their labours were entirely lost.

The second cause of the overthrow of the gospel in Italy was the revival of the Inquisition,—an engine of tyrannical cruelty, which has no equal in the history of the world. Paul III. had recourse to this method of extirpating what he called heresy, at the suggestion of Caraffa, who had been a member of the Oratory of Divine Love, and of Burgos, archbishop of Toledo. Caraffa was a man of harsh and gloomy temper, and believed that, as St Peter at Rome had vanquished the first heretics, so his successor would vanquish all the heretics in the world. Paul III. had been raised to the papal chair, not for his religious zeal and moral worth, but for his prudence, magnificence, and liberality. He was a mere worldling, who considered it as sound policy to maintain the religion of Italy unchanged, and who looked upon

the church as bestowing upon its head a place among the princes of Europe. He was not likely to be over-scrupulous as to the means by which his dignity was to be maintained, and his rights and privileges were to be preserved unimpaired; and accordingly a bull was issued, by which it was ordained that the Inquisition should be set up at Rome, on the same principle as that which was in operation in Spain. Six commissioners were appointed inquisitors, who were all churchmen occupying high stations, and among them we are not surprised to read the names of Caraffa and Burgos. We cannot enter into any detail of the machinery which was devised to render this tyrannical engine efficacious. It is sufficient to say, that every person south of the Alps, whatever might be his rank in life, was placed under its jurisdiction; suspected persons were to be imprisoned, and those found guilty were to be put to death, and their goods confiscated. To the inquisitors, or their commissioners through the country, belonged the power of punishment; to the Pope the privilege of pardoning any who might be convicted. The machinery of this diabolical engine was gradually perfected; the rules were abundantly stringent; no delay was to take place in proceeding against those to whom was attached even a shadow of suspicion; no respect was to be paid to prince or prelate; the utmost severity was to be used against any who should have recourse to the protection of their sovereigns; and no quarter was to be given to heretics, especially Calvinists. Now, more than ever, was there need for a man to resist the persecuting fury of the papists, and to induce the princes of Italy to overthrow an institution which bound the chains of spiritual slavery on them and on their subjects. This was the time to go forward to fight the

battle of the truth, and to come to the help of the Lord against the mighty. No one appeared to beard the lion in his den; to unlock the dungeons of the Inquisition, and lay them open to the public gaze. Those who had been devoting themselves to the preaching of the gospel were completely paralyzed, and they consulted their safety by fleeing into foreign lands. Our sympathies are roused in regard to Ochino, who had been zealous and devoted as a preacher of the truth; and now in his old age he must have recourse to the kindness of strangers, and must seek a home beyond the Alps. When he reached the place at which Italy was to be lost to his view, he looked back on the smiling fields and well-watered plains, which he was to see no more, and thought with bitterness of the crowds of attentive hearers who had followed his steps, and of the honours which his countrymen had heaped upon him; but he was too feeble for resistance, and, without a murmur, he bent his tottering steps to Geneva, at that time the capital of the Protestant world.

The flight of the preachers was followed by the most disastrous results to the people, who, without any one to guide or support them, were left to the superintendence of the most furious bigots. These men were not only determined to erase every vestige of Protestant doctrine, but they were on the watch for the slightest symptoms of heresy to lodge information with the Inquisition, so that the saying became common, "It is hardly possible to be a Christian and die in one's bed." Every book and every literary production was subjected to the strictest scrutiny; and Caraffa forbade any book, old or new, to be printed without the authority of the Inquisition. MSS. were to be submitted to their inspection;

booksellers were ordered to furnish catalogues of their stock ; and private individuals were enjoined to do their utmost to put down prohibited works, of which the lists were published. All these arrangements were carried out with the greatest diligence and accuracy, so that most of the writings of those who held sound doctrines in Italy at the time of the Reformation are entirely lost. It was thus that the Inquisition suppressed religious freedom, and all differences of opinion among the people ; and that century, whose commencement saw the introduction of pure Christianity into many parts of Italy, was not far on its decline when these doctrines were almost entirely rooted out ; and the sun of Protestantism set upon that land while it was yet day. All the Franciscans who had embraced the truth were forced to recant, and all the disciples of Valdez in the south were compelled to take the same course. At Venice the natives were under the necessity of abjuring their opinions, but there was some toleration for foreigners, whose commercial pursuits led them to take up their abode in that city. There were some honourable examples of adherence to the truth, even in the midst of persecution ; and those who had been under the teaching of the Spirit of God, preferred death to a denial of their principles. The mode of putting the heretics to death at Venice is worthy of notice. They were taken in two vessels through the lagunes to the Adriatic ; at a certain point, a plank was placed between them, on which the martyrs were made to stand ; the two vessels moved away, and the unhappy Protestants were swallowed up by the waves, calling on the name of Jesus. Many *acts of faith*, as they have been termed, were celebrated at Rome, before the church of Santa Maria alla Minerva. Many fled from place

to place with their wives and children; and we trace their wanderings for a time, till they entirely disappear from the page of history. The highest rank was no protection against the familiars of the Inquisition; and no relation was so sacred as to neutralize their influence. The Duchess of Ferrara was accused by her own husband, and though there ran in her veins the royal blood of France, she was condemned to solitude in the midst of her own family, on account of her attachment to the Protestant faith.

A third cause of the overthrow of the gospel in Italy was the establishment of the Society of Jesuits, who had been formed into a religious order, under the sanction of Paul III. in 1540. Their founder, the younger son of the house of Loyola, in the north of Spain, was at once an ascetic and a visionary, and his military service and his religious zeal were in his mind equally a romance. Those who have studied the early life of this extraordinary man would not be surprised when he and his companions entered the church of Montmartre, took the vows of chastity, and engaged to place themselves at the disposal of the bishop of Rome; but certainly no one could have predicted that this engagement was the germ of a society which was to exercise such an extraordinary influence over the Christian world. From that time Loyola and his companions proceeded step by step, till they obtained the authority of the Pope; and it is not difficult to perceive the important acquisition of these men of enthusiastic minds to the Holy See. Paul III. was delighted to find, amid all his annoyances, unexpected support in a society of men, who were not troubled with minor scruples, and whose perseverance was calculated to overcome the greatest difficulties. It

is the boast of the Jesuits, that their founder presented a memorial to the Pope for the restoration of the Inquisition—a fact which, if true, confers upon him a very questionable renown. The rapid progress of this society in Italy must fill the student of history with astonishment, and this feeling will not be diminished by their decisive influence with all classes of the community. Within two years from receiving the papal sanction, Lippomano laid the foundation of the Jesuit College at Venice, and at Faenza men of the highest rank accompanied them through the streets begging. Wherever they found anything like heresy, there they planted their standard and carried on their operations with the utmost diligence. They planted schools, carefully trained the young in the doctrines of popery, procured adherents among those more advanced in life, and established themselves so firmly that they could not be shaken. It cannot be denied that the efforts of the Jesuits in extending and riveting the papal authority were most successful, and certainly the Pope had no better agents in extirpating Bible truth out of Italy.

The last cause of the suppression of the gospel in Italy was the Council of Trent, which may be considered as having given the finishing blow to Protestantism in that land. In former times it was possible for men to hold sound doctrines, as we have already seen, along with strong attachment to the church of Rome, and with the deepest reverence for the official character of the Pope: but the Council of Trent put an end to this religious freedom, and popery properly so called, is stereotyped by its decrees. The few crumbs of truth which had been left by the Inquisition and the Jesuits, were devoured by this Council, and the Italians had to

choose between the creed of Pope Pius IV. and the dungeons of the Inquisition, or by way of variety an *act of faith* for the edification of the Romans. We cannot wonder, how much soever we may lament it, that the inhabitants of Italy received the decrees of the Council of Trent, and gave to them implicit obedience. From the year 1564, when this Council was broken up, the Protestant religion may be considered as entirely suppressed in Italy, except in the valleys of Piedmont; and whenever any thing like the gospel was found, it was only here and there, among a few individuals, who secretly cherished its doctrines, and who, for the most part, escaped the keen eye of the Inquisition and the Jesuits. The cruelties of the Inquisition sometimes roused the indignation of the populace, but religion was not the motive under which they acted. At the death of Paul IV., the notorious persecutor Caraffa, they raised a tumult, burned the buildings of the Inquisition, and set the prisoners free, among whom was John Craig, one of the Scottish Reformers; but no permanent advantage was derived from these bursts of popular fury. There was little difference in the state of religion in Italy in the reign of Clement VIII. at the end, and of Alexander VI. at the beginning, of the sixteenth century; and the influence of the Protestant doctrines may be compared to the bright sunshine of the wintry day in these northern regions, whose continuance is too short to overcome the severity of the cold, and which terminates in a night of darkness as profound as that of the morning through which it had broken.

LECTURE V.

ITALY AND ITS RELIGION.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM K. TWEEDIE.

MINISTER OF FREE TOLBOOTH CHURCH, EDINBURGH.

NOTE.

In the following remarks, we have purposely abstained from saying much on the political condition of Italy, for that did not fall within our province. But the system of political rigorism which at present prevails in that unhappy country, is equally oppressive to man as an inhabitant of this world, as its religious system is ruinous to him as a candidate for glory in the next. And it is vain to struggle for civil liberty while the spiritual is neglected. That were to put the first last. The emancipation of Italy must be a religious one. Though it were politically free at this hour, its liberty would soon be overlaid or exterminated again by the despotism involved in its creed.

By its aggressions upon Protestantism, Popery has created a reaction against itself. America and Britain are at length combining their energies against these encroachments. In New York and London Societies have been formed to promote the spiritual well-being of Italy, by whatever Christian means they can devise. The Evangelical Alliance promises, by the hostility which it is provoking among Romanists, to do good service to the cause of truth. The banner given to be displayed seems likely at last to be so; and no wiser course could have been adopted than to fix the attention of Protestants on the state of Popery in Italy. What it has done for men there, it will do for the world when it has the power; and some will perhaps awake to their danger when a picture of Italian religion is presented to their notice.

LECTURE V.

ITALY AND ITS RELIGION.

WE approach this subject with feelings akin to those with which one approaches Italy itself. Descending into that country by any of the Alpine passes, the Cenis, the Great St Bernard, the St Gothard, the Semplon, or the Splugen, scenes of utmost beauty and luxuriant productiveness stretch out before us, and around us. It seems as if, in crossing the Alps from north to south, we had not merely passed over a few leagues of mountain, but several degrees of latitude, so great and perceptible is the change. The rich earth beneath and the bright sky above us combine to explain why Italy should so early have become, and so long have continued, the land of so many attractions.

But strong as are the charms, and manifold the beauties, which immediately greet the visiter of Italy on his arrival even at its northern frontier, the illusion is dissipated when he begins to study the moral condition of its people. External nature is serenely lovely, but *human* nature is unspeakably degraded; and the contrast is painful to all who look on men in the light of eternity and the Scriptures.

And so with the religion of Italy. Looked at from afar, or through the pomp and circumstance with which it is often studiously surrounded, it appears gorgeous

and imposing. But when we begin to inquire what there is in it to meet man's desires as an immortal being—what to fit him for his meeting with his God; when we ask, What does the religion of Italy supply to satisfy conscience when convinced of sin, or restore peace to the soul on which God's hand lies heavy—then, as before, the illusion is dispelled. It contains gaudy spectacles for one class; pompous ceremonies for another; laborious efforts, and exhausting drudgery, for a third;—but in the religion of Italy, we look in vain for aught to purify conscience, or renew man's nature, to give him solid hope in the prospect of meeting God, or furnish him with a plea to which the God of righteousness and truth will listen. The spiritual is merged in the carnal—the heavenly in the human; and there is nothing to benefit man's soul, or to fit it for glory, unless charms and incantations could achieve these results.

In drawing attention, then, to Italy and its religion, I design to submit my remarks under the three natural divisions of its *Past*, its *Present*, and its *Future*. In glancing at the *Past*, we endeavour to shew what progress the truth of God had made in Italy in former times, that we may have a firmer hope regarding it for the time to come. In fixing attention on the *Present*, we try to sketch the existent state of Romanism in that country, and especially in Rome. And in asking attention to the *Future*, an attempt will be made to shew what grounds there are for hoping that Italy will yet be regenerated; that the overlaid truth will be there disinterred; and the one Mediator between God and man, there as here, honoured and adored.

But before entering on our subject thus announced, we offer a single precautionary remark. Deeply would we

deplorable it, did aught that may be here advanced tend either to generate spiritual pride, or render us indifferent to our own shortcomings and sins as a people. It should not for a moment be forgotten, that one offence against the truth of God—one unscriptural tenet in our own souls, is worse and more fatal *for us*, than an hundred in another. We may have light, but what if that light be darkness? We may hold the word of God in our hands, but what if it be a stranger to our hearts? We may abjure the spiritual tyranny involved in Popery, but what if we be the world's slaves? We may know the truth, but what if we hold it in unrighteousness? At the very outset, therefore, we equally deprecate spiritual pride, and turning our attention away from ourselves, while we seek to be warned against the errors of others, and by the blessing of God, to repel them from our borders.

With this premised, we proceed to our first topic,

THE PAST.

The progress which the truth of God made in Italy at the time of the Reformation is too little known to British Christians. Most of us have learned that it spread to a large extent over the northern kingdoms of Europe; but the exceptions are so few that we may overlook them, and say that men are wholly unacquainted with the fact, that when Luther struggled, and Calvin taught, and Knox contended, against bigotry and ignorance three hundred years ago, Italy had also, to a great extent, hailed and rejoiced in the revival of God's pure and simple gospel. So much was this the case, that all that seemed necessary to add Italy to the other reformed nations was a Luther or a Calvin, bold enough to brave

persecution, and gifted enough to concentrate, and turn to account, the scattered forces of the truth. The light burned dimly in various parts of that fair land ; or rather the persecutor's rage compelled the friends of truth to keep their light concealed. But had some master-mind been given to Italy, as the instrument in God's hand for gathering the scattered rays, and causing them to converge, the Sun of Righteousness might then have risen on Italy, as he rose on Scotland, and England, and Germany, and Switzerland, with healing in his beams. This remark will be confirmed by the following summary of facts.*

I. THE WORKS OF REFORMERS READ.

The works of the leading reformers were then widely spread, and held in high repute in Italy. It is known that some of Luther's productions were studied at Pavia, and his sentiments embraced. Even in Rome, the works of the German reformer were read, and his tenets adopted by some. At Venice the writings of the reformers were held in high esteem, and greedily sought ; the works of Melancthon, and Bucer, and of one who was in many respects a sounder reformer than either, I mean Ulric Zwingle, were studied with avidity and delight. Some of them were even translated into Italian ; and as long as the author's name was unknown, such works had free course, and were admired. So far did this proceed, that papal bulls and persecution were needed at last to check the diffusion of the light ; but even in spite of persecution it spread. Many held fast their integrity, and

* For these facts, and much other information, we are indebted to Dr M'Crie's work, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy*. Its republication, in a cheap form, would now be most seasonable.

having once enjoyed the blessing, or breathed the air of God's free truth, they refused to be reconducted to a spiritual prison, and subjected to spiritual bondage. Venice, in particular, zealously struggled in this cause. The reformed there besought the princes of Germany to shield them from the violence, which the ministers of the pope were anxious to see employed against the "poor flock of Christ." If God grant, they say, that we obtain such protection, "what accessions will be made to the kingdom of Christ! How many preachers will appear to announce Christ faithfully to the people! How many prophets, who now lurk in corners, exanimated with undue fears, will come forth to expound the Scriptures! The harvest is truly great, but there are no labourers.Exert yourselves to procure a truce for us; cherish the common cause: do your endeavour that, by this means, the consolation which is by Christ may be imparted to us, who daily suffer for Him. For it is our fervent desire, that the word of God may be spread abroad; but we have none to feed us, unless our want be supplied out of your abundance."* It is cheering to notice, amid the spiritual midnight of Italy, even one such gleam shooting across the darkness.

2. THE BIBLE TRANSLATED, 1530.

But not merely were the books of holy men thus prized,—the Book of God himself was for a little season unclasped, that the Italians might read it. Antonio Brucioli, a native of Florence, embraced many of the reformed doctrines, and in 1530, published an Italian translation of the New Testament. In the two following years the Old Testament was also translated, and

* See M'Crie, pp. 99, 100.

Brucioli, in the true spirit of a Protestant, faithfully vindicated the rights of men to read the word of God in their native tongue. The reading of these translations was prohibited—the author was persecuted; but all did not prevent the truth from spreading. Other translations were made, the fountain of life was for a little unsealed, and we doubt not that the judgment-day will shew, that many whose names were in the book of life were then gathered into the fold.*

3. PROTESTANT CHURCHES FORMED—THE REFORMATION SPREAD IN ITALY AND SICILY.

As the natural result of such proceedings, we next observe, that where God's word became known, he honoured and blessed it as the instrument of good. We have accordingly to state, that in nearly every city of Italy, Protestants existed, in some of them churches were formed, and the sacraments administered, at the period of the Reformation. The bold measures which emancipated so large a portion of Europe from spiritual despotism, influenced even Italy; and the following summary, superficial as it is, will shew the extent to which the Reformation spread.

Beginning, then, with Milan in the north, we find that, as early as the year 1524, there were adherents of the Reformation there. The pope then issued an order to put down conventicles and punish heretics,—the usual war-cry against the friends of the pure truth of God.

Brescia and Verona also contained friends of the same cause, who ultimately encountered the same exterminating treatment from the ministers of the Man of Sin.

Vicenza was for a considerable time a stronghold of

* Consult M'Crie, pp. 54-56.

the Reformation, and neither craft nor violence could suppress it. At last, heresy and internal faction appeared: they were fomented from without, and the church in that city at last became an easy prey.

Padua had also its converts to the truth. Many of the students, and some of the professors in the University, became disciples of Christ. There were some youths educated there who ultimately aided in spreading the truth in our own and other lands.

At Venice, as we have already seen, the cause of the Reformation was strong, and numerous befriended. In the year 1530, Melancthon, one of the peace-lovers of that day,* appeared disposed to compromise the truth, by concessions to popery at Augsburg. The Christians of Venice, more bold and single-eyed than he, wrote to remonstrate with that reformer. To John of Saxony they said—"Italy is in expectation—if for Christ's glory you must die, fear nothing;" so that we find Italy up to a certain point, not merely reformed, but guarding the spirit of the Reformation in others. When Lucio Paulo Rosselli, an Italian, thus remonstrated with a leading reformer in Germany, he evinced at once the thoroughness with which the truth was received, and the resolution with which it was defended. So far, indeed, did the reformation in Venice advance, that it was proposed

* Among the incidents that characterise our age, not the least remarkable is the elucidation of character to which it has led. All-testing principles are now evolved, and man's glory is eclipsed, or made brighter, by the trial. Oliver Cromwell, long the sport of the shallow and the profane, now stands out before the world a noble and religious man. Nelson, long one of the world's idols, is discovered to have been one who could commit judicial murder; while Melancthon is proved to have been one whom his friends reproached for his weakness, and his enemies for his hypocrisy.

to organize reformed churches there, and assemble in public for the worship of God according to the scriptures. Even some of its senators had embraced the truth. Noblemen and noblewomen befriended the cause. The pope was declared to be Antichrist, and had it been the will of God to have raised up one great and commanding mind, the Republic of Venice might have adhered to the Protestant faith, and thereby have infused so much new vigour into its shattered constitution, as to have prevented or retarded its degradation and decay.

Again, Ferrara was a focus of gospel truth for many years during the Reformation. Its duchess, the persecuted Renée, was favourable to the cause. She appears to have been perhaps a converted person, and her court became the asylum of God's exiled servants from many lands. Calvin resided for some time there, and we are strongly of opinion, that accurate historical research would shew that the court of Ferrara was, to a very large extent, thoroughly and soundly Protestant. In 1528, there were several preachers of the Reformation in that city, and there, for a time, the truth appeared to be triumphant.*

Bologna was another stronghold of the gospel in Italy. The reformers' works were studied there as in Rome, while the truth was generally preached. Some of the inhabitants implored their rulers to grant a reformation of the church. In the year 1541, the numbers of the reformed had greatly increased, and nothing but the bigot's argument—persecution, remorselessly employed, could repress the progress of the truth. In the year 1545, Baldassare Altieri writes that “a nobleman in Bologna was

* See Olympia Morata, her Times, Life, and Writings, by the author of Selwyn, &c.

ready to raise six thousand soldiers in favour of the evangelical party, if it was found necessary to make war against the Pope.*

Modena was another city where the word of God had very free course, and his name was glorified. The gospel was preached there by a native of Sicily. Indeed, preachers boldly mounted the pulpits to proclaim the truth, and crowds flocked to hear them. Bucer wrote to congratulate the reformed in Modena regarding their success, and even a cardinal was forced to confess that "the whole city had turned Lutheran."

Farther, at Como and Lugano, at Chiavenna and Locarno, there were devout friends of the Reformation: and at the two last especially, vigorous and flourishing churches were formed. We cannot tarry to narrate the means employed to crush and extirpate them. Enough to say, that though Rome had never lifted her hand against the saints of God except in the case of the church of Locarno, she would thereby have earned the title of "the mother of abominations," who is actuated by "all the deceiveableness of unrighteousness."†

And Lucca was another stronghold of the truth. Some of the boldest and most persevering of the Italian reformers were in providence stationed there. The congregation was strong and flourishing, and it required the most crafty, as well as the most relentless measures on the part of the pope and his ministers, to suppress the truth. Pisa felt the influence of Lucca, and had also a church; the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was dispensed according to the scriptures. Mantua was in a similar condition, and a special bull from "the Man

* M'Crie, p. 83.

† Read with care M'Crie, pp. 131-133, and 239-252.

of Sin" was needed to repress the cause of men's salvation.

In the Bishopric of Capo d' Istria, a great proportion of the people were Protestants; indeed, wherever any local cause favoured the truth, it spread in Italy to an extent utterly unknown to many in our day. Nor was it only in the places bordering on Germany and the Alps that this took place. Throughout the whole extent of the Italian peninsula the effects of the truth were felt. In Naples, the doctrines of grace were preached by some and received by many. Valdez, Ochino, and others, promoted the cause. A reformed church was planted in that capital; for a season it grew in numbers and in strength, and an imperial edict, issued by Charles V., was at length employed to terrify and crush the friends of spiritual freedom. Even the remote territory of Calabria knew the truth, and many were made free by it. Persecution the most unrelenting was employed against the Protestants there, and when the Papacy had succeeded in extinguishing the light in the blood of its friends, it contemplated the spiritual desolation with complacency, and called it peace. Read the history of the popish persecution in the province of Calabria, and you will see into the very heart of Popery.*

But so prevalent were the hated doctrines, that they spread even into the island of Sicily. Under the sanction of the viceroy, the truth was preached to crowded audiences in Palermo, and other parts of that island. The Inquisition soon assailed them, like the vulture fastening on its prey. The favourite *Auto-da-fe* was resorted to, and Rome had again to exult over the Bible exiled and souls enslaved. "Protestant tears and Popish

* See Appendix A.

triumphs," combine to tell the fate of the Reformation in Sicily.

Now, these historical facts suffice to shew, that the principles of the Reformation were widely spread, if not deeply rooted, in Italy. Even cardinals felt their power, and were borne along on the popular tide. Pole, Contarini, Morone, and Fregoso, all members of the sacred college, had felt the truth in its power—conscience was quickened if the heart was not changed. Cardinal Caraffa plainly told the pope, that "the whole of Italy was infected with the Lutheran heresy, which had been embraced not only by statesmen, but also by many ecclesiastics." Some of its more sanguine friends expected that it was about to "burst forth like the sun from behind a cloud in spite of all opposition;" and though that hope was doomed to utter disappointment, it required the work of twenty years, from the Inquisition and its murderous myrmidons, before the truth as it is in Jesus was utterly exiled, and its adherents utterly destroyed.* On these things, therefore, the friends of modern Italy should fasten, to encourage hope, and nerve them to exertion. The heart of Italy has already been stirred in ages long gone by; why should it not be again touched and quickened in ours?

4. THE REFORMATION REACHES ROME.—A NOBLE MARTYR THERE.

But farther still; it was not merely in the provinces that the work of reformation thus advanced. In the very States of the Church—nay, in Rome itself, Lutherans were numerous, and sermons preached in private against the pope and his pretensions. Pope Clement VII. mourns over this as a calamity; but it only gave intensity to the zeal of the Italians, whose ardent tem-

* See M'Crie, pp. 186, 178, 179.

perament more eagerly seized whatever was presented to the mind, though it held the truth less tenaciously than the Germans.*

One example may be given of the firm hold which the truth had thus taken of the Italian mind. Pietro Carnesecchi, a Florentine of high rank, had imbibed the reformed doctrines, and held them without flinching amid exile and persecution. Being at last betrayed by a duke, Cosmo de' Medici, into the hands of a Pope, Pius V., he was carried prisoner to Rome, and, without delay, arraigned as an heretic before the Inquisition. The charge against him included thirty-four articles, "which comprehended all the peculiar doctrines held by Protestants in opposition to the Church of Rome." He was detained in prison for fifteen months, and at last condemned, beheaded, and burnt as an heretic. All this took place in what is called the capital of Christendom, regarding one who had formerly held such influence there as to suggest the remark, that "the Church was governed by Carnesecchi rather than the Pope;" and we are thus irresistibly forced to the conclusion, on the one hand, that men in

* "That these sermons were not entirely confined to private houses, and that the reformed doctrine was publicly preached in Italy before the year 1530, we learn from the highest authority. 'From the report made to us, (says Pope Clement VII.) we have learned with great grief of heart, that in different parts of Italy, the pestiferous heresy of Luther prevails to a high degree, not only among secular persons, but also among ecclesiastics and the regular clergy, both mendicant and non-mendicant; so that some by their discourses and conversation, and what is worse, by their public preaching, infect numbers with this disease, and greatly scandalize faithful Christians, living under the obedience of the Roman church, and observing its laws, to the increase of heresies, the stumbling of the weak, and the no small injury of the catholic faith.'"—*M'Crie's Reformation in Italy*, p. 65.

every rank had hailed the Reformation as a spiritual emancipation ; and on the other, that the wrath of Rome was roused to madness against the friends of truth. The fate of Carnesecchi, the friend of princes and of kings, the idol of the literary, and the unflinching patron of truth, proves, if proof were needed, that every thing divine and every thing human will be trampled under foot, in order to perpetuate man's spiritual vassalage, and suppress the truth which maketh free. Carnesecchi was condemned because he held the Protestant doctrines ; and it stands at this hour as the irreversible dogmas of Rome, that every man who holds by the persecuted truth deserves Carnesecchi's doom, with this only contingent—if it be safe or expedient for Rome to inflict it.*

In spite, however, of all such persecutions, the truth at last must triumph. That is as certain as that Christ must reign till he hath put all his enemies under his feet. The aspirations of the friends of the Reformation in Italy three hundred years ago, will sooner or later be accomplished. "You shall live," exclaims Celio Secundo Curio, in one of his dialogues, "you shall live to see

* The fourth Lateran Council, acknowledged by Romanists to be *infallible*, decreed, "That the secular power should be admonished, and, if necessary, compelled by ecclesiastical censures, to swear that they will, to the utmost of their power, strive to exterminate from their territory all heretics declared to be vile by the Church." In 1805, the pope declared that "heretics should be punished with the loss of all their goods." In 1806, when Bonaparte introduced a measure of toleration for all religious sects, "This article," says the pope, "was rejected by us as *contrary to the canons of the Councils, and to the Catholic religion.*" In 1815, the new constitution of Belgium was objected to on the same grounds. And, finally, when the Church of Rome does not put forth that claim, it is confessed by one of her cardinals, that it is "*either because the Church has not sufficient strength, or does not think it expedient.*"—See Stillingfleet on Popery, Dr Cunningham's edition, pp. 250, 251.

this object realized. The joyful sound of the gospel has within our own day reached the Scythians, Thracians, Indians, and Africans. Christ, the King of kings, has taken possession of Rhætia and Helvetia. Germany is under his protection: He has reigned, and will again reign in England: He sways his sceptre over Denmark and the Cymbrian nations: Prussia is his: Poland, and the whole of Sarmatia, are on the point of yielding to him: He is pressing forward to Panonia: Muscovy is in his eye: He beckons France to him: Italy, our native country, is travailing in birth; and Spain will speedily follow. Even the Jews, as you perceive, have abated their former aversion to Christianity." These bright hopes of the sanguine Italian were doomed to a dismal disappointment. The truth was quenched in the blood, or scattered with the ashes of its friends; but it will not be always so. He that is to come will work, and who can hinder? Even he that exalteth himself above all that is called God, will then be taken out of the way.* With this consummation in view, what is the present aspect of Popery in Italy?

* For the facts and quotations in this section, we are indebted, for the most part, to the work of Dr M'Crie, already so often referred to. The following extract will shew at a glance, the estimate formed by that sagacious man of the position we have tried to make plain:—

"On more occasions than one has that interesting country (Italy) exhibited symptoms of regeneration, and panted for that liberty which other countries in Europe were so happy as to acquire. The efforts, however, made for this purpose, premature but noble, generous, but too feeble for the resistance opposed to them, proved abortive, and the flattering symptoms disappeared. It may be enough at present simply to state, for the information of many of our readers, that, at the era of the Reformation, the lights kindled in Germany and Switzerland diffused no faint rays over the most of the Italian States; that many persons, eminent for literature

THE PRESENT.

I. A GENERAL VIEW OF ITALY.

Few impressions are more prevalent in our day than that Popery is rising into the ascendant again. Facts appear to combine with prophecy, in assuring us that that system, hitherto so oppressive, is to be permitted to tyrannize over the churches yet again. Wherever we look, symptoms of Rome's reviving power are seen. From north to south, from east to west, the wound inflicted on the beast appears to be healed, or at least bandaged up, and some are in consequence predicting that a dark night is at hand.

Now, it is true that popery is reviving. Without tarrying to explain the reasons, we notice the fact—it is preparing, in its secret heart, to wear out the saints of God as of old, and the nations are again wondering after the apocalyptic “beast.” But true as that is, it is not true that popery is reviving in Italy. On the contrary, neither there nor in Spain, the two most bigoted kingdoms in the world, is the Man of Sin so securely enthroned as in some other kingdoms. In the States of the Church, men are kept in subjection to the pope, their king, mainly by the troops of Austria, and the mercenaries of popish Switzerland. Religion is there de-
and rank in that country, corresponded with the reformers, approved of their doctrine, and expressed the most anxious wishes for its success; and that Protestant churches were actually formed in several of the principal cities of Italy. These were, however, soon dispersed by the arm of violence, and the greater part of those who had declared themselves friendly to the Protestant Reformation, or who were suspected of cherishing a secret attachment to it, were forced to forsake their native country, and took refuge in Geneva.”—*M'Crie's Miscellaneous Writings*, p. 239.

fended against changes only by the bayonet of the police; and from time to time, we hear of fresh troops being poured into the country, to drive back the rising tide, or quell the love of freedom, as it becomes louder and more urgent in its demands. "No part of the Continent seems more ripe for revolt against the supreme pontiff than Italy and his own principality; and so little assured is the court of Rome of the submission of its immediate subjects, that 10,000 Swiss have been engaged to garrison the States of the church."* The popish Swiss have thus become, in our day, what Cromwell called the Spaniards, in his, "The great underproppers of the Roman Babylon."

And while such is the political condition of Italy at present, while her sons, within and without, in exile and at home, are aiming at some degree of emancipation, and profusely shedding their blood to obtain it, what is the actual state of Popery properly so called? What aspect does it present to an intelligent observer accustomed to notice, and able to reflect?

2. THE CORRUPTIONS. POPERY SUBVERTS THE DOCTRINE OF ONE MEDIATOR.

In answering these questions, I am to take a somewhat comprehensive, though necessarily imperfect glance at the religion which is at this moment held by the pope, and submitted to by some millions of Italians. And in doing so, I need not go over in detail, all the doctrines of God's word, and shew how popery in every age, and now as much as ever, corrupts, mutilates, or abolishes, well-nigh the whole. I need not speak of the preposterous and ridiculous claim of the pope to infallibility.

* Lowe's Edinburgh Magazine, No. I. p. 121.

I need not dwell on the outrage committed against common sense, by their doctrine of transubstantiation, or the mass, or turning a portion of flour, and certain other ingredients, into the very body and the very blood of Christ—or in their own words—into God. Neither need I expose the idolatry involved in their image worship—or the ruin to souls, implied in their perversions of the cardinal doctrine of justification by faith alone. I need not occupy your time, in shewing how the Romanists, in their very best estate, substitute the Spirit's work *in* the soul, in the place of Christ's work *for* it, making "works performed by grace meritorious," and thus in effect tearing up the foundation of the hopes of sinners. Neither need I expatiate on their much-prized doctrine of purgatory—their confessional, penances, extreme unction, and other devices for enslaving and ruining men's souls. On these and similar subjects, information is not rare. We bless God that in our day, it is becoming more and more rife,* and we content ourselves at present with submitting the following illustrations of popery in the present day, especially in Rome.

Now, after having studied this matter with all the care we could command, in circumstances the most favourable for forming a right conclusion, namely, where the infallible head was the officiating priest, we mention that the plague spot, the heart's disease of popery, is *its corruption of God's peculiar plan of saving sinners by one Mediator*. The Eternal God, in carrying out

* See a work of great acuteness by John Welsh, the Reformer, entitled *Popery Anatomised; Stillingfleet's Doctrines and Practices of the Church of Rome*, edited by Dr Cunningham; and a Treatise by C. Malan, entitled "Pourrai-je entrer jamais dans l'Eglise de Rome aussi longtemps que je croirai toute la Bible?"

his purposes of love and mercy, appointed a peculiar and a narrow path by which sinners might return to Him ; and in language as distinct as if it were written in light upon the blue sky, we are told that there is “one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus.” We are assured that “no man cometh to the Father but by the Son,” and that by “one sacrifice—himself—he hath *for ever* perfected them that are sanctified.” Such is undeniably the mind of God. Just as surely as there is but one God, there is but one Mediator ; and of no truth is it more indisputably certain that “thus saith the Lord.”

But what saith popery ? Not one, but multitudes of Mediators ! I do not speak of the dogmata of Rome, but of its practices as they salute the eye, and say, let any Christian take the Bible in his hand, or if that be a proscribed book, let him carry some of its clauses in his heart. Let him enter certain churches in Rome—for example, on the day of All Saints, and what is it that he beholds ? If his soul can endure the idolatry, what is it that he hears ? He sees men dressed in the attire, and bearing the names of ministers of religion, kneeling in groups on the church floor. They have turned from the one Mediator, for they reckon him inexorable till a host of others be appealed to, to procure his favour. They have turned, I say, from the one Mediator of God, to the numberless mediators of popery. St Anthony, St Francis, St Dominic, St Peter, St Paul, are prayed to, to pray for their worshippers. When they have enumerated in their chant their chief mediators, and the catalogue is a long one, then, to make sure that none shall be neglected, the worshippers, led by the priests, conclude with the cry, “*et Cæteri Sancti, orate pro nobis*”

—All the rest of the Saints, pray for us. It was once proposed in Parliament, to introduce the words “*et cætera*” into an oath, to be taken in certain departments of business. The proposal was denounced, as preparing the way for “a bottomless abyss of perjury;” and one feels that the day of All Saints—that is the day when all the saints together, in a mass, are prayed to—prepares the way for as bottomless an abyss of idolatry, and corresponding wretchedness to man.

3. THE VIRGIN MARY—HER WORSHIP.

We have said that popery, as we see it even now at Rome, corrupts the truth of God, by supplanting the one Mediator, by the introduction of a multitude which it is difficult to number. While this is true, it should be observed, that among these Creature-mediators, one stands pre-eminent — we mean the Virgin Mary. So prominent is the place which she occupies in the popish calendar, or rather the popish creed, that the religion of Rome has been more appropriately termed Mariolatry,—the worship of Mary, than Christianity,—the worship of God in Christ. Her names are wellnigh as numerous as her images, though these be found affixed to the corners of the chief streets. She has a chapel, or shrine, in all the leading churches of Rome. She has several churches for her own peculiar worship. The habits of the Romans are regulated with reference to her. The hour of Ave-Maria is that which rules the other twenty-three, according to the Roman computation. The entire month of May is reckoned sacred to her worship, and her devotees superstitiously employ it for that end. In a word, what Diana was to Ephesus,

the Virgin is to Rome—its great goddess, its hope, its glory.

But lest we should be supposed to overstate this matter, listen to the following catalogue of only some of her titles. She is daily prayed to by thousands, as “The most blessed comforter of the afflicted.” She is addressed as the “Helper of Christians,” because Christ is accessible only through her. She is hailed as “The Refuge of Sinners” and “of the troubled” — “The Mother of God”—“The Princess of Heaven”—“The Queen of Men”—“The Empress of Angels”—“The Sole and Sovereign Mistress of the Universe”—“The Gate of Heaven”—“The Mother of Mercies”—“The Light of the World”—“The Lamp of Grace”—“The Hope of Life;”—but I pause. Is it needful to add more, to convince you that the religion of Rome is the very counterfeit and caricature of the religion of God? A creature is made “The refuge of sinners”—A creature is made “The sole and sovereign mistress of the universe”—A creature is adored as “The light of the world.” All this is done, not among the ignorant or in remote provinces, where ignorance might be pled in palliation, for example, among the deluded pilgrims to Einsiedlin—but in Rome — in Rome, the capital of Christendom—the “holy home,” according to Puseyism, of Jesus Christ our Lord! Need I say more to convince you, that either popery is not Christianity, or Christianity is not found in the Bible?

4. A PRAYER TO THE VIRGIN, EXPRESSLY AS A CREATURE.

Yet I must say more. Let it be borne in mind that I am describing religion as it appears at Rome, where an infallible man presides over the church, and where

it is said every sixth or seventh man is, directly or indirectly, connected with the office of the priesthood. And with this in view, listen to the following prayer translated from the original, which is printed, framed, and chained to a bench in the church of Sta Maria degli Angeli at Rome, for the benefit of the faithful. It is entitled, "*An Act of Reparation to the sacred heart of Mary, to procure her maternal benediction, in life and at death.*"

"How much I lament, O most holy Virgin, when I consider the injuries which you have received, and are receiving every day, from the malice and ingratitude of men! What outrages have the enemies of your august and most sacred name not committed against you! But I may say, that even among the faithful themselves, who profess to recognise all the prerogatives with which the Lord has adorned you, there must be, among so great a number, some who are cold towards you. And with what shortcomings towards you must I charge myself, O most holy mother! How often, with my sins, have I fixed the sword of grief in your maternal heart! What return for your goodness have you yet seen in me! What care have I taken to render homage to you! What attention to imitate your virtue! Humbly prostrate at your feet, O mother of mercy, I ask pardon for my past unbelief; I desire, with all my heart, to make what reparation I can, and at the same time, to offer an honourable amends for all the ingratitude you have suffered at the hands of men. With this in view, I this day assume for ever all the sentiments of respect towards you, of love and of gratitude, which are due. I offer you my homage, my praises, and my service. I solemnly profess to believe your divine maternity, your sanctity, and your

glory, above all the other creatures. I revere, along with the holy church, your immaculate conception—your glorious assumption. I believe that your power, your goodness, your mercy, are proportioned to your ineffable dignity of mother of God, and to your eminent sanctity. I hail you with joy as the mother of mercy and of grace, as the refuge of sinners, and their advocate with Jesus Christ; and I regard your protection and your favour, as an infallible means to obtain from the goodness of your divine son, all the graces which are necessary for this life and the other. In the presence of your merciful heart, I protest that I wish to be always in the number of your servants—to defend your dignity, and procure, by all the means in my power, the honour, love, and service which are due to you, in a manner proportioned to your majesty and goodness. O Great Mother! deign to accept of these sincere desires which I form at your feet. Bring it to pass, that while I imitate here below the virtues of your most sweet heart, I may be able to merit being eternally glorified with you in the holy paradise, and with your most Holy Son Jesus, who has wrought such great wonders in your favour.—So be it.”

Here, then, is a creature prayed to,* worshipped, vowed to, so that the soul is literally thirled to idolatry. Here is the Son of God superseded as “the Refuge of Sinners”—and a creature resorted to in his stead—Is it not a refuge of lies?

Below this “Act,” in the same frame, we find the following:

* Some Romanists defend themselves against the charge of idolatry, in such a case, by alleging that the Omniscient *reveals* to the saints the prayers of their worshippers!

" SACRED INDULGENCE.

" All the faithful who shall recite the Litanies of the blessed Virgin, shall acquire 200 days of indulgence ; and all who shall reverently invoke the most holy name of Jesus, or Mary,* shall gain 50 days, in terms of a Constitution by Sixtus V., confirmed by Clement X."

Such is a specimen of the religion of Rome at this very passing moment, and it were difficult to say whether it is most revolting in its idolatry, or most oppressive to man's soul, or most dishonouring to God our Saviour, God over all, blessed for evermore. It may be true that the Reformation has pruned away the grosser extravagancies of popery in some countries, and its plastic power, or its "deceivableness," may have enabled it to adapt its aspect to circumstances ; but in Italy, popery survives unimproved, unmitigated, antichristian, as when Luther thundered his defiances against the pope.

5. ILLUSTRATIONS OF POPISH WORSHIP AT ROME.

But its worship, in general, is as humbling as such prayers, when studied in the light of God's word, are idolatrous. We submit the following extracts, taken almost at random, from the Roman Almanac, or Directory for worship throughout the year. We turn away from their processions, and plenary indulgencies, their relics, of which the crypts and recesses of the churches are full—their pompous ceremonials, and lying legends, and draw attention to the following facts, as illustrative of the Romanist's faith and daily practice. †

* It is *or*—not even *and*. The two are put on a level.

† We translate from the *Diario Romano*, printed in Rome, "with approbation, and privilege."

- Jan. 14. Exhibit an image of the sacred name of Jesus.
- Feb. 24. Festival of St Matthew in the Sta Maria Maggiore, where his body reposes.
- March 1. Exhibit the sacred images of the blessed Virgin..... and carry in procession the relics of her Sacred Veil.
13. Liberation of a soul from Purgatory, and exhibit the sacred relics in the church of Sta Croce.
16. Celebrate a miracle, by which St Philip Neri restored Paolo Massimi to life.
26. Shew the image of the most Holy Saviour at the stairs, (said by Romanists to be those which he ascended when going to judgment).
30. Exhibit the illustrious relics of the spear, cross, and holy countenance, (on St Veronica's handkerchief).
31. The Pope washes the feet of twelve poor priests, and gives them dinner, serving them with his own hands.
- April 2. Baptize Jews, and Turks, at St John in Laterano, and exhibit the heads of St Peter and Paul.
26. Festival.....to exhibit the sacred image of the Virgin Mary.
- May 2. Uncover.....the most holy Crucifix.
22. The beginning of the feast-days in honour of St Ignatius Loyola, at the church of Jesus (*i. e.* the Saviour has his church, St Peter has his, the Virgin has hers).
24. Festival of devotion in Rome, and all the States of the Church, in honour of the Great Virgin, Mother of God, Mary, under the title of "Aid of the Christians."
- June 2. Festival of S. Erasmo, guardian against spasmodic pains.
10. Plenary indulgence in all the churches where there is an image of the sacred heart of Jesus.
19.Festival of the most blessed Virgin, whose miraculous image is revered, (*si venera*).
- July 3. The Brotherhoods proceed to the Church of St Peter In Vinculis, where they preserve and venerate his chains.
10. Commemorate the prodigies of the most blessed Virgin, of whom numerous images rolled their eyes on the bystanders in a miraculous manner in the year 1796.
22. Festival of St Julian. Venerate one of his feet.
- Sept. 13. Carry in procession the wood of the holy cross.
14. Exaltation of the most holy cross.
- Oct. 18. Uncover the images of Mary the Virgin, painted, as is said, by St Luke.

Dec. 10. Translation of the Holy Cottage of Loretto,—a festival.

24. Carry in procession the cradle of our Saviour, and exhibit it on the following day.

Such, I repeat, is a portion of the stated worship, the religion of Rome, called by Puseyism “the holy.” It is with employments like these that immortal beings are there engrossed. It is behind such fooleries that the simple truth as it is in Jesus is concealed, and lying legends, like that of Loretto, perpetuated. Venerating the foot of one saint,—revering the image of another,—gazing on a wooden cross, and listening to legends regarding images which “rolled their eyes in a prodigious way”—these are Rome’s substitutes for the gospel; these the heaps beneath which she buries the truth which came from heaven, which points us to it, and which fits us for it. It is amid spectacles like these that one can best estimate the importance of the Reformation; and it is amid scenes like these that one can best discover the ineffable privilege, and proportionate responsibility, of being a Protestant, with God’s pure truth in our hand, and his Holy Spirit to teach it.

But farther, we do not present a correct portraiture of the Romish religion, unless we advert to what Dr Whately has called “endeavouring to serve God by proxy.” The whole system proceeds on the idea, that as a lawyer is skilled in legal transactions, and can defend us against illegal aggression; or as a physician is skilled in our bodily diseases, and able to relieve us from them, so the priest is skilled in taking care of the soul, and can provide for its well-being. It is accordingly left in his hands. His devotion is substituted for that of the worshippers. They submit implicitly to his directions; they comply with his injunctions, and con-

form to his ritual ; and he makes himself responsible for their salvation. The sinner is thus saved all inquiry. All anxiety is superseded ; and salvation becomes as much a matter of professional arrangement on the one hand, and personal compliance on the other, as in any of the other professions. Here again, popery, “ with all deceivableness,” adapts itself to human nature, instead of adapting human nature to God’s truth. Here again, it shews with what subtlety it is planned, how perfectly devised first to lull, and then to ruin the soul. Popery is throughout a system of sacerdotalism rather than of Christianity. “ A quiet conscience, at the least possible expense of personal piety and personal exertion,” is the desideratum of the people, and the datum of the priest.*

6. THE SCRIPTURES WITHHELD FROM THE PEOPLE.

There are, however, various other ways in which we may illustrate the spirit and tendency of the religion of Rome. Romanists, in this and other Protestant lands, perpetually declare that the Bible is not denied to the laity ; and, judging from the assertions of some, we might even conclude that the word of God has free course in popish lands. No fact, however, is better established than that the scriptures are all but suppressed. We have searched for it in Italy, in the language of the country, for days, without success ; and even when a book was brought to us entitled “ The Bible,” it proved to be a miserable compilation of legendary comments upon it. At this moment it is unquestionably a law in Italy, that the Bible shall not be read. One of its authoritative doctors, a Cardinal, has said, “ It is not necessary that the holy scripture be translated into the vulgar tongue ; it is not

* Whately’s *Errors of Romanism*, &c. pp. 92, 93, 124.

expedient that it should be read by any but the clergy.”* No man dare possess the word of God without a written licence from his bishop; and the punishment of disobedience is the withholding of absolution till the proscribed volume be delivered up. Leo XII, who died about fourteen years ago, in 1824 called the Protestant Bible “the gospel of the devil,” and “deadly pastures,” and sanctioned the impious sentiment, that “if the sacred scriptures be indiscriminately read, more evil than good will result from it.” Clement XI, in the Bull *Unigenitus*, condemned the opinion, “that the reading of the scriptures is for all;” and to suppress such tenets, his holiness authorized “the calling in of the secular arm” to punish the readers of the word of God.† Against that word itself, against some of the ancient Councils, against reason, and against common sense, popery denies the use of the scriptures to those to whom the God of mercy gave it. For bread that church gives a stone,—for a fish, a serpent. Pius VIII, in the year 1829, re-echoed all the censures or anathemas of his predecessors.

7. THE POPE'S ENCYCLICAL LETTER AGAINST BIBLE SOCIETIES.

But perhaps these views are now modified. The influence of public opinion, and outraged humanity, may have led to some mitigation of this injustice! Listen, then, to the words of the reigning pope, Gregory XVI. In his Encyclical Letter, published in 1832, he condemned all Bibles and religious tracts to be consumed in the flames, as the men at Ephesus burned their pernicious books; and the order was in many places obeyed.‡

* Bellarmine, quoted by Malan, p. 39.

† See Stillingfleet, chap. x., and Dr Cunningham's Notes.

‡ Malan, p. 143.

He who has been called a "*Vice-God*," thus literally exalted himself above God, and ordered that to be destroyed which God has magnified above all his name. Or farther; in his Letter published in May 1844, the pope still more explicitly denounces the word of God, and those who seek to spread it. The Bible Societies there encounter the loudest fulminations of his holiness. They are reprobated as "biblical sectaries," while all the finesse of Rome is at the same time put forth to delude men into the opinion that the Bible is a patent book to Romanists. After all, however, the Bible is a sealed book to the millions of Italy. Multitudes of them do not know of its existence; if they did, the pope would be hurled from his usurped supremacy over men's souls, by an indignant and undeceived people.*

8. THE MIRACLES OF ROME, AND OF POPYERY IN GENERAL.

We proceed next to advert to the pretended miracles of Romanism,—for among papists the age of miracles is by no means past; on the contrary, they occur from time to time. Nay, it is possible for her priesthood, by what arts we do not stop to explain, to render some miracles intermittent, or recurring at stated intervals. We refer at present, for an example, to the liquefaction of the blood of St Januarius at Naples, which lies clotted and congealed throughout the year, but melts on the anniversary of the saint's martyrdom, when his head is brought near the vessel in which the object of superstitious imposture is preserved. A popish zealot exclaims concerning this miracle, "Let heretics approach, examine, watch; be astonished, and, the wretches! let them embrace the

* See the Encyclical Letter of Gregory XVI, republished by Sir C. E. Smith, 1845. 2d edit.

Catholic faith. Januarius alone is sufficient to prove that faith. . . . If his blood melt, hearts must surely melt." Now, this miracle, on which the proof of the Catholic faith is so boldly, but unwisely periled, takes place periodically in the cathedral of Naples. After various ceremonies and preparations, the vessel containing the precious relic, gathered up, it is said, when the saint was martyred about the year 300, is brought forth from its place of safe keeping. The king is Custodier of one key, and the archbishop of another, so that we have all the guarantee which royalty and the hierarchy can yield, for the genuineness of the blood. When the periodic miracle is about to take place, all assembled are in breathless expectation. If the process of liquefaction requires more than seven or eight minutes, the excitable Neapolitans betray their impatience by extravagant fear. Long delay excites them to fury. The saint is rebuked for his hard-heartedness; women beat their breasts and tear their hair; and strangers are said to have fallen victims to their disappointment. On one occasion, the English Consul assisted at the ceremony, when the blood continued frozen and the saint inexorable. The heretic was desired to withdraw; he complied, and the liquefaction proceeded.

And such is another specimen of what is called the religion of Italy—an imposture occurring in a capital city, under the double sanction of a king and an archbishop, or Church and State. It is thus that men's souls are duped; and thus that lying wonders are palmed upon them for the very truth of God. First the Bible is withdrawn, and then impostures, whose grossness can be equalled only by their puerility, take its place. We have lately heard much of the holy coat of Treves. Men, immortal men, have actually prayed to it to pray for them;

and the disclosure of that monstrous imposture has stirred a large portion of Christendom. But those who are acquainted with the state of religion in Italy are well aware, that that imposture, with all its grossness, was but a specimen of what is done on a smaller scale, and with less commotion, from month to month in every diocese or district of Italy. The whole system, as it appears to the people, is one of gross delusion, at which every reflective man would smile, were he not prompted rather to weep at the havoc thus wrought upon the souls of men. Is it thought that we speak too strongly here? Then listen to the words of Dr Whately, who reckons the Church of Rome not heretical, and approves of the sentiment, that she is nearer the truth than some of our sects. "Their sacraments," he says, "became superstitious charms; their public worship a kind of magic incantation muttered in a dead language; and Christian holiness of life was commuted for holy water, for fantastic penances, pilgrimages, amulets, pecuniary devotions, and a whole train of superstitious observances, worthy of paganism in its worst forms."*

9. ANCIENT MIRACLES.

We might farther advert to the Roman Breviary, or the Directory for the daily services of the Romanist, and quote from it the legends of the Saints, as read on their respective days, and thus find enough to overthrow the pretensions of popery before any competent tribunal. For example, Gregory Thaumaturgus once dried up a lake which had become the subject of dispute between two parties, and so terminated the feud. He drove back the inundation of a river, by fixing his staff on the

* *Errors of Romanism, &c.* p. 339. Edit. of 1845.

margin; and for a hundred years the stream never passed that spot. He threw his cloak over a Jew who pretended to be dead, and the man died indeed. He drove away demons from a temple by his presence; and by a short epistle, of four words, "GREGORY TO SATAN, ENTER!" restored them to their former dwelling-place. Now these, and similar legends, might be passed over as old wives' fables, or nursery tales. But, "on turning to the Romish Breviary, it will be found that these *miracles* of Gregory Thaumaturgus form the subject of the fourth, fifth, seventh, and eighth lessons for the 17th day of November: the drying up of the lake, the staff on the bank of the river, the removal of a rock, the driving of demons from the temple, being all particularly mentioned,"* and set down for edification.

The Life of Paul the Hermit, by St Jerome, contains many similar stories. After his death, two lions visited his remains; wept over him; dug his grave; and asked and received the blessing of St Anthony, who had been on a visit to Paul. All this might pass for an idle fable to amuse, although unwisely, the inmates of a nursery. But it is received as truth at Rome; it enters into the daily worship of her priests: for the miracles of Paul, including the digging of his grave by the lions, are attested by the Breviary on January the 15th.†

Regarding another miracle-worker, Rome has fairly committed herself, and were reason consulted in regard to religion at all, the following fact might dispel the thick darkness that prevails in many minds regarding the religion of Rome. Concerning certain wonders, of the kind now referred to, wrought by Datius of Milan, one of her

* North British Review, vol. iv. p. 463.

† Ibid. pp. 465, 466.

saints, the Breviary, the directory of her priests, and through them of her people, in the sixth lesson for the 12th of March, says, "He wrote many books; and while he was dictating them, Peter the Deacon testifies, that he saw the Holy Spirit, in the shape of a dove, often seated on his head."*

Once again; St Raynard of Pennafort was a saint of the thirteenth century. In the sixth lesson for January 23d, the Romish Breviary relates that "he performed many miracles; amongst which this is the most illustrious. Being about to return from Majorca to Barcelona, he laid his cloak on the sea, and having passed over one hundred and sixty miles in six hours, he entered his monastery, though the doors were shut. This 'skimmer of the seas' seems to have anticipated to a nicety the speed of modern railways; but Alban Butler gravely clenches the story by assuring us, that 'a chapel and a tower, built on the place where he landed, have transmitted the memory of this miracle to posterity.' This is the faith of the Church of Rome at this hour; for the Breviary, lying on our table, was published at Mechlin in 1843."†

Farther; St Francis of Assisium was the great wonder-worker of the thirteenth century. "He was often seen lifted up from the ground, sometimes higher than a man's head; and at last, after an extraordinary vision of a crucified seraph, which he witnessed from the top of a mountain, his body was found, when he came down, to have received the impression of the five wounds of Christ. 'The heads of the nails,' says Butler, 'were round and black. The points were long, and appeared beyond the skin on the other side, and were turned back,

* North British Review, vol. iv. p. 480.

† Ibid. p. 483.

as if they had been clenched with a hammer. There was also in his right side a red wound, as if made by the piercing of a lance; and this often threw out blood, which stained the tunic and drawers of the saint.' This last imposture is favoured with a day for itself, the 17th of September; under which date it will be found related at great length in the Breviary."*

But these are ancient wonders. Read of a saint who "lived, died, and was canonized in the seventeenth century. 'The first flower of South American sanctity,' says the Breviary, August 30, 'was the Virgin Rose of Lima. She obtained this name, because, when an infant, her face was miraculously changed into the appearance of a rose; but to this the Virgin Mother of God afterwards added a surname, ordering her thenceforward to be called Rose of St Mary.' After many mortifications, and struggles with wicked spirits, she was most highly favoured; for, 'familiar,' says the Breviary, 'with the guardian angel, with St Catherine of Sienna, and the Virgin Mother of God, in consequence of their continual appearances, she merited to hear these words from Christ himself, 'Rose of my heart, be thou my bride!'"†

Need we say more? Let it be borne in mind that these pernicious impostures are all sanctioned by the authority of the Romish Breviary. They form part of the daily study of her priests from year to year. They are designed to feed their piety, and fit them for guiding men to God's favour; and let the most dispassionate say, could Satan have devised aught more deleterious,—more dishonouring to God,—more ruinous to man? This has been called "a system of shameless imposture and grovelling superstition; the bane and curse of Christendom,

* North British Review, p. 483.

† Ibid. p. 483.

from Ambrose of Milan down to Arnoldi of Treves. A spike from the crown of thorns, a drop of the Virgin's milk, the paring of a nail, a nameless rag, an unknown bone, things vile, contemptible, and rotten, have been venerated in civilized Europe for nearly two thousand years. Ambrose, Gregory, and Bernard, Fenelon and Bossuet, Bellarmine and Borromeo, have seen, with acquiescence, the Saviour practically dethroned for things like these; and the millions of Rome, age after age, kneeling at the shrines of men and women, with names often the offspring of accident or invention." This sentence is as true as it is severe. The radical corruption which supports the monstrous system of popery is, that it practically supersedes the Saviour.

But lest it should still be supposed that we overstate this matter, let us appeal to the friends of Romanism in our own passing day. In France there has lately been published,* a series of the Lives of Saints. In some of them we find illustrations of the "prodigies almost daily" wrought by the relics of those holy persons. These prodigies "are cried in public, attached in Notices to the walls, and become the subject of conversation to all." Let us, then, trace the history of a St Filomene, whom Pope Leo XII. called "the Great;" keeping in view that we are about to describe some modern miracles recorded by Romanists themselves, and therefore stamped with their own authority.

10. MODERN MIRACLES—IN ROME AND NAPLES.

This Saint Filomene, then, lay long unknown among the corpses that are concealed in the catacombs near Rome—the quarry of its relics—the exhaustless feeder of its ravenous superstition. Dragged from her resting

* By Audin of Paris.

place, Filomene became one of the most noted wonder-workers in Italy. "Her image decorates all the churches," says her *Life* published by Audin; "it ornaments all the private oratories—it is found in all the houses—nay, what do I say? Every one carries the image about with him, and as if it were not enough to reproduce it on vellum, it is printed on linen and cotton stuffs for garments; while the works written regarding this glorious martyr are all sanctioned by ecclesiastical authority." A pope dignified her, as we have seen, with the title of "The Great," and a king, by an autograph letter, begged the relics from his holiness. We take her case, therefore, as a favourable specimen of the religion of Southern Italy in our day,—such an example as even a Romanist would select.

The bones of St Filomene, then, were discovered in the catacombs by the relic hunters, in a way which we cannot tarry to describe, but which is itself a sample of the disgraceful juggling of Rome; and starting with the assertion, that "the Lord in his omnipotence has many times deigned to sanction this pious worship by no equivocal signs,"* the following are some of the incidents in her history since her alleged bones were drawn from their apocryphal resting place.

On the 25th of May 1802, when Pius VII. was pope, these bones were discovered. Near them in the catacomb was a small glass vase partially broken, and covered with blood. Whilst the fragments of crusted gore were detached from the vase, the witnesses were astonished to see the crystal urn into which they were put,

* "Combien de fois le Seigneur dans sa toute-puissance, n-a-t-il pas daigné legitimer ce culte pieux par les signes les moins equivoques." *Ste. Filomene, sa Vie, et ses Miracles*, (1834) p. 8.

becoming brilliant and resplendent. Some pieces were rich like gold and silver, others had the brightness of a diamond. The ruby, the emerald, the sapphire, and the most brilliant colours of the rainbow, all sparkled in the vase where the blood of the saint was deposited!*

But the saint did not leave her votaries in any doubt as to her claims to be ranked among the *Dei minores* of Rome. An unknown woman appeared to a priest while he was walking in the fields, and told him that Filomene had been put to death because she refused the hand of the Emperor Diocletian, and narrated in a most dramatic way, the fruitless efforts of the tyrant to secure her affections, (pp. 21-23).

Another vision, conveying intelligence yet more minute, was vouchsafed to a poor citizen, and on this occasion the paroxysm of Diocletian's slighted love is very affecting. He had ordered Filomene to be beheaded for declining his proposals, and then relenting when the deed was done, "He tore his beard, rolled about like one mad, threw himself from his throne to the earth and bit the dust, exclaiming that he would be no longer Emperor!" (p. 25).

A third "Revelation" took place in the year 1832, to a religious person at Naples, and it was so circumstantial as to leave nothing farther to be desired. With the accuracy of a diary, the life of Filomene is described. "The Queen of Angels with her son in her arms," appeared to encourage her, and all ended in her glorious martyrdom. Why, then, should she not be worshipped at Rome?

She was eventually translated to Mugnano in the diocese of Nola, and the prodigies which she wrought

* Ste Filomene, &c. p. 16.

soon became numerous. "Angela Rosa Terres was suddenly healed of an inveterate disease, which had devoured her for twelve years." Michael Ulpicella, after being tormented for six months by sciatica, went to the temple of St Filomene leaning on the arm of a friend, and returned a perfectly healed man! A distinguished lady, whose hand was gangrened, had resolved to have it amputated to escape from death; but the relics of the saint were applied to the ulcer, and the gangrene disappeared! When these decayed bones were translated from Naples to Mugnano, one of the peasants who were to carry her fell sick. He was encouraged to put his shoulder to the work; he did it, and was instantly healed! "O, how light the saint is!" was the cry of the relieved and ecstatic devotee. At a certain part of the road, the saint became so heavy that the shoulders of the bearers could endure no more. All was consternation, for they thought it was the saint's wish to tarry there, where, it appeared, many martyrs had formerly been slain. Their interpretation was not sound, for as soon as they had passed that place of bad repute, the bearers announced that Filomene "had become as light as a feather!" The founding of a chapel to her honour gave rise to "divine miracles." "Her worship," we are told, "had no sooner begun than God glorified his servant by numerous prodigies." Ange Bianco had long been confined by gout; he heard the rejoicing at the procession of the relics—prayed with all his might to the saint—and vowed to follow the procession if he were cured. His prayer was heard—the saint made him whole!

Again, Angela Guerriero carried her cripple son to mass—at the elevation of the host, he went without aid

to the place where Filomene's relics reposed, and in answer to his mother's prayers to the martyr, he was made whole. "A miracle, a miracle!" exclaimed the mother, and all who knew the boy; and the bells immediately spread the intelligence of "the wonders which God had wrought," by the old bones brought from the catacomb! This took place in the morning. After noon, a celebrated missionary preached in the church. A woman was present with a child hopelessly blind; the holy relics were at work again, and the child received his sight. "A miracle so manifest immediately produced through the assembly a movement which obliged the preacher to desist;" and the biographer adds, "this occasion was not the only one where the same miracle was wrought." A child pricked her eyes with a pair of scissors—she dipped her finger in the oil of the lamp that burned before the shrine of the saint, and sight was restored. "That eye," adds the devout biographer, "was even in some degree more beautiful and brilliant than the other, to remind men that the hand of God had touched it," (p. 64). Her cousin had his countenance lacerated by an explosion of gunpowder during the rejoicing at the saint's arrival. The little girl explained how she was healed. The boy applied to the same source, and was forthwith cured! Don Francis Paulo Fiore had become blind by a disease in the eyes at the age of twenty-four. He had recourse to Filomene—prayed devoutly, and was healed! We give but another example. The saint had now become so illustrious that she was deposited in the chief church of the Commune. But her ornaments were rude compared with her renown, and this occasioned regret to her poorer worshippers. To their astonishment, however, one morning when they entered her chapel, she had

changed her position, adorned her person, and assumed a dignified attitude,—“a position,” says her historian, “as graceful as it was natural.” “Her chin had become round—her upper lip, which grinned before (like that of any other corpse just from the catacombs), had become handsome; her features, in short, had changed, and her countenance, animated by the freshest and most resplendent colours of celestial beauty, presented the appearance of a person in the sweetest sleep.” Some sceptics expressed doubts on the occasion, but they were soon silenced and confounded. Another miracle on a child rendered blind by the smallpox, bore down all opposition, and Filomene was finally enthroned as the goddess of the district; the bishop of Carinola officiating, and all the inhabitants joining in the pomp which added another creature to the roll of their divinities! Her chapel was besieged by adoring crowds, and miracles in return were profusely showered down upon them.

But we need not follow farther the superstitious narrative. Miracles were wrought when a chapel was founded in honour of this saint—miracles abounded when an altar was built—miracles in lavish profusion accompanied the preparing of a new shrine for Filomene. On one occasion she smiled with “a celestial beauty, like one pronouncing ‘Amen.’” Moreover, she began to move her eyes, to the astonishment of all her worshippers; nay, even images of Filomene carried to other churches did the same, and wherever she was worshipped, “A miracle! A miracle!” was often heard resounding through the church. Her right eye was the favourite one, and again and again, and again did she open it in benignity on her worshippers. Her statue on one occasion, “miraculously sweated.” A second

edition of a book was printed designed to circulate her praises, but a third was not needed—the second, like the widow's cruse of oil, was inexhaustible. Distribute as the priests and bishop might, the supply was still abundant, while the books could balance themselves on the back and arms of a chair in a marvellous manner. She multiplied the "bones of her holy body to satisfy the piety of the faithful." In 1830 and 1832 these miracles were frequent; but we cannot now do more than quote the titles of some of the chapters of her biography. The XIII. is entitled, "Apparitions of St Filomene." The XIV. is headed, "Divers Miracles." The XV., "Prodigies wrought at Lyons by means of St Filomene;" and were all this true—were not the whole a farrago of incontestible falsehood and imposture called religion, we might join in the ejaculation of the biographer, "Behold a Star!" "Let no one say that our God sleeps," is the papist's fervid declaration on a review of his narrative; and while he implores us to come in prayer to the feet of St Filomene, he is careful to set us an example. "Virgin most pure"—"Virgin full of boldness"—"Virgin full of strength"—"Virgin courageous"—"Virgin constant!" "unconquerable, invincible, heroic, glorious"—these are the terms in which she is invoked in the prayers of her devotees—these are the employments of bishops, priests, and people in a populous district of Italy, not far from Naples; and it is to the worship of such bones under various pretexts, that popery would reconduct our island. Hymns are sung to this dubious divinity, prayers are offered, and all that constitutes worship freely lavished. Will men awake? Will Protestants think? Will they but look at this "sad helotism" of the soul? Will facts convince them

that the native tendency of popery, wherever it has free scope for development, is to degrade the mind of man, and in effect, to put a creature in Jehovah's place? In examining the objects exhibited in some museums, we often notice anatomical preparations of the human frame, which are infinitely instructive, but far from being pleasant,—the veins, and arteries, and muscles, are all exhibited in such painful detail as to shew that we are wonderfully, but at the same time, fearfully made. A close inspection brings the same to light regarding the religion of modern Italy. Men *will* have a creature rather than the Creator for their God, and they are left to what they chuse. All this we say again, takes place not during the dark ages, not among pagans, not among men emerging from barbarism; but in Italy, where an infallible man, a "*Vice-God*" dictates and presides over religion. Do we say this in vain triumph over the Romanists? On the contrary, we know there are superstitions mixed with the religion of every land; they are a native product of man's sinful heart. But into Protestantism superstition enters *against* the nature of the system; into Popery it enters as an essential part. It is there encouraged, fostered, and systematized.

II. THE MORALS OF ITALY.

But when religion has departed so far from the simplicity of the gospel, what is the state of morals at Rome?

We can offer but a very limited answer to this question, ample as are the materials at hand; but though brief, facts make the answer emphatic.

It is a well-known maxim of the Jesuits, that the inferior must implicitly obey the superior of the order; and one of the former has accordingly said, "Were God to order

me, through the voice of my superior, to put to death father, mother, children, brothers and sisters, I would do it with an eye as tearless, and a heart as calm, as if I were seated at the banquet of the Paschal Lamb.”* “It is lawful,” says Father Fagundez, “for a son to rejoice at the murder of his parent, *committed by himself*, in a state of drunkenness, on account of the great riches thence acquired by inheritance.” Again, “Christian and Catholic sons may accuse their father of the crime of heresy, if they wish to remove him from the earth, although they know that their parents may be burned with fire, and put to death for it.” “Servants,” says Valerius Reginald,” are excused, both from sin and restitution, if they only take (from their master’s property) in equitable compensation.” Again, “If a man cannot sell his wine at a fair price either on account of injustice in the judge, or through fraud in the purchasers, who have agreed among themselves to be few in number, to lower the price; then he may diminish his measure, or mix a little water with the wine, and sell it for pure wine of full measure, demanding the full price, provided only that he does not tell a lie: which if he do, it will neither be a dangerous nor a mortal sin.” Filiucius writes, “The man who has externally promised any thing, but *without an intention of promising*, that same person being asked whether he made a promise, may deny it—meaning to himself, that he did not make a promise that was binding. Nay, he may go much farther, for he may even swear to it.”† Such are some of the sentiments taught by the Society of Jesuits—the heart’s core of Popery—the embodiment of all its

* The Jesuits, their Origin, Order, &c. by Dr Duff, p. 10.

† See Duff, pp. 24, 25, 26.

evil. That society was once suppressed by a pope, Clement XIV., urged on by the voice of indignant Europe—and its damnation was just; but another pope, Pius VII, restored it; and now the Jesuits, whose fathers taught such morality as we have mentioned, are battenng again on the Christianity of every land, corrupting, overlaying, suppressing it. Their whole system has been strongly called “*the perfection of devilism*”—and surely, if Satan have emissaries on earth, they may be found in what is called, in blasphemous mockery—“the Society of JESUS.”——“Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye?”

But what are the morals of modern Italy? How does the religion of the pope influence the life and conduct of his subjects in social life, or by their household hearths? We have already seen how the servants of the papacy “lengthen the creed,” by their impostures and lying wonders—how far is it true that in our day they “shorten the decalogue?”

On this subject, we appeal to a witness who enjoyed most ample opportunities of testing the real state of Italian society among the upper ranks. “You ask me,” says Lord Byron (in a letter dated 21st February 1820), “for a volume of *manners* upon Italy. Perhaps I am in the case to know more of them than most Englishmen, because I have lived among the natives, and in parts of the country where Englishmen never resided before; I speak of Romagna, and especially Ravenna; but there are many reasons why I do not choose to treat in print on such a subject. I have lived in their houses, and the heart of their families sometimes, as “a friend of the house,” and sometimes as “a friend of the heart” of the Dama; and in neither

case do I feel myself authorized in making a book on them. Their moral is not your moral." (But is it God's?) "Their life is not your life—you would not understand it. It is not English, it is not French nor German, which you would all understand." His lordship then proceeds to describe the private life of Italians, of the upper classes; but he does it in language, or with allusions, which I dare not quote. It is enough to say that adultery is systematized—"it is reduced to a kind of discipline." Society is corrupted at the heart's core, namely, in the domestic circle; and if one wished to exhibit the melancholy effects of a false religion, or of the infidelity into which false religion drives the bolder class of minds, we know not where to find more fit materials than in Lord Byron's sketch—a sketch, remember, written not by a morose ascetic, not by a Protestant minister, but by one who "knew more of the Italians than most Englishmen can know"—who admired their practices, and proved his high admiration by copying their example to the letter.

Or turning to their own authors for information on this subject, the materials are ample. The younger Segneri has shewn that the same revolting relaxation of the marriage law has descended to the very artizans of Italy, and bitterly complains of the degeneracy that prevails.* It is the reformation, says D'Aubigné, which

* Segneri says—*Siamo arrivati a segno che ultimamente una povera artigiana tradando di accasarsi con uno staffiero, pretendeva con volto franco che nella scritta del matrimonio, se obbligasse lo sposo in forma autentica, di lasciarla tenere il suo servitor di onore, e di amore in quel modo appunto che lo han le donne.*—It means a working girl, at her marriage, took her betrothed husband, a groom, bound in writing, to allow her to keep a paramour, an adulterous attendant—exactly like the ladies. "Louis XIV. of France lived

through faith, has re-established the moral law in Christendom—a law that popery had trodden under foot.

12. THE PERSECUTING SPIRIT OF POPERY. ITS INDICES
EXPURGATORII.

Though we have but touched on the subject just adverted to, we must hasten away from it, and speak next of the persecuting spirit of Rome. It is a remarkable fact that St Peter's church, in that city, now occupies the spot which was occupied by Nero's gardens in ancient Rome. In those gardens, that tyrant was wont to immolate the first Christians, with circumstances of ineffable atrocity. They were covered with the skins of wild beasts, and worried to death by dogs—or they were besmeared and encrusted with combustible matter, and then burnt—for sport to the tyrant and his minions.

It is a mere coincidence, yet it is worth noticing, that Christians have often experienced at the hands of him who occupies St Peter's, what the first believers experienced in the gardens of Nero—wanton cruelties, persecution, and death. Let Cabrieres, and Merindoles, let the horrors of the Inquisition, let the blood of the saints shed in every land, and every age, attest the fact. We advert, however, only to what has been done in modern times, to prove that the modern Rome is the lineal descendant of the ancient. In the massacre of St Bartholomew's day, in the year 1572, 100,000 Protestants were butcher-

for many years in adultery. He burned, gibbeted, racked, or drove into exile, hundreds of thousands of his Protestant subjects; and that persecuting adulterer, a Popish bishop, Bossuet, thus eulogizes: *Epanchons nos cœurs sur la piété de Louis: poussons jusque au ciel nos acclamations.....vous avez exterminé les heretiques; c'est le digne ouvrage de votre signe; c'en est le propre caractere.*" See Whately on Romanism, p. 288, edit. of 1845.

ed in France. The Pope and Italy—a papist, Bonanni, tells us—were filled with joy by the news of that havoc, as they were thereby delivered from the fear that the Hugonot heresy would inundate Italy. The pontiff proceeded to St Peter's to offer thanks for the wholesale butchery. He ordered one of his painters to prepare a representation of the slaughter, and had a medal struck to commemorate the extinction of “the rebel Calvinists.” On that medal, the destroying angel carrying a cross in the one hand, and a sword in the other, is represented as slaughtering the Hugonots; and what Gregory XIII. thus commemorated, Gregory XVI. has sanctioned *by restamping the Medal*. We do not forget that some have tried to evade the force of this damaging fact—but their evasion avails them nothing. The man that utters base coin is condemned as well as the fabricator of it; and Gregory XVI. has both fabricated and uttered.

We do not advert to the persecuting laws still in force against the Jews—nor need we enter into any detail of the fiery spirit of popery—its determination to extinguish by the Inquisition, by the civil arm, by force, or craft, all that opposes itself to him whose idolators call him “*Vice-God*.” But to shew that popery hates and fears the light as much as ever, it may be mentioned, that not two years have elapsed since a meeting of British and other Christians, assembled for prayer in a private house in Rome, was craftily suppressed by the popish authorities. The prayers were, of course, in English—the English scriptures were read; but so offensive was even this to the religion of the Man of Sin, that it could not be endured. The meeting was suppressed, and the

spiritual midnight reigns again without a single star visible in the darkness.*

* See Sir C. E. Smith's *Romanism of Italy*. Consult with care Dr Kalley's harrowing pamphlet, *An Account of the Recent Persecutions in Madeira*. The following is an extract:—

“Some of the young women who fled from the soldiers were for three days in the brushwood, living on wild berries, and exposed to the heavy rain by night. One woman, whose husband was taken prisoner, left her house and bed to the soldiers, and slept with her three children in the open air, exposed to the rain; for she was told by the young woman mentioned above as having been violated, that the man who committed that crime was then billeted in her house. Though the eldest of her children was only four years old, and all were scantily clothed—for both their bed and body clothes were stolen—she chose to be with them, exposed to the elements, rather than in the power of the soldiers. A niece of Maria Joaquina's sister, who had been married about a year, and was far advanced in pregnancy, after her house had been completely racked, was obliged to seek safety by rushing through the furze, where even the soldiers did not dare to follow. During Tuesday and Wednesday, and Thursday, the soldiers were masters of the houses and goods of these guiltless people. They ordered fowls, sheep, pigs, and goats to be killed; sent wheat to the mill to be ground; compelled those who remained to supply them with wine, and to bake and cook for them; took away the title-deeds of property; destroyed much of what they could not eat; took whatever pleased them and could be conveyed away, and allowed the thieves from the adjoining country to carry off what they (the soldiers) could not appropriate to themselves. When any dared to remonstrate, they were answered with curses and blows, and those who were supposed to have valuables were threatened with the murder of their children, the burning of their houses, or violence to themselves, if they would not give them up. Three soldiers who were billeted in the house of Maria Joaquina's daughter on the Thursday, had a woman of the town with them, as was the case in almost every house where they were billeted. They demanded wine continually, killed all the fowls they could get hold of, and served themselves to every thing in and about the house. When I visited her on the ensuing Monday, along with the Hon. F. Scott, M. P., and another English gentleman, she shewed us a sack with a cut in it of about

And to render that darkness perennial, if that were possible, Rome adopts another device, characteristic of her cruel cunning. I refer to her system of emitting, from time to time, an *Index Expurgatorius*—a list of books which she prohibits all from reading, thus perpetuating ignorance, and hermetically sealing mind. In the native works of Italy, not a sentence can be published until it has undergone the most rigid censorship and supervision ; but as foreign literature might disturb the slumbers of its spiritual death, the pontifical government watches with a lynx's eye against its introduction. The system was begun by the Council of Trent, and has been maintained and improved on from that day to this.

three inches in length, and told us that, after having threatened to kill her child if she would not bring them more wine, one of the soldiers ran his knife into the sack, which was full of potatoes, and threatened, that unless she would get them wine immediately he would run his knife in the same way into her bowels. They also threatened, that unless she would bring them girls, they would lie with her. Although a very strong-minded woman, and anxious to remain for the protection of her property, she was at length compelled to flee, and leave her all in the hands of the soldiers. I may add, that when the officers and soldiers surrounded her house on the morning of the 24th, the first question put to her was, whether or not she was the daughter of the woman under sentence of death as a heretic? As the children were crying when they saw their father bound by the soldiers, she bade them not to cry, for their father would not go bound to heaven. 'Not to the heaven of Kalley,' said the officer, with a sneer. 'Heaven is not Kalley's,' she replied, 'but God's, and there will be no binding there.' Her husband was not near the school on the night when the officers came for Nicolau, and therefore cannot be retained on that charge ; but an accusation has been brought against him since his imprisonment for having said that it might be tried whether the images can do anything by cutting off a finger, and that in the event of their either bleeding or crying out, there would be some reason for supposing they could help. This crime is of course *blasphemy*."

Not a book can now issue from the press without incurring the risk of a stigma, single, double, or treble, according to its character. Booksellers are anathematized if they sell them. Men are anathematized if they read—and nothing remains for the Roman, but mutely to acquiesce in the sentence that dooms him to the Inquisition on the one hand, or premature mental imbecility on the other. “If any one shall read the prohibited books, let him be punished by his bishop, in addition to the guilt of mortal sin which he contracts.” It is interesting to find that Merle D’Aubigné, and our lamented townsman Dr M’Crie, have been thought worthy of a place in these Indices, as advocating principles, or just announcing facts, dangerous to the stability or disturbing to the repose of the Mother of abominations.

14. THE SECTARIANISM OF ROME. THE CONTRADICTIONS OF HER INFALLIBILITIES.

Farther: the Church of Rome boasts in the name of Catholic; and many Protestants, not adverting to the power of names over unthinking thousands, concede the claim. It is necessary therefore, in forming an estimate of the papal heresy, to point out its intense sectarianism, its perfectly anti-catholic character. In the apostle’s creed, we are taught to say, “I believe in the holy Catholic Church”—the church that comprehends all in every age, and every land, who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity and truth—who are taught by his Spirit, and subject to his laws. But what are the views held by Rome on this point? She remorselessly condemns to destruction all who do not own the pope as their head, and popery as their creed. Beyond her pale there is no salvation. In so many words—Boniface VIII. “declared, asserted,

defined, and pronounced, that it is necessary to salvation, for every human being to be subject to the pope of Rome." His priests take an oath to that effect—and in Rome at least, whatever may be said in Ireland, or England, or here—in *Rome* at least, the ministers of the pope assure you, without any ambiguity—that as a protestant, and most of all a presbyterian, you infallibly perish. Popery regards us, at this moment, as schismatics who are in rebellion against the pope and his claims—and in that condition excludes us from hope. Puseyism and it are, in this respect, truly "The mother and the daughter."

And yet, in this very church, whose dogmas we must receive or die, we find pope pitched against pope—the sentence of one overthrowing the sentence of another. For example, Leo X, three hundred years ago, pronounced the famous coat of Treves to be the genuine relic, the very vesture which the Saviour wore. About twenty places competed for the honour of possessing it, and Leo X. assigned it, I say, to one; but Gregory XVI, the present pontiff, has altered that award, and assigned it to another.* In the same way, Ganganelli abolished the order of the Jesuits in 1773; and that infallible pope decreed that "it should be for ever annulled and extinguished;" "the Company shall be, and is for ever extinguished and suppressed." "Our will and pleasure is," the words, remember, are those of an infallible man; "our will and pleasure is, that these, our letters, should be for ever, and to all eternity, valid, permanent, and efficacious,.....and be inviolably observed by all and every man." Such was the infallibility of 1773; but a change came over the papacy, and why

* See Edinburgh Review for Jan. 1846, p. 107.

should not infallibility be also changed when it served the interests of Rome? In 1814, Pius VII, as infallible a pope as Clement XIV, restored the Jesuits, quashed the words "for ever" and "all eternity" employed by his predecessor, and summoned into existence again "the Society of Jesus," which had been abolished as a nuisance, a hissing, and a loathing, at the demand of outraged and indignant Christendom.*

Now, this is the Catholic Church to which popery would compel us if it could to belong, and beyond the pale of which there is no hope, no salvation for sinners! Overlook, for a little, all the blood that she has shed, the wives whom she has made widows, the children whom she has rendered orphans, the fields which she has made white with the bleaching bones of her slain. Forget, if you can, the palpable spiritual midnight which Rome has spread over so large a portion of Europe and the world. Look just at the single fact, that we have infallibility against infallibility, pope against pope, and bull against bull; then say, is it not plain as if the archangel's trump proclaimed it, that such a church is no safe resting-place for the soul; that all who know the truth should pray for the downfall of Rome, and the delivery of her victims? In short, the words of the martyred Argyle deserve to be quoted again, as they have lately been, and not merely repeated, but printed on the heart and the conscience; we should live and "die with a heart-hatred of popery." It would be wrong to repeat what some of the reformers are said to have done,—take the consecrated wafer, affix it to a wall, and shoot at it; but the system which sanctions and perpetuates such impostures should be utterly put away.

* See Dr Duff's pamphlet on the Jesuits.

15. ROME'S HOSTILITY TO TRUE SCIENCE.

We are forced to the same conclusion when we advert to the science of Italy, and especially of Rome, although at so extensive a subject we can only glance. It is the remark of one of her own most gifted sons, that her science is "papaverica è bestiale,"—soporific and beastly; and it is an instructive fact to know, that the system of Galileo, or his discoveries which led to the true system of our world, are still condemned by the Jesuits as they were three centuries ago.* One of them has tried to prove, in spite of observation, experience, facts, and demonstrations, that the earth is stationary, and the sun revolving round it. It is thus that mind stagnates where religion is false. While all the world has been in progress, Italy has been benumbed, inert, and torpid. Her universities are deserted; Padua, for instance, does not now count so many hundred students as it once counted thousands; and the whole land is visibly oppressed by the incubus of its creed, and civil institutions based upon it. Travellers tell of the depressing effects on the whole human frame, when the simoom approaches. Lassitude, lethargy, and a suspension of all animal activity are the result; and similar are the effects produced on the soul and mind of Italy by the religious system that prevails in that unhappy country.

16. SERMONS IN ITALY AND ROME.

Nor do we arrive at a different result when we advert to the style of preaching that prevails in Italy, and especially in Rome, for at certain seasons, the people are freely addressed by priests and monks from the pulpit.

* North British Review, No. IV. p. 632.

We have listened to Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and other popish sects ; and from the Oration in the pope's chapel, with his holiness for a hearer, down to the extravagant fanaticism of the Franciscans, the whole is wisely adapted to promote the ends of their system. The Augustinians, I know not why, proclaim more of the truth than the other orders ; and in a course of lectures on the Epistle to the Philippians, we have heard statements made, far from being soundly scriptural, yet as evangelical as some of the sentiments which Melancthon avowed, in his nervous timidity, at the diet of Augsburg. In general, however, their preaching is peculiarly Romish. Their texts, read in Latin, are very frequently from the Apocrypha ; and, whether it be the regular clergy or some of the monks that officiate, God's simple plan of salvation is never announced, at least, we never heard it.

The following is a faithful translation of an "Invito Sagro," to induce the people to attend such services. It was issued by the Fraternity of Flagellants, under sanction of the pope, and shews how popery pervades even the hand-bills of Rome. The invitation, after announcing the place, the preacher, and the subject, says, "All the faithful of either sex are invited to avail themselves of so favourable an opportunity to lay up for themselves a treasure of merit in this life, by which each one will be afterwards accompanied to a happy, imperishable eternity in the next."*

Allured by this manifesto, we resorted to the church of

* This may seem a Protestant translation. The following is the original Italian. "Sono invitati tutti i fedeli dell' uno, è dell' altro sesso a prevalersi di sì favorevole incontro per prepararsi un tesoro di merità in questa vita, dai quali ciascuno sarà dipoi accompagnato alla beata, immarcescibile eternità nell' altra."

Santa Maria in Campo Carleo, and heard the Canon Prinzevalli preach. He prefaced his sermon by an oratorical introduction, designed to excite the curiosity of his hearers ; and judging from the preparations for listening made at the close of the exordium, the audience were determined not to lose a sand-grain of the promised "merits." Calm and sedate at first, the canon soon became bold and impassioned, as he rushed into his subject, which consisted mainly of an appeal to the audience to free their friends and the faithful from purgatory, by their largesses and their prayers. His description of that abode was as graphical as if the canon had visited it. There was no genius, and little thought, in the address ; yet on a people like the Italians, swayed by emotion rather than by principle, the effect was stirring. " Behind the faithful," the preacher said, " in that prison-house of fire, is fire ; before them is fire ; on their right hand is fire ; on their left is fire ; their canopy is fire ; the pavement which they tread is fire"—and all this was to be prolonged by the remissness of his hearers in giving, or in doing, for the emancipation of the departed souls.

All this, accompanied with much dramatic gesticulation, with appeals to the crucifix attached to the pulpit or gallery from which the preacher spoke, and in which he walked from side to side, addressing portion after portion of his hearers, produced considerable effect. A moment's glance at the truth of God was, indeed, like the touch of Ithuriel's spear to these appeals ; but on the warm-blooded and unreflecting Italians the effect was perceptible ; and in the hands of a man possessed of mental power, such doctrines must exercise a thoroughly enthralling influence. Let it be observed that Italian

preachers do not turn men's thoughts to spiritual things, which to the carnal mind are ever shadowy and unreal. It is to material objects; to human feelings, whether of joy or endurance. To a virgin mother carrying and caressing her child; to material fire agonizing the souls of much-loved kindred; to men and women called saints, and as easily comprehended even by the natural mind as the objects seen around us; in short, to the affairs and affections of earth men's attention is turned, and, with even a moderate degree of power, the preacher thus wields an influence over the mind which spiritual things never can possess upon the unconverted. Nothing but the grace of God could prevent an Italian mother from being carried away by the impassioned appeals, on principles exclusively earthly, which are often made on such occasions to the Virgin and her Child; and the loud outcry, "Viva Maria, viva Gesù," which sometimes breaks from a whole congregation when the preacher has concluded his address, tells distinctly the power which he has exercised over the audience around him. In a word, could human sympathies and earthly affections, so largely mixed up with popery, change men's hearts, the religion of Rome, displayed in its sermons, might lift them to heaven; as it is, the influence is earthly in its origin, and like water, it cannot rise higher than its fountain-head.

17. ROMISH PERVERSIONS OF THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM.

Though averse to prolong these illustrations, yet, as touching on a very vital point, I cannot but advert to the popish views regarding Regeneration. The Council of Trent has decreed, that "The law of baptism extends to all, insomuch that, unless they are regenerated

through the grace of baptism, be their parents Christians or infidels, they are born to eternal misery and everlasting destruction." Following up this revolting dogma, the ministers of Rome compass sea and land to perform the saving sacrament. It is a passport to heaven; the *sine quâ non* of admission there; and the following is the account given of baptisms performed by some missionaries of Rome among the heathen:—"For a long time," they report, "it was not possible to regenerate in the water of baptism, the children of infidels, except in some isolated places But of later years, this benefit has been extended in a most consolatory degree. Our missionaries have succeeded in rendering it general among the principal Christian congregations in Asia. We shall soon have much to do to reckon the young elect with which they will people heaven; even now the sum of those whom they have sent thither is sufficiently large to draw forth the gratitude and the admiration of our faith Figures are very affecting when they express a multitude of souls gained for the happiness of heaven." "The mission of Su-Tchuen," reports another, "continues its work of baptizing children in danger of death, and the Lord continues to bless it. Each year the number of those whom they regenerate goes on increasing.

" It was in 1839,	. . . . .	12,483
1840,	. . . . .	15,766
1841,	. . . . .	17,825
1842,	. . . . .	20,068
1843,	. . . . .	22,292
This year it amounts to	. . . . .	24,381"

Such are the numbers regenerated and prepared for heaven by an external rite, in one sphere, by the mission-

aries of Rome! They gravely calculate, that in the course of the year 1844, sixteen thousand seven hundred and sixty-three “winged their flight” to glory, after the charm or the incantation had been wrought! And how was it wrought? The report continues, “Our baptizing men and baptizing *women* accost the wretched parents in the gentle accents of compassion,.....giving often to the parents a few farthings,.....and they willingly allow our people to spill on the child’s forehead some drops of water, which they declare to be good for it, while, at the same time, they pronounce the sacramental words.”

Behold, then, the popish mode of regenerating sinners. It is “principally the business of the women.” “While they caress the child, they succeed in dropping on its forehead a little water out of a bottle concealed in their long wide sleeve,” and thus heaven is peopled by these “little angels,” not merely by a charm, but by stealth and fraud!* And this we repeat, is another of the delusions which Rome practises on the nations. It is thus that she turns the work of the Spirit into a senseless ceremony, and evacuates the truth of God by her baseless traditions. No doubt, she believes them to be true, at least the more simple-minded of her members do; but we know who hath said, and said of this very Popery, “They received not the love of the truth that they might be saved, and for this cause, God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie.” (2 Thess. ii. 10, 11). Before we can believe such a system, we must “betray the truth, renounce our senses and reason, wound our consciences, dishonour God in his holy word and sacraments, pervert the doctrine of the gos-

* See Christian Treasury, vol. i. pp. 568, 596.

pel as to Christ's satisfaction, intercession and remission of sins, depriving the people of the means of salvation which God himself hath appointed and.....damning those for whom Christ died."* There is just this difference between Rome and us. She says, "The Church or the Sacraments save." We say, "Christ saves,"—and who that has access to the Bible can doubt which of the two is from God?

But it is needless to expatiate longer on such corruptions, to catalogue the relics, or advert to the ever-recurring miracles of Rome. They shew in that city, the table on which the Last Supper was spread. They pretend to possess the pillar which served as a perch to the cock which crew when Peter was convinced of his sin. They shew a handkerchief with which the Saviour wiped his brow on his way to the cross, and left his image indelibly stamped on it. Delicacy forbids us to enumerate the various relics of the virgin spread over Italy. Priests and people are alike bent on upholding this system, and when beholding the homage paid to such things, one understands the meaning of the priest who said, "Populus vult decipi et decipiatur." But as if these were not enough, new prodigies are from time to time occurring. At Ancona, for example, an image of the virgin was lately seen to move its eyes. The Cardinal issues a pastoral in praise of the Madonna, and the deluded people prostrate themselves in multitudes before the idol. *Some* of the sons of Italy deplore their deep degradation, yet when they try to hope for deliverance, their heart, they tell us, sinks within them. Enter one of their churches, say St Peter's, on a high festival, for example, or Christmas day! See there the pompous and imposing cere-

* Stillingfleet.

monial, when the pope is high priest, and princes and princesses among the worshippers. While he prepares the "broaden god," the wafer, the host, there is breathless silence among the thousands that are there; you think you hear the heart beat, all around you are so still, and were principle not staunch, the superstition would infect you.* When the bugle peels the note which tells the worshippers in that majestic edifice that the idolatry is complete, and that the god to be worshipped has been created by the worshipper, then the prostration and abject abasement that follow from prince and cardinal down to pauper, proclaim how deeply the superstition is rooted, how complete is the triumph of error over truth. Or pass to the Coliseum, that stupendous monument of the passion of ancient Rome for blood—see there the ceremony of the *Via Crucis*, an imitation of the different stages and incidents of Christ's walk from judgment to Calvary. Look at the prostration, the fanaticism, the tears; listen to the sobs of the worshippers in that mimic tragedy; and then understand again, how popery has twined itself round the fibres of the Italian heart, so that only Omnipotence can untwine it. Or enter any of the churches on the day of its patron saint—let it be a church of the Virgin. Her image is carried in procession, the infant Saviour in her arms. The streets are strewed with garlands. The windows along the line of the procession, are hung with damask crimson cloths and richest silks. The pillars

* Any one that has been in these circumstances can enter into the following account:—"All the assembly knelt with the Emperor Charles V., in the Cathedral of Augsburg; the Elector, and the Landgrave (as Protestants) alone remained standing.....The Margrave of Brandenburgh, carried away by the crowd, had fallen on his knees, but having seen his two allies standing, he hastily rose up again."—*D'Aubigné*.

of the church are decorated with festoons and gorgeous drapery. Music—Italian music—lends all its charms. Clouds of incense float upward and around you. Veiled nuns and cowed monks, cardinals, patriarchs, and priests swell the crowd; and all that can impose on man's senses is grouped beneath that roof. Every thing in short, but food for the soul and light for the spiritual eye is there; and O how deeply does all that fasten on the sensuous mind of the Italian—how irresistible indeed, must be the grace which makes a papist a Christian, a man of God, —a converted, holy man.

18. AN EXCOMMUNICATION.

Only one instance more do we give of the tremendous power of popery over a superstitious and emotive people. It sometimes happens, that monks abandon their convents and priests break their vows, and the treatment of these “apostates” is another of the proofs that Popery owes its origin to something more subtle than man. On Palm Sunday every year, in certain of the convents, “apostates” are anathematized, and the ceremony is as follows:—A black cross, with a white one represented in the centre, is extended on the floor of the church, where all the seats are hung with black. The candles on the altar are extinguished. The superior puts on a purple cap, and recites certain Psalms (civ. xc. xl.), in a deep sepulchral tone, to which the monks slowly respond, as though their hearts were frozen with horror. The superior has hitherto held in his hand a torch, the only light in the church, and at the

* In this hasty sketch we have not been able to advert to the ceremony of carrying the host to the dying, and others of a similar kind.

conclusion of the last psalm, he suddenly dashes it to the ground, accompanying the action with the words, "Fiat, Fiat," "So let it be,"—an emblem of the apostate's doom. The horror of those present, excited by the priestly pantomime, has now reached its acmé, and he must be a bold spirit whose hopes of escape from the thralldom of such a system, would not be extinguished with the extinguished torch. The excommunicated is for ever an execrable thing,—bell, book, and candle have done their worst against him. The pope at one period was wont to subscribe his anathemas with a pen dipped in the "cup in which he adored the blood of Christ." The stoutest hearts often quailed before such a dread anathema, and nothing but the grace and Spirit of God could nerve any one, especially an excitable Italian, to brave the excommunication thus launched against him by the superior of his order.*

THE CONCLUSION.

When we glance, then, at these and similar features of the Romish system, and regard them in the light of scripture, the very heart cries out, "How long, O Lord, how long." Under this Satanic sway, Italy, the fairest portion of Europe, contains the most abject and dispirited people. Its very nobles are often content to live as paupers, and one of them, more daring and independent than the rest, in the view of all this, describes Italy as fetid and dead—*foetida è morta*. The Italians, are "divided, weak, degraded slaves"—*divisi, deboli, aviliti è servi*;† and why this deep degradation? Let Popery

* See Ciocci's *Narrative of Iniquities and Barbarities, practised at Rome*, pp. 176-179.

† Alfieri.

reply. As in Spain, as in unhappy Ireland, the bounties of a teeming soil are more than counteracted by their spiritual privations. The truth is corrupted, and all else is corrupted with it. Society is either priest-ridden or infidel, the latter perhaps an increasing class—the natural result of spiritual despotism among thinking men.* There is an under current of reaction going on, for though men tremble to speak out so watchful are the spies, they yet clamour for a change. “Only give us a change—we cannot be worse,” is the sentiment we have heard in Rome—followed up by another, “People begin to think like men, and not like beasts;” and though these were the utterances of restless, not religious spirits, they indicate to some extent the bent of the popular mind. Were it possible for the discontent which prevails in some of the convents to combine with that of the populace, the results would end in change, a change that might prove revolutionary and bloody.†

And now, finally—what would be the effects were the gospel to be freely preached in Rome, say only for a year? Were its 150,000 inhabitants invited to hear of Christ crucified as the only mediator between God and man; and just told, that in Christ they might be instantly complete,—that his blood cleanseth from all sin—that he, and not a priest, nor the church, is the Saviour,—

* “Force, together with fraud, the two great engines for the support of the papal dominion, have almost annihilated sincere belief in Christianity, among the educated classes throughout a great portion of Europe.”—*Dr Whately*.

† I am a Protestant said an intelligent Roman, a doctor in the civil law, when conversing on this subject—because I protest against all the abuses and all the superstition found in Rome. Yet Dr — was a Romanist.

that the Holy Spirit, and not baptism, regenerates—what a revulsion—what a new revelation! In truth, Rome needs to be converted to Christianity at this hour, as much as when Paul lived there in his own hired house—and the preaching of the gospel is the only instrument that can sweep away its idolatry. There would be a struggle, now as of old, when Luther rose to dare the pope, and burned his bull; but in the end, the truth of God, charged with God's omnipotence, and blessed by God's Spirit, would prevail.

THE FUTURE PROSPECTS OF ITALY.

It is to be confessed that these prospects are at present dark and discouraging. The friends of the spiritual freedom of Italy may well be cast down, if they are not in despair. Its disease is organic—no superficial treatment will effect a cure. The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint; and unless the evil be extirpated, the whole system will perish. We look on Rome as we look on man utterly sunk in sin—nothing but conversion will save him; and Italy, we repeat, needs to be converted as much as in the days of Paul. The national frivolity, or want of fixedness of character, renders the prospect yet more gloomy, because the materials are unpromising. At the same time, we have to confess that no efforts have yet been made for the *Christian* regeneration of Italy. Examine the reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society, of the London Missionary, or any other Christian institute, and not one sentence tells, or even hints, of efforts made for Italy. No doubt, the lynx-eyed ministers of the pope are sleepless in guarding it against what they reckon aggres-

sion, and that lovely land is hermetically sealed against those who wish it best. But can we not blazon our interest in Italy, in Britain, in America, in Switzerland, in France? The sound of our sympathy will be wafted across the Alps. The thought of our co-operation may cheer some drooping spirit—may prompt inquiry—and inquiry would be a mine driven under the papal system. There are Christians in America, thus employed—and the pope has warned his subjects against these efforts. A Christian Alliance has been formed in New York, whose object is to do good to Italy. Its members have published an Address, and measures are in train, which we pray the Lord to bless. The pope has taken the alarm, and denounced the “alliance ;” but we cherish the hope that it betokens the dawning of a brighter day for Italy.*

But in addition to this, we would mention other grounds of encouragement regarding Italy. We see the distant cloud that is to bring it refreshing only like the hand of a man ; but Jehovah does not despise the day of small things, and neither should we.

1. GROUND OF HOPE FOR ITALY.

First, then, as a ground of hope for Italy, we mention what has *already* happened there. We have glanced at the influence which the Reformation exerted. We have seen, that in all its chief cities, from the base of the Alps to that of Vesuvius and Etna, the truth had many adherents—even Rome supplied confessors and martyrs to the cause. At this very hour, the pope prohibits the publishing or reading of every book that bears on that subject—aware that it would open men’s eyes,

* See Appendix B.

and feed their passion for freedom. Now, from the past history of Italy, and from the pope's present watchfulness, we may derive hope for the future, for what has been already may, in providence, be again. Sooner than we suppose, some opening may occur—some chink be found, at which light may break in—and before the light of God's truth, the tiara would tremble on the brow of his holiness. The versatile nature of the Italians—the want of any master-mind to unite and guide them—the presence of Swiss and Austrian troops, together with the existent political alliances of Europe, may render the prospect of Italy's spiritual emancipation remote. But mighty changes are in progress. The Continent is not now what it was twenty—nay, it is not what it was ten years ago: whether for good or for ill, all are in progress. The volcano is slumbering; but the fermenting pyrites give premonitions of coming throes, and who shall tell the result? Be it ours to use means, and wait in faith the working of Him who “sees the end from the beginning,” and “doeth all things well.” “He that shall come, will come, and will not tarry.”*

* The subjoined extract will give force to the remarks in the text.

“The influence of Geneva extends still farther in Italy. That city has the honour of numbering among its citizens the descendants of illustrious families of Lucca, Pisa, and Bologna, who, preferring the worship of the God of truth to honours and riches, left all to follow the Reformation. In our days, the active commerce of the Genevese has formed Protestant colonies in all the industrious cities of Italy, and into all of these they have endeavoured to introduce their worship. Some Genevese ministers conveyed joy to these small congregations, when, in their voyages, they performed divine service in the bosom of pious families. At Leghorn, the Genevese were united to the English flock; and when the hatred of the French government expelled all the English from Italy, the English preacher has continued to be paid by the Genevese colony alone. At Genoa and at Naples, a subscription was

2. ANOTHER GROUND OF HOPE.

Another ground of hope for unhappy Italy is, that amid countless corruptions of the truth of God, she still holds *some* portions, though but fragments, of what inspired men have recorded. Paul rejoiced that Christ was preached at Rome, even of contention. The proclamation of his name was like rearing a tower of strength for all that would run into it. Now, Christ's *name* is known in Italy. Though his doctrines be obscured—though his saints have been martyred and massacred in thousands by the abettors of the dominant system, who can

opened in the colony to establish a Genevese minister. At Naples, the minister was just about to be installed, when the war put an end to the whole business. There is likewise a proposal to establish at Corfu a Protestant church, with a Genevese minister. If the governments of the south do not forget that they owe their re-establishment to England—if they do not make a duty of intolerance—the time will perhaps come, when a chain of Protestant churches will extend through all the cities of Italy, as far as Greece; and those who serve in these churches will necessarily be taken from Geneva. We are assured, that in England it has been proposed, by some religious men, who are zealous for the propagation of Protestantism, to begin a subscription, and form a fund in favour of a certain number of Italians, Vaudois, and French, who should come to study at Geneva, and fit themselves there for the holy ministry, that they might afterwards diffuse and maintain the light of the Gospel in Catholic countries. If that project is carried into execution, it will only be the revival of an ancient institution, which the Revolution alone destroyed. The republic of Geneva had instituted a certain number of burses in favour of the Hungarians, and an equal number in favour of the Vaudois. Some students chosen by these foreign Churches have been supported during the four or six years which they devoted to theology and to preparatory studies. At the end of that time they returned to their native country, and carried into the hereditary states of Austria and Sardinia the lights of religion, which their monarchs would not permit them to acquire at home.”—*Considerations on Geneva*, by J. C. L. Sismonde de Sismondi; quoted by Dr M'Crie.

doubt that the church of Pascal and à Kempis may contain Christians in it? They build wood, hay, stubble, on the great foundation; but as that foundation is known to some, let it be farther discovered—let its stability and divine origin be made known; in other words, let the gospel—the religion of God, as distinct from the religion of popery, be preached, and a nation may be born in a brief period. We repeat, and again repeat, our conviction, that, so unsatisfying is all that popery can present to the earnest soul or the awakened conscience, that if the real source of satisfaction were opened, sinners, now in the spirit of bondage, would hail the gospel and its freedom with an avidity seldom witnessed among us. The blank—the utter destitution of all that can either cleanse or satisfy conscience, which characterizes Romanism, would urge many of its victims to welcome with joy the dawning of a happier system based on a heavenly faith. Devotion to the papacy generates a false conscience in the papist. Let men be disabused, and the true conscience will speak out for him who is its only Lord.

And as we have already mentioned, we find in the pretensions of the pope to infallibility, some additional reasons for hope regarding Italy. We have seen pope pitched against pope—edict against edict, and one infallible decree hurled against another; and the history of such doings in the Church of Rome form an instructive, though a humbling lesson. Now, in consequence of this arrogant claim, Rome will at last be caught in her own net. All that her head does is infallible. As pope he cannot err. But pope opposes pope; the one or the other, therefore, must be wrong, and when the claim to infallibility is withdrawn, or even modified, the system of popery will be rent in twain. Ignorance, political alliances, in-

differentism, may support that claim for a little longer ; but outraged reason will at length reclaim, and the first concession wrung from Rome will be the edge of the wedge that will destroy her spiritual despotism—alter one clause in her creed, and the talisman is broken.* It has been reckoned providential, that the gigantic system of Hinduism is all religious ; its very science is a part of its creed. Disprove the one, and you overthrow the other. We take the same view of the boasted infallibility of the popes.

3. A THIRD ENCOURAGEMENT.

And farther, we find another ground of hope in the present rise and aggressive attitude of the papacy. If we may judge by its “great swelling words of vanity,” the world is soon to be all its own, for sovereign and subject, heretic and heathen, are fast submitting to its sway. But who does not see that all this is fastening the eye of Christendom with a keener gaze on Rome herself? The question is stirred, Who is she that would thus become the spiritual empress of Christendom? What is her past history? What has she done, what is she doing for the souls and the bodies of men? Has not a reaction against her machinations thus already commenced? Are not alliances formed in America, England, Scotland, and elsewhere, for checking her progress and refuting her pretensions? Too long have the Protestant nations been passive. They must now be aggressive ; and they are becoming so. Were it only in self-defence, we should invade with spiritual weapons the dominions of him

* See Whately's *Errors of Romanism*, &c. p. 207.

who has already invaded us.* Persecution may arise; and when was the truth ever planted in our world without struggles—struggles even unto death? But the result is sure; of popery it is expressly predicted, that “the Lord shall consume it with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy it with the brightness of his coming,” (2 Thess. ii. 8). We ought to give heed to that sure word of prophecy, and, cheered by the hope which it fosters, we should labour and pray for the ruin of Rome. Romanists we are to love—their spiritual slavery we are to pity—their spiritual wants relieve. Their souls should be precious to us, just in proportion to the dismal vassalage in which they live; but while we pity, pray for, and love the men, we are to disown the system, and labour for its overthrow.

As long as it was inoffensive, or at least non-aggressive, popery might be endured; but since it has assumed the attitude of an assailant, or even of a victor, it must be bravely met. And what should be our weapons? The prophecy I have quoted contains the answer,—the Spirit of God’s mouth—HIS WORD. The movements now prevalent in Germany may tend to weaken popery there; but in as far as I understand the principles of John Rongé

* In the “*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*,” for May 1845, we find the following under the head—Scotland—

“ Contributed from Northern district,	.	£46	0	0
“ Eastern do.	.	59	9	5
“ Western do.	.	18	11	1
		<hr/>		
		£114	0	6”

Under the head “Distribution of the Alms among the different Missions,” we find the following :—

- “ To Bishop Carruthers, Vicar-Apostolic of Edin, 39,000 francs.
- To Bishop Scott, Vicar-Apostolic of the West, 54,000 francs.
- To Bishop Kile, Vicar-Apostolic of the North, 31,000 francs.”

and his friends, they have not yet even drawn the weapon which is to secure the victory. It is not human reason,—it is not German rationalism that can conquer Rome. The Apocalyptic beast laughs at these, like behemoth at a straw. It is the sword of the Spirit, the word of God that alone can overthrow it. John Czerski is nearer the truth than Rongé; nay, judging from his words, he knows the truth; and were one like Czerski to arise in Italy, hope might be cherished. “Hear it, O Pope! and ye Romish clergy, ye blind leaders of the blind, I declare myself free from the banner of your unchristian hierarchy, *that I may henceforth live and teach the pure gospel, such as Christ himself proclaimed it to the world.* You will hurl your excommunicating thunderbolt at my head; you may even prepare for me your burning piles, and forge your chains as of old; but here I take my stand, and must abide whatever may befall me. May God be my helper! Amen.”* Such are the sentiments which God will own; but all that has yet been done, is only “the blow of a child, without force, without energy of purpose, or right direction.”† There must be something more scriptural—more heavenly in its origin, ere even the hope of victory be cherished; and I say again, that for the coming of this we should pray, use means, and faint not. If, however, Czerski, or any other, fall away from the simple gospel, Rome will eventually suppress him.

4. OTHER MOTIVES TO LABOUR FOR ITALY.

Men are now so accustomed to look on popery with a benignant eye, that they regard the perils connected with its growth and progress as the creations of a per-

* Czerski's “Justification,” issued by himself in 1844.

† Edinburgh Review, *ubi supra*, p. 125.

secuting spirit on the one hand, or of bigoted ignorance on the other. They know not what they do ; but one thing is plain : we have in this country a large antipopish party yet to construct. The materials exist—the mind and will exist, we need only a channel in which to combine, and along which to co-operate. Whether that shall be by an “Evangelical Alliance,” or some other means, God knoweth ; but this is certain—the means *must* be devised—the measures must be adopted. We do not argue thus because we have any fear that the truth will be put down. It is God’s, and will prevail ; but it will triumph by the blessing of his own Spirit on the endeavours of his people. A modern statesman, some years ago, gave himself, heart, and soul, and hand, to the construction of a party strong enough to resist what he reckoned danger to the State—he constructed it, and triumphed. Now, the children of this generation are wise, and the children of light must learn from them. If they do not, they themselves will suffer, though the truth of God should triumph. The antipopish cause still wants a leader—a man of power great enough, and grasp wide enough, to concentrate, under God, the energies which are at present sparse and enfeebled. But the times will make the man—a little more popish persecution, and the heat will develop energy. No doubt, in raising up and consolidating a strong antipopish party, we have many difficulties to encounter.* Like Cassandra, we prophesy, but men will not regard, for even the Protestant nations are wondering after the beast, because they blindly think that the lion has become a lamb—the tiger

* One sees ground for hope in the fact, that near 200,000 copies of such a work as D’Aubigné’s History of the Reformation, are in circulation in the English language.

lost its appetite for human blood. But looking at Rome in the light of history—contemplating her character, not as described by her own mincing and ambiguous utterances, at a time when “it is not expedient to persecute,” but as it is recorded in her standard books, sanctioned by infallibility, we must regard it as unchanged and unchangeable in its purpose to make war against the saints. Convinced of this, we must boldly face the antagonist of really Catholic Christendom, and try, like Oliver Cromwell, to “unite the Protestant world of struggling light against the Popish world of potent darkness.” Protestants, in short, must *be* Protestants; and *if* men still believe a lie in spite of inspired scripture and universal history, experience will convince them of their fatal delusion, when the papacy has again become what it hopes speedily to be—the dictatress of Britain, and therefore of the world.*

Were men really rational in religion, we could cherish more hope for Italy; but men are not rational till the Spirit of God render them so. They will believe as their fathers believed, or reject as their fathers rejected, without inquiry and without meditation. But the present aggressions of Rome will compel men to think; and hence our hope. Not in science, not in philosophy, the

* The following announcement would at one period have provoked a smile;—it is now symptomatic of growing boldness in the friends of the rising superstition.

“The Archbishops of Rouen, Toulouse, and Bordeaux, and the Bishops of Troyes, La Rochelle, Chalons, Bayeux, Mans, and Metz, have responded to the appeal of Dr Wiseman, and ordered public prayers and Novenas (superstitious ceremonies of nine days’ duration) for the reconversion of England to Catholicism.” We are safe from their prayers; but the truth may yet have to close in a deadly struggle with the superstition which dictates Novenas, and similar pomps, to influence the councils of the Eternal.

arts, or literature; but in God's simple truth, earnestly believed as his Spirit teaches, do we see the bolt that is to shiver the system of which Rome is the heart. The gospel, and nothing but the gospel, can do good to Italy. Men may struggle for political freedom apart from spiritual, but they will lie down in sorrow at the last—they hold the sword by the point, and fight only with the hilt, while they neglect Jehovah's panacea for the healing of the nations. It is perhaps not too much to say, that had the men whose blood was lately shed in Italy for political movements, been shed as the blood of martyrs to Christ's truth, and Italy's spiritual freedom, that "land of the sun," and of a thousand associations, might have been at this hour on the eve of a religious Reformation.

5. THE PROSPECTS OF A STRUGGLE. CONCLUSION.

Before that be accomplished, however, there is most probably some strong struggle before us. No great truth ever was rooted in the minds of men, or rendered influential in the world, without a controversy attending it. Man's soul is under the dominion of the father of lies, and the strong man armed keeps his house both by craftiness and power. Accordingly, when the God of truth seeks to lodge it in the heart and the soul, there is an instant conflict and recoil produced. The law in human nature which occasions this state of things, is just as constant in its operation as the laws which regulate the material world. Men who are not acquainted either with the sinful heart of man, or the holy truth of God, think that the two can coalesce, harmonize, or even cooperate without any jarring or recoil. But as well expect the thunder to roll without producing reverberation, or the lightning to strike with its resistless power

without causing devastation and death, as expect the truth of God to take possession of our world without an eager controversy, or even convulsion. Hence such phrases in scripture as the following: "Marvel not though the world hate you." "If any man will live godly, he shall suffer persecution." "I came not to send peace on earth, but a sword." "A man's enemies shall be they of his own house." In conformity with this, it is a maxim to which I know not a single exception,—there never was a great truth established in this world, or revived after it had been neglected and cast out, without producing controversy, dispeace, persecution.

But appeal to examples. When the Lord Jesus was here, he came as the "Prince of peace." The announcement of his birth was accompanied with this proclamation, "Peace on earth, and good will to the children of men," and how was he received? Did men hail him as the beneficent One, who had omnipotence in his arm, infinite love in his heart, heaven ready to gift away? Read his prophetic history in the 53d chapter of Isaiah, and it will tell. Hear his countrymen shouting, "Away with him, away with him! crucify him, crucify him!" and that will work farther conviction. See him dying amid agonies which will never be told, as an object of execration to the Jews, and that will complete the proof. Men's hearts were literally on fire against him and his truth; and as we read his wondrous story, we can liken it to nothing but heaven and hell in visible conflict.

Or pass over fifteen centuries, and come down to the time of the Reformation. One bold man is raised up to disinter God's truth, and hold it up again for the regeneration of the nations. As Jesus came forth from the grave when the appointed morning arrived, his truth is

brought forth from the tomb where it had been buried for ages. The gospel, the good news, the story of peace, was proclaimed again to dying, yet immortal men ; and what was the result ? Did men act now differently from Pontius Pilate the Roman governor, or Nero and Trajan, the Roman emperors, or Pliny the Roman philosopher ? On the contrary, popery and its powers did now, what paganism and its abettors had done before. The truth was hated, persecuted, and had it been possible, it would have been drowned in the blood, or buried below the ashes of its friends. The carnal heart cannot love the truth ; it must be changed first ; and to expect that the unrenewed heart can love or welcome it, is just to contradict the word of the Eternal. It will be the same in our day ; and the whole armour of God must therefore be put on if we would triumph over Popery.

But the set time *will* come. When commissioned by the king of kings, feeble agents may accomplish mighty results, (1 Cor. i. 27, 28). The hosts of Midian fled before a handful of men. The walls of Jericho fell at the blast of rude trumpets, because they were, in fact, the blasts of the terrible One. That lovely land, whose condition we have been studying, is like one vast battlefield—from north to south, and east to west, scarce a plain in Italy that has not been wet with the blood of thousands. From Romulus to Bonaparte, it has been the highest prize of mad ambition, the keenest aspiration of the lust of power to be master of Italy. The soldiers of Christ should shew a similar heroism, from a nobler principle, for a nobler end ; for let Italy become Christian, and the world's conversion draweth nigh. Popery stands at this hour the antagonist of the Catholic religion, and could the men of Italy be made the allies,

not the enemies, of scriptural catholicity, hope might be cherished for the world.* We know that Luther and John Craig, and other Reformers, were helped to embrace the truth, by the errors and corruptions which they beheld at Rome; and could we, in a bold, yet Christian spirit, call attention to Popery as it is—unchanged and unchangeable, essentially similar results might be realized far and wide among men.

And be incited at least to pray for Italy's spiritual emancipation, by forming a right estimate of its religion. When we first went to sojourn in popish lands, we went under the impression that protestantism might have exaggerated the ills of popery. We hoped against hope, and tried to find, that the way to God's favour through Christ was more open to Romanists than Protestants suppose. But that hope soon vanished away; and the result of much study, we would thus announce:—midnight, and mid-day, are not more opposed than the doctrines of popery to the gospel of Jesus Christ. Study these doctrines among the cool, temperate, and sagacious Dutch. See them developed in many-minded Germany. Examine them as they appear in the old popish Cantons of Switzerland, Lucerne, Uri and Unterwald—rude, bigoted, and exclusive. Contemplate them among the volatile French and the passionate Italians. Finally, look at them as they appear in some of the islands in the Mediterranean, for example, in Sicily; and everywhere popery appears as a grand corruption of the simple gospel, everywhere the conclusion is forced upon you, that “the spirit of Romanism is substantially the

* See Address, by the American “Alliance,” reprinted in Sir C. E. Smith's *Romanism of Italy*, 2d edit. An extract is given in Appendix B.

spirit of human nature.”* The sad and melancholy conviction that is fastened in the mind, is this—the Romanists who are followers of Jesus Christ in spirit and in truth, follow him in spite of their religion, not by its guidance. *They* will be saved yet, so as by fire. The wood, and hay, and stubble, which they build on the only foundation, will all be consumed.

But to deepen if possible the impression of all this, we remark that, to a Christian acquainted with the religion which the Holy Spirit plants in the soul, according to the scriptures, no aspect of popery occasions greater pain than its baneful influence on a soul convinced of sin. That is the Spirit’s first work in bringing the sinner to the only Mediator between God and man; and no doubt, such conviction is produced in many cases even where popery keeps the soul in darkness. Now, let the Christian think of the woe and tribulation which must agitate a soul convinced of sin, where popery reigns unchallenged and supreme. That soul feels itself in the grasp of a law which it can neither satisfy nor evade. Each remembered sin is a new witness against the sinner. Conscience and the law of God demand his condemnation. The lulling influence of popery is at an end. Its spell is broken—it is God, and not man, that is now dealing with the soul. Even in lands of gospel light it is often a sore struggle, and days, or weeks,

* Archbishop Whately. He has developed this idea with great force and clearness in his work, *Essays on the Errors of Romanism*. The same view of popery is elucidated in a sermon by Dr Chalmers, on Matt. vii. 3-5, Works, vol. xi. One explanation of the continued power and prevalence of popery is, that it is just Christianity lowered, to meet the corrupt state of man. It is not religion exalting human nature, but human nature debasing religion.

or months of mental anguish roll away ere the self-righteous sinner will consent to become a tranquil believer ; and how much more must this be the case where all is spiritual darkness and death ? There is no light there on the soul but that which gleams from the burning eye of Jehovah, from whose intolerable glance nothing can hide it. Luther's struggles in his cell give us a glimpse of the agony of such souls in popish lands, and there if ever the words are charged with deepest meaning, " The arrows of the Almighty are within me ; the poison whereof drinketh up my spirit, the terrors of God do set themselves in array against me," (Job vi. 14).

Now, in such a case, " to which of the saints will a man turn ?" Is there aught in the gorgeous rites or the pantomimic ceremonies of Rome to minister to such a mind ? Aught to answer the question, how shall man be just before his God ? Aught to set the sinner free from the haunting dread of condemnation ? Will the exhibition of an image of the Virgin, or of a fragment of her veil, or of a thorn of Christ's crown, or the foot of one saint, the head of another, the tooth of a third, the pairing of the nails of a fourth—soothe that troubled soul ? There is much to blind and to lull it, plenty of untempered mortar—enough, and more, if charms could either atone for the guilt, or wash away the pollution of sin. But to meet the demands of God's law, to purify man's conscience, and bring him nigh to God, popery as it exists at Rome, uncorrected by the proximity of Protestantism, has nothing, absolutely nothing. Like its own catacombs, it is a dark, dreary, lifeless maze ; it is a spiritual Zahara where all is death ; and we know not where to find a stronger argument than this, to induce the intelligent Christian to labour and

to pray for the downfall of popery. In its ruin, we believe, is involved the well-being of the world.

But if popery as a system be so deceptive, or unreasonable, how do you explain the fact that so many in our enlightened age are returning to its pale? How does it happen that doctors in Oxford, and dukes in Brunswick, and Protestants in every land, are hastening to adopt the faith which you reckon so false?

We reply, in general, that our surprise is not that so many, but that so few return to the faith of Rome. It and Puseyism its twin, are just the Christianity of the unconverted human heart, or the religion of Jesus so compounded with other elements as to adapt it to fallen human nature, and render it acceptable without the power of the Spirit of God, without any effort, and almost without responsibility on the part of the recipient. Popery has been called the religion of the senses, as opposed to the religion of the spirit, and all who comprehend the distinction will have no difficulty in explaining why so many should return to Rome. Sensuous men must have a sensuous religion, and popery supplies all that such men desire.

But we reply next, that few men exercise their reason in religion. They do not think. They do not inquire. They just adopt what was handed down from their fathers, as they inherit their property or names—their faith is hereditary or ancestral, not spiritual and divine. Now, strong as is the principle of devotion to ancestors, there are stronger principles in the heart of man, and when the latter are brought to bear on him, the former gives way. Popery supersedes the necessity of all inquiry; nay, according to it, inquiry in religion is akin to heresy. Implicit faith, not in Christ, but in the

church—the church which claims to be apostolic, catholic, one—takes the place of every other principle, and thus man's spiritual indolence or indifference is gratified, while at the same time his conscience is lulled. He finds a place of rest which supersedes all inquiry and saves all trouble, and though his haven be in the Dead Sea, enough to the unawakened conscience if it be a haven at all.

Or another explanation of the present popish conversions, is found in the captivating pretensions of the papacy regarding the soul. On this head, it is enough to quote the following sentences from the “Reasons which induced the Duke of Brunswick to embrace the Roman Catholic Religion.” That work is recommended by popish authority in this country, and the concluding “Reason” of the royal convert is thus announced: “The Catholics, to whom I spoke concerning my conversion, assured me, that if I were to be damned for embracing the Catholic faith, they were ready to answer for me at the day of judgment, and to take my damnation upon themselves—an assurance I could never extort from the ministers of any sect, in case I should live and die in their religion.” Now, monstrous as this tenet is, it is thus that the priests of Rome, like the crucifiers of Christ, take on themselves the responsibility of saving or destroying souls; and who will marvel though sensuous, unconverted men, be found rushing in crowds towards a system so safe, compliant, and alluring?

And let it not be forgotten, that we ourselves dwell in the near neighbourhood of popery. I do not advert to its present rise and progress, but speak rather of that popery which is native to the human heart, and which, unless guarded and prayed against, must lead to results

as ruinous to us individually, as the errors of Rome to the men that imbibe them. Instead of indulging self-gratulation, let us rather urge forward the work of self-scrutiny. We are *Protestants*. Do our lives legibly protest against all that is opposed to the word and mind of God? We profess to seek the downfall of the spiritual tyranny of Rome — have we no favourite — no friend from whom we take our religious opinions, as the papist from his priest? We belong to the Christian Church, and wear the Christian name — are we not in danger of confiding in that — not in Christ — the church's head? We enjoy many privileges — many means of grace? — Is there no risk of our substituting these for the end, Christ? Be not high-minded, but fear. There are Protestants among the Papists of Italy — may there not be Papists among the Protestants of Britain?

 APPENDIX A.

(Page 264.)

The following extract exhibits the true spirit of popery, as it was, as it is, and must ever be, until it be utterly destroyed.

“ The Waldensian colony in Calabria Citeriore had increased in the sixteenth century to four thousand persons, who possessed two towns, Santo Xisto, belonging to the Duke of Montalto, and La Guardia, situate on the sea-coast. Cut off from intercourse with their brethren of the same faith, and destitute of the means of education for their pastors, this simple people, at the same time that they observed their own forms of worship, had gradually become habituated to attend on mass, without which they found it difficult to maintain a friendly intercourse with the original inhabitants of the place. Their curiosity was awakened by hearing that a doctrine bearing a strong affinity to that of their fathers was propagated in Italy; they eagerly sought to become acquainted

with it, and being convinced that they had erred hitherto in countenancing the popish worship, they applied to their brethren in the valleys of Pragela, and to the ministers of Geneva, to obtain teachers who should instruct them more perfectly, and organize their churches after the scripture pattern.*

“No sooner was this known at Rome, than the sacred college sent two monks, Valerio Malvicino and Alfonso Urbino, into Calabria, to suppress the churches of the Waldenses, and reduce them to the obedience of the Holy See. On their first arrival, the monks assumed an air of great gentleness. Having assembled the inhabitants of Santo Xisto, they told them, that they had not come with the view of hurting any person, but merely to warn them in a friendly manner to desist from hearing any teachers but those appointed by their ordinary; that if they would dismiss those who had led them astray, and live for the future according to the rules of the Roman Church, they had nothing to fear; but that, if they acted otherwise, they would expose themselves to the danger of losing their lives and property, by incurring the punishment of heretics. They then appointed a time for celebration of mass, which they required all present to attend. But instead of complying with this injunction, the inhabitants, in a body, quitted the town, and retired to the woods, leaving behind them only a few aged persons and children. Concealing their chagrin, the monks immediately went to La Guardia, and having caused the gates to be shut, and assembled the inhabitants, told them that their brethren of Santo Xisto had renounced their erroneous opinions, and gone to mass, exhorting them to imitate so dutiful and wise an example. The poor simple people, crediting the report of the monks, and alarmed at the danger which they held out, complied; but no sooner did they ascertain the truth, than overwhelmed with shame and vexation, they resolved instantly to leave the place with their wives and children, and to join their brethren who had taken refuge in the woods; a resolution from which they were with difficulty diverted by the representations and promises of Salvatore Spinello, the feudatory superior of the town. In the mean time the monks procured two companies of foot soldiers to be sent into the woods, who hunted the inhabitants of Santo Xisto like beasts of prey, and having discovered their lurking place, fell on them with cries of *Ammazzi, ammazzi*, “Murder them, murder them.” A part of the fugitives took refuge on a mountain, and

* Zanchii Epistolæ, lib. ii. p. 360.

having secured themselves on the rocks, demanded a parley with the captain. After entreating him to take pity on them, their wives and children, they said, that they and their fathers had inhabited that country for several ages, without having given any person cause to complain of their conduct; that if they could not be allowed to remain in it any longer, without renouncing their faith, they hoped they would be permitted to retire to some other country; that they would go, by sea or land, to any place which their superiors were pleased to appoint; that they would engage not to return; and that they would take no more along with them than what was necessary for their support on the journey, for they were ready to part with their property rather than do violence to their consciences by practising idolatry. They implored him to withdraw his men, and not oblige them reluctantly to defend themselves, as they could not answer for the consequences, if reduced to despair. Instead of listening to this reasonable offer, and reporting it to his superiors, the captain ordered his men to advance by a defile, upon which those on the hill attacked them, killed the greater part, and put the rest to flight.*

“ It was immediately resolved to avenge on the whole body this unpremeditated act of resistance on the part of a few. The monks wrote to Naples that the country was in a state of rebellion, upon which the viceroy dispatched several companies of soldiers to Calabria, and, to gratify the pope, followed them in person. On his arrival, listening to the advice of the inquisitors, he caused a proclamation to be made delivering up Santo Xisto to fire and sword, which obliged the inhabitants to remain in their concealments. By another proclamation, he offered a pardon to the *bannitti*, or persons proscribed for crimes, (who are a numerous class in Naples,) on the condition of their assisting in the war against the heretics. This brought a number of desperate characters to his standard, who, being acquainted with the recesses of the woods, tracked out the fugitives, the greater part of whom were slaughtered by the soldiers, while the remainder took refuge in the caverns of the high rocks, where many of them died of hunger. Pretending to

* Perrin, *Hist. des Vaudois*, part i. pp. 199-202. Perrin relates this under the year 1560, and speaks of it as having taken place after Louis Paschal came to Calabria. But I suspect he has placed it too late. At least the author of *Busdraghi Epistola*, which is dated 15th December 1558, speaking of the progress of the reformed doctrine in Italy, says, “ Nam quotidie aliquid novi sentitur, nunc in hac civitate, nunc in illa. Calabria nuper ferè tota tumultuata est.” (Scrin. Antiq. tom. i. p. 322.)

be displeased with the severity of military execution, the inquisitors retired to some distance from the place, and cited the inhabitants of La Guardia to appear before them. Encouraged by the reports which they had heard, the people complied; but they had no sooner made their appearance, than seventy of them were seized and conducted in chains to Montalto. They were put to the question by the orders of the inquisitor Panza, to induce them not only to renounce their faith, but also to accuse themselves and their brethren of having committed odious crimes in their religious assemblies. To wring a confession of this from him, Stefano Carlino was tortured until his bowels gushed out. Another prisoner, named Verminel, having, in the extremity of pain, promised to go to mass, the inquisitor flattered himself that, by increasing the violence of the torture, he could extort a confession of the charge which he was so anxious to fasten on the Protestants. But though the exhausted sufferer was kept during eight hours on the instrument called *the hell*, he persisted in denying the atrocious calumny. A person of the name of Marzone was stripped naked, beaten with iron rods, dragged through the streets, and then felled with the blows of torches. One of his sons, a boy, having resisted the attempts made for his conversion, was conveyed to the top of a tower from which they threatened to precipitate him, if he would not embrace a crucifix which was presented to him. He refused; and the inquisitor, in a rage, ordered him instantly to be thrown down. Bernardino Conte, on his way to the stake, threw away a crucifix which the executioner had forced into his hands; upon which Panza remanded him to prison, until a more dreadful mode of punishment should be devised. He was conveyed to Cosenza, where his body was covered with pitch, in which he was burnt to death before the people.* The manner in which those of the tender sex, were treated by this brutal inquisitor, is too disgusting to be related here. Suffice it to say, that he put sixty females to the torture, the greater part of whom died in prison in consequence of their wounds remaining undressed. On his return to Naples, he delivered a great number of Protestants to the secular arm of St Agata, where he inspired the inhabitants with the greatest terror; for, if any individual came forward to intercede for the prisoners he was immediately put to the torture as a favourer of heresy.†

“ Horrid as these facts are, they fall short of the barbarity perpetrated on the same people at Montalto in the year 1560, under

* Perrin, ut supra, pp. 202-204.

† Ibid. p. 205, 206.

the government of the Marquis di Buccianici, to whose brother, it is said, the pope had promised a cardinal's hat, provided the province of Calabria was cleared of heresy. I shall give the account in the words of a Roman Catholic, servant to Ascanio Caraccioli, who witnessed the scene. The letter in which he describes it was published in Italy, along with other narratives of the bloody transaction. 'Most illustrious Sir,—Having written you from time to time what has been done here in the affair of heresy. I have now to inform you of the dreadful justice which began to be executed on these Lutherans early this morning, being the 11th of June. And, to tell you the truth, I can compare it to nothing but the slaughter of so many sheep. They were all shut up in one house as in a sheep-fold. The executioner went, and bringing out one of them, covered his face with a napkin, or *benda*, as we call it, led him out to a field near the house, and causing him to kneel down, cut his throat with a knife. Then taking off the bloody napkin, he went and brought out another, whom he put to death after the same manner. In this way, the whole number, amounting to eighty-eight men, were butchered. I leave you to figure to yourself the lamentable spectacle; for I can scarcely refrain from tears while I write; nor was there any person who, after witnessing the execution of one, could stand to look on a second. The meekness and patience with which they went to martyrdom and death was incredible. Some of them at their death professed themselves of the same faith with us, but the greater part died in their cursed obstinacy. All the old men met their death with cheerfulness, but the young exhibited symptoms of fear. I shudder while I think of the executioner with the bloody knife in his teeth, the dripping napkin in his hand, and his arms besmeared with gore, going to the house and taking out one after another, just as a butcher does the sheep which he means to kill. According to orders, waggons are already come to carry away the dead bodies, which are appointed to be quartered, and hung up on the public roads from one end of Calabria to the other. Unless his holiness and the Viceroy of Naples command the Marquis de Buccianici, the governor of this province, to stay his hand and leave off, he will go on to put others to the torture, and multiply the executions until he has destroyed the whole. Even to-day a decree has passed that a hundred grown-up women shall be put to the question, and afterwards executed; so that there may be a complete mixture, and we may be able to say, in well-sounding language, that so

many persons were punished, partly men and partly women. This is all that I have to say of this act of justice. It is now eight o'clock, and I shall presently hear accounts of what was said by these obstinate people as they were led to execution. Some have testified such obstinacy and stubbornness as to refuse to look on a crucifix, or confess to a priest; and they are to be burnt alive. The heretics taken in Calabria amount to sixteen hundred, all of whom are condemned; but only eighty-eight have as yet been put to death. This people came originally from the valley of Angrogna, near Savoy, and in Calabria are called Ultra-montani. Four other places in the kingdom of Naples are inhabited by the same race but I do not know that they behave ill; for they are a simple, unlettered people, entirely occupied with the spade and plough, and, I am told, show themselves sufficiently religious at the hour of death.* Lest the reader should be inclined to doubt the truth of such horrid atrocities, the following summary account of them, by a Neapolitan historian of that age, may be added. After giving some account of the Calabrian heretics, he says: 'Some had their throats cut, others were sawn through the middle, and others thrown from the top of a high cliff: all were cruelly but deservedly put to death. It was strange to hear of their obstinacy; for while the father saw his son put to death, and the son his father, they not only gave no symptoms of grief, but said joyfully, that they would be angels of God: so much had the devil, to whom they had given themselves up as a prey, deceived them.†

"By the time that the persecutors were glutted with blood, it was not difficult to dispose of the prisoners who remained. The men were sent to the Spanish galleys; the women and children were sold for slaves; and, with the exception of a few who renounced their faith, the whole colony was exterminated.‡ 'Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth,' may the race of the Waldenses say, 'many a time have they afflicted me from my youth. My blood,—the violence done to me and to my flesh, be upon Rome!'"—*M'Crie's Reformation in Italy*, pp. 257-266.

* Pantaleon, *Rerum in Eccles. Gest. Hist.* f. 337, 338. De Porta, ii. 309-312.

† Tommaso Costo, *Seconda Parte del Compendio dell' Istoria di Napoli*, p. 257.

‡ Perrin, *ut supra*, p. 206-7. *Hist. des Martyrs*, f. 516, a.

APPENDIX B.

(Page 318.)

The following extract from the Address of the American Alliance will illustrate its spirit :—

“ The common mind of Italy, it is believed, is gradually tending towards a religious change. The abortive attempts at political revolution which have occurred within the past twenty-five years, and which have been put down immediately by Austrian bayonets, have taught Italian patriotism one valuable lesson. The patriotic minds of that glorious land, whether in exile or on their native soil, are understood to have abandoned the hope of liberating their country by insurrection and the sword. They see that there can be no hope of a new Italy, otherwise than by an intellectual and moral revolution that shall make the people new. They see that nothing desirable can be accomplished without the diffusion of new, quickening, and elevating ideas among the masses of their countrymen. They see that Italy will have all necessary freedom whenever the common people, the gay, unthinking peasantry of her villages, and the mechanics and shopkeepers of her towns, begin to become inquiring, thoughtful men ; men accustomed to believe and act, not implicitly according to the dictation of others, but intelligently according to their own convictions. Many of them having been made acquainted, by years of exile, with what it is that constitutes the happiness of nations truly free, have become convinced that the great charter of such happiness is the Bible, and that the ideas which are to work out the true emancipation of their country, can never be awakened in the masses, but in connexion with the teachings of that book. With such views, movements are already organised by Italians themselves, to diffuse among their countrymen such knowledge as will tend to that intellectual and moral renovation, without which all political changes will be of little value.

“ The Christian Alliance, for the promotion of religious freedom, has originated in the attention which gentlemen of various Christian denominations, in the city of New York and elsewhere, have recently given to the present condition of Italy, and the relations between that country and the cause of religious freedom throughout the world. A door is open for the access of truth to the minds of the Italian people. Notwithstanding the most rigid censorship over the press and the importation of books ; notwithstanding every

regulation which the genius of despotism can devise to shut out knowledge and to suppress inquiry ; notwithstanding the terrors of Austrian artillery and the inconveniences of a police swarming in every quarter ; it is ascertained that to some extent papers, tracts, books, the Bible itself, can be introduced into Italy, and can be placed in the hands of those who will hardly fail to read and to profit by the reading. At the same time, an ample field of effort is presented among the Italians out of Italy, between whom and their countrymen at home there is, and notwithstanding every possible regulation there must continue to be, a constant intercourse. Even the slightest acquaintance with Italians in foreign countries shews that they are liberally disposed and ready to receive new ideas. From the Ionian Islands, from France, from Great Britain, and from other countries, Italians are continually returning to Italy ; and if, in the lands in which they sojourn for a season, their minds receive a quickening impulse, and they learn that “ the Bible without a clasp ” is the palladium of true liberty, they cannot but communicate to their countrymen around them something of the same impulse.”

Some days after this Lecture was delivered, the following circular was received by the author. It will be seen that some of the sentiments contained in the Address were anticipated in the Lecture, and the whole is here subjoined that all who love the cause that is truly catholic—the cause of souls, may be at once stimulated by its arguments, and encouraged by its Christian philanthropy.

“ LONDON ITALIAN SOCIETY, FOR PROMOTING THE WELFARE OF ITALIANS RESIDENT IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.—The design of the Society is to make provision for conducting Evangelical Italian Worship in London and elsewhere ; to maintain an Asylum, or Institution, where Italian Boys may receive a Christian Education ; to promote the establishment of Sunday, Day, and Evening Schools for any Italians that may require instruction ; and to promote the composition, printing, and circulation of religious Books and Tracts in the Italian language. (*Here follows the list of Office-Bearers*).

“ *Address.*—The Italian Nation, although depressed by civil and ecclesiastical despotism, has still the talent and energy which once placed the Republics of Italy at the head of European civilization.

Deprived of the blessings of a free people under a constitutional monarchy, they have neither a representative government, nor a free press, nor the right of trial by jury, nor the right of petition, nor the liberty to worship God according to their conscience, nor the unrestricted use of the Bible, nor any of the chief rights of a free people. While thus they are denied the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, their industry is loaded with innumerable shackles. The best and noblest of the citizens, impatient of this degradation, become objects of suspicion to the Governments, and, to escape such prisons as the Piombi and the Spielberg, are obliged to seek a shelter on foreign shores.

“ Their moral and intellectual superiority, their love of liberty, their disposition to throw off the yoke of superstition without losing their faith in revelation, and their unmerited misfortunes, should ensure them a hospitable welcome among us. From among them will, in all probability, arise the religious reformers of Italy. Christians in England ought surely to make systematic efforts to direct their attention to the Gospel, and by sympathy with them, recommend to them the religious truth which may sustain them in their troubles, and ennoble all their efforts to benefit their country.

“ But besides these, whom the love of civil and religious liberty has driven from the glowing sky of Italy to breathe our heavier atmosphere, and who feel freedom to be better than sunshine, there are many poor Italians who seek by their labours a maintenance in England, which the innumerable checks to industry in their own land forbid them to secure at home. Some of these retain the bigoted prejudices in which they have been brought up; others have thrown off their faith together with their superstition; and all require the friendly attention of those who love the Gospel, that they may be won to love it too.

“ Among these poorer Italians, there is one class which especially demands our pity. Hundreds of parents in Italy have been led by the hope of gain, to place their children for a few years at the disposal of masters who bring them to this country, furnish them with organs, and send them forth to obtain what they can in the streets. These boys know nothing of our language nor of our laws; they are without friends, they can neither read nor write, they have no money, their passports are not in their own hands, and without these passports they could not re-enter their own country. They are thus completely at the mercy of their masters.

Under these circumstances, how many of those masters who imported them into this country, to make the largest possible gains in the least possible time by their toil and beggary, can be expected to treat them humanely? Some of these poor boys have been used most cruelly. The evidence given before various magistrates, and published in the newspapers, shews that they have been starved, bound, flogged, and wounded. Numbers of them have died in our hospitals and elsewhere, victims of an ill treatment to which their helpless ignorance could oppose no resistance, and all of them are liable to similar evils. It does not become Christians, it is not creditable to Englishmen, to let them suffer on without notice and without protection.

“All these classes are accessible to Christian influence, and it is somewhat unaccountable that they should have been so completely overlooked. Many are lamenting the progress of Roman Catholic doctrine in this country, and yet leave 5000 Italian Roman Catholics in London, not unwilling to learn Protestant doctrine, unaided and unnoticed. Many deplore the depressed state of Italy, and here are 5000 Italians, among whom are political exiles of vigorous understanding and good character determined to think for themselves, converted ecclesiastics, and commercial men having extensive connexions in Italy, all of whom may exercise an important influence upon Italian society, and nothing is attempted to guide and to assist their energies.

“Much may obviously be done to benefit them. There should be Missionaries to visit them from house to house; Italian Bibles and Testaments should be largely circulated among them; religious tracts, both practical and controversial, should be carefully prepared for their use. They should be invited to evangelical worship in their own language. Each new convert from any part of Italy should receive a brotherly welcome among us, and a frugal maintenance, till his principles may be tested and he may be able to maintain himself. A Protestant Evangelical Italian Church should be organized, and its members be assisted to maintain their Ministers. This Church should have its asylum for oppressed and friendless boys; its seminary for promising youths, who may either become evangelists to their countrymen, or learn otherwise to obtain their livelihood; its Sunday Schools for all the children of the poorer Italians, and Italian Sunday-School Teachers associated to instruct them.

“In a circular lately printed by an Italian priest in London, he

calls upon the Italians to labour for the reconversion of England to the Catholic Faith; but efforts, such as those just described, would make the Pope and his Cardinals renounce the dream of conquest to think only of defence. A Society organized at New York to diffuse scriptural information among Italians, has already created so much alarm at Rome, as to have called forth the last encyclical letter of the anxious Pontiff against the unrestricted use of the Scriptures, and against that Society in particular. Why should not Englishmen emulate this Christian example? Why should New York, by its evangelical zeal, disturb the slumbers of the Pope, and London, by its apathy, lull him again to repose? The object before English Protestants is great. Let the Italian exiles, the most liberal, the most intelligent, the most virtuous, the noblest part of the nation, embrace the Gospel, and Rome, and Milan, and Florence, Turin, Bologna, Venice, and Naples, in spite of all jealous watchfulness on the part of those who crush them, would feel the healthful influence, and the papal throne would totter to its foundations. For, let Italy trample on the proud pretensions of the Pontiff, let Italy declare in the ear of Europe that papal supremacy is a delusion, and pontifical sanctity a falsehood, that Christ is the only Head of the Universal Church, and the Scriptures its only code, and France and Germany would re-echo the Evangelical creed, and ecclesiastical despotism would be extinguished.

“With these hopes the London Italian Society has been formed. Its Committee is composed of members of various denominations. Their fundamental rule is, that they will not dictate to their Italian brethren their form of Church Government, or their mode of discipline. They propose to contribute largely towards the maintenance of the Asylum for poor Italian Boys, which has been opened by the energy and faith of their Christian brother, Signor Feretti. A room has been opened for Protestant divine worship in the Italian language, at which some Italians already attend; and they wish to be able to circulate Italian Bibles and Tracts as soon as the funds are placed at their disposal.

“The readers of this appeal are earnestly requested to give their prompt and liberal aid. Adequate funds will enable the Committee, with the blessing of God, to do much good. A large sphere of usefulness is opening before them, and they earnestly request their Christian brethren to enable them to enter upon it.

“ Rules and Regulations. ”

“ I. The object of this Society shall be, to aid our Italian brethren in the formation of a Reformed Evangelical Italian Church, but not to interfere with their church discipline, or form of worship.

“ II. The business of the Society shall be conducted by a Committee of not less than twelve Members, of whom four shall form a quorum.

“ III. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, and Secretary, shall be considered members of the Committee, *ex officio*.

“ IV. The Committee shall meet once a quarter, or more frequently if business shall require it.

“ V. Every meeting of the Committee shall be opened with prayer.

“ VI. The minutes of each meeting shall be read at the following meeting, and when confirmed, signed by the Chairman.

“ VII. All payments on account of the Society shall be made by cheques on the Society’s Bankers, signed in Committee by the Chairman, and countersigned by the Secretary.

“ VIII. The Society’s year shall close on the 31st of March, when the accounts shall be made up.

“ IX. The design of the Asylum supported by the Society shall be, to offer a refuge to Italian boys who seek security from the cruel treatment of their masters. The children of indigent Italians, who are unable to provide the means of education for their families, shall also be received.

“ X. The Committee shall undertake to print religious works in the Italian language, for the purpose of circulation. Each work shall be examined by three members of the Committee, and adopted on their recommendation.

“ XI. Endeavours shall be made to form Auxiliary Associations in cities or large towns in Great Britain and in Her Majesty’s Colonies, to further the objects of the Society in those places.

“ XII. Friendly correspondence shall be maintained with Italians on the Continent and elsewhere, who are interested in the objects of the Society, and also with all Protestant Societies who are labouring to promote the same cause.

“ XIII. Statements of proceedings shall be printed from time to time, for circulation among the Subscribers and Friends of the Society.”

LECTURE VI.

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF SPAIN AT THE PERIOD OF THE SUPPRESSION OF THE REFORMATION, AND, IN PARTICULAR, THE GREAT LEADING FEATURES AND EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF POPYRY IN THAT COUNTRY AT THAT PERIOD, WHEREBY IT WAS ENABLED TO CRUSH THE REFORMATION.

BY THE REV. WM. M. HETHERINGTON, LL.D.

MINISTER OF FREE CHURCH, ST ANDREWS.

THE religious condition of Spain presents several peculiarities so very remarkable, that in order to their being rightly understood, we must direct some attention to the earlier periods of its history. In no country, not even in Italy, have all attempts at religious reformation been more completely suppressed; and over no portion of Europe does spiritual darkness more deeply brood. Yet the people of Spain are in many respects a noble race, and have often displayed an elevation and energy of character, from which higher and brighter hopes might have been entertained. At one time, Spain was the mightiest monarchy in Europe,—first in military fame, and scarcely less renowned for genius and learning. Now she is the most abject and degraded; so degraded and so abject, as not to be ashamed of her own fallen

and debased condition. This could not have been the case had true Christianity continued to exist in Spain; for a true Christian can never sink into utter degradation. Yet, in no country in the world are the people more proud of their religion, and no nation termed Christian is so loud in its boast of possessing the most perfect Christianity. The Spaniard asserts that *he is the Christian of Christendom*,—the old, genuine, and untainted Christian; and that his religion is *the faith*, the only pure and unadulterated faith. In this respect, Spain is more ultra-Roman than Rome herself. There is no tolerance for diversities of religious belief in Spain. Intolerance is the only point on which King and Cortes, liberal and servile, are agreed. Bigotry has long, in the eyes of Spain, been her glory; in the eyes of Europe, her disgrace: there every possible dissent exists except the religious. It must be evident, that such a state of absolute bigotry and intolerance could not have been produced otherwise than by a protracted course of despotism on the one hand, and subjection on the other; and could not have continued to exist, without the presence of some constantly over-mastering cause, sufficient to repress all the movements of awakening intelligence. To investigate that course, and trace out that steadily operating cause, is our task.

Christianity was early introduced into Spain, though it does not very clearly appear by what direct instrumentality. Nothing of peculiar moment occurred with regard to the Christian Church in Spain till the fourth century, when Priscillian, a native of Gallicia, founded a sect, by combining the heretical tenets of the Manichæans and the Gnostics. The Arian heresy also pre-

veiled so extensively as to be in a manner the established creed of the country for nearly two centuries. Various other heretical opinions took possession of the Spanish mind, and were with great difficulty removed. And when the corruptions of Rome began to overspread the church, Spain showed her spiritual independence, and even her sounder faith, by some attempts to check the growing apostasy. The name of Claude, bishop of Turin, a native of Spain, who flourished in the ninth century, deserves to be held in remembrance and respect for the decided and strenuous opposition which he made to the worship of images, the veneration of relics and sepulchres of saints, and the arrogated supremacy of the pope, by whose authority these corruptions were enforced. To the claims of universal supremacy by the pope, the Spanish church was not soon nor easily brought to submit; nor did she acknowledge, during the first eight centuries, the right of Rome to interfere with her internal religious affairs. For several centuries the Spanish church acknowledged no other office-bearers than bishops, presbyters, and deacons. It deserves to be remarked, that the Council of Toledo, in 684, in condemning the Monothelite heresy, which Pope Honorius I. had favoured, stated a proposition which strikes at the very foundation on which the bishops of Rome rest their claims, by declaring that the rock on which the church is built, is the faith of St Peter, and not his person or office; and in a subsequent Council the same proposition was re-asserted and strenuously defended. Another direct proof that the early Spanish church was independent of Rome is found in the fact, that its liturgy, or form of celebrating divine service, after several changes, and in consequence of the inconvenience of different

forms being used in different parts of the country, was remoulded by the 4th Council of Toledo, in 633, when a decree was passed, that one uniform mode should be observed in all the churches of the country. This decree led to the adoption of what has been called the Gothic, and sometimes the Isidorian or Ildefonsian liturgy, from Isidore and Ildefonso, archbishops of Seville, by whom it was revised and corrected. This liturgy was very different, in many important respects, from the liturgy used at Rome, and sanctioned by Pope Gregory himself. It thus appears, that how much soever Spain is now the slave of Rome in religious matters, she was not so from the beginning. Let us now trace how she fell under the all-grasping power of papal Rome.

The Gothic monarchy of Spain, as every reader of history knows, was overthrown by the invasion of the Moors in 711. This dreadful event involved Spain in a life-and-death struggle, which continued, with little intermission, for well-nigh eight centuries, ending only in the conquest of Granada, and the expulsion of the Moors, or rather Saracens, in 1492. During that long period, the ancient Gothic race of Spain was trained to the utmost degree of romantic bravery, while the influence of the Arabian taste and genius lent a quickening stimulus to their intellectual energies and their taste. At the same time, the absolute necessity which exists for complete subordination in warlike operations, inured the people generally to the practical despotism exercised by their kings and military leaders. So long as the conflict with the Arab antagonists continued, this was not productive of much evil; for if it was necessary for the people to obey implicitly the commands of their

warlike leaders, it was equally necessary for these leaders so to rule as to be not more feared than beloved. There were, besides, several petty kingdoms in the Peninsula, whose mutual rivalry and jealousies tended to keep each other in check, and rendered it always possible to escape from local tyranny without much difficulty. In the eleventh century, these small dominions had merged into three of considerable magnitude. Towards the close of that century, Alfonso of Leon and Castile obtained so much power, as to excite in his mind the hope of acquiring the supremacy of all Spain. Valencia had yielded to his arms, and Toledo, which had been in the possession of the Moors for more than three centuries, submitted to his conquering prowess. He had strengthened himself by an alliance with France, having married a French princess. She instigated her husband to introduce into Castile the Roman liturgy, to which she had been accustomed; and in this she was strenuously supported by the Papal legate. The nobility, clergy, and people, all resisted this innovation; and after various artifices had been used to gain or to conciliate them, a compromise was framed, according to which it was decreed that both the Gothic and the Roman liturgies should be used to a certain extent,—the Gothic in Toledo, and the Roman in all the other churches in the kingdom. The effect was what was intended. The Gothic, discountenanced by the court and the higher dignitaries of the Church, sunk into disrepute, and was superseded by the Roman. The introduction of the Roman liturgy took place in Aragon in 1071, and in Toledo in 1086. Spiritual independence was thus yielded up; and the full recognition of Papal authority in Spain very soon followed the introduction of the Ro-

man liturgy. From this a very obvious, but very important inference may be drawn,—that the yielding up of even external matters in religion to any power exterior to the church, is equivalent to the surrender of all religious liberty.* And another consequence speedily followed in Spain, as it will do every where else, in similar circumstances. The king of Aragon, after his succession to the throne according to the laws of the country, went to Rome, and was crowned by the pope, taking at the same time a solemn oath that he and his successors would be faithful to the Church of Rome, preserve his kingdom in obedience to it, defend the Catholic faith, suppress heresy, and maintain inviolate the liberties and immunities of the holy church. To complete the disgraceful transaction, he dedicated all his dominions to St Peter, and his successors in the pope-dom, as a fief of the church, engaging to pay an annual tribute as a mark of homage. Against this subjection of even the civil liberty of the country to a foreign power, the nobility vehemently protested, but in vain. Nor was it long till the king himself had reason to repent of his criminal folly; for, having quarrelled with the pope, he was laid under the ban of excommunication for having violated his oath. Several attempts were made by subsequent kings to escape from this degrading vassalage, but without success. And in this manner Spain was brought under the thralldom of that Romish yoke and bondage, by which all Europe was so long bound and oppressed.

It was not strange that Rome was anxious to obtain direct influence in Spain, both because that was neces-

* From this we may see the wisdom of our forefathers, in resisting the liturgy which Charles II. sought to impose.

sary to her assumption of universal supremacy over Christendom, and because she could not otherwise suppress the Waldenses or Albigenses. The opinions of these early reformers were extensively diffused throughout the southern provinces of France, by which means they were readily communicated to Catalonia, Valencia, and Aragon; and as the King of Aragon was at the same time Count of Provence, the intercourse between the Aragonese and these southern districts of France was necessarily frequent and friendly. Exposed to the most severe persecution in their own country, the Albigenses sought and found refuge in Spain, as early as the middle of the twelfth century. Pedro II. of Aragon, notwithstanding the submission which he had rendered to the pope, gave countenance and help to the persecuted Albigenses, was excommunicated by the pope, joined his army to that of Raymond, Count of Toulouse, and was killed at the battle of Muret, in the year 1213. But though the Albigenses obtained both encouragement and protection in Aragon and Catalonia for a time, and increased considerably, it was but a temporary cessation of their troubles. The fatal connexion which had been formed with Rome did its work; and in the year 1237, the influence of the pope was sufficient to kindle in Spain the flames of persecution against those whom it condemned as heretics. In that year fifteen persons were burned alive, and eighteen disinterred bodies were cast into the flames. This was a gloomy omen for Spain, and very terribly was its darkest presage realised.

There were two instrumentalities by means of which Popery acquired and exercised supreme influence in Spain. The *first* of these was the system of Monastic Institutions. During the earlier ages of Christianity in Spain, there

were but few monastic institutions in that country, and they were regarded with little favour, and consequently exercised little influence. But after the authority of Rome was recognised, the number of convents and monks increased very rapidly, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. The Dominicans received peculiar favour, in consequence of their founder being himself a Spaniard; but the increase and the influence of the Franciscans was also very great. In a short time these two monastic orders became so wealthy and powerful, that they were able to bid defiance to the commands of the sovereigns themselves; and not even the authority of Ferdinand and Isabella, under whom Spain had been consolidated into one monarchy, was able to check the abuses of these orders, except by the aid of Cardinal Ximenes, himself a Franciscan friar, and chief of that order in Spain.

The other great instrument by means of which the papal power was firmly established in Spain, was the INQUISITION,—a word, the utterance of which even yet is almost enough to make the blood run cold. Apostolic and primitive Christianity was exposed to repeated and wasting persecution from the idolatrous heathenism then prevalent in the world. But no persecution by heathens was ever so dreadful as the persecutions afterwards urged on by a power terming itself a Christian Church, and perpetrated by the hands of men who called themselves Christians. Let it be observed, that although there were some instances in which Manichæans were put to death in the fourth century, the most distinguished men of the period strenuously remonstrated against such a mode of preserving the truth and purity of Christian doctrine. Still, as the tenets of the Manichæans were

regarded with peculiar abhorrence, the opposition to their forcible and violent extermination was not so great as it would have been in the case of parties accused of less detested heresies. This may serve to explain the reason why the Albigenses were accused of holding that abhorred heresy, of which I am inclined to think them almost, if not entirely, guiltless. But the accusation was enough to deprive them of all sympathy, and even to direct against them so much detestation as to render it meritorious in the eyes of many to put them to death. It followed almost as a necessary consequence, that the public mind became familiarized to the idea of persecution, and ere long even gratified with the sight of it. For it is a fearful fact in human nature, that to witness repeated instances of barbarity, barbarizes the mind, so that even the gentle and timid can become enamoured of sights of horror, from which at first they turned shuddering away. Let no man ever exclaim, with Hazael, "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing!" for if he but begins, he may find himself ere long, dog-like, lapping blood with grim delight.

While this barbarizing process was going on, other causes contributed to strengthen its influence. The power which papal Rome claimed of pronouncing the sentence of excommunication, and of giving to it civil consequences, operated in the same direction. For an excommunicated person was not only excluded from the privileges of the church, but was also regarded as deprived of all the rights, natural or civil, which he had formerly enjoyed. He became thus an absolute outlaw, bereft of Heaven's favour and protection, and exposed to every human outrage,—without a country, a home, or a relative, all men recoiling from him as from a thing

accursed. To deprive such a person of his miserable existence could not be regarded as a crime,—it might almost be viewed as an act not only of justice but of mercy. This dreadful weapon Rome wielded with remorseless energy and terrible effect. To this may be added the influence of the Crusades, by which men were taught to regard all the nameless outrages of war as absolutely meritorious, when exercised on the plea of religion. And it will be remembered, that after the recovery of Palestine became hopeless, Rome proclaimed another Crusade against the Albigenses, and thus thoroughly trained the mind of papal Christendom to contemplate the most hideous atrocities, under the guise of zeal for the suppression of heresy.

Even thus prepared, there was still one element necessary, without which the Inquisition could not have possessed the terrible power by which it was characterized. Reference has been already made to the condition of Spain during its long struggle against its Moslem invaders. Throughout that period it remained as a congeries of separate and independent kingdoms, somewhat like the Saxon Heptarchy—with this important difference, that all Saxon institutions rested on a basis of individual liberty and privilege, whereas all the Spanish kingdoms were constructed on the principles of military despotism. The marriage of Ferdinand, king of Aragon, and Isabella, queen of Castile, by uniting the two most powerful of those kingdoms, speedily brought the whole peninsula into one great monarchy. But that monarchy retained the arbitrary principles by which the separate provinces had previously been governed, and remained essentially despotic. There was nothing, therefore, in Spain, or in Spanish institutions, to modify the Inquisi-

tion. It might take any form and character which despotism ecclesiastical and despotism civil should concur in giving it.

The Church of Rome had been aiming at the erection of some such institution for a considerable time. As early as 1198, St Dominic, the founder of the Order of Dominican Friars, and two of his fraternity, had been sent into France with a commission from the pope, empowering them to search for heretics; but they were not invested with any judicial power, and could only search out and accuse. Subsequently, the Council of Toulouse in 1229, ordained the bishops to appoint one priest and two or three laymen in each parish, to search after heretics, and give information. But in the year 1233, Pope Gregory IX. took from the bishops the power of discovering and bringing to judgment the heretics that were lurking in France, and committed that fearful task to the Dominican Friars. This was the direct origin of the Inquisition in France, and the first place in which it was set up was at Toulouse. It was not till some time afterwards that it was established in Spain, which, at that period, was not ripe for the reception of such a tribunal.

But the time arrived, promoted by the causes already specified. The king of united Spain, Ferdinand, readily listened to the proposal made to him by the pope, — a proposal in which he foresaw the means of consolidating his own power, and filling his treasury with confiscated property. The papal bull for establishing the Inquisition in Castile was issued on the 1st of November 1478; and on the 17th September 1480, Ferdinand and Isabella named the first inquisitors, who commenced their proceedings on the 2d of January 1481, in the

convent of St Paul at Seville. But though thus instituted, it did not assume a practical and permanent form till after an interval of two years, when Thomas Torquemada, a Dominican Friar, and prior of Santa Cruz in the town of Segovia, was placed at its head, under the designation of Inquisitor-General. Torquemada was not a man to allow the powers which had been entrusted to him to remain unused. He was fully qualified for the organization of the dread tribunal of which he was the chief. He chose assessors to himself, and erected subordinate tribunals in different cities of the kingdom. Over the whole was placed the *Council of the Supreme*, consisting of the Inquisitor-General as president, and three counsellors, two of whom were doctors of laws. By this Supreme Council all the inferior tribunals were regulated; and in it the counsellors had a deliberative voice in matters relating to civil law, but only a consultative voice in those of ecclesiastical law, of which Torquemada was the sole judge. A body of laws was next formed for the government of the new institution, which was promulgated in 1484. Additions and alterations were subsequently made; and in 1561, it was thoroughly revised by the Inquisitor-General Valdes, since which time it remained without any material alteration. A few of the leading laws in this terrific code may be specified, with all possible brevity.

As the avowed object of the Inquisition was the discovery of heresy, the arrangement for securing this result demands our notice first. Combining the elements of a tribunal of judgment and a court of police, every individual belonging to it was charged with the duty of discovering offences, of which they shall afterwards judge. It had its secret spies in every part of the king-

dom, mingling unsuspected in all companies, listening to the most unguarded conversation, and ready to detail any thing that could bring suspicion on any person, of whatever rank or station, from the highest to the lowest. And at any time when the Inquisitor-General thought proper, an edict was published in all the churches in the kingdom, requiring every one who knew any person suspected of heresy, to give information within six days, on pain of excommunication in case of silence. At the same time, the influence of the confessional was employed to persuade people to comply with this order. The whole community were thus almost of necessity converted into mutual informers,—from malice some, from superstition others, and not a few from the selfish fear of being suspected of concealment. The names of the informers were not revealed, nor were the witnesses confronted with the accused party; while the alleged evidence against him was garbled or mutilated according to the pleasure of the accusers, or rather of the judges. No means of recovering the accused party from his supposed error were tried; because not amendment but conviction was the object sought, since it was only by conviction that the inquisitors were entitled to seize on his property. It might even be regarded as in one sense a point of honour to secure conviction, arising from their maxim, that the holy office of the Inquisition cannot err. Every thing was conducted with impenetrable secrecy. If any person had the good fortune to be released, he was bound by the most awful oaths to maintain the most profound silence with regard to all that he might have seen, or heard, or spoken within its precincts. The treatment endured by those who were committed to the Inquisition was cruel beyond all description. Before

and during their trial they were confined in narrow, damp, and gloomy cells, as if already buried alive; or sometimes in the upper parts of the building, where, in the summer months, the heat was like that of a furnace. Plunged into these horrors, the wretched prisoner was kept in a state of terrible suspense—ignorant of the crime charged against him—not a friendly voice fell on his ear—left in almost total solitude, or should one like a fellow-prisoner be admitted, afraid to speak lest he should be a spy—without a book to peruse, or light enough to read it by if he had—almost hopeless of ever recovering liberty, and certain that his character had sustained an irremediable blight—thus he lay, till the inhuman conclave thought him sufficiently broken in heart and spirit to confess any crime of which they might choose to accuse him. Or should he not then confess, the trial by torture begins. There stands the miserable man or woman—before him are displayed the horrid enginery of torment, devised by fiendish ingenuity;—around him remorseless executioners, trained and accustomed to their barbarous work;—and at the head of the table, placed in what should be the seat of justice, sits the pitiless monk, plying his insidious interrogations, giving directions to the torturers, and deliberately feasting his cold calm eye and unheaving tranquil heart with the agonies of his victim. But we cannot, even in imagination, dwell on the horrible process, the last scene of which brings forth the victims to the celebration of an *auto-de-fé*—an act of faith! What faith? The faith of Rome!—the faith of devils!—“*believe and tremble!*” Clad in the *san-benito*, the garb of condemnation, the wasted and woe-worn victims come forth, surrounded by shouting crowds as the dark procession moves along to

the place of doom. There is hope, and joy, and heavenly love in the eye of that martyr, for his weary warfare is nearly closed ; but he speaks not, for his torturers have gagged his mouth, lest the utterance of some living words should reach the hearts of some among the multitude. The Inquisition has done its deed, it has passed its sentence on the heretic, and handed him over to the secular arm, “beseeching them to treat him with pity and commiseration—to break no bone and shed no blood ;” and with a perfect understanding of what that horrible mockery means, they bind him to the stake and consume him to ashes.

Such was the Spanish Inquisition, over the gates of which might well have been the inscription imagined by Dante over the gates of hell—

“All hope abandon, ye who enter here.”

It will be observed, that the Inquisition was completely organized and in full operation thirty-six years before the commencement of the Reformation. According to a moderate computation, 13,000 persons were burned alive, 8700 were burned in effigy, and 169,723 were condemned to penances,—making in all 191,423 persons condemned by the several tribunals of the Spanish Inquisition in the course of these thirty-six years. If all this had taken place, when, exclusive of Jews and Moors, merely the remains of the Albigenses, and some of those who had adopted the opinions of Wickliffe, were all that the inquisitors had to glean, we may well conceive that the spirit of the nation must have been almost entirely subdued before the Reformation, distinctively so called, began ; and that this terrible tribunal was most thoroughly prepared to encounter and

suppress the Reformation, should it enter Spain, or to seal the boundaries of that country against its possible admission.

Our attention has been already directed to the despotic influence acquired by the sovereign power, when Spain became one monarchy, under Ferdinand and Isabella. The character of these sovereigns contributed not a little towards the consolidation of that power. Ferdinand was avaricious and deceitful; Isabella was superstitious, and easily led by the cunning priesthood. In giving his consent to the establishment of the Inquisition, Ferdinand had respect to the large sums of money which he might thereby levy; and Isabella was induced to give it her countenance and encouragement by the persuasions of her father confessor. And as the first direct victims of the Inquisition were the Jews and the Moors, it succeeded in driving out of Spain, or exterminating the two most active, enterprising, and energetic races that had previously inhabited that country. Besides, as the nobles had hitherto acted almost like petty kings within their own domains, Cardinal Ximenes thought it necessary to reduce their influence, in which he succeeded, partly by giving to the people a semblance of political rights, and partly by the terrors of the dread Inquisition, to which the most prominent persons stood most exposed. The discovery of the great Western Continent of America by Columbus, and the vast accession of wealth which it poured into the treasures of the monarch, completed the array of pernicious influences. The monarch was rendered almost entirely independent of the resources of the country for the means of carrying on the affairs of government; and what remained of mental energy and enterprise in the kingdom,

was directed towards the acquisition of wealth and fame in foreign adventure, instead of the cultivation of those home resources which form the real strength of every community.

The subjugation of Spain to Romish supremacy had become absolute and entire before the Lutheran Reformation began. Yet it was impossible to prevent the accounts of that event itself, and also of the tenets avowed by the trumpet-tongued Reformer, from being known in Spain. Charles, grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, was chosen emperor of Germany, by the title of Charles V, his common designation in history. His elevation to the imperial dignity led necessarily to much and constant intercourse between Spain and Germany, so that some of his courtiers, and even clergy, were made so far acquainted with the writings of Luther; while at the same time, some of those who had espoused the opinions of Luther, thought it their duty to avail themselves of the intercourse between Spain and Germany, for the purpose of introducing the writings of the reformer into the former country. So early as the beginning of 1519, a collection of Luther's tracts, in Latin, were sent to Spain. These were soon followed by a translation into Spanish of his commentary on Galatians, and by several other translated treatises. Alfonso Valdes, secretary to Charles V, sent to Spain an account of the religious controversies then agitating Germany; and other Spaniards of distinction had their attention strongly drawn to these important subjects. Even the Spanish ambassador at Rome suggested to his imperial master the policy of giving some countenance to Luther, with the view of alarming the pope, and rendering him more tractable in other matters. So far it might seem that

there was a fair prospect for the Reformation being introduced into Spain. But when Adrian, himself a Spaniard, and formerly preceptor of Charles V, was elevated to the popedom on the death of Leo X, a different course was adopted, and the pre-existent enginery of the Inquisition was put in motion. Adrian had, while cardinal, charged the Inquisitors to seize all books that favoured the Lutheran heresy; but when he obtained full power, in 1623, he repeated the command, ordering every assistance to be given to the Inquisitors in the execution of this duty. The Inquisitors began their task boldly. Listening to the complaints of some envious monks, they cast into prison the venerable Juan de Avila, commonly called the Apostle of Andalusia, because, rejecting the unintelligible jargon of the schoolmen, he preached according to the simplicity of the scriptures. He was saved by the interposition of Manrique, one of the mildest of the Inquisitors-general; but his works were put into the list of prohibited books. The writings of Erasmus were soon afterwards condemned and prohibited. The Inquisition now began to feel that the time of their full exercise of power was come, and that their power was irresistible. They were not men to leave it unemployed.

They were fully aware of the importance of suppressing learning, that their dark kingdom might be maintained. Prosecutions were accordingly commenced against some of the most learned men in the kingdom. Two of the most distinguished professors were accused, and fled to Paris. Other two were seized, imprisoned, and constrained not only to abjure the heresies of Luther, but also to submit to certain penances. Alfonso Valdes, the emperor's secretary, was condemned as a suspected

Lutheran ; and Alfonso de Virves, the emperor's chaplain, was seized, kept in the prison of the Inquisition for four years, condemned at last as a suspected heretic, ordered to abjure the tenets of Luther, and sentenced to confinement in a monastery for two years, and prohibited from preaching for two years more. The course was now begun, and it acquired fresh vehemence as it advanced. In 1530, the Supreme Council of the Inquisition emitted a circular letter, declaring that the writings of Luther had found their way into the country,—requiring their agents to search them out everywhere,—authorizing the sentence of excommunication to be pronounced against all who either hindered or abstained from aiding their familiars,—commanding the whole clerical body to urge their people to lodge informations,—and after enumerating the different articles of the Lutherau heresy, requiring the informers to declare “if they knew, or had heard it said, that any person had taught, maintained, or entertained in his thought, any of these opinions.”

There is reason to believe that none of those who had hitherto incurred the suspicion of the Inquisition, had really imbibed the principles of the Reformation. But the next victim manifestly passed the boundaries of doubt. That victim was Rodrigo de Valer, a young nobleman of Librixa, near Seville. For a time he had been distinguished only for his gallantries and personal attractions. On a sudden he abandoned all the amusements of the world, betook himself to the study of the Bible, and as soon as he had obtained a competent knowledge of the pure truths therein contained, returned to society, and availed himself of the opportunities which his birth and station gave him for the diffusion of those

truths. He was soon brought before the Inquisition, where he ably defended himself by arguments drawn from Scripture. The result was, his imprisonment for life in a monastery. But he had succeeded in kindling the light of sacred truth in some minds, before he was plunged into the darkness of the inquisitorial dungeons. The most distinguished of these was Egidius of Seville. Egidius was a man of learning and eloquence, and peculiarly distinguished as a preacher. For a time he managed to avoid any direct collision with the Inquisitors; but they had fixed the fascination of their serpent eyes upon him, and ere long their crushing coils were clasped around him. He was accused, and to be accused and condemned were almost equivalent terms with the Inquisition. Not even the interposition of the emperor could save him from his enemies. He was imprisoned for three years, and commanded to abstain from writing or teaching for ten years. A fever seizing his enfeebled constitution soon after his release from prison, freed him from further trouble. At Valladolid the Inquisition obtained the opportunity of more distinctly displaying its energies for evil. Francisco San-Roman, a young and active merchant, had gone to Antwerp, and thence to Bremen, in pursuit of his mercantile concerns. He there became acquainted with the doctrines of the Reformation, and became eager to introduce them to his native country. He was seized and delivered to the Inquisition at Valladolid. After enduring the horrors of a protracted imprisonment, during which he resisted all the attempts of the friars to induce him to recant, he was condemned to the flames. The fire was kindled, and when the flames began to scorch him, he made an involuntary movement of pain; the friars exclaimed that

he was become penitent, and ordered him to be extricated from the pile. On recovering his breath he looked them calmly in the face, and said, "Did you envy me my happiness?" He was immediately thrust back into the blazing pile. This martyrdom took place in the year 1544.

This bloody commencement was not allowed to slacken. Further occasion for its exercise soon followed. Three brothers of the name of Enzinas, who had been educated at Louvain, became acquainted with the doctrines of the Reformation, and longed to introduce the knowledge of them to their benighted and enslaved countrymen. The eldest of these heroic brothers perished in the flames at Rome itself. Another Spaniard, who had been converted by his means, was murdered by the contrivance of his own brother, a bigoted papist. The second brother took refuge at Antwerp, and employed himself in translating the Bible into the Spanish language, which was printed in the year 1543. He died in exile. A still more distinguished victim was to be sacrificed. Constantine Ponce de la Fuente, a man of genius, taste, wit, and learning, having become acquainted with Egidius, adopted his principles, and set himself to promote reformation in a similar manner. His preaching was extremely popular; and while he abstained from directly attacking the errors of Popery, he exerted himself to the utmost in endeavouring to diffuse spiritual truth, as it is in the scriptures, both by preaching and from the press. For a considerable time he escaped the snares of the Inquisition, though watched by them with the most jealous vigilance. About the same time Augustin Cazalla began to teach the reformed doctrines at Valladolid; and there seemed to be some prospect of the Reformation obtaining

secure ground in Spain. For, as even Spanish writers themselves complained, the learned men of Spain who entered into controversy with the Lutherans, often ended in embracing the very doctrines which they had attempted to confute. From Seville and Valladolid, the reformed doctrines were spread into Old Castile, to Navarre, to Toledo, to Granada, Murcia, Valencia, and Aragon. The Inquisition became thoroughly alarmed, and determined to put forth its most vigorous efforts to extinguish those sparks which were threatening to burst into a national flame.

The translation of the Bible, by Francisco Enzinas, had been secretly introduced into Spain by Julian Hernandez. This became known to the Inquisition; and he was seized and thrown into prison. But his death was not enough to satiate their vengeance; the discovery of his associates was what they chiefly sought, that, to use their own words, "they might at once crush the viper's nest." In vain, however, did they employ every artifice to entrap him; in vain did they exhaust their fiend-like ingenuity in torture to subdue him, till craft and cruelty could do no more. When half-carried, half-dragged, from the place of torture to his dungeon, the indomitable martyr chaunted, with a tone of triumph, these lines:—

"Conquered return the friars, conquered return;
Scattered return the wolves, scattered return."

At length the Inquisition, chiefly by means of the confessional, obtained information of the retreats and the names of the Protestants, both at Seville and at Valladolid. This was enough. For a time not a whisper was breathed respecting their discovery. But messengers were sent to every Inquisition in the kingdom with in-

structions ;—guards were planted in suitable places to intercept all who might seek safety by flight. All was ready ; commands were issued simultancously ; and at an appointed moment almost the entire Protestant party were seized at once throughout the whole kingdom. Terror, intense and universal, possessed the community. Every person who had uttered a single word, even in seeming approbation of religious liberty and truth, became afraid of being accused, and vast numbers hastened to become informers, that they might escape the danger of being the victims of information,—many even informing against themselves, in their frenzied terror. This long pent storm of persecution burst on Spain early in the year 1558.

A short while before this inauspicious period Charles V. had resigned his crown to his son Philip II. That monarch surpassed his father in bigotry, and in a coldly cruel and unrelenting temper. The Inquisitor-general was Francisco Valdes, who to a natural ferocity of disposition added the morose severity of peevish and unfeeling age. And the Pope of the period was Paul IV., a furious persecutor, and the determined supporter of the holy inquisition. There was thus a terrific combination of power arrayed against the Reformation, and armed with the most deadly weapons of destruction.

In February 1558 the pope issued a brief, renewing all the decisions of councils and popes against heretics and schismatics ; declaring that this was rendered necessary by the information he had received of the increase of heresy ; and charging the Inquisitor-general to prosecute the guilty, and inflict on them due punishment according to such decrees, “ whether they be bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, cardinals, or legates,—

barons, counts, marquises, dukes, princes, kings, or emperors." To this sweeping and comprehensive brief, including all mankind but the pope himself, the king gave his ready sanction ; and even added a law, threatening with the punishment of death and confiscation of property all who sold, bought, read, or possessed any book prohibited by the holy office. A papal bull was also issued, strictly enjoining all confessors to examine their penitents, charging them to inform against all whom they knew or suspected to be guilty of harbouring heretical books or opinions, on pain of excommunication, which penalty impended over both confessors and penitents in case of neglect. Again, to complete these measures, Philip renewed an obsolete ordinance which entitled informers to the fourth part of the property of those found guilty of heresy. Thus were leagued together against the Reformation power unlimited, with all that could excite selfish fear and sordid love of money. It seemed Satanic agency let loose. There could be but one addition made, and that was soon supplied. The Pope, at the request of the King and the Inquisitor-general, issued a final brief, authorizing the Council of the Supreme to deliver over to the secular power those who had been previously convicted of having taught the Lutheran opinions, though they had not relapsed after their former conviction, and were willing to repeat their recantation. This gave to their measures a retrospective action, and cut off all hopes of escape. The dread enginery was now complete, without repentance or hope of mercy,—fatal as death,—dark as the grave,—irrevocable as everlasting despair.

Constantine Ponce, the favourite chaplain of Charles V, was seized, cast into a chill, damp, unwholesome

dungeon, in which he endured a lingering death of two years' duration. Olmedo perished in a similar manner. Women were not only cast into the dungeons, but put to torture, for the purpose of wringing from agonized and shrinking nature, language that might be used for the conviction of themselves or others. When they had thus seized sufficient numbers, and obtained what they chose to regard as adequate evidence, they proceeded to the last act of the horrible tragedy. They were now to display before the eyes of a terrified or a brutalized community their success in detecting and suppressing heresy. For this purpose they prepared to celebrate *Autos-de-fé*, under the direction of the several tribunals of the Inquisition throughout the kingdom. Seville and Valladolid maintained their hideous pre-eminence in these dreadful spectacles.

Every art was used to render the *Auto-de-fé* as imposing as possible. It was celebrated either on a Sunday or some holiday, when multitudes could conveniently assemble. Intimation was previously made in all the churches and religious houses, and an indulgence of forty days was proclaimed to all who should witness the act. On the preceding evening those of the prisoners who had professed penitence, and were to receive a milder sentence, were assembled together and received information of their fate. At midnight a confessor entered the cell of those who had been condemned to the stake, informed them of their doom, and exhorted them to recant and be reconciled to the church, in which case they should be strangled before being exposed to the devouring flames. Next morning the bells rang out their warning peals,—the prisoners were collected together, and clad in vestments suited to their respective

sentences. The san-benito, a loose vest of yellow cloth, was put on those who were condemned to death ; but if they were to endure the mitigated sentence of being strangled, the painted flames on their vestments were pointed downwards, to imply that they had escaped the fire, while those who were to be burned alive had their garb covered with upward burning flames, through which were seen the pictured shapes of hideous fiends, carrying faggots, and fanning the fire. They were now ready to move on in processional arrangement. First marched a band of soldiers,—next priests clad in their white surplices,—then a number of youthful students and choristers chanting the liturgy,—then came the prisoners, guarded each by two familiars of the Inquisition, and attended by friars, if sentenced to die. Immediately behind them came the local magistrates, judges, officers of state, and nobility on horseback. They were followed by troops of secular and monastic clergy. At an imposing distance, with a clear space between, moved forward with slow and solemn pomp, the mighty chiefs of the Inquisition, their silken banner waving high, surmounted by a crucifix of massive silver overlaid with gold. Behind them came their familiars, mounted on horseback, and accompanied by the principal gentry of the district. The dense and closing crowds of unarranged spectators brought up the rear of the procession.

Arriving at the fatal place, the Inquisitors ascended their elevated platform, and the prisoners were placed on one opposite and below it. A sermon was then preached ; the penitents repeated their confession ; the Inquisitor pronounced absolution from the crime, leaving however the punishment to be inflicted. He then administered an oath to all present, binding them to live

and die in the communion of the Roman Church, and to defend the holy inquisition against all its adversaries, while every bent knee of the vast and abject multitude assented to the oath. Then came the final scene. Those who had been spared from death were dragged back to their dungeons, or sent to exile. Those on whom the sentence of death had been pronounced were handed over to the secular power, with the hypocritical request, that they might be treated with commiseration—then dragged to the *quemadero*, or burning-place, without the walls, while shouting crowds accompanied to gaze on their fiery agonies.

Such were the arguments with which the Spanish Inquisition, “the Holy Office,” encountered the doctrines of the Reformation. Such were the *Autos-de-fé*, the acts of faith, celebrated by kings, queens, nobility, clergy, and the body of the people, and in which, while such were the cruel, the deluded, and the degraded actors, the sufferers, often the noblest, the most beautiful, and the best,—venerable age, lovely womanhood, and tender youth, displayed indeed high and holy acts of faith and heroic martyrdom. But let me not attempt to describe such scenes,—too horrible even for thought!

From 1558 till 1570, the fires of the Inquisition blazed with fierce and incessant rage. During that terrific period none who were suspected escaped from being accused; and none who were accused escaped condemnation. Some were banished for life; greater numbers were cast into dungeons, whence they never returned alive; and many perished in the flames of the *Autos-de-fé*. By the year 1570 none were to be found bold enough to breathe a single whisper against the Church of Rome, and its ministers of vengeance, the

Holy Inquisition. The Spanish Reformation had utterly perished in the flames,—nothing, absolutely nothing of it remained. Still the Inquisition continued to exist; and though there were no Protestants properly so called, for it to persecute, it maintained the most sleepless vigilance over the whole kingdom, lest the slightest taints of what it might deem heresy, should by possibility appear. It did accordingly find occasional opportunities of regaling itself with the death of a heretic. There were persons suspected of being Jews still to be sought out; there were others who were suspected of not being sufficiently devoted to Rome; and there were others whose offences could not be distinctly named, but whom it was judged most expedient to put out of the way in the readiest manner. Thus the fires of the Inquisition were not suffered to be quite extinguished; and they continued to terrify the people from giving any countenance to opinions that might be regarded as heretical.

The following summary of the victims of the Inquisition, from the period of its commencement in Spain, till its suppression in the year 1808, is given on the authority of a recent author.*

From 1481 to 1808, there were—

Burned alive,	- - - - -	34,611
Burned in effigy,	- - - - -	18,048
Condemned to prison and the galleys,	-	288,109
	Total,	<u>340,768</u>

According to Llorente, 341,021.

Such was the awful sum of human sufferers by means of the terrible Inquisition:—actual sufferers,—but who shall attempt to state, or even to conceive, the sumless

* Ford's Hand-Book, vol. i. p. 279.

agonies of broken hearts, and violated consciences, and ruined souls? They are all recorded in God's dreadful book, and will be known in that day when the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed, and when not the sea only, but also the dark and dismal dungeons of the Spanish Inquisition, and death, and hell, shall yield up their dead.

It is scarcely necessary to ask what is now the state of religion in Spain, for true religion has no existence there. The effect of the Inquisition was not merely to crush the Reformation, but to extinguish all freedom of inquiry and opinion on religious matters. An engine of mystery, as a recent author has said, hung over the nation, like the sword of Damocles; while invisible spies, more terrible than armed men, omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent, aimed at every attribute of the Almighty, save his justice and mercy. The dread of the Inquisition, from which no secrets were hid, locked up the Spanish heart, soured the sweet charities of life, and prevented all that frank and social communication which relieves and improves. And though the Inquisition has been abolished, its effects survive. Spaniards still loathe the name of heresy, and tremble at the mention of the Inquisition. Spain has fallen from her high glory. When under her sovereigns of the Austrian race, she was the mightiest power in Europe. She has been trampled under foot by the ruthless legions of revolutionary France. She has experienced repeated revolutions of her own,—alternating between the extremes of despotic monarchy and ultra-liberalism. But her religious condition has experienced no change. No king, no cortes, no constitution, has ever permitted any approach to religious toleration. The spirit of the Inqui-

sition is still alive ; and even yet, all abhor, and regard as branded with indelible infamy, the descendants of those who were convicted by that terrible tribunal. Its burned-in terrors are still on the heart of Spain.

Meanwhile, popish rituals and superstitions are as frequent as ever. Monastic institutions still abound, though they sustained great devastation from the French, and not a little from the revolutionary convulsions of Spain itself. There seem to be now but two aspects of the Spanish mind with regard to religion ; either abject, unthinking superstition, or absolute infidelity. All those who possess any learning are infidels ; all the ignorant, which includes the mass of the nation, are the slaves of the most gross and grovelling superstition. But both these parties are equally intolerant of true religion. The superstitious hate it, for it accords not with their follies and their crimes ; the infidels hate it, because it wears an aspect which they cannot despise ; and all politicians equally fear and hate it, because a true Christian can neither be a knavish tool, nor a crouching slave. The politician can use or abuse the unprincipled priest ; the priest can domineer over the ignorant people ; but politicians and priests alike detest and dread gospel light and gospel truth, and the misguided people tremble yet at the well-remembered terrors of the Inquisition.

Were it necessary for me to prove that the character of peninsular popery is unchanged, I need but point to Madeira,—I need but lead you to the cell of Maria Joaquina, condemned to death because of her abandonment of popish superstition. But I should also be constrained, were I to prosecute this topic, to record the infamy of Britain, and especially of that distinguished nobleman,

the Earl of Aberdeen, who has consented to look tamely on, while a helpless woman, whom his slightest word could rescue, is pining under the suspended sentence of death, in the dungeon of our ancient allies, the Portuguese. I turn with shame, and sorrow, and unutterable loathing, from the subject.

Is there, then, no hope for Spain? Dark is the prospect; but I will not, I do not, I dare not, think it hopeless. No such combination as that which exterminated the Reformation is now possible. Were true scriptural religion again introduced, politicians, and statesmen, and priests, might fret and rave, but they could not again restore the Inquisition to its former power; and without it they could not exterminate religion. Nothing but a revolution could have saved the Reformation from the exterminating fires of the Inquisition. But it is not the will of the Redeemer that Christianity should be propagated by violence, therefore he did not permit a revolution then. Revolutions have since swept away all those exterminating powers; and should it please Him to send Christianity to Spain now, it might speedily triumph even there. The dread of the Inquisition has not indeed yet left the Spanish heart, but the attempt to renew its horrors would not be now endured. Even British statemen would be constrained to interpose were that attempted. The absolute despotism of Ferdinand and Isabella, or of Charles V, or of Philip II, has passed away; and though Spain does not yet understand either civil or religious liberty, yet her aspirations are beginning to tend in that direction. Formerly, the patriotic merchant who introduced a cask of Bibles, instead of far less precious goods, into his native country, perished in the flames of the Inquisition. Now, Bibles

can be introduced without such peril, though still their introduction is contrary to the laws of the country. There are streaks of light across the darkness of the Spanish horizon,—faint, indeed, and uncertain, but they indicate a coming day. The circulation of the Bible appears to be the most likely method to awaken the mind of Spain from its lethargy, its superstition, and its empty terrors. If that be wisely and energetically prosecuted, accompanied with fervent and frequent prayers to Him who alone can quicken and water the good seed of the word, I would most confidently anticipate brighter and better days for Spain. Not the days of chivalry, when the crescent and the cross met on bloody fields, as the insignia of striving armies; not the days of ambition and avarice, dreaming of El Dorados beyond the vast Atlantic; but the days of Christian chivalry, when men of peace shall go forth equipped from the armoury of God to the bloodless warfare of the gospel, and when heroic adventurers shall proclaim to Spain the unsearchable riches of Christ, and the everlasting inheritance in the world beyond the dark, wide sea of death.

NOTES.

Note on Religion. Ford, Hand-Book, vol. i. p. 167.

“ One word on religion, which pervades every part and parcel of Spain and the Spaniard, and is, as the word implies, a real *binding* power, and one of the very few, in this land, of non-amalgamation and disunion; here no rival creeds, no dissents, weaken, as in England, the nation’s common strength; his crowning pride is, that he is the original Christian of Christendom, and that his religion, *la fe, the faith*, is the only pure and unadulterated one. He boasts to be “ *El Christiano viejo rancio y sin mancha*, the old genuine and untainted Christian, not a newly converted Jew or Moresco;

these he abhors, as the Moor did those new Moslems, the Mosalimah, who deserted the cross, whose children they despised as *Muwallad*, or *Mulatt*, i. e. not of pure caste, but hybrid and mulish. The word *Catolico* is often used as equivalent to *Spanish*, and as an epithet bears the force of "excellent." In these respects Spain is more ultra-Roman than Rome itself; she stands in relation to indifferent Italy, as the bigot Moor did to the laxer Ottoman; it is a remnant of the crusade preached against the invading infidel, when faith was synonymous with patriotism. There is no tolerance, or in other words, indifference; intolerance is the only point on which king and cortes, liberal and servile, are agreed. Bigotry has long, in the eyes of Spain, been her glory; in the eyes of Europe, her disgrace; here every possible dissent prevails except the religious."

The Worship of the Virgin Mary. Ford, vol. ii. pp. 963-4.

"Marianism (Mariolatry), is the religion of the great bulk of the Spaniards; and notwithstanding that some of the higher classes disbelieve what popes for gospel do receive, here, indeed the honour and worship due to the Creator alone, is transferred to the creature; here she rules triumphantly as Empress of heaven and earth, of angels and mortals; the stern doctrine of retribution for sin is melted down into a soft, easy dependence on this Esther with whom the celestial kingdom is partitioned;—nay, the Deity has all but abdicated in her favour, having given to her all that he could, everything, in short, save his own essence. She is *La S nora de la Merced*, the Lady of Mercy, *La Senora* here being used in the sense of *El S nor*, the Lord God. She administers grace, equity, and remission of sins. Thus the Almighty is robbed of his prerogative, and his sceptre rendered barren to the exclusion and derogation of the "only one name and none other." The Virgin, as *Regina et Conjux*, "calms the rage of her heavenly husband," and tempers "an angry judge," whose only office is to punish; while as a mother, she "commands and compels her son," to whom "she is superior by reason of his humanity, and because as mother, she has done more for him than he could have done for her." He saves only by her intercession, for it is *she*, who in the Roman vulgate, bruises the serpent's head; she has her rituals, litanies, creeds, offices, festivals, &c.; to her are dedicated almost all the Cathedrals of Spain; her graven image is elevated above the high altars in the place of honour, and holds the Son either as a helpless babe or a dying victim, thus made subordinate, in both respects, and dependent on her."

The Inquisition. Ford, vol. i. pp. 278-9.

“ On the flat plain outside the walls (of Seville,) was the *Quemadero*, or the burning-place of the Inquisition ; here the last act of the tragedy of the *auto-de-fe* was performed by the civil power, on whom the odium was cast. The spot of fire is marked by the foundations of a square platform on which the faggots were piled. The Spaniards are still very shy of talking about the *Quemadero* ; sons of burnt fathers, they dread the fire. *Con el Rey y la inquisicion, chiton ! chiton !* “ Hush, hush,” say they, with finger on lip, like the image of silence, “ with king and inquisition.” As the swell of the Atlantic remains after the hurricane is past, so distrust and seared apprehension form part of the uncommunicative Spaniard in dealing with Spaniard. “ How silent you are ?” said the Queen of Prussia to Euler. “ Madam,” replied he, “ I have lived in a country where men who speak are hanged.” The burnings of torrid Spain would have better suited the temperature of Russia. The effects are, however, the same ; an engine of mystery hung over the nation, like the sword of Damocles ; invisible spies ; more terrible than armed men, omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent, aimed at every attribute of the Almighty, save his justice and mercy. The dread of the inquisition, from which no secrets were hid, locked up the Spanish hearts, soured the sweet charities of life, and prevented frank and social communication, which relieves and improves. Hospitality became dangerous, when confidence might open the mind, and wine give utterance to long-hidden thoughts. It is as well, therefore, here as elsewhere, to avoid jesting or criticism on this matter. Spaniards, who, like Moslems, allow themselves a wide latitude in laughing at their priests, are very touchy on every subject connected with their creed, it is a remnant of their loathing of heresy, and their dread of a tribunal which they think sleepeth, but is dead, scotched rather than killed. In the changes and chances of Spain it may be re-established, and as it never forgets or forgives, it will surely revenge. No king, cortes, or constitution, ever permits in Spain any approach to any religious toleration ; the spirit of the Inquisition is alive ; all abhor and brand with eternal infamy the descendants of those convicted by this tribunal ; the stain is indelible, and the stigma, if once affixed on any unfortunate family, is known in every town by the very children in the street.

“ The Inquisition, a tribunal of bad faith, bigotry, confiscation, blood, and fire, was derived from France. It was imitated by St Dominick, who learned his trade under Simon de Montfort, the ex-

terminator of the Protestant Albigenses. It was remodelled on Moorish principles, the *garotte* and furnace being the bowstring, and fire of the Moslem, who burnt the bodies of the infidel to prevent the ashes from becoming relics. Spanish cities have contended for the honour of which was the first seat of this *holy* tribunal, once the great glory and boast of Spain, and elsewhere her foul disgrace. This, says Mariana, was the secret of her invincible greatness, since "the instant the holy office acquired its due power and authority, a *new light* shone over the land, and by divine favour, the forces of Spain became sufficient to beat down and eradicate the Moor."

"Seville was the head quarters of these bright fires. The great claim put forth in 1627, for the beatification of St Ferdinand, was, that he had himself carried faggots to burn heretics. But the spirit of the age was then fanatically ferocious. Philip le Bel, his cousin, and son of St Louis, tortured and burnt the templars by a slow fire near his royal gardens. The *holy* tribunal was first fixedly established at Seville, in 1481, by Sixtus IV., at the petition of Ferdinand, who used it as an engine of finance, police, and revenge. He assigned to it the citadel of Friana. Thomas de Torquemada was the first high priest. Thus were revived in his own town the fire and blood of the sacrifice of Molock (Meleck, the Phœnician *King*, Hercules). Torquemada was the willing instrument of the fanatic Ximenes. The statistics of the Inquisition, or the results, to use Bossuet's mild phrase, of "the holy severity of the Church of Rome, which will not tolerate error," according to Moreau de Jonnes, are as follows:—

From 1481 to 1808, Burned alive,	. . .	34,611
... .. Burned in effigy,	. . .	18,048
... .. Prison and galleys,	. . .	288,109
		<hr/>
Total,	. . .	340,768

"By it too were lost to poor, uncommercial, indolent Spain, her wealthy Jews, and her most industrious agriculturists, the Moors. The dangerous engine, when the supply of victims was exhausted, recoiled on the nation, and fitted it for that yoke, heavy and grievous, under which, for three centuries, it has done penance; the works of Llorente have fully revealed the secrets of the tribunal's prison-house."

The result, as stated by Llorente, is somewhat different, but not less dreadful. And though there may be slight errors in either, or both, yet as they are independent witnesses, such discrepancies might be expected, and even tend to confirm the general truth of their respective statements. Llorente had been an inquisitor himself, and prepared his History of the Spanish Inquisition from materials furnished by the archives of that tribunal itself. It may be expedient to state, that the offences of which the Inquisition took cognisance were,—heresy in all its different forms, apostasy, judaism, mahommedanism, sorcery, unnatural crimes, and polygamy. It was easy to fasten some one or other of these charges on any person whose destruction was desired. The following is the general result of Llorente's statement:—

Burned alive,	. . . . .	31,912.
Burned in effigy,	. . . . .	17,659.
Subjected to rigorous pains and penances,		291,450.
		<hr/>
Total,	. . . . .	341,021.

It should be borne in mind, that being burned in effigy was no unmeaning ceremony. Those only were burned in effigy who would have been burned alive, had they not eluded the last cruelty of their persecutors, some few by escape, but most by a previous death, either under torture, or in consequence of protracted imprisonment and aggravated sufferings. In some of the cells of the inquisition may still be seen the melancholy traces of the mental agonies endured by the hapless victims. A few short broken sentences written on the wall record the date of incarceration,—others intimate the feelings, the hopes, the fears of the imprisoned, with dates marking the duration of their long pining imprisonments,—some hint darkly at the dreadful tortures endured,—an abrupt line will state that the victim is to be dragged to the *auto-de-fe* to-morrow,—and then the dread recital closes. Were the numbers of all the victims immolated by the Inquisition throughout the dominions of Spain, in different parts of the world added together, it would probably be found that more than half a million of human beings had been condemned by this inexorable tribunal. Such was Popery in its days of pride and might,—such is it still in spirit and desire,—and such would it speedily prove itself to be, were its power equal to its will.

For specimens of the Inquisition's Acts, we give the following extracts from Dr M'Crie's History of the Suppression of the Reformation in Spain:—

“ The two individuals who on this occasion had the honour to endure the flames were Francisco de Vibero Cazalla, parish priest of Hornigos, and Antonio Herezuelo, an advocate of Toro. Some writers say that the former begged, when under the torture, to be admitted to reconciliation; but it is certain that he gave no sign of weakness or a wish to recant on the day of the auto-de-fé. Seeing his brother Augustine Cazalla, not at the stake, but on the adjoining scaffold among the penitents, and being prevented from speaking by a gag, he signified his sorrow by an expressive motion of his hands; after which he bore the fire without shrinking. Herezuelo conducted himself with surpassing intrepidity. From the moment of his apprehension to that of his death, he never exhibited the least symptom of a wish to save his life, or to mitigate his sufferings, by compromising his principles. His courage remained unshaken amidst the horrors of the torture, the ignominy of the public spectacle, and the terrors of the stake. The only thing that moved him, on the day of the auto-de-fé, was the sight of his wife in the garb of a penitent; and the look which he gave (for he could not speak) as he passed her to go to the place of execution, seemed to say, ‘ *This is hard to bear!*’ He listened without emotion to the friars who teased him with their importunate exhortations to repent, as they conducted him to the stake; but when, at their instigation, his former associate and instructor, Doctor Cazalla, began to address him in the same strain, he threw upon him a glance of disdain, which froze the words on his recreant lips. ‘ The bachelor Herezuelo (says the popish author of the Pontifical History) suffered himself to be burnt alive with unparalleled hardihood. I stood so near him that I had a complete view of his person, and observed all his motions and gestures. He could not speak, for his mouth was gagged on account of the blasphemies which he had uttered; but his whole behaviour showed him to be a most resolute and hardened person, who, rather than yield to believe with his companions, was determined to die in the flames. Though I marked him narrowly, I could not observe the least symptom of fear or expression of pain; only, there was a sadness in his countenance beyond any thing I had ever seen. It was frightful to look in his face, when one considered that in a moment he would be in hell with his associate and master, Luther.’ Enraged to see such courage in a heretic, one of the guards plunged his lance into the body of Herezuelo, whose

blood was licked up by the flames with which he was already enveloped.

Herezuelo and his wife, Leonor de Cisneros, were divided in their death, but it was in the time of it only, not the kind or manner; and their memory must not be divided in our pages. Leonor was only twenty-two years of age, when she was thrown into the Inquisition; and when we consider that, during her imprisonment, she was precluded from all intercourse with her husband, kept in ignorance of his resolutions, and perhaps deceived into the belief that she would find him among the class of penitents in the auto, we need not wonder that one of her tender sex and age should have fainted in the day of trial, suffered herself to be overcome by the persuasions of the monks, or, yielding to the feelings of nature, consented to renounce with the hand that truth which she continued to believe with the heart. Such assaults have shaken, and threatened to throw to the ground, pillars in the church. But Leonor was not long in recovering from the shock. The parting look of her husband never departed from her eyes; the reflection that she had inflicted a pang on his heart, during the arduous conflict which he had to maintain, fanned the flame of attachment to the reformed religion which secretly burned in her breast; and having resolved, in dependence on that strength which is made perfect in weakness, to emulate the example of constancy set by one in every respect so dear to her, she resolutely broke off the course of penance on which she had entered. The consequence of this was, that she was again thrown into the secret prisons. During eight years that she was kept in confinement, every effort was made in vain to induce her to renew her recantation. At last she was brought out into a public auto-de-fé celebrated at Valladolid; and we have the account of her behaviour from the same pen which so graphically described that of her husband. ‘In the year 1568, on the 26th of September, justice was executed on Leonor de Cisneros, widow of the bachelor Herezuelo. She suffered herself to be burnt alive, notwithstanding the great and repeated exertions made to bring her to a conviction of her errors. Finally, she resisted, what was sufficient to melt a stone, an admirable sermon preached, at the auto of that day, by his excellency Don Juan Manuel, bishop of Zamora, a man no less learned and eloquent in the pulpit than illustrious in blood. But nothing could move the impenetrable heart of that obstinate woman.’—pp. 287-291.

“No fewer than eight females, of irreproachable character, and some of them distinguished by their rank and education, suffered

the most cruel of deaths at this auto-de-fé. Among these was Maria Gomez, who, having recovered from the mental disorder by which she was overtaken, had been received back into the protestant fellowship, and fell into the hands of the Inquisition. She appeared on the scaffold along with her three daughters and a sister. After the reading of the sentence which doomed them to the flames, one of the young women went up to her aunt, from whom she had imbibed the protestant doctrine, and, on her knees, thanked her for all the religious instructions she had received from her, implored her forgiveness for any offence she might have given her, and begged her dying blessing. Raising her up, and assuring her that she had never given her a moment's uneasiness, the old woman proceeded to encourage her dutiful niece, by reminding her of that support which their divine Redeemer had promised them in the hour of trial, and of those joys which awaited them at the termination of their momentary sufferings. The five friends then took leave of one another with tender embraces and words of mutual comfort. The interview between these devoted females was beheld by the members of the Holy Tribunal with a rigid composure of countenance, undisturbed even by a glance of displeasure; and so completely had superstition and habit subdued the strongest emotions of the human breast, that not a single expression of sympathy escaped from the multitude at witnessing a scene which, in other circumstances, would have harrowed up the feelings of the spectators, and driven them into mutiny."—pp. 314-315.

“The treatment of one individual, who was pronounced innocent in this auto-de-fé, affords more damning evidence against the inquisitors than that of any whom they devoted quick to the flames. Dona Juana de Bohorques was a daughter of Don Pedro Garcia de Xeres y Bohorques, and a wife of Don Francisco de Vargas, baron of Higuera. She had been apprehended in consequence of a confession extorted by the rack from her sister Maria de Bohorques, who owned that she had conversed with her on the Lutheran tenets without exciting any marks of disapprobation. Being six months gone in pregnancy, Dona Juana was permitted to occupy one of the public prisons until the time of her delivery; but eight days after that event the child was taken from her, and she was thrust into a secret cell. A young female, who was afterwards brought to the stake as a Lutheran, was confined along with her, and did every thing in her power to promote her recovery. Dona Juana had soon an opportunity of repaying the kind attentions of her fellow-prisoner, who, having been called before the inquisitors, was

brought back into her dungeon faint and mangled. Scarcely had the latter acquired sufficient strength to rise from her bed of flags, when Dona Juana was conducted in her turn to the place of torture. Refusing to confess, she was put into the engine *del burro*, which was applied with such violence, that the cords penetrated to the bones of her arms and legs; and some of the internal vessels being burst, the blood flowed in streams from her mouth and nostrils. She was conveyed to her cell in a state of insensibility, and expired in the course of a few days. The inquisitors would fain have concealed the cause of her death, but it was impossible; and they thought to expiate the crime of this execrable murder, in the eyes of men at least, by pronouncing Juana de Bohorques innocent on the day of the auto-de-fé, vindicating her reputation, and restoring her property to her heirs."—pp. 319-320.

LECTURE VII.

THE PROSPECTS OF CHRISTENDOM.

BY ROBERT BUCHANAN, D.D.

MINISTER OF FREE TRON CHURCH, GLASGOW.

“ But the end of all things is at hand; be ye therefore sober and watch unto prayer,”—1 PETER iv. 7.

THERE is here an urgent call to certain important duties, together with the special reason on which that call is founded. The duties enjoined are sobriety, watchfulness, and prayer,—and the peculiar ground on which they are pressed with so much earnestness is this, that “ the end of all things is at hand.” What did the apostle mean by the end of all things? What was the impending crisis which these words contemplated? To this inquiry various answers have been given,—all of them sufficiently relevant to the practical exhortation which the words in question were intended to enforce. The end of all things, say some, is the hour of death: that solemn hour which is *to us* the end of all things belonging to earth and time, and the commencing point of another and an eternal state of being. The end of all things, say others, is the judgment-day: that great and terrible day of the Lord which is to wind up the drama of this world’s eventful history, and when the grand pur-

pose for which all things now existing are maintained, shall have been fully and finally accomplished. For “*then* cometh the end,” when that mediatorial government, which now rests upon the shoulder of the Son, shall have been conducted to its glorious issue, and “when He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father,” “that God may be all in all,” (1 Cor. xv. 24–28). In both these senses of the expression in question, it is emphatically true, that the period spoken of is “at hand.” For what, even at the longest, is our life? “In the morning it flourisheth, and groweth up; in the evening it is cut down, and withereth,” (Ps. xc. 6). Or what are the centuries that may have to run their course before the judgment shall sit and the books shall be opened? In relation to eternity, a “thousand years are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night,” (Ps. xc. 4).

But however consistent with fact these interpretations may be, and however appropriate to the apostle’s design, there is still another view for which many have contended, and which has undoubtedly a more direct and peculiar bearing on the subject and the circumstances which the present lecture is intended to embrace. If this epistle, as many things in it appear to indicate, was meant especially for the scattered converts from Judaism, the remnant, according to the election of grace, of a nation that was at that very moment on the eve of being overwhelmed beneath the righteous judgments of God, it seems natural to conclude, that in speaking of the end of all things as being at hand, the apostle had an immediate reference to the approaching destruction of Jerusalem, and dissolution of that whole economy under which they and their fathers had lived for fifteen hundred

years. Our Lord himself, in foretelling the portentous signs by which these days of vengeance should be ushered in, had said expressly to his disciples, "Before all these, they shall lay their hands on you and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name's sake;" and on this account, in terms closely resembling those employed in the text, he had exhorted them to "watch, therefore, and pray always, that they might be counted worthy to escape all these things, that shall come to pass," (Luke xxi. 12, 36). The destruction of that apostate church and people which *then* were the chief enemies of Christ and his cause, was thus to be preceded by times of peculiar trial. And what end but that predicted season of trouble and peril could Peter have had in view, when in the same chapter to which our text belongs, he so emphatically said, "the time is at hand that judgment must begin at the house of God" (ver. 17), and entreated those whom he addressed, as having been sufficiently admonished that such things were in store, to "think it not strange concerning the fiery trial that was to try them, or though some strange thing had happened unto them," (ver. 12).

If then, supported by such considerations as these, we are to regard the text as pointing to a grand epoch in the history of the church of God, an epoch, the approach of which demanded a more than common exercise of self-restraint and prayerful vigilance, its bearing upon the subject of this lecture, will at once appear. The breaking up of Judaism, with all its attendant commotions and perplexities of nations, and anxieties and sufferings of the people of God, is not the solitary transition period which belongs to the economy of grace. Geolo-

gists tell us of successive revolutions distinctly traceable in the framework and condition of the material world,—periods, so to speak, of nature's agony when she travailed as in birth, and brought forth, amid the heavings of some mighty convulsion, a new order of things. And how at each of these periods of organic change a higher condition of physical creation was evolved,—evolved not by some self-operating principle or hidden law of physical creation itself, but by the immediate interposition of the almighty power and infinite wisdom of the great Creator.

Something of an analogous kind may, I apprehend, be not indistinctly discerned in that wonderful economy by which God is conducting His church towards her destined perfection in glory. The antediluvian—the patriarchal—the Mosaic—the Christian—have been so many great eras in the geology of the moral and spiritual world. Each of them has been wound up hitherto by its own peculiar catastrophe, and each in its turn has given place to a dispensation more advanced and complete. And surely there are many prophecies which not obscurely intimate that it is through the darkness and disorder of another convulsion, and by the shaking to the ground and utterly removing from their place of many existing things, that the church is to be ushered into her last and highest terrestrial state,—the state of her millennial triumph. If it was through the tumult and the terrors of the flood that God's cause, in the person of Noah, was rescued from the atheism of the antediluvian world;—if it was amid the tremendous plagues that desolated Egypt, and the devouring waters that engulfed the hosts of Pharaoh, the patriarchal church was delivered from the corruptions and oppres-

sions of idolatry, and brought into that closer and clearer covenant-relation to God that was established at Sinai;—if it was upon the smoking ruins of Judaism that Christianity was reared, the buried shadows and lifeless forms of the abolished economy giving place to the glorious substance and living realities of the gospel;—if, in a word, some great struggle has signalized every one of those successive steps by which God's cause in this fallen world has been lifted up to a higher and a higher level in its progress towards that perfection of truth and holiness, when even to the principalities and powers in heavenly places shall be made known by the church the manifold wisdom of God;—even if we had no definite information to guide us, it were surely no extravagance to suppose that the transition from the church's present condition of weakness and suffering, to the jubilee of her millennial strength and joy, is to be no exception to the rule, but will, on the contrary, be effected at the expense of trials, and amid the shock of conflicts not less memorable than any which have gone before. And what else but such a period of earthquake, convulsion, and far reaching overthrow, is it which many prophecies, pointing to the very times in question, so vividly and impressively describe? “And I saw,” says the apostle John, “an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God: that ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great. And I saw the beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered toge-

ther to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army," (Rev. xix. 17-19). Such is the fierce array, through whose embattled ranks, and over whose routed and scattered legions, Christ's long oppressed and afflicted kingdom is to emerge into the sunshine of victory, when the kingdoms of this world shall become universally the kingdoms of our Lord. And if it indeed be so, as is undoubtedly the prevailing belief among the interpreters of scripture prophecy, that this eventful epoch is drawing nigh,—if such things as these be "at hand,"—what need is there for this urgent and solemn call to the people of God everywhere; "Be ye therefore sober, and watch unto prayer."

If the views which these general observations embody, have any solid foundation in truth, they will be found so far to indicate the prospects of Christendom as sufficiently to justify the application now made to them of the words of our text. If an army of limited numbers and resources were encamped in an enemy's country, and if, after a long respite of comparative quiescence and inactivity, hostile musterings and movements were appearing on every hand; if confederacies were evidently forming among parties hitherto divided; if posts were in the course of being seized, manned, and fortified, which formerly had been neglected or abandoned; if a spirit of new life, energy, and confidence, were seen to be animating and combining the gathering hosts of the adversary; if, instead of maintaining as at other times, and that but languidly, an attitude of defence, they were now assuming the position of a bold and vigorous assailing force, attacking outposts, cutting off supplies, and making threatening and alarming demonstrations against the main body and central stronghold of the invading

power,—what would we expect the leader of such a beleaguered army, as he passed through the lines, to be repeating at every turn, and enjoining earnestly upon all, but just such an exhortation to strictest sobriety and vigilance as our text contains? And if, moreover, in addition to all these external dangers, dissension and disaffection were found to be lamentably prevalent within,—daily desertions to the enemy, or attempts traitorously to display the enemy's banner, in one portion of the camp, and fatal divisions and enmities paralyzing another,—would not these painful circumstances be expected only to necessitate on the part of all who were truly faithful, a still more rigid self-command, and a still more sleepless watchfulness? And this, brethren, let me say, without any figure, is, I fear, at this moment the literal condition of the Church of Christ,—everywhere menaced by the augmenting influence of popery and political infidelity, in some quarters leaguings with these hostile powers, and at the same time fatally weakened and dishonoured by prevailing and long-cherished discords and alienations among its friends. I apprehend it is by taking a somewhat closer review of the state of things at which I have thus briefly glanced, that we shall best be enabled to form something like an intelligent opinion on the subject of this lecture,—the present prospects of Christendom.

And here it may be necessary to say, in order to guard myself against the appearance of rashness and presumption, which the very attempt to handle such a subject may involve, that I am deeply sensible both of my own insufficiency for a task imposed upon me by others, and also that, from its very nature, it is a task, in prosecuting which even the most comprehensive mind and the most penetrating foresight may be so easily de-

ceived. If, however, the statements on the subject which I am enabled to make, shall be blessed to stir up among any of the people of God a spirit of greater sobriety, of more constant watchfulness, and of more earnest prayer, they will not have been submitted in vain.

In casting our eyes abroad over Christendom, at the present day, there are certain things, great moral phenomena, as they may well be called, which can hardly fail to strike and arrest even the most careless mind.

I. The *first*, and not the least remarkable, of these phenomena, is, that almost all existing institutions, both religious and political, appear to be in a state of dissolution. Uncertainty and change have become the order of the day. And to such an extent is this the case, that hardly anything that now occurs in the hurrying course of events, however startling in its own nature, and however pregnant with consequences, has power to stir or to fix the public mind. From whatever eminence, as our point of observation, we look down on the vast field of public affairs, illustrations of this state of things crowd upon the eye. On social and political movements it is not my province to expatiate. It is impossible, however, for any thoughtful on-looker not to be amazed at the suddenness and the greatness of those changes which in this department are constantly presenting themselves to our view. Revolutions of opinion, and of consequent social and political action, which formerly were the work of a century, are in these days developed and consummated in a few months. Enterprizes, too, of surprising magnitude, destined, to a great extent, to alter the condition and relations of society and of the world,—enterprizes, for example, like those connected with our railroad system, which the skill, and the capital, and the labour

of a whole age, would in other times have been deemed insufficient to achieve,—are now accomplished as if with the touch of a magician's wand. Old party names, which had come down to us embalmed in all the clear and well-established associations of history, have almost ceased to mean any thing,—or any thing at least which they meant before. Political men hardly know what designation to assume, or what leader to follow,—all the ancient landmarks which were wont to define and regulate their course having been swept away. It is as if two mighty armies had broken up their encampment simultaneously at the dead of night, and in the confusion and darkness had become so helplessly intermingled, that when the day dawned no man could tell under what banner he was marching, or against what foes.

But without extending this class of observations, for which, let me only remark in passing, materials might be found in almost every other country nearly as abundant as in our own, I turn, as to a more familiar and congenial region, to glance at religious institutions. In them, too, what shakings are taking place, what dislocations, what dismemberments! From the one side of Europe to the other religious questions are agitating the public mind. In all directions they are crossing the path, and perplexing the cabinets of secular statesmen. Truth and conscience—words which to such men are utterly incomprehensible—are everywhere asserting the claims of the Church of Christ and of its members, at the expense of hazards and losses, which as much baffle the calculations as they disturb the plans of the politicians of this world. It is as if some new and strange element were now mingling in human affairs—an element which, while it is insoluble itself by any

chemistry known to courts and parliaments, operates to their dismay like a universal solvent in the midst of their wisest and wiliest schemes. That this is no idle imagination, but a living and widely operative reality, how many things have recently occurred, and are at this moment taking place, to testify. Witness the great events in our own country, which have rent in sunder, as with the shock of an earthquake, what all were agreed to regard as the most efficient, the best constituted, and therefore, morally speaking, the strongest and securest national religious establishment in existence. And who can doubt, that the same blow which shook that institution to its very foundations, and has left it the weakened and dishonoured thing that it now is, by breaking down its spiritual independence, and compelling it to give into the hands of Cæsar the things of God—has at the same time loosened the foundations of every other national church in Great Britain and throughout the world. Witness, to the same effect, the recent convulsion in the Canton de Vaud, where similar causes, operating upon the mind and conscience of a church instructed and animated by the example of Scotland, have accomplished precisely similar results: and where, as we fondly hope and believe, evangelism, springing up like another phœnix from the ashes of that fire of persecution in which it is meant to be consumed, will be found soaring aloft with renovated wing, and diffusing its blessed spirit over the whole length and breadth of that magnificent alpine region, in which Zwingle and Farel built for it an habitation three hundred years ago. Witness, once more, the reeling to and fro of the churches of Germany—the attempts to bind together by the coercive power of a regal ordinance the Lutheran and Calvinistic branches

of the reformation--the felt pressure of the galling yoke of Erastian domination, and the consequent struggles and longings after spiritual liberty--the frequent conferences now taking place, with a view to some better organization and some new development--all these expressively indicative of the complete breaking up of old ideas and associations, and unequivocally portending the approach of some new order of things. Nay, as if nothing whatever connected with the existing state of religious institutions could withstand the influences which are now at work, casting all things as it were into another mould; even Judaism itself, stereotyped though it has been in all the rigidity of its ancient ritualism for eighteen centuries, is melting down into new shapes, and preparing, as we trust, to receive other and more glorious impressions. The Talmud on the one side, and the Old Testament scriptures on the other, are fast becoming the rallying points of a vehement controversy, which everywhere is dividing the rabbis and the synagogues, and shaking with an unwonted commotion the dry bones of the house of Israel.

Nor is it by any means within the limits of Christendom alone, that religion and its institutions are exhibiting these symptoms of a powerful and prevailing tendency towards some new evolution of their principles or adjustment of their claims. The great systems of false religion which hitherto have reigned supreme in many a wide region of the earth, appear to be sinking under the paralysis of age--waxing old, as if ready to vanish away. Mahometanism, which once carried the lies of the false prophet on the point of its bloody scimitar over half the world, has shrunk into an effete and enfeebled superstition: the Euphrates is drying up. The

gigantic system of idolatry which has so long reigned paramount among the millions of Hindhusthan, is yielding before the advancing tide of European science and missionary zeal, giving promise that those magnificent plains which are now re-echoing to the battles of the warrior, with their confused noise and garments rolled in blood, shall yet hear the glad sound of the gospel of peace, and become rich in the blessings of that kingdom which is righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Even China, so long hermetically sealed, has been suddenly thrown open, not to commerce alone, but to the word of God! In a word, turn to what quarter you will, there is a sound of coming change. The snows and the stillness of a long winter of spiritual desolation and death are feeling the breath of spring; and though it may be the terrific rending of the icefields, and the hollow thunder of the falling avalanche, and the threatening floods of the swollen and turbid river, that are destined to herald its approach, the genial summer and the appointed weeks of harvest shall come, when "the earth shall yield her increase; and God, even our own God, shall bless us." For then shall "His way be known upon the earth, and his saving health among all nations," (Psal. lxxvii. 6, 2).

II. When Saul, in the extremity of his affairs, went down to Endor to inquire of the woman that had a familiar spirit, there was seen ascending and emerging from amid the smoke and darkness of her incantations, an awful form that struck the beholder with terror. Assuredly there is a form more real, and not less alarming, coming forth at this moment, swelling into gigantic proportions, and frowning ominously upon the cause of

God, from amid the disorder and confusion of those dissolving institutions which I have endeavoured to describe. For when we fix our eye and look steadily through the mist of those manifold changes which are passing so rapidly, in these eventful times, on the whole framework and condition of the churches and nations of the earth, what do we discern? What institution among those called religious is it, that is gathering new strength and fresh resources when others are losing them—that is becoming more compact and firm when others are broken by violence or yielding to decay—that is maintaining and extending its unity when others are rending in pieces—that is arming itself with the weapons and surrounding itself with the buttresses of political power, when others are forfeiting the countenance or encountering the enmity of the State? If change, all-pervading change and dissolution, be the *first* of those moral phenomena, of those signs of the times which now strike the observing mind—unquestionably the rise and growth of a reinvigorated Popery, in the midst of that change and dissolution, is the *second*. Look at the position it has already attained in these kingdoms of our own! By what sudden and unexpected strides has it risen up from its comparatively recent condition of lifeless impotence, to the prominence and influence of a chief estate of the realm. Emancipated from the political exclusion and disability which its own misdeeds had imposed, it now lifts its head in courts and parliaments. In deference to its authority, the Legislature is fast effacing from the British Constitution every trace of that deep and deserved condemnation of it which a people, rescued from its tyranny and its soul-destroying delusions, had unanimously pronounced. And not contented with such con-

cessions as these, it claims to be re-invested, in Ireland at least, with that place of ascendancy from which the Reformation threw it down. Nay, as if even in the most enlightened of the nations men were once more given over to strong delusion that they should believe a lie, we behold the Protestant Church and Universities of England daily sending forth crowds of their clergy and their graduates to embrace the very errors which these institutions were designed to expose and condemn.

Nor is it in this country alone that the Romish apostasy, which the wise men of this world had imagined to be obsolete and dead, is regaining its last ground and endangering once more the cause of the gospel and the civil and religious liberties of mankind. Jesuitism, which is Rome's right hand, recovered from the palsy under which during last century it had shrunk and withered, is again everywhere secretly at work. Like the assassin who skulks in the dark, or slips stealthily through the crowd with his stiletto in his sleeve, it is incessantly prosecuting its insidious efforts to destroy truth and freedom, and whatever is adverse to Rome. We behold it by its successful machinations consigning Spain to a new career of degradation and darkness, restoring those monastic institutions and that priestly tyranny which have kept one of the finest populations in Europe for centuries in a state of barbarism and bondage. In the high Alps, we find it arming a brave but superstitious peasantry, and inciting them to deeds of violence and blood in defence of the very system which robs them of the gospel of salvation. In France, we see it grasping at the seats of learning and at all the educational institutions of the kingdom, and compelling science and statesmen to give way to its usurpations,

that it may stop every avenue that would let in the light of heaven upon the youthful mind. In Madeira, it is stifling the little flock of Christ in dungeons; and in Tahiti, exterminating the blessed fruits of missionary labour with fire and sword. And finally, that all may see and know how anti-christ feels himself strengthened by the busy agency of this mysterious malignant power, he begins as of old to display his lying signs and wonders, and to speak with new boldness and blasphemy, as if his were the voice of God.

But furthermore, and what is perhaps the most remarkable circumstance of all in connection with this returning ascendancy of Rome, the kings of the earth are, so to speak, making over anew their power to the beast. Spain, that was till recently in a state of political rebellion against the pope, has once more cast its crown at his feet. France, the jealous inheritor of the Gallican liberties, has succumbed, in the vital question of the Jesuits, to his decision. Even Prussia has compromised the ground which she took on the question of marriages. The sending of a British envoy to the papal court and receiving a nuncio from it in return, a trafficking with anti-christ which our country has repudiated for centuries, is now evidently with our statesmen only a question of time. Nay, stranger and more striking than all, the head of the Greek Church, the representative of the most ancient schism that disputed the supremacy of the Roman See, has recently appeared in the Vatican in the person of the imperial autocrat of all the Russias, doing homage to his hereditary antagonist. The Russian Emperor, who domineers, as the very embodiment of the Erastian principle, over the Greek or Eastern Church, and the Pope, who lords it in the opposite extreme of

spiritual despotism over the Latin or Western Church, have met and shaken hands. The leaguings of such personages, whatever else it may have meant to accomplish, cannot, any more than the friendship of Pontius Pilate and Herod, have been designed for any good to the cause or the people of God. But of this at least it is undoubtedly a very pregnant indication and example, that the time seems again to have come when in matters of religion, not Christ but anti-christ is to look for the favours of the civil power.

III. But, blessed be God, in estimating the prospects of Christendom, there are yet other elements to be taken into account besides those which we have thus surveyed. If nothing were to be descried in the field of vision which Christendom presents, save the growing power and prevalence of popery, rising and spreading itself abroad among the dislocated, and scattered, and broken institutions of Protestantism, the future would be dark indeed. But it is not so. On the contrary, there is a bud of precious promise and of ultimate prosperity in many of those very events, which in themselves, and for the present, may seem to be the most discouraging. It is returning life that is begetting so many commotions. It is the attractive power of love to Christ that has been rupturing the many bonds that would have kept the churches at a distance from their glorious Lord. It is an increasing sense of the absolute necessity, and the infinite worth of His blessing, that has been causing them willingly to leave so many other things behind; things, such as worldly goods, civil status, state protection or favour, not unimportant in themselves or in their own place, but to be cast away with abhorrence when ten-

dered as the price of disloyalty to the king of Zion. Who that knows any thing of the hidden springs and actual history of our own disruption, can hesitate for a moment to trace it up to such causes as these! And who that is even moderately conversant with the religious movements of the Continent, the secessions in Holland, the increasing difficulties of Protestantism in France, the demissions and consequent persecutions of the pastors in Switzerland, the agitations of the church in Germany, can need to be told that they are all of them springing from a similar source. Nay, if we only search with a spiritual eye either into the unwonted activity and energy of popery on the one hand, or into the growing aversion and disfavour shewn by the civil power to the claims and the principles of Christ's church on the other, it will be found that to a great extent the same explanation has still to be given. It is revived evangelical Protestantism, with its earnest preaching of justification by faith alone, with its widely circulating Bible, its missionary spirit, and its many busy agencies, that have been sounding a loud note of alarm through the dominions of the Roman antichrist, and calling forth into new vigour the long dormant energies of the mystery of iniquity.

And even so it is, because the church of Christ has been leaning less upon politics and more upon the word of God, has been becoming less secular, and therefore less accommodating—more spiritual, and therefore more strict and unyielding in its claims on conscience and its calls to duty; therefore it is that, crossing the world's path and reproving the world's ways, it is coming to experience the unchanging truth of that saying of our Lord, "If ye were of the world, the world would love his own: but because ye are not of the world, but I

have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you," (John xv. 19).

And once more still, the very same cause, this closer union to Christ, into which so many of the various detached and seemingly broken and scattered fragments of the one church catholic, have thus been mercifully brought; this it is that chiefly has been sending a deepening thrill of sympathetic feeling from one end of Christendom to the other, and giving birth to those longings for Christian union, which are beginning to breathe like notes of heavenly peace and concord over the long-estranged and divided families of the children of God.

These also are signs of the times, signs that streak the darkening heavens like the bow in the cloud, telling us that big with tempest as the gathering elements of mischief may be, they shall not become a flood to destroy the Redeemer's cause, but only prove as a passing storm, first purifying the house of God, then shattering with its thunderbolts the seat of the beast and the kingdom of the devil, and finally breaking away into the glorious sunshine of the universal reign of Christ.

IV. It is upon such considerations as these that the Christian may perhaps venture to found some views of the prospects of Christendom. If these considerations be not an idle dream,—if they have any sufficient basis in the course of passing events, and the existing order of things, then are the prospects of Christendom of a kind that will try every man's work of what sort it is. It belongs to the prophet, and not to the preacher, to unveil the future; for even into those things that must shortly come to pass the eye of inspiration alone can penetrate. I presume not to meddle with such an inquiry. This much,

explicit prophecy and the very nature of things appear most plainly to intimate, that it is no holiday period of indolent enjoyment and undisturbed tranquillity that is awaiting the Church of Christ. It will not be a time for planting vineyards and being at ease in Zion,—but rather a time for Christians to gird up the loins of their mind, to quit themselves like men and be strong; in a word, a time, and that by way of eminence, “to be sober, and to watch unto prayer.”

In an early part of this discourse I took occasion to observe, what I trust is now sufficiently established, that no duties could be more appropriate or indispensable in the present circumstances of the people of God, than those which our text enjoins, “sobriety, watchfulness, and prayer.”

“Be ye therefore sober.”—That is, as the original plainly intimates, sober-minded. Sobriety, simply in the sense of being free from animal excesses, is but a low attainment for any man. It deserves not the name of an attainment in the case of a Christian. “I say, through the grace given unto me, to every that is among you,” observes the apostle Paul, “not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, but to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith,” (Rom. xii. 3). In this higher sense, sobriety implies the forming a modest and humble estimate of our own position, qualifications, and character, on the one hand; and a fair and candid estimate of the character, qualifications, and position of our neighbour, on the other. In a word, it implies that chastened, well-regulated state of mind, that sees all things in the light of truth, and values them at their proper worth. The calmness, the self-command, the equanimity, which

are the characteristics of such a habit of mind, are peculiarly needed in times of excitement, perplexity, and peril. Never are individual Christians, or the church in general, in greater danger of being betrayed into errors or extravagances of opinion, feeling, and action, than when new and agitating events are working and unsettling the existing order of things. It is just *then* that we are most in danger of being hurried into the adoption of crude notions, and ill-digested measures, and thus in seeking to escape from one class of evils to plunge hastily into another. How often have great and promising movements towards reformation in the Church of Christ been ruined, or at least extensively injured, by causes like these. And just because such movements are at this moment almost everywhere in progress, while at the same time adverse influences are multiplying on every hand, the call should come home with all the greater urgency and solemnity, "be ye therefore sober."

And "watch unto prayer."—The watchfulness that does not carry us often to the throne of grace will be of little avail. If we think to watch to any good purpose in our own might and prudence, we shall be miserably disappointed. The good soldier of Jesus Christ is never in so favourable a position for descrying danger, or discovering the course of duty, as upon his knees. If we would maintain a truly wakeful and wary spirit, whether in reference to the interests of our own souls or to the welfare of the Church of Christ at large, our eye must be often anointed with the unction of the Holy One. And what need for this prayerful vigilance have we now! what need to watch for opportunities of doing good,—for those doors of usefulness which God is at this moment so wonderfully and so widely opening, and which,

sooner than we dream of, may be suddenly and effectually closed. Never in modern times, or perhaps in any times whatever, were such facilities given in the providence of God for carrying the glorious gospel into all the earth ; for preaching it to every creature. Let the people of God arouse themselves to meet and improve so precious a season. Let the Churches of Christ shake off the spirit of slumber to which they have so long and so sinfully given way, and let them know the time of their visitation. Let them cultivate a closer intercourse with one another, and with their great common Lord. Let them watch, not for each other's halting,—but for each other's good. Let them labour to edify one another in love. Let them strive together for the faith of the gospel. And for this end let them pray always, with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit !

THE END.

BW911 .F85 v.2
Lectures on foreign churches delivered

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00080 3165