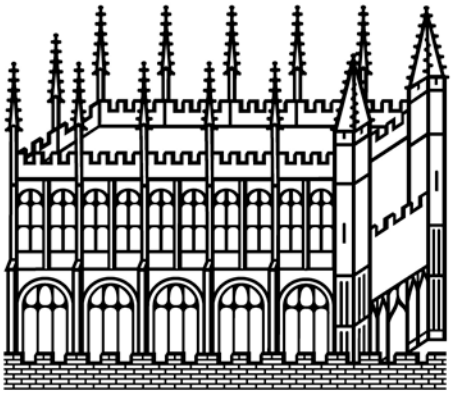


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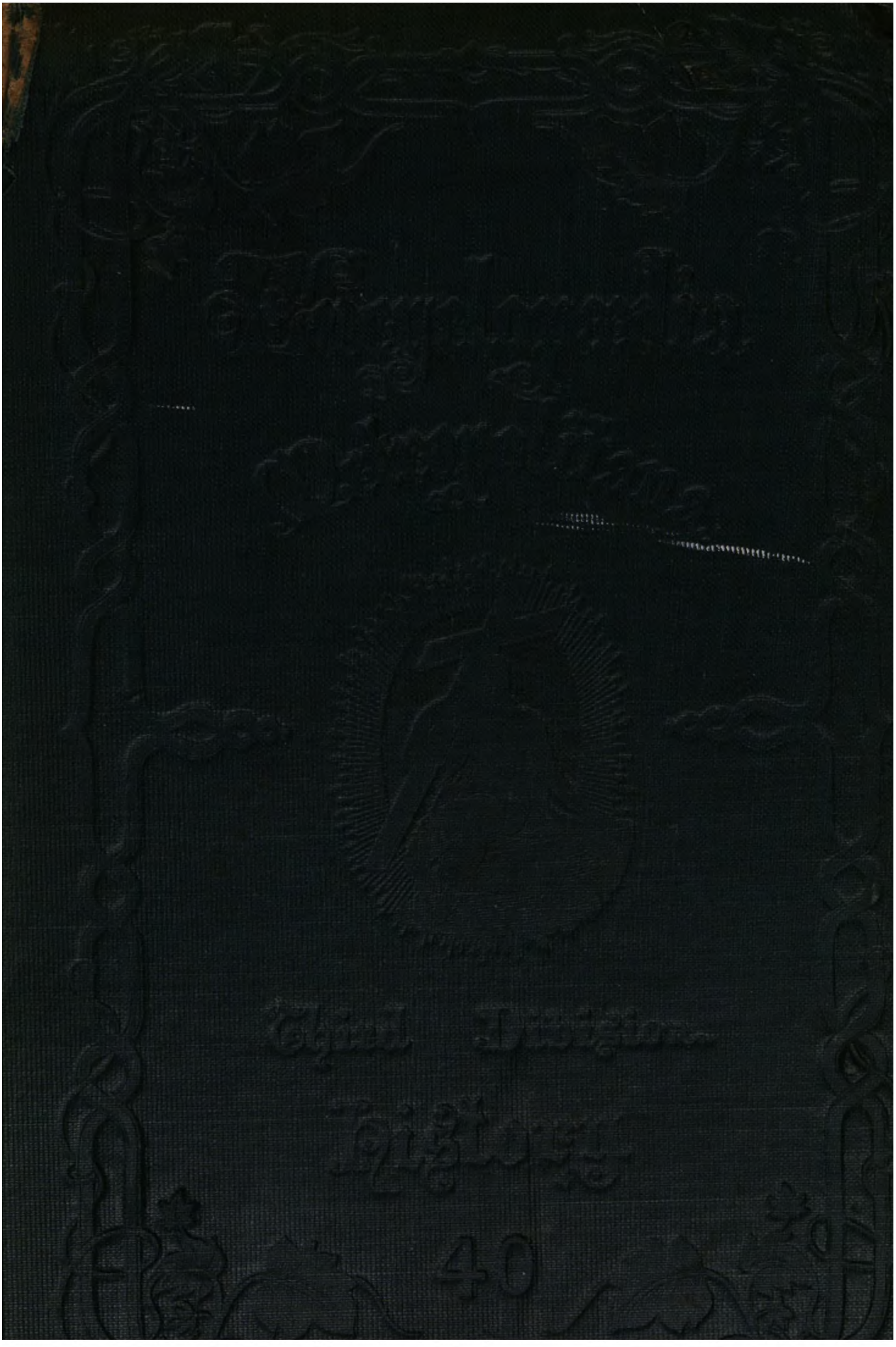
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CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

General remarks

THE history of the Christian Church during the thirteenth century presents a picture little differing in its general features from that which we have had occasion to contemplate in the course of our last two chapters of Ecclesiastical Annals.[1] The Roman pontiffs continued, with unabated boldness and equal success, to vindicate those pretensions to spiritual and temporal supremacy (for the one in a great degree involved the other), which had been put forward and enforced with audacity so remarkable by their more immediate predecessors in the chair of St. Peter; and, in the colleges, by the industry of the scholastic theologians, the doctrines and methods of Aristotle were acquiring something of analogous predominance. Of events connected with the external affairs of the Church, the successive failures of the fourth, fifth, and sixth crusades form the most interesting and important. The prospects of a revival of Christianity in the East were thus completely and finally extinguished; a calamity which seems to have been felt with peculiar acuteness by the Bishops of Rome, and for which the triumph obtained under their auspices by the armies of the Church, over the heretics of Languedoc and Provence, afforded probably but an inadequate consolation. A more important accession of strength and influence was derived from the foundation of the mendicant orders; the members of which, by their unqualified devotion and indefatigable industry, constituted, during this and the following centuries, the firmest supporters and most active instruments of the power of Rome.

Adhering to our former arrangement, we shall resume our view of ecclesiastical affairs, by a summary account of the succession of the popes during the present century, as forming the ground and the connecting link of the whole.

Celestin III., as we have seen, died on the 8th of January, 1198. By the immediate and almost unanimous suffrage of the College, the succession devolved on the Cardinal Lotharius, who assumed the name of Innocent III. He was the son of Count

Innocent III.

[1] See *Ecclesiastical History* from the fourth to the twelfth century.

A.D. 1198 Thrasimund of Segni, and was not more than thirty-seven years of age at the time of his election; a circumstance which seems to have constituted the only ground of objection to it, and which would have been fatal to his success, but for the pre-eminent character which he had acquired for talents, courage, and disinterestedness.[1]

Asserts his sovereignty over Rome.

One of the first acts of the new pontiff was to take measures for asserting his sovereign authority over the city of Rome. The very day after his coronation, he exacted of the magistrates that they should take to him that oath of allegiance which they had hitherto sworn to the Emperor only; thereby compelling them to acknowledge his sole and independent jurisdiction. At the same time he despatched his legates into various provinces of Italy, for the purpose of recovering possession of such of the domains of the Church as had been usurped by laymen or foreigners during the recent troubles. These missions, which in some instances the pontiff supported by his own presence, were almost everywhere successful.

Affairs of Sicily.

A similar vigour and success distinguished his dealings with foreign powers. The Empress Constance, widow of Henry V., had, immediately after the election of the new pontiff, applied to him for the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily and its continental dependences, for herself and her son Ferdinand. After a long negotiation, Innocent granted her request, but on condition that the Empress should swear before the legate to do homage to the pope for her kingdom; a ceremony to be observed equally by her son on his coming of age: and it was further exacted that the right of the Roman see to receive appeals in all ecclesiastical matters, to interfere by its legates and deputies in the administration of the same, and to confirm the elections of bishops, should be admitted without limitation throughout her dominions.[2] Before the bulls containing the ratification of this convention had reached Sicily, the Empress herself died, leaving, by will, the regency of the kingdom, during the minority of her son, to the pope.

One of the earliest cares of Innocent was to endeavour to revive the interest of Christendom in the suffering condition of the Syrian Churches; with this view he published a circular letter, addressed to the kingdoms of France, England, Hungary, and Sicily, in which he called upon both princes and people to take instant measures for succouring their brethren in the East. At

[1] He was at this time only a deacon, and his consecration was deferred till the Ember week in Lent, in order to give time for his previous ordination. See the Eighty-third Epistle of the First Book of the *Epistles* of this pope; a very large and complete collection, divided into nineteen books, corresponding to the successive years of his pontificate, and which contains very ample and interesting materials for the illustration as well of the character and genius of the man as of the ecclesiastical and political history of the times in which he lived.

[2] *Epist. Innoc.*, 410, lib. i.

the same time he addressed an epistle to the Greek Emperor, A.D. 1198
Alexius Angelus, in which he reproached him as well with the indifference which both he and his predecessors had manifested for the recovery of the Holy Land, as with the continued schism of the Greeks from what he called the Universal Church. A few years after, a violent end seemed likely to be put to this division, when (April 1204) the French and Venetian crusaders made themselves masters of Constantinople; and a Latin patriarch, Tomaso Morosini, was installed in the see of that metropolis under the immediate sanction of the pope.

Quarrels of Innocent with John, king of England.

Nothing can bear stronger witness to the ascendency of the papal power at this period than the transactions which we have related under the annals of the Empire.[1] A similar evidence to the same point is to be found in the process and result of the contest which broke out about the same time between the pope and John, king of England. The dispute in its origin respected the election of a successor to Archbishop Hubert in the see of Canterbury.[2] The monks of Canterbury had, in the first instance, secretly chosen their sub-prior, Reginald, for that dignity; but the King insisted upon the election of Gray, then bishop of Norwich, and sent certain of the chapter to Rome in order to obtain the pope's confirmation. Innocent,[3] however, thought proper to set aside both these candidates; and, ordering the monks to proceed to a fresh election, imposed upon their suffrages Cardinal Stephen Langton, an Englishman by birth, and a man of distinguished character and talents, but who was otherwise disagreeable to the King, as having passed the greater part of his life at Paris. John accordingly declared his resolution never to suffer Langton to set foot within his dominions; at the same time he took vengeance upon the monks of Canterbury, by sending his officers to expel them from their house, and by confiscating all their goods and possessions.[4] Meanwhile, he wrote to the pope, remonstrating with him on his conduct in this affair, as totally subversive of the known rights of the English crown, which he declared it to be his determination to maintain to the last drop of his blood; and reminding the pontiff that the Romish see derived greater emoluments from his kingdom than from all the other transalpine states altogether. Innocent coolly and firmly answered, that the alliance of the apostolic see was not less needful to the King than the King's friendship was to the apostolic see; and warned him, that if he persisted in his present violence, he would live to repent of it.[5]

Matters soon came to extremities. The King continued to

[1] See *History of Germany, Encyclopædia Metropolitana.*

[2] See Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, book v., cent. xiii., for a very minute account of these transactions.

[3] Matthew Paris, *ad ann.*, 1207, p. 222. [4] Ibid, p. 223. [5] Ibid, p. 224.

A.D. 1208 refuse either to restore the ejected monks or to receive the archbishop; and Innocent, after giving due warning of his purpose, commissioned the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester to lay the whole kingdom under an interdict, which was published on the 23d of March, 1208. The immediate effect was to put a stop throughout the kingdom to the exercise of any religious rite or function, with the exception of the baptizing of children, and the administration of the *Viaticum* to such as were at the point of death.[1] Almost all the clergy implicitly obeyed the papal injunction, and the King retaliated by driving them from their houses and monasteries, and by seizing their possessions of every kind. This state of things continued for above five years, when the pope, moved by the representations of the clergy, sent the subdeacon Pandulfo to endeavour to bring the King to terms. John, who began to feel the inconvenience of his situation, received the mission with more benignity than was expected. In the conference[2] which ensued, he consented to admit the archbishop, and to reinstate the banished and dispossessed clergy in their churches and property; but the legate further insisted upon an indemnity to them for their losses; which the King peremptorily refused to allow. Pandulfo, therefore, returned to France, whence he transmitted to the pope an account of the failure of his negotiation. Innocent now determined to resort to the last extremity of papal warfare. The King had been before excommunicated; he was now, by formal sentence, deposed from his throne; and his subjects were not merely absolved from their allegiance, but positively forbidden to obey or to hold any communication with him. Philippe Auguste, king of France, was charged with the execution of the sentence, and the crown of England was promised to him and his successors, as the reward of his success in performing it. At the same time a crusade was published by the papal nuncios throughout Europe, by which all persons were encouraged to assist the French King in his expedition against the King of England, by a promise of indulgences and privileges similar to those which were offered to soldiers who had taken the cross for the delivery of the Holy Sepulchre. The result of the transaction is well known to every reader of English history. John, finding himself on the brink of ruin, was fain at length to make terms with the pope, by the total abandonment, not merely of all the existing matters of controversy, but even of the independence of his crown itself, which he thenceforth consented to hold in

The kingdom of England laid under an interdict.

King John is formally deposed, A.D. 1212.

Total submission of the King of England, who becomes a vassal to the see of Rome.

[1] Matthew Paris, *ad ann.*, 1207, p. 266. See also Collier, *Ecclesiastical History*, book v., p. 415. It does not appear that the interdict was universally observed by the clergy. The Bishops of Durham, Winchester, and Norwich were among those who supported the King, and continued to officiate in their dioceses.

[2] See Collier, *Ecclesiastical History*, book v., for a curious and detailed account of this conference, as extracted from the *Annal. Monast. Burton.* Matthew Paris's statement of the matter (p. 230) is rather different.

avowed vassalage to the Roman see. This concession was formally made on the 15th May, 1213; on that day the King publicly took the crown off his head, and delivered it to the pope's representative, who did not return it until five days had elapsed. A.D. 1213

The most extravagant visions of papal ambition seem to have been realized in this transaction, in which a prince, who, by the extent of his territories, might be considered as among the mightiest in Europe, was brought into avowed subjection to the see of Rome. But though powerful in dominion, John at the same time was weak in that which alone could have made his territorial sovereignty available, the affection of his subjects. To them he was almost universally an object both of contempt and hatred; a circumstance of which Innocent was perfectly aware; and to which, aided as he was by the ambitious views of the King of France, he was chiefly indebted for the success of his policy. At the same time, it was apparent that the co-operation and obedience of a body so numerous and wealthy as the clergy, possessing, as they did, all the learning of the times, and exercising, through their functions, so positive an influence over the minds of the people, must afford a most formidable power to the pope, in any instance in which they could be brought to concur strenuously and unanimously in his purposes. General remarks on these transactions.

No pontiff ever availed himself of these means of domination with more skill or boldness than he of whom we are now writing; and, accordingly, under none was the power of the apostolical see ever carried to a greater height. The last transactions, which more particularly distinguished his pontificate, were the deposition of the Count of Toulouse for his protection of the Albigensian heretics (1214), and the holding of the fourth Lateran Council. Innocent himself did not long survive the breaking up of the Council. He died on the 16th of January, 1216, in the nineteenth year of a reign distinguished, perhaps, beyond any other in the papal annals, for the success, as well as the audacity, of its undertakings. Whatever may be thought of the justice of these enterprises, in his private character Innocent appears irreproachable. Matthew Paris,[1] indeed, inveighs against his avarice, and instances the sums which he extorted from the bishops who came to the Lateran Council, before he would give them permission to return to their sees. But however questionable were these methods of levying money, in the use that he made of his revenues, the pontiff seems to have been perfectly disinterested. His contemporaries speak highly of his generosity; of the splendour of his charitable foundations, and of the liberality with which he yearly contributed a large portion of his income to the support and succour of the churches of Palestine. They dwell, too, warmly Fourth Lateran Council, A.D. 1215. Death of Innocent. His character.

[1] *Ad ann.*, 1215.

A.D. 1215 on the integrity as well as the ability of his domestic administration; and they remark that he was not merely the most skilful politician and most able statesman of his time, but equally surpassed his contemporaries by his consummate accomplishment in all the studies appropriate to his own profession.

Honorius III. A.D. 1216. On the day following that of the death of Innocent, the cardinals unanimously elected, as his successor, Centius, a native of Rome, of the family of Savelli, who took the name of Honorius III. The recent death of Otho had left the young king of Sicily, Frederic, in undisputed possession of the Empire; accordingly, he was crowned at Rome by the hands of the pope, in November, 1220, at which time he entered into a solemn engagement to undertake, in person, an expedition for the relief of the Holy Land. The delays which he constantly interposed for the fulfilment of that promise, and some disputes which took place respecting the nomination to Sicilian bishoprics, considerably disturbed the good understanding which was thus auspiciously begun between the prince and pontiff; but they did not come to an open rupture. Honorius died on the 18th of March, 1227; and was succeeded by Ugolino de Segni, a near relation of Innocent III., who assumed the tiara under the name of Gregory IX. The whole reign of this pontiff was embittered by his continual quarrels with the Emperor, and we find him at length sinking under the disasters, both public and private, which his violence had brought upon himself. He died in August, 1241. His successor, Celestin IV., did not survive his election more than eighteen days. An interval of nearly two years followed before the circumstances of the times allowed of a sufficient number of cardinals to meet; when their choice fell upon Annibale de Fieschi, a noble Genoese, of distinguished talent and learning, and who was reputed the best canon lawyer of the age.[1] He took the name of Innocent IV. We need not repeat our narrative of his continued struggle with the Empire, of his retirement to France, and of his assembling of the first General Council of Lyon.

Gregory IX. A.D. 1227.

Celestin IV. A.D. 1241.

Innocent IV. A.D. 1243.

Alexander IV. A.D. 1254. Innocent died at Naples in 1254; of grief, it is said, for the loss of the battle of Nocera. He was succeeded by Alexander IV.: like his predecessor a man of virtue and of distinguished learning; but whose reign was similarly cut short by the vexations and anxieties incident to the course of quarrel in which he was engaged with the house of Suabia. He died in May, 1261. One peculiarity in the administration of this pope was his refusal

[1] He is the author of the *Apparatus* in the five books of the Decretals; a work which long continued to be classical in the schools of canon law. He was also a marked patron of learned men; and it was at his request that our countryman, Alexander Hales, surnamed the *Irrefragable*, wrote his celebrated commentary upon Peter Lombard. See his life by Nicolo de Curbio, *sub fine*.

to create a single cardinal during the course of it; a system which he had adopted with the view, it is said, of lessening the chances of dissension among that body. At the time of his death, therefore, the College consisted of only eight individuals. These, however, unable to agree in the election of one of their own body as a successor, after more than a month of discussion, chose John, patriarch of Jerusalem, a Frenchman of very humble parentage, but remarkable for his piety and virtue, who happened at that time to be at Viterbo. He reigned for little more than three years under the name of Urban IV.[1]

A.D. 1254

Urban IV. A.D. 1261.

His successor, Clement IV., was also a Frenchman by birth, and equally with himself distinguished for his piety and disinterestedness.[2] Nevertheless, he followed up with unabated vigour the project so long and anxiously entertained by his predecessors for the final expulsion of the house of Suabia from Naples and Sicily; and it was during his pontificate that Charles of Anjou made himself master of those kingdoms. After the death of Clement, which happened in November, 1268, the cardinals not being able to agree among themselves for the election of a successor, the see continued vacant for nearly three years. At length the magistrates were compelled to shut up the electors, and starve them into a decision by the gradual diminution of their food. It was in this way that, on the 1st of September, 1271, they were brought to consent to choose Theobald of Placencia, archdeacon of Liege, who was at that time in Palestine, in the train of the English prince, Edward Longshanks.

Clement IV. A.D. 1265.

Gregory X. A.D. 1271.

He took the name of Gregory X. As he felt the strongest interest in the recovery of the Holy Land, and considered that the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches was, more than anything else, likely to facilitate the accomplishment of that object, one of his first measures was to summon a General Council, to which the Greek Emperor was invited to send ambassadors. This Council met at Lyon in May, 1274, comprehending a greater number of deputies from all parts of Europe than had ever before been assembled on a similar occasion.[3] Its proceedings will be given afterwards, but we must here mention one of the most remarkable; we mean the celebrated constitution, by which with a view to prevent a recurrence of the evils consequent on the delay which had taken place in the last election, it was enacted that on the death of the sovereign pontiff, the cardinals should

General Council of Lyon, A.D. 1274.

Institution of the conclave.

[1] It was during this pontificate that the festival of *Corpus Christi* was first established; but historians differ as to the circumstances which more immediately suggested its celebration. See Bower, vol. vi., p. 269, and Mosheim, vol. iii., p. 109.

[2] His name was Le Gros. A letter which he wrote to his nephew upon his accession to the tiara, and in which he discourages in the strongest manner any expectations on the part of his relatives of advancement or favour from him, has been deservedly celebrated. Raynaldus, *Annales, ad ann.*, 1265.

[3] Ibid, 1274.

A.D. 1274 be shut up in conclave, and cut off from all external communication, until two-thirds of their suffrages were combined in favour of some one of their candidates.[1] This constitution, which was extremely unpopular with the cardinals, was suspended by the two immediate successors of Gregory; but it was revived by Celestin V., and with some slight modifications has continued in force ever since.

Innocent V. Adrian V. John XXI. A.D. 1275.

Gregory died in January, 1275. Pietro di Taranto, his successor, reigned only five months, under the name of Innocent V. Ottoboni de Fieschi, who took the name of Adrian V., was unanimously elected to succeed him; but the state of his health at the time hardly allowed him to hope for a longer reign than his predecessor had enjoyed; and when his relatives came to offer their congratulations on his exaltation, "I wish," said he, "you had found me a cardinal in good health, instead of a dying pope." Accordingly he filled the chair little more than five weeks. The pontificate of his successor John XXI. (a Portuguese by birth), did not extend beyond eight months, when he was killed by the fall of a new building in his palace at Viterbo. This pope had formally abrogated the constitution of Gregory respecting the conclave; and in consequence, more than six months elapsed after his death before the College agreed to elect in his room the Cardi-

Nicholas III. A.D. 1277.

nal Caietano Ursini, who took the name of Nicholas III.[2] He died in August, 1280; and another vacancy of half a year occurred before his place was filled by Simon de Brie, a Frenchman, who had for many years been attached to the Church of St. Martin

Martin IV. A.D. 1281.

at Tours, and thence took the name of Martin IV. It was during his pontificate that the celebrated massacre took place which has retained the name of the Sicilian Vespers; and which Martin, as a countryman and friend of Charles of Anjou, took every method of avenging. The King of Arragon, who had obtained possession of the island of Sicily, was not merely excommunicated, but declared to have forfeited his hereditary kingdoms in Spain. Little, however, had been done towards the execution of this sentence at the time of the death of its author, which took place

Honorius IV. A.D. 1284.

in March, 1284. On the day following that of his decease, the College unanimously elected Cardinal Jacopo Sabelli, who ascended the papal throne under the name of Honorius IV.

The new pontiff zealously espoused the cause of Charles of Anjou, and had formed a plan for a general league of all Christian princes against the house of Arragon, when his purposes were cut

[1] *Concilia*, tom. xi., p. 955.

[2] It was this pope who, in the first year of his pontificate, obtained from the Emperor Rodolph of Hapsburg a grant, or, as it was called, a *restitution* of all the concessions of territory said to have been made by former Emperors, to the holy see, the demesne of which was thus augmented by the whole exarchate of Ravenna and the province of Romagna. Raynaldus, *Annales, ad ann.*, 1278.

short by death in April, 1287. He died in the new palace which A.D. 1284
he had built on Mount Aventine, a part of the city which is commonly unhealthy in summer; as was fatally experienced by the cardinals, when, agreeably to the constitution of Gregory, they assembled in the same place for the election of a successor; nearly all were taken seriously ill, and six or seven of them died. Upon this occurrence the College separated, and did not again meet till February in the ensuing year, 1288; when their choice fell upon the Cardinal Jeronimo of Ascoli, of the Franciscan order, who, after thrice refusing the tiara, was at length brought to accept it, under the name of Nicholas IV. His pontificate did Nicholas IV. A.D. 1288.
not extend beyond four years; for his death took place in April, 1292, hastened, it was believed, by the recent loss of the city of Ptolemais, and the final expulsion of the Christians from the Holy Land, in consequence of that event. Short as was his reign, however, it enabled him to leave behind a distinguished reputation, as well for humility and disinterestedness, as for the zeal and munificence with which he promoted the improvement and decoration of Rome, and encouraged and rewarded the cultivation of every branch of civil and theological literature. One of his successors, Sixtus V., while yet a cardinal, erected a splendid monument to his memory in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, on which, among other praises, it is said of him, "that men of virtue and learning were his only relations."

After the death of Nicholas, an interval of two years and three months occurred before the College could agree in their choice of a successor. At length (July, 1294) they determined to give their suffrages to Pietro di Morona, a poor hermit of Calabria, of extraordinary sanctity and austerity of life; who after evincing the greatest reluctance, was in a manner compelled to accept the tiara, under the name of Celestin V. Of his short pontificate and Celestin V. A.D. 1294.
final abdication[1] we have already sufficiently spoken, and the only act in which he appears to deserve notice is the institution of a religious order under the name of the Congregation of St. Damian: it was afterwards called the Order of Celestines, under which denomination, we believe, it still exists. Benedetto Gaetano, the turbulent Boniface VIII., succeeded him. His quarrel with Boniface VIII.
France, which forms the leading event of his pontificate, scarcely comes within our province to narrate. He died at Rome on the 11th of October, 1303.

Such is the series of the Bishops of Rome for the thirteenth

[1] In order to prevent all difficulty as to the legality of the step he was about to take, he previously issued a constitution, which formally authorized a pope to resign, and the college of cardinals to accept his resignation,—a measure of which, it has been observed, he might have spared himself the trouble of, as no one of his successors has as yet thought fit to take advantage of it. See Fleury (*Hist. Eccles.*, tom. xviii., p. 589), the whole of whose account of the rise, abdication, and subsequent death of Celestin, is particularly interesting.

A.D. 1294 century; beginning with Innocent and closing with Boniface, it was not likely that either the power or the pretensions of the papal see would abate anything of its arrogance or violence in the hands of such a succession; and, in fact, in no other period of its history was the supremacy of the popedom in temporal, almost as much as in spiritual, matters less questioned or resisted. The pontiffs, indeed, would naturally find more or less difficulty in the practical assertion of that paramount authority, according to the circumstances of the particular case, or the temper or situation of the princes with whom they had to deal. But the principle itself of the inherent supremacy of the holy see, seems to have been almost universally admitted. Some might consider that the authority of a General Council was superior in the last resort; yet, as we have seen, those assemblies, called together at the pleasure of the pope, and adopting without objection or discussion whatever enactments he chose to propose to them, were in fact become little other than instruments for the promotion and sanction of his usurpations. It is observable, that the assertors and possessors of this unparalleled sway were commonly decrepit old men, sprung frequently from the lowest ranks of the people, and unfurnished with fleets or armies, or any temporal or fleshly means whatever for the vindication of their extravagant pretensions. The history of mankind, we apprehend, affords no second example of so complete a triumph of *mind* in the subjugation of the human will to its purposes; and we should sympathize more strongly with its triumph in this instance, were it not for the disgust with which we necessarily regard the perversion of religious truth and principle to the purposes of temporal ambition.

Remarks on the papal power in this century.

Abuses to which it tended.

The power which the papal see had thus singularly acquired was inevitably exposed to abuse. The instances which have most excited the indignation, and called forth the rebuke of ecclesiastical writers, have been the attempts, so often renewed by the pontiffs, of interference with the sovereign rights of their contemporary monarchs. We are far from approving of such encroachments; but considering what those princes commonly were in respect to education and character, as well as the purposes for which they usually exercised their various prerogatives, we confess we are inclined to doubt whether it was in *this* respect that the usurpations of the Roman see were chiefly to be deprecated. A worse evil, we think, consisted in the system of corruption and simony, by which the power so generally assumed by the pope of disposing, under various pretexts and pleas, of almost all the offices of the Church, was perverted to the gain of the Romish treasury.[1] Practices of a similar nature were too

[1] See for instances of this and similar abuses, Anthony Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.*, tom. i., pp. 148, 201, 202.

commonly resorted to by the legates for their own individual profit; and indeed, the corruptions and disturbances to which the presence of these representatives of the pontiffs almost invariably gave rise in the various states to which they were despatched, constitute one of the most bitter subjects of complaint on the part of the writers of that age.[1] A.D. 1295

Independently, however, of these less admitted resources of revenue and power, the Romish see, during the thirteenth century, acquired a considerable and permanent accession of both. This was chiefly owing to the firmness and perseverance of Popes Innocent III. and Nicholas IV., who, as we have seen, succeeded in exacting from the Emperors an acknowledgment of their entire sovereignty, and in extending that jurisdiction over nearly the whole of the territory which at present constitutes the dominion of the ecclesiastical state.

General remarks upon the crusades.

The unfavourable termination of the crusades, and the ruin of the Christian cause in the East, must be considered as the chief external event by which the Church was affected during this century. That the interest which those enterprises excited had been so long sustained, and that the enterprises themselves were so repeatedly renewed, is exclusively ascribable to the strong and predominant anxiety which, up to the very last, prevailed in the papal court for their success. This feeling on the part of the pontiffs has been commonly attributed to interested motives, but, as it seems to us, without sufficient proof. In truth, the temporal advantage to be obtained by the Romish see by the accomplishment of the object in view, was altogether and utterly disproportionate to that intensity of solicitude which the popes manifested for its accomplishment; and the continual disappointment of which is known to have so worked on the minds of some of them as to have accelerated their decease. It is certain, too, that to the charges and sacrifices which the undertaking demanded, the pontiffs, so far as their means allowed, supplied their full proportion and share. We think it more probable that the declared motives of their interest in this subject were the true ones; that they really believed the honour of religion and the glory of God to be concerned in the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of infidels; and, perhaps, considered that its conquest would be the first step for the re-establishment of Christianity in the East. If such were the hopes originally entertained by the pontiffs as to the probable result of these expeditions, the actual event should have early and completely undeceived them. The kingdom of Jerusalem, as it was left by the first and

[1] See in particular, Matthew Paris, *Historia Magna*, *passim*, but particularly p. 659. See also Fleury, *Discours* IV., *sur l'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, for some very able and impartial remarks on the inconveniences arising to the metropolitan and diocesan administrations from the abuse of the legatine power.

A.D. 1294 only successful one of the crusades, consisted merely of that city, and of a few neighbouring villages. Even of this little territory the population was made up either of Saracens, or of Christians who were hardly better disposed towards their Frankish brethren than the Mussulmans themselves; and the whole force which remained with Godfrey to secure his conquest did not exceed three hundred cavalry and two thousand foot soldiers. With such means it was hardly possible for the Christian cause to retain the footing it had regained in the East; and any purpose of extending its limits by arms was obviously hopeless.[1]

Their inadequate results.

Conquest of Constantinople by the Latins.

The conquest of Constantinople by the French and Venetians in the fourth crusade, and the consequent establishment of a Latin Emperor and patriarch in the imperial city seemed at one time to promise a consummation not less flattering to papal ambition than would have been afforded by the most complete success of the Christian armies in Palestine. It seems clear, however, that Innocent III. gave no encouragement whatever to this enterprise on the part of the crusading army; and that, on the contrary, he did all that lay in his power to divert them from it; as manifestly inconsistent with the proper object and spirit of their undertaking. True it is that Innocent could not have anticipated that the attempt would have been so easy of achievement as it afterwards proved; and it is also true, that when in fact it had so unexpectedly succeeded, both Innocent and his successors readily availed themselves to the utmost of the means which it presented for extending the jurisdiction of the Romish Church. We mean only to impress the probable conclusion that no such view entered into the original scheme of the crusaders themselves, though we know it was always suspected by the Byzantine government.

Negotiations for the reunion of the two Churches.

The Greeks regained possession of Constantinople in the year 1261; and the temporary occupation of it by the Latins in fact only sharpened the existing animosities of the two parties, and rendered the differences between them more irreconcilable than ever. The Emperor Michael Palæologus, indeed, dreading lest the pope should instantly proclaim a new crusade for the restoration of his jurisdiction in the East, was most anxious to prevent any such attack, by originating measures for reconciling the two Churches. Accordingly he early opened a communication with Rome, and with the view of facilitating the accomplishment of his object, persuaded the patriarch Joseph to abdicate his office, and elevated the celebrated John Veccus, the treasurer of the Church, in his place. Veccus was a man of distinguished ability and learning, who had been originally most averse to the proposed reconciliation, but who had been induced by some unexplained

[1] See the Abbé Fleury's sixth Discourse, at the beginning of the eighteenth volume of the *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, for a very satisfactory review of the origin and results of these expeditions.

motive to change his opinion. Pope Clement IV. met the proposals of the Emperor with no disposition to relax in the least upon any one of the topics constituting the difference between the two Churches. He sent to Michael (1267) a profession of faith,[1] in which every disputed point, particularly those of the procession from the Son, the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, and the primacy of the pope, were re-affirmed in the most distinct manner; and he added (with reference to a suggestion which had been made by the Emperor), that it was needless to call a Council for the purpose of examining those articles, but that if the Greeks would admit them, he would convene such an assembly, for the ratification, on that ground, of the union of the two Churches. A.D. 1294

Council of Lyon.

This accordingly was a principal reason for the assembling by Pope Gregory X. of the General Council of Lyon in 1274. At the fourth session of that Council, July 6th, the deputies, both of the Emperor Michael and of thirty-five of the chief Greek metropolitans and prelates, declared in their names, a full and entire acceptance of a Confession of Faith, substantially the same with that which Pope Clement had drawn up; stipulating merely that the Church might be allowed to repeat the Creed in public in the way that it had hitherto been accustomed to do; and that the usages previously existing, and which were contrary neither to Scripture nor to approved tradition, should be allowed to continue. Upon this basis the union was agreed and sworn to;[2] but practically a great part of the Greek clergy paid little regard to it, notwithstanding the efforts of the new patriarch, John Veccus, who laboured most earnestly for its completion. Some further negotiations for that purpose took place under Popes John XXI. and Nicholas III., but the effect of them was rather to complicate than to smooth away the existing difficulties, insomuch that Martin IV. went so far as publicly to excommunicate Michael as a schismatic. (1280.) This sentence so enraged the Emperor that he was upon the point of coming to an open rupture in consequence; but he forebore, and contented himself with allowing an entire freedom to the Greek clergy to attack the pope as well as their own patriarch Veccus for his subserviency to the interests of Rome.

The union is ratified.

Its rupture by the Emperor Andronicus

This state of things continued till the death of Michael Palæologus, which occurred in December, 1283. Almost the first act of his son and successor Andronicus was publicly to repeal the union between the two Churches; and indeed, so great was his hostility to the authors of that compact, that he withheld from his father's funeral the honours ordinarily belonging to the performance of the imperial obsequies. Veccus was immediately deposed, and Joseph replaced in the patriarchal chair. In the following year a Council was held at Constantinople in

[1] Raynaldus, *Annales, ad ann.*, 1267, n. 72. [2] *Concil.*, tom. xi., pp. 959, 967.

A.D. 1274 which Veccus was condemned, and the greater part of the prelates who had adopted his party were deprived of their sees. Veccus himself was relegated as a prisoner to the castle of St. George in Bithynia, where he died soon after, maintaining to the last the opinions and principles to which he had become so late a convert.

This was the last attempt for the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches which was attended with the slightest success. Even that success, partial and temporary as it proved to be, was, as we have seen, ascribable solely to the political position in which the Greek Emperor found himself upon the recovery of his European dominions. Accordingly, when the terror of the crusading expeditions had ceased, the measures which had been adopted merely under the apprehension of their hostility, fell of themselves; and the schism between the two Churches became wider and more hopeless than ever.

Provincial Councils in this century; their objects.

The number of Provincial Councils held in the Western Churches in the course of this century was unusually great. They seem for the most part to have had in view, by their regulations, to effect three great objects:—1st, the reformation of the Church generally, by the suppression of abuses and the restoration and enforcement of discipline; 2d, the improvement and explication of the canon law and the vindication of the rights and immunities of the clergy; and 3d, the condemnation of heretical doctrines, and the punishment of those who promulgated or favoured them.

General Councils. I. The fourth Lateran, A.D. 1215.

Of Councils called *General*, there were three. The first of these was the fourth Lateran Council, which met at Rome in November, 1215, under the summons of Pope Innocent III. No less than four hundred and twelve bishops, and nearly eight hundred abbots and priors appeared in person at this Council, together with a great many proxies or deputies of absent bishops, and of chapters; a body of dignitaries which certainly might be considered as affording no inadequate representation of the sense of the Church at that period. Yet nothing can be more uncertain than any such construction of their proceedings. At the first full meeting of the members a series of seventy canons or capitularies was submitted to them by the pope; all prepared and drawn up by himself.[1] These were read to the assembly; no semblance of debate or deliberation followed; the members of the Council preserved a respectful silence, which was taken for an intimation of assent, and in this way the canons in question became laws of the Catholic Church. The decrees of this Council, indeed, are considered as having, beyond any preceding one, effected and promoted the completion and perfection of the canon

[1] See Matthew Paris, *ad ann.*, 1215. His words are, *Facto prius ab ipso Papâ exhortationis sermone, recitata sunt in pleno Concilio capitula septuaginta, quæ aliis placabilia, aliis videbantur onerosa.*

law, particularly as regards the regulation of ecclesiastical pro- A.D. 1215
ceedings; and as such it became so much in esteem among canonists, as to be commonly quoted in their writings under the name of *the Great Council.*

Doctrines of transubstantiation and auricular confession.

The following are among some of the more important of these canons.[1] The first chapter contains an ample confession of the faith as held by the Catholic Church, including a specific statement[2] of the doctrine of the *transubstantiation* of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist; and the third[3] appoints the methods to be taken for the suppression and punishment of all who should pervert or renounce the Catholic faith as thus declared. These are as extreme and ample as the Inquisition itself could desire; and indeed they seem to have constituted the ground and justification of the forms of procedure which were shortly after adopted by that execrable tribunal.

Forms of proceeding against heretics.

By this canon it was ordained not merely that all heretics should be delivered up to the secular power after condemnation, but that all persons *suspected* of heresy should at once be anathematized, unless they gave proof of their innocence; and after the lapse of a twelvemonth should be condemned. All lords or superiors were to be obliged, under the penalty of excommunication, and ultimately of deposition, to extirpate all heretics or excommunicated persons within their territories. Moreover it was declared that all who entertained, protected, or supported heretics should be excommunicated; and if they did not within the year make satisfaction, that they should be declared infamous; should be deprived of every civil right, and of the use of the sacraments; and after their death be refused Christian burial. The ferocity, so to speak, of these enactments, sufficiently indicates the alarm with which the heads of the Church already contemplated the progress of the new opinions in various parts of France and the Low Countries. The next eighteen canons refer chiefly to the manners of the clergy, and contain a number of very wholesome regulations for the correction of abuses and enforce-

[1] *Concil.*, tom. xi., p. 142.

[2] The first that had been thus distinctly and authoritatively declared. Previously a certain degree of latitude had been allowed to opinions on this mysterious subject; and the doctrine of Berenger was still held and avowed by many without any necessary impeachment of their orthodoxy.

[3] The *second* canon of this Council especially condemns the doctrine of Joachim, the famous abbot of Flora in Calabria, on the subject of the Trinity; viz., that the three persons, though of one nature and substance, are not the same thing; which he had so explained as to seem to reduce the consubstantiability of the three Persons to a mere specific unity. This Abbot Joachim died at an advanced age in the first or second year of the thirteenth century, and was generally reverenced as an inspired person, on account of the kind of prophecies with which he strewed his publications, and many of which referring to the political transactions of his times, proved afterwards to be true. His works, which are numerous, and consist chiefly of commentaries on the Bible, were printed at Venice, in fol., 1516.

A.D. 1215 ment of discipline. The twenty-first is the celebrated chapter[1] which enjoins that all the faithful of both sexes who have arrived at years of discretion, shall confess their sins at least once a-year to their own curate; that they shall fulfil the penance imposed on them, and receive the sacrament at least every Easter; and this under pain of exclusion from the Church while they live, and the being deprived of Christian burial at their death.

Auricular confession.

This Council, numerous as it was, did not sit long. The bishops, in fact, finding that they were convened merely to give sanction to whatever canons it might please the pope to suggest, asked leave one after another to depart;[2] so that within little more than a month it was almost entirely broken up.

II. General Council of Lyon, A.D. 1245.

A General Council was held at Lyon in 1245, by Pope Innocent IV., the immediate object of which was the excommunication of the Emperor Frederic. The other matters transacted in this assembly were likewise for the most part political: these were principally the succours to be afforded to the Latin Emperor of Constantinople against the Greeks; the defence of Germany against the Tartars; and the relief of the Holy Land. Several canons also were decreed for the improvement of the rules and procedures of the ecclesiastical courts.

III. Second General Council of Lyon, A.D. 1274.

Another General Council took place, as we have seen, at Lyon in the year 1274.[3] It was summoned by Pope Gregory X., who, in his Bull of Indiction, assigns three purposes as grounds for its convocation. 1. The reconciliation of the Greek to the Roman Church; 2. The assistance to be given to the Holy Land; 3. The reformation of the discipline of the Church and of the manners of the clergy. The Latin patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, about five hundred bishops, and more than a thousand abbots and other inferior dignitaries, attended this Council, which was held under the presidency of the pope himself. We have already described the transactions of this assembly so far as they refer to the *first* of the above-mentioned objects of its assembling: with respect to the *second*, the pope prevailed upon the clergy to give up the tenth of their revenues for six years for the relief of the Holy Land;[4] and for the furtherance of the *third*, viz., the reformation of ecclesiastical discipline, thirty new canons were decreed, none of which, however, appear to contain anything particularly deserving of remark.

[1] *Omnis utriusq. sexus*, &c. See *Concil.*, tom. xi., p. 142. The duty of *auricular confession* thus imposed may likewise be considered as a new doctrine of the Church; though it had been before very generally considered as a wholesome rule and practice to be observed by the faithful.

[2] A permission which, we are assured by Matthew Paris, they obtained only by the payment to the pope of considerable sums, which they were obliged to take up, upon sufficiently hard terms, of the money-changers at Rome. Matthew Paris, *Hist.*, *ad ann.*, 1216.

[3] *Concil.*, tom. xi., p. 955. Raynald., *ad ann.*, 1274, n. 1. [4] *Concil.*, ibid.

The sects or heresies which prevailed in this century for the most part took their rise in the one preceding; under our account of which period the origin and nature of them have been described. Of these the Waldensian and Albigensian Churches form by far the most considerable. We have already given a general statement of the opinions and tenets of these singular and oppressed people, who seem indisputably to have anticipated the promulgation of the greater part of those truths, the assertion of which constitutes the chief glory of the Reformation of Luther.[1] The accounts which we have of them, are derived almost wholly from their adversaries; as such, of course, we can place but a very qualified confidence in their statements; but it is clear, even from these alone, that it was the opposition they offered to the corruptions of doctrine and practice prevailing in the Church and clergy of that age, which formed the distinguishing character of the sects in question. Among the specific objects of their reprobation are to be found almost all the superstitions and mummeries which, during the last six centuries, had overgrown the fabric of the Romish Church. On the other hand, it may easily be believed that in their war against these abuses, they should in some instances have extended their hostility to parts of the existing system which were better warranted either by Scripture or sound tradition; such excess being nothing more than the ordinary result of human impetuosity under similar circumstances of excitement and zeal.

Sects and heresies of this age.

Waldenses and Albigenses.

The principle of separation on the part of these sectaries, as we have before had occasion to observe, was a strict and literal interpretation of the doctrine and precepts of the gospel. Upon this ground they were early and readily led to reject the greater portion of the rites and practices of the Romish Church; together with the invocation of saints, the worshipping of relics, and the doctrines of commutable penance, transubstantiation, and purgatory. Together with these, however, they are accused of annulling all the sacraments, including even baptism and the Eucharist; but this imputation is hardly supported on sufficient grounds. There seems, indeed, reason to believe that they objected to *infant* baptism; and in the Lord's Supper they held that the consecration might be effected by any one of clean heart and hands as well as by a priest; but, however erroneous might be their tenets on these points, the inference from them is not a necessary one, that they deemed lightly or irreverently of the sacramental rites themselves. A more serious error is that of which they are accused, and apparently with foundation, of rejecting the necessity of any established succession of priesthood at all; an error into which they were evidently misled by the spectacle of irregularities and

Doctrines of these sects.

[1] See *Ecclesiastical History* from the fourth to the twelfth century, p. 251.

disorders into which the abuse of the true doctrine had impelled the clergy of that age. Some of them even denounced all worldly possessions in the hands of ministers; and contended that since the time of Sylvester, when "the poison of temporalities" first entered the hierarchy, the Church of Rome had ceased to be the Church of Christ, and therefore the pope was wholly destitute of proper authority over his followers.

Crusade against the Albigenses.

It is easily conceivable that the court of Rome would lose no time, and omit no means, in effecting the extirpation of opinions like these. Among the very first acts of Pope Innocent III. (1198), was the mission of two legates to the south of France, armed with authority to use every means, whether spiritual or fleshly, for the speedy suppression of them.[1] This mission was shortly followed by the declaration of a formal crusade against their partizans, and more particularly Raymond, Count of Toulouse, who had made himself remarkable, if not as the follower of the new teachers, at least as their protector and friend. It does not come within our province to give a detailed account of the progress and events of this war, we need only state that after a long and obstinate struggle the papal cause, backed as it was by the arms of the King of France, obtained a complete triumph; Raymond VII., earl of Toulouse, was compelled to purchase peace by giving his daughter and the reversion of his states to the French King's brother; and by authorizing the formal establishment of the tribunal of INQUISITION throughout his territories.

Origin of the Inquisition.

It is from that period that we are to date the regular establishment of this formidable tribunal. Originally, the term of inquisitors was ascribed to certain missionaries despatched by the Holy see to the districts reported to be infected with heresy, for the purpose of preaching to the people and recalling them to the faith by the ordinary methods of exhortation; upon the failure of which, however, they were not merely empowered to resort to the artillery of anathema and excommunication, but had further authority to call upon the secular arm to assist in carrying such sentence into execution. This is obvious from several letters which Innocent III., in the first year of his pontificate (1198), addressed to the Bishops of Languedoc and of Gascony. In one of these he especially recommends to their care the two Cistercian brothers Guy and Rayner, whom he begs them to assist in their labours for the conversion of the heretics, and to observe inviolably whatsoever they should ordain for the punishment of the obstinate and refractory. His words are, "We command all the princes, counts, and noblemen of your province to assist them strenuously in the same cause; so that after brother Rayner shall have pronounced sentence of excommunication against them, the

Letter of Pope Innocent III.

[1] See *Epist. Inn.*, lib. i., epist. 81, 94.

lords should confiscate their lands, banish them from their territories, and punish severely such as should dare to remain." And Rayner was authorized to call upon them to do this under penalty of excommunication and interdict to be levelled against themselves.[1]

It is upon the ground of his having instituted these missions of research, and of the power with which he armed them, by the third canon of the Lateran Council, of calling upon the secular force to execute any sentence they might pronounce, that Innocent III. is generally considered as the founder of the INQUISITION. We must observe, however, that it was not until somewhat later that the *tribunal*, properly so called, was regularly and permanently established. This part of the institution dates strictly from the time of Gregory IX., who in the year 1233[2] discharged the bishops of France from the task of detecting and punishing heresy, and entrusted that duty to the Dominican Friars alone. In every city in which these monks possessed a convent, certain assessors were appointed, under the title of *Inquisitors of Heretical Pravity*, who proceeded to take judicial cognizance (if that term may be applied to a system so completely contradictory to every ordinary principle of criminal procedure) not only of all who were accused but who were even suspected of heresy. Not without pain must it be added, that Louis IX. of France, far from checking the tyranny of these proceedings against his unoffending subjects, supported and countenanced them to the utmost of his power, and his ministers of justice were expressly authorized to commit to torture and the stake whatever persons these inquisitors should deliver up to them for that purpose.[3] Louis had been reverenced as a saint, and by much of his character was less undeserving of that distinction than many with whom he has shared it. It is perhaps less remarkable that his contemporary, the Emperor Frederic II., who was commonly believed not merely to entertain, but to have published,[4] the most impious opinions, and who spent his life in an incessant quarrel with the see of Rome, made no difficulty in authorizing the adoption of measures of similar, or, if possible, of greater atrocity, against such of his subjects as were brought under the suspicion of heresy.

Institution of the tribunal.

Supported by St. Louis and Frederic II.

Other doctrines there were prevailing in this century, and denounced as heretical by the Church, but which were not rendered of sufficient importance, either by the number or credit of the followers of them, to detain us long. One sect among others began

[1] *Epist. Inn.*, lib. i., ep. 94, 165.

[2] See Mosheim, vol iii., p. 117, who has sufficiently cleared up this point.

[3] The decree by which St. Louis gave sanction to this extremity of tyranny is well known in French jurisprudence under the name of "*Cupientes*," from the word with which it begins. It was issued in the year 1229. See Mosheim, as before.

[4] We allude to his alleged concern in the composition of the famous book *De Tribus Impostoribus*; which work, however, is now believed never to have existed at all

Brethren of the Free Spirit.

to spread itself in France, Italy, and Germany, under the name of *Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit.* They took their name from the words made use of by St. Paul in the first part of the eighth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans: upon their misconstruction of which passage they in part founded that claim to entire freedom and immunity from all secular or ecclesiastical jurisdiction which formed the distinguishing doctrine of their party; and their abuse of which practically led many of them, if contemporary writers may be believed, into the most disgusting disorder of life and conduct. Moreover, they held certain fanatical opinions, approaching, so far as they have any meaning at all, to a kind of mystical pantheism. Rejecting the ordinary observances and sacraments of the Church, they resolved all moral virtue as well as religious worship, into the cultivation of that habit of perfect abstraction from every object of sense, through which it was contended to be possible for a man to reunite himself to that universal Deity which, as they held, pervaded all things, and of which all human souls were but so many dissevered portions.[1]

Stadings.

We read, too, in the writers of those times, of the sect of the *Stadings* as having spread itself among the lower class of people, in several parts of Germany. What were the peculiar opinions of these people is known only from the accounts of the adversaries who tortured and burned them;[2] and whose testimony upon such a matter is evidently to be suspected. The famous inquisitor, Conrad of Marpurg, particularly distinguished himself in the detection and punishment of these heretics; of whom he is said to have sent a great many, and of all ranks, in the most summary manner to the stake. The severity and precipitation of his proceedings seem to have shocked even his own party; for when a body of these alleged heretics, driven to despair, set upon and put him to death (July, 1233), the authorities, both ecclesiastical and secular, of the country sufficiently evinced their sense

Conrad of Marpurg.

[1] See Mosheim, *Eccl. Hist.*, cent. xiii., ch. v., for a curious and detailed account of the opinions and conduct of the several sub-divisions of this fanatical sect; who were variously denominated Beghards by the populace in Flanders and Germany, and Beghines and Turlupins in France. It would seem that the doctrines taught by the famous Amalric of Bene, a student of Paris, who died at the beginning of this century, were substantially the same with those we have just described. They were refuted by the university, and condemned by pope Innocent; and Amalric was obliged to recant a short while before his death. Soon afterwards, several persons, calling themselves his disciples, published errors still more dangerous; as they persisted in spreading them, they were condemned in a Council held in 1209, and fourteen of them were sentenced to be burned. Amalric's bones were at the same time dug up, and thrown into the common sewer. See Dupin, tom. xi., ch. viii.

[2] See Raynaldus, *Annales, ad ann.*, 1233, for a curious letter of Pope Gregory IX., addressed to Conrad of Marpurg and others, and containing the received opinion concerning the tenets and practices of these wretched people. The excess of horror and absurdity there imputed to them, is such, as, by its own internal improbability, to deprive the testimony of all belief.

of his ill-desert, by the lightness of the penance which they imposed on the authors of the deed.[1]

Somewhat later (about 1250) the party of *Flagellants*, or Whippers, made its appearance in Italy. These fanatics, however, cannot strictly be reckoned as a sect, as their peculiarity consisted for the most part in the constant self-infliction of the punishment to which their name alludes, and which might so far be considered merely as an harmless excess of superstition; but the manner of their indulgence of it in public led to considerable disorders, and it was at last thought necessary to put a stop to it by papal authority.[2] Flagellants.

The most remarkable circumstance in the internal history of the Church in the thirteenth century is the foundation of the Mendicant orders. Although at no period was the ascendency of the clergy more complete or more undisputed than at the present one, yet that very circumstance naturally tended to relax all the nerves of ecclesiastical discipline. In proportion as the wealth, power, and immunities of the clergy increased, in the same degree were all the motives and habits by which they were attached and restricted to the performance of their specific duties in danger of corruption and disturbance. This was peculiarly the case with the regular clergy; an institution vicious in *its* principle; and the several communities of which, by the acquisition of great riches and privileges, almost necessarily and immediately degenerated into the merest hot-beds of sloth and luxury. The popes in general appear to have been fully awakened to the fact of this general dissolution of order and discipline on the part of the clerical body; and wherever their own interests or power were not immediately interested in the abuses, they commonly manifested a sufficient zeal for the correction of them. The enforcement of some reformation on these points formed, indeed, the principal object of most of the canons decreed by the Councils, whether general or provincial, which were assembled in the course of the present century. But the evil was one which it was difficult either to remedy or to check by the effect of laws and regulations, however severe or searching. It resulted in a great degree from the very position itself of the clergy; and the natural consequences of the disorder could be averted or palliated only by the introduction into the body politic of the Church of a new principle of life and action, which might invigorate or revive its languid constitution. Origin of the Mendicant orders.

That succour was seasonably found in the establishment of the Mendicant or Begging orders. The Catholic writers themselves[3] appear to admit that the original hint of these institutions was

[1] Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.*, tom. xvii., p. 55. [2] Dupin, vol. xi., ch. ix.
[3] See in particular Dupin, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. xi., ch. x. Also Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. iii., ch. iv.

derived from the practices and professions of the very heretics whom they made it their first business to counteract and suppress. The Waldensian and Albigensian sects, as we have seen, had adopted as their rule of life a strict and literal adherence to the precepts of the gospel. With this view they professed to abandon all worldly possessions, and to lead a life of poverty, mortification, and incessant devotion. The impression which was in this way made upon the multitude, and the contrast which the heretical leaders thus exhibited to the manners of that hierarchy, whose corruption and luxury they impugned, was soon felt by the Catholics themselves; and whether from the contagion of example, from an ambition of similar distinction, or from the suggestion and contrivance of the higher powers, an order of men soon came forward in the Church, pretending to exemplify the perfection of the Christian life, on the strength of nearly the same austerities with those which were practised by the obnoxious sectaries themselves. It was, as might be expected, on the same scene, the borders of France and Spain, that these new performers first made their appearance.

Order of Poor Catholics. Order of Preaching Friars, or Dominicans.

One of the earliest orders of this kind which assumed the guidance of any common rule, was that of the *Poor Catholics*, which was approved and confirmed as such by Innocent III.[1] In the year 1215 Dominic de Gusman, a Spaniard of noble birth, who had for some time past devoted himself with the utmost ardour to the suppression or conversion of heretics, established, with the assistance of nine friends, an order of *Preaching Friars*,[2] which was approved of in the following year by Pope Honorius III. In the first instance, Dominic adopted for his society the rule of the Augustin canons, aggravated with certain additional austerities; but in 1220, at a chapter held at Bologna, he entirely altered the constitution of his order, and obliged the members of it to abandon all their possessions, and to take a vow of strict and unconditional poverty. Dominic died in the following year; but his order[3] soon spread itself throughout Europe; and as public preaching had been from the beginning a principal object of the institution, its members were long distinguished as well by their learning and eloquence, as by the zeal and austerity of their lives. Another and more formidable means of importance was afforded to them in the monopoly, so to speak of the Inquisition. We have seen that the conduct and service of that odious tribunal was

[1] Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. iii., ch. iv.

[2] Id., tom. iii., ch. xxiv.

[3] It is admitted that Dominic borrowed this part of his institution from the Friars Minor of St. Francis; having assisted the year before at the chapter general of that order, held by its founder at Assisi, where he is said to have beheld with admiration an assembly of above five thousand brethren, who, notwithstanding their vow and practice of absolute poverty, were yet in want of nothing. Id., tom. iii., p. 207.

wholly committed to their charge. The founder was canonized by Pope Gregory IX. in the year 1235.

Order of Friars Minor, or Franciscans.

It was about the same time that the memorable order of *Friars Minor*, or *Franciscans*, took its rise in Italy. John, otherwise called François, or *Frenchman*, from his early proficiency in the French language, was the son of Peter Bernardoni, a merchant of the town of Assisi in Umbria, where he was born in the year 1182. His early inclination for a life of austerity and devotion[1] was strongly opposed by his father, and it was not until his twenty-fifth year that he finally renounced all secular prospects and possessions, and determined to devote himself thenceforth to what he conceived to be the service of God. This purpose he fulfilled with unbroken constancy and consistency for the rest of his life, which was not prolonged beyond his forty-fifth year, when his constitution sank under the rigour of his incessant austerities; and however little we may approve of the particular direction which the superstition of the age necessarily gave to his devotional propensities, it is impossible to mistake in the man himself, the witness of a spirit of the most heroic fortitude and self-denial.[2]

Francis had acquired only eleven disciples when he drew up for them a short rule, the simplicity of which consisted in the total abnegation of everything beyond the barest necessary for existence; and with this rule, in the year 1210, he made a journey to Rome, in order to obtain the approbation and confirmation of the pope. Innocent gave it, but by word of mouth only; and Francis now charged his followers to go and preach repentance in every city, throwing themselves wholly on the charity of strangers for their support. Such was the origin of this celebrated order, which soon came to surpass every other both in its numbers and its importance; and which, together with the Dominicans, constituted for a very long period the chief stay and support of the Church of Rome.

Encouraged by the popes.

It is plain that the circumstance which gave its peculiar efficiency to this new militia was the vow which the members took of absolute and unqualified poverty. By this they were secured from all those temptations and distractions which had proved so fatal to the energies and the regularity of the other religious orders; at the same time they maintained their hold on

[1] Some writers (for example Mosheim) speak of him as having led a debauched and dissolute life in his youth; but this assertion is not confirmed by those who have more directly treated of his biography. See Wadding and Helyot.

[2] See Helyot, tom. vii., for a full account of St. Francis; and of the various orders which sprang from his institute. But the great authority in all matters relating to the Franciscan orders is the *Annales Fratrum Minorum*, seventeen vols. in folio, by Luke Wadding, an Irish brother of the same rule, who died at Rome in 1655. He also published a *Bibliotheca Ordinis Minorum*, being a *Catalogue Raisonnée* of the Franciscan writers.

the attachment and reverence of the people by the show of disinterestedness and mortification which such self-denial supposed; while the necessity they were under of continually going about for alms brought them in incessant contact and converse with all ranks and classes of men. The popes easily perceived how admirably such institutions were available for the extension and confirmation of their authority and influence. Accordingly the Mendicant orders, particularly the Franciscans, were from the beginning the peculiar objects of their favour and encouragement. Privileges and immunities of every kind, and often most inconsistent with the rights of the more legitimate orders of the Church, were unsparingly heaped upon them; their vow of humility and poverty was not considered any obstacle to their frequent attainment to the highest offices and preferments in the Church; and in every mission of a confidential or delicate nature their services seem to have been accepted preferably to those of any other class of candidates. The multiplication of these friars accordingly was as rapid as it was extensive; before the middle of the century they had spread over all Europe, and had established themselves with more or less predominance in almost every capital or university.[1]

Controversies among the Franciscans.

The services, however, with these two orders afforded to the Church and the pontiffs were not without their drawback. Much disturbance was occasioned by their quarrels with each other, and still more by the disgust which their interference naturally gave rise to on the part of all the other orders of ecclesiastical administration. But the circumstance which occasioned the most trouble and perplexity to the popes was a division that broke out among the Franciscans themselves, concerning the precise interpretation of that part of the founder's rule[2] which made a total abandonment of all worldly possessions absolutely obligatory upon all his followers. Some were in favour of a mitigation of this injunction, in which construction they were supported by Pope Gregory IX., who, in 1231, authorized by a formal bull a considerable evasion of its rigour. Another bull of

[1] So early as the year 1228 the litigation began between the Dominicans and the University of Paris, concerning the claim which was made by the former to one of the theological chairs in that school, and which was resisted for nearly thirty years by the university, till decided in favour of the Mendicants by the despotic edict of Pope Alexander IV. It was in this dispute that the famous William de St. Amour, a doctor of the Sorbonne, distinguished himself as the foremost advocate for the rights of the university, and published his celebrated book *Concerning the Perils of the Last Times*, in which he applied the prophecy of St. Paul here alluded to (2 Tim., ch. iii., ver. 1), to the establishment of the Mendicant orders. See Dupin, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. xi., ch. vii., for an ample account of the whole of this controversy.

[2] The following are the words of the rule of St. Francis himself as extracted by Mosheim, vol. iii., p. 63. Ch. vi. *Fratres sibi nihil approprient, nec domum, nec locum nec aliquam rem; sed sicut perigrini et advenæ in hoc sæculo, in paupertate et humilitate famulantes Domino, vadant pro eleemosynâ confidenter.* Another article of the rule forbade the accepting of *money* in alms.

Innocent IV., in 1245, allowed the Friars Minor to possess certain houses, furniture, utensils, books, &c.; and it was endeavoured to reconcile this permission with the rule of the founder by declaring that the *use* only of these articles should belong to the Friars, but that the *property* of them should be vested solely in the sovereign pontiff. A large number of the order, who took to themselves the distinctive name of "Zealous" and "Spiritual," indignantly rejected this evasion of the founder's injunction, as well as the society of those of their brethren who consented to take advantage of it. The controversy was maintained with singular vehemence and bitterness throughout the rest of the century. In 1279 Pope Nicholas III. attempted to put an end to it by a bull[1] which was intended to be favourable to the *spiritual* party; but as it still allowed the *use* of certain necessary accommodations and chattels, it was far from giving satisfaction to those gloomy ascetics. On the accession of Pope Celestin V. they obtained from him a permission to form themselves into a separate community; but this act, like every other of the short pontificate of Celestin was annulled by his successor Boniface; when the singular obstinacy of these men in adhering to their own views of mortification and poverty, subjected them to a long course of the most unrelenting and sanguinary persecution. But the story of those sufferings belongs to the following century.

Number of Mendicant orders limited.

Notwithstanding the services of the Mendicant orders, the multiplication of them which took place in the present century was so great that the court of Rome found it necessary to put a stop to their further increase. Accordingly, in the General Council of Lyons held under Gregory X. in 1272, it was decreed by the twenty-third canon that the number of such orders or societies should be restrained to the four following denominations: viz., the *Dominicans;* the *Franciscans;* the *Carmelites*, who had been transplanted from Syria, and were confirmed by Pope Honorius III. in 1226; and the *Hermits of St. Augustin*, an order which had been formed in 1256, by Alexander IV., by a combination of the several societies of hermits previously existing.

Other orders.

Besides these, several other religious congregations took their rise in this century. The more remarkable are the *Order of the Holy Trinity*, or of the *Redemption of Captives* (such being the original purpose of the institution), which was founded in 1211 by John de Matha and Felix de Valois; the *Order of Sylvestrians*, founded in Italy, in 1231, by Sylvester Guzolini, and which adopted the rule of St. Benedict; and the *Order of Celestines*, which, as we have already seen, owed its origin to Peter of Murrhone, afterwards Pope Celestin V.[2]

[1] Called *Exiit qui seminat.* For an abstract of it, see Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.*, tom. xviii., p. 326.

[2] See Helyot, under these several heads, for an ample account of these orders.

General remarks. Doctrine and discipline.

The general state of the doctrine or discipline of the Church in this century presents little that calls for particular remark, beyond what may be gathered from the facts already given in the former part of this chapter. It can hardly be said that any new article of faith was imposed on the public credulity during this period; though, as we have seen, by the first chapter of the fourth Lateran Council (1215) the doctrine as well as the name of transubstantiation were more formally intruded into the substance of the public belief of the Church than hitherto they had been. By the twenty-first canon of the same Council, *auricular confession* to a priest, at least once in a year, was, for the first time, made universally obligatory upon the faithful. After the establishment of the Mendicant orders, a long and angry controversy took place as to how far it was allowable to make this confession to any other than the parochial curate of the penitent; the popes were evidently anxious to extend this privilege to the monks, while the bishops and universities resisted such intrusion as altogether unwarrantable, and contended that it was unlawful to confess even to the pope himself, without the consent of one's parish minister. Several bulls or decretals were issued by the pontiffs on this subject, most of them leaning to the side of the Mendicants; the last was that of Pope Boniface VIII., which ordained, "that the superiors of religious houses should apply to the bishops for leave for such friars as they should point out to administer the sacrament of penance; and that in case of refusal, application should be made to the pope, who, if he thought fit, might grant it by the *plenitude of his power*."

State of learning. Progress of scholastic theology.

It remains to add a few remarks respecting the state and progress of theological learning during the thirteenth century. The scholastic system of exposition and disputation which had its origin in the preceding age, may be said to have attained its highest honours in the present one. The writers who principally contributed to this result were Alexander Hales, Albert the Great, Bonaventure, and St. Thomas of Aquino; all of them men of undoubted genius and learning, and who are justly considered as the greatest lights of their school. More particular accounts of the writings of these doctors will be given separately; and we shall here merely observe of them, that great as was the expenditure of subtilty and acuteness which they wasted in their systems of didactic and exegetical divinity, we believe that the theological student would with difficulty find in the whole of them a single sound, and at the same time *new principle* of biblical interpretation or exposition. The *Book of Sentences* of Peter Lombard continued to be the standard, and in fact, the exclusive text-book of divinity in the schools. The greater part of the writers of that age made it their business to comment upon and illustrate it; commonly, however, taking the liberty to deviate

very widely as well from the meaning as the manner of their master; and seeking to establish or explain upon metaphysical or argumentative principles, the conclusions which he had grounded upon the authority of the fathers alone. In time, however, this method of theological exposition and disquisition became exhausted; and we find some of the most eminent of the schoolmen throwing aside the master of sentences, and framing *Sums* or systems of theology of their own. In these they profess to examine almost every assignable question upon principles of strict and impartial dialectic research; setting forth the reasonings to be alleged on both sides; and adding, so far as their ignorance of Greek would enable them, the opinions whether of Aristotle or of the Fathers.

New methods of exposition.

The adoption of the dry scholastic method of division and distinction, was yet more misplaced, and has a still worse effect in their sermons and devotional treatises.

This new or logical method of treating divinity did not make its way without considerable opposition on the part of the divines of the older school, who, as still adhering to the plain text of the Scriptures and the fathers, were distinguished under the name of *Biblicists*. We find the popes themselves reprobating this system of "adulterating the word of God with the figments of philosophers,"[1] and endeavouring to recall the writers and professors of the day to the sounder and plainer methods of exposition of former times; nevertheless the new system hourly became more prevalent, in consequence of the superior talent and subtilty of many of the doctors who adopted it.

Discouraged by the popes.

A remarkable feature of the literary history of this age, was the establishment of *Universities* on the footing on which they at present exist. It was then, indeed, that they first assumed their distinguishing denomination; although several seminaries of the kind already existed under the name of *Schools*. The University of Paris naturally took the lead in this change, and continued to preserve that pre-eminent credit as a place of theological institution, which the talents and learning of her professors had already acquired for her, in the course of the two preceding centuries. A system of strict regularity and discipline was now introduced into these bodies, to which both teachers and scholars were uniformly subjected. No one was allowed to lecture until he had taken certain degrees in the faculty which he followed, and these were given, after a rigorous examination, to those only who had attained the prescribed age, and devoted a given number of years to their appropriate studies. It was now, too, that colleges were first founded in connection with the universities. These owe their origin to the Dominican and Franciscan Friars, who, upon their

Universities.

Foundation of colleges.

[1] See the Epistle of Gregory IX. to the professors of the University of Paris. Du Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. An extract of it is given in Mosheim, vol. iii., p. 98.

aggregation to the universities, found it convenient to establish certain houses or hostelries for the separate use of their brethren among the students. The example was soon followed by other religious societies; and was adopted afterwards by various munificent individuals, who were anxious to afford to the poorer order of scholars the means of accommodation and support during their attendance at the universities. The celebrated house of Sorbonne was founded by Robert of Sorbonne, in the year 1251, for the secular clergy; and is believed to have been the first instance in Europe of any community in which seculars lived and taught in common. As such, its constitution has generally served as a model for the institutions of the same kind which have since been established in the different academical schools of Europe.

CHAPTER II.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Greek.

Nicetas Acominatus.	Arsenius Autorianus.
Georgius Acropolita Logothetes.	Georgius Pachymeres.
Germanus Nauplius.	Johannes Veccus.
Nicephorus Blemmidas.	Georgius Metochita.
Theodorus Lascaris.	Constantinus Meliteniota.
	Gregorius Abulpharagius.

These are the principal names afforded us by the records of Grecian literature and learning in this period of their decay; and the very obscurity into which the greater number of them have fallen sufficiently betrays the rank to which they belong. The first of these whom we have enumerated,

NICETAS ACOMINATUS,

surnamed Choniates from the place of his birth, Chone, a village of Phrygia, is the author of a treatise entitled *Thesaurus Orthodoxæ Fidei*, and as such may claim a place among the divines of his time; otherwise he is best and chiefly known by his *Byzantine History* from the year 1118 to 1205. It is valuable for its facts, although written in a wretched style. Nicetas himself filled the highest offices of the State under the Emperor Alexius and his successors. On the capture of Constantinople by the Latins he retired with his family to Nice in Bithynia, and died there shortly after, in the year 1206. His work has been printed several times, and forms a part of the *Corpus Hist. Byzant.* His brother Michael was archbishop of Athens, and author of various tracts which are still extant in manuscript.

Nicetas Acominatus.

GEORGIUS ACROPOLITA LOGOTHETES

was also a layman, high in office under the Emperors John Ducas, Theodore Lascaris, and Michael Palæologus, and the author of a continuation of the *Byzantine History* till the recapture of Constantinople in 1261. He possessed the highest reputation among his countrymen for talents and learning, and was deputed by the Emperor Michael Palæologus as his representative at the Council of Lyons, to treat respecting the reconciliation of the Greek and Latin Churches. He died in 1282. He is also the author of sundry theological treatises; among others, of a *Commentary upon St. Gregory Nazianzen.*

Georgius Acropolita Logothetes.

GERMANUS NAUPLIUS

Germanus Nauplius.

was titular patriarch of Constantinople from the year 1226 to 1243, when he died. He wrote a great many sermons and tracts, which are mentioned by Allatius; but none of them appear to merit specific notice.

NICEPHORUS BLEMMIDAS

Nicephorus Blemmidas.

was a priest and monk of the Monastery of Mount Atlas. He was favourable to the project so often agitated of a union of the Eastern and Western Churches, and made himself remarkable by the inclination which he betrays in his writings to the cause of the Latins. This leaning is very evident in his two treatises *Concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost;* in which, if he does not directly justify the expressions of the Latin symbol upon that point, he endeavours at least to show that it is not inadmissible. One of these treatises is dedicated to the Emperor Theodore Lascaris, in whose reign he flourished, but the time of his death does not appear.

THEODORUS LASCARIS

Theodorus Lascaris.

the second Emperor of that name, who succeeded his father John Ducas in the Empire at Nice, in the year 1255, was a theological writer; and, indeed so addicted to those studies, that after a reign of only four years he retired to a monastery in order that he might indulge in them uninterruptedly. But none of his writings have been printed.

ARSENIUS AUTORIANUS

Arsenius Autorianus.

originally a monk of Mount Athos, was in 1257 promoted to the patriarchal chair of Constantinople. But a quarrel[1] with the Emperor Michael Palæologus led to his deposition in the year 1268; and he was driven into exile, in which he died some years after. His principal work is an able *Nomocanon*, or abridgment of the Canons, extracted from the Fathers and the Councils, and divided into one hundred and forty-one heads. It is published in the *Bibliotheca* of Justel.

GEORGIUS PACHYMERES

Georgius Pachymeres.

was contemporary with Arsenius, and intimately connected with him in all the public affairs of his time. He was born at Nice in

[1] A quarrel in the highest degree honourable to the firmness and integrity of Arsenius; he has given a full account of the grounds of it in his last will and testament, which has been published by Cotelerius in the second volume of his *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Græcæ*. An ample and interesting narrative of this transaction will be found in Gibbon, vol. xi., ch. 61.

1242, and entered into orders; a circumstance that did not prevent his filling several important civil employments under the Emperors Michael Palæologus and his son. He survived to the following century, although the year of his death is uncertain. The chief work of Pachymeres is his *History of Affairs under the Emperors Michael and Andronicus*, from the year 1258 to 1308; a work the more valuable from the author's own intimate concern in the matters related; but written in the corrupt, inflated style too common to the later Byzantine historians. It has been published (Rome, 1666) in two volumes, folio. Pachymeres is also the author of a *Commentary on the Works of Dionysius*, and of an *Abridgment of Aristotle's Logic*, both in print; and of a little treatise on the *Procession of the Holy Ghost*, which is included in the *Græcia Orthodoxa* of Allatius. Of the next name in our list,

JOHANNES VECCUS,

Johannes Veccus.

some time patriarch of Constantinople, considerable mention has already been made in a former part of this chapter. He had by far the highest reputation of any Greek of his time for genius or eloquence. His conversion to the Latin doctrine concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost, is ascribed to an attentive perusal of the works of Nicephorus Blemmidas, which the Emperor had put into his hands; but as Michael at the same time shut him up in a dungeon in order to give him fuller leisure for the appreciation of the controversy, the motives and nature of his conversion must always remain somewhat equivocal. The consistency and firmness, however, with which he afterwards adhered to his new opinions, ought to gain him credit for the sincerity with which he had embraced them. He was deposed, as we have seen, in 1283, and died in exile in 1298. His various treatises, which relate almost exclusively to the Latin controversy, were collected by Allatius, and published at Rome in 1652.

GEORGIUS METOCHITA,

CONSTANTINUS MELITENIOTA,

Georgius Metochita, Constantinus Meliteniota.

are two dignitaries of the church of Constantinople, who attached themselves to the opinions and fortunes of the patriarch Veccus, and who on his fall were similarly driven into banishment. Of their writings, all which relate to the same controversies with those in which their patron was engaged, several have been printed in the *Græcia Orthodoxa* of Allatius.

We ought not here to omit a notice of some of the many able Polemics who distinguished themselves on the other side in this debate. Among these we should first mention Georgius of Cyprus, surnamed Gregorius, who was raised to the patriarchate of Con-

stantinople upon the death of Josephus in 1284, and died about five years after; Georgius Moschamper, Register of the Patriarchal church; and Constantinus Logothetes Acropolita; all of whom published various treatises in refutation of the doctrines and principles supported by Veccus.[1]

Decay of Greek Literature and Theology.

Nothing can more strongly mark the point of decay and exhaustion to which Grecian literature and theology had at this time fallen, than the simple inspection of a catalogue such as we have here drawn up; a few chroniclers of contemporary history, and a crowd of disputants upon the prevailing controversy of the day, form the only contributors to Byzantine letters. A similar review of the writers of Western Europe in this century, affords us a spectacle of greater animation, in respect at least of the number, talents, and industry of the writers; and in framing our catalogue, our difficulty will be the reverse of that which we felt in making out an enumeration of the Grecian writers; the only embarrassment is that of choice among so many. We shall, however, confine our notice to the leading names, taking for the most part as the best indication of their comparative merit, the degree of celebrity which they respectively acquired in their own age.

Latin.

Alexander of Hales.	Robert Grosteste.
Albert the Great.	Peter the Chanter.
St. Thomas of Aquino.	Peter of Corbeil.
St. Bonaventura.	William of Auvergne.
Roger Bacon.	Vincent of Beauvais.
Alan of Lillie.	Hugh of St. Cher.
Richard Middleton.	Thomas of Cantimpre.
Stephen Langton.	Raymond de Pennaforte.
St. Edmund of Canterbury.	Raymond of Martins.
John Peckham.	

ALEXANDER OF HALES

Alexander of Hales.

(the place of his birth in Gloucestershire) may be considered as the earliest of the distinguished schoolmen of this century. After completing the usual course of humanities at home, he studied theology and canon law at Paris, and quickly gained so high a reputation in that University, that he was distinguished by the title of the *Irrefragable Doctor*. The book which put the seal to his reputation was his *Sum* of Theology, the largest work of its kind that had yet been produced. It is in the form of a voluminous comment on the Master of Sentences, the plan and order of whose treatise he follows throughout; though with a consider-

[1] We might add to this list of Christian oriental writers, Gregorius Abulpharagius, an Arabian author of the sect of the Jacobites and Malchites, whose *Universal History* from the creation to his own time (viz., to the year of Hegira 683, A.D. 1284) is greatly esteemed, particularly that part which relates to Asiatic history. He died Bishop of Aleppo and primate of the Jacobites in 1286.

able latitude of difference as to the manner and principle of reasoning. Alexander embraced the Franciscan institute in 1222, and continued for many years to preside over the theological school of that order at Paris, where he died in August, 1245. His *Sum* has been several times printed; of his other works many remain in manuscript; and of some of those which are ascribed to him it is doubtful whether he was in fact the author.

A schoolman of yet higher reputation was

ALBERT, SURNAMED THE GREAT,

who was born at Lawingen, in Suabia, about the beginning of the present century. He joined, in 1221, the order of Preaching Friars, or Dominicans, of which he became provincial in Germany, and fixed his residence at Cologne, where he taught divinity with the highest reputation. In 1260, Pope Alexander IV. gave him the bishopric of Ratisbon, but he soon resigned it, and returned to his former studies at Cologne. He was one of the distinguished doctors invited to assist at the General Council at Lyon in 1274. He died at Cologne in 1280. His works are of enormous volume; they have been printed (Lyon, 1651) in no less than twenty-one volumes folio. The reader may be curious to know of what so immense a mass can consist. The six first are devoted to Logic, Physic, Metaphysics, Morals, and Politics, in all which subjects Aristotle is followed implicitly; the next five consist of Commentaries on the Scripture; the twelfth of a series of sermons for all the year; the thirteenth of commentaries upon the books ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite. Then follow three volumes of commentaries on the Master of Sentences; a Sum of divinity occupies two more; and the nineteenth is entitled *Summa Creaturarum*, treating of the natural world and of man. Of the pieces contained in the two last volumes, it is doubtful whether the greater number really belong to him. The very high reputation acquired by Albert in his own age, is the best proof of his merit; of which perhaps it would not be fair to judge by the estimate of what, at the present day, might seem really valuable in his works. Albert.

A yet greater name in scholastic science is that of

ST. THOMAS OF AQUINO,

to whom, in order that we may fully explain the doctrine of the schoolmen, we have devoted a separate chapter.[1] St Thomas of Aquino.

After the *Angelical*, the next place in the constellation of scholastic worthies of this century is due to the seraphic doctor,

[1] See chapter III.

ST. BONAVENTURA,

St. Bonaventura. who was born at Bagnarea, in Tuscany, in the year 1221, and having entered into the Franciscan order, at the age of twenty-two, proceeded to study at Paris. There he attracted admiration not more by his eloquence and genius, than by the sweetness of his temper, and the piety and purity of his life; insomuch that his master, Alexander of Hales, used to say of him, *In fratre Bonaventurâ Adam peccâsse non videtur.* In 1256, he was chosen General of his order; ten years after, like his illustrious contemporary, Thomas of Aquino, he refused an archbishopric, that of York, which was urged upon him by Pope Urban IV. Like him, too, he was summoned to attend at the Council of Lyon in 1274, and by a further coincidence, died in the same year, on the 15th of July, in the course of his attendance on that Synod. He had just before accepted a cardinal's hat from Pope Gregory X., to whose election he was supposed to have principally contributed. He was canonized by Sixtus IV. in 1482. The turn of Bonaventura's genius was devotional and mystic rather than philosophical or dialectic. His works, therefore, are distinguishable from those of the most contemporary schoolmen, as well by the matter, which for the most part refers little to Logic or Physics, as by the peculiar unction and spirit of devotion which uniformly pervades the style. They have been printed in six volumes folio, (Rome, 1588), and consist (together with the usual *Commentaries* upon the Master of Sentences) almost wholly either of *Commentaries on Scripture,* or of sermons and tracts of a spiritual nature. We have now enumerated the four great lights of the school in this century. A man, probably of superior genius to any of them, was the famous

ROGER BACON,

Roger Bacon. who by the universality of his acquirements obtained the name of the *admirable* doctor; but though a Franciscan monk by profession, he applied himself so exclusively to subjects of mathematical and chemical science, that he can scarcely be reckoned among the theological writers of the age. His success in these pursuits is known to have brought him under the imputation of cultivating the magical arts; on which ground he was condemned by the General of his order in 1278, and punished by imprisonment. He died at Oxford six years afterwards, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. His *Opus Majus* has been several times printed.

ALAN OF LILLIE,

Alan of Lillie. flourished as a distinguished professor throughout nearly the whole of this century in the University of Paris, where, from the equal

extent of his attainments in philosophy and poetry as well as in divinity, he was styled the *universal doctor*. He died in A. D. 1294.

RICHARD MIDDLETON,

Richard Middleton.

or *Ricardus de Media Villâ*, as he wrote himself, was a Franciscan monk, and a professor of theology, and as such acquired the title of the *solid* and *copious* doctor. He died in 1304. Like most of his brethren of the school, he wrote a *Commentary* upon Peter Lombard; a duty which seems to have been undertaken as a matter of course in that age by all who sought to distinguish themselves in divinity.

Few men of his time have better deserved of their country and of posterity, than

STEPHEN LANGTON,

Stephen Langton.

some time archbishop of Canterbury; but it was in his political and episcopal character rather than in that of a theological writer; although his services in this last respect were far from contemptible. The story of his life, and of the consistent firmness with which he successively resisted the tyranny of the king and the encroachments of the pope, belongs to English history. Previously to his elevation to the see of Canterbury (A.D. 1206), he professed divinity at Paris, and with so much reputation, that, although a foreigner, he was elected chancellor of the university. He died in 1228. Of his works, consisting chiefly of *Commentaries* on the Scripture, none is in print. He is said to have been the first who divided the Bible into chapters.

Another ornament of the metropolitan see of England during this century was

ST. EDMUND OF CANTERBURY.

St. Edmund of Canterbury.

He was the son of Edward Rich, a merchant of Abingdon, and from his earliest years manifested the seeds of the most humble and devout frame of mind; a disposition which he did not belie, when, much against his own will (A.D. 1234), at the special recommendation of Pope Gregory, he was elected to the primacy. In this high office, however, he found nothing but cares; and the shameless conduct, on the part as well of the court of Rome as of the crown and the clergy, of which he was compelled to be the witness, and sometimes the instrument, so disgusted him, that at length (A.D. 1249) he voluntarily retired to the monastery of Pontigny in France; the same which had before afforded an asylum to his predecessor, St. Thomas à Becket. He died there within the same year, in the odour of sanctity. His merits were acknowledged by an act of canonization on the part of Pope Innocent IV. in 1249; and still better by the singular veneration

in which his memory was held, up to a recent period, in the neighbourhood of the place of his decease. He was the author of a work of piety, entitled *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, which has been printed in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

Another archbishop of Canterbury in this century, and who finds a place here rather from his rank as such, than from the importance or worth of his writings, is

JOHN PECKHAM,

John Peckham. a native of Sussex, and a Franciscan, who, during a residence he made at Rome, so acquired the favour of the pope, that by his interest he was elected to the primacy on the resignation of Robert Killwardy in 1278. He died in 1291, after holding the see for thirteen years, during which time he had not only greatly enriched his patron kindred, but accumulated a fortune of five thousand pounds (in those days considered an enormous sum), besides, as it was believed, having largely recompensed the pope for his promotion. He compiled a work called *Collectorium Bibliorum*, which has been twice printed (Paris, 1514; Cologne, 1541), besides various tracts of divinity, which still remain in manuscript.

The prelacy of England during this century could boast of a very different character from the last mentioned in

ROBERT GROSTESTE,

Robert Grosteste. or Groshead (in Latin styled Robertus Capito), bishop of Lincoln; a man distinguished not more by the depth of his learning and the vivacity of his genius, than by the purity, simplicity, and disinterestedness of his life: and who shone among all his contemporaries by the firmness with which he not merely opposed the encroachments and practices of the court of Rome, but openly and indignantly stigmatized them as utterly subversive both of the doctrines of the gospel and the discipline of the church. Some striking instances of this conduct on his part are related in Matthew Paris.[1] He was born in Suffolk, and studied at Oxford and Paris, and was promoted to the see of Lincoln in 1235. He died in 1253, leaving behind a considerable number of writings both in philosophy and divinity. Some of these have been printed, and sufficiently confirm the testimony of his contemporaries, both as to his integrity of principle, and the extent of his learning.

PETER THE CHANTER,

Peter the Chanter. (so called from the office which he held in the church of Paris), is the author of a work entitled *Verbum Abbreviatum*, which is fre-

[1] *Hist. ad. ann.*, 1255, p. 754.

quently cited with praise by the divines of the following centuries. It has been printed (Mons, 1637, 4to). He became a monk in the Abbey of Long-pont, where he died about the beginning of this century. Contemporary with him as a doctor and professor in the University of Paris was

PETER OF CORBEIL;

Peter of Corbeil.

he had been tutor to Pope Innocent III., who in one of his letters expresses the highest opinion of him, and successively procured him the preferments of archdeacon of York, bishop of Cambray, and archbishop of Sens. He was the author of a *Sum* of theology and of various *Commentaries* upon Scripture, none of which have been printed, although they procured to him a very high reputation among his contemporaries. He died in 1222.

WILLIAM OF AUVERGNE

William of Auvergne.

became bishop of Paris in 1228, and held that see till his death, in 1249. His works (which have been printed in two volumes folio) are especially remarkable for the force and severity with which he stigmatizes the abuses of discipline prevailing at that time in the church.[1]

VINCENT OF BEAUVAIS

Vincent of Beauvais.

was a Dominican friar, and reader and chaplain to the King St. Louis. It was at the order and expense of that prince that he undertook to compose a great work, entitled *Speculum Majus*, divided into four heads of Natural, Doctrinal, Historical, and Moral Science, and as such forming a kind of universal dictionary of the knowledge of that age. The work is, for the most part, a professed compilation from other authors; but some difficulty has arisen from the fact of the last part, or the *Speculum Morale*, being nearly *verbatim* the same with the second division of the second part of the *Sum* of St. Thomas Aquinas. Vincent is said to have died in 1256, nearly twenty years before St. Thomas, of whom his *Sum* is known to have been the latest production. The most probable supposition is that this portion of St. Thomas's *Sum* was interpolated in or added to the *Speculum* of Vincent by some of the earlier transcribers of the latter work.

HUGH OF ST. CHER,

Hugh of St. Cher.

near Vienne, in Dauphiné, was a brother of the order of Dominicans, of which he became provincial, and was afterwards (1245) made cardinal by Pope Innocent IV.; by whom, as by his pre-

[1] See Dupin, *Hist. Eccles.*, vol. xi., ch. 3, for an abstract of a treatise of this William concerning the collation of benefices.

decessor, Gregory IX., he was employed in several important missions. He died at Orvieto, in March, 1263. Notwithstanding his success in the public and political situations which he filled, his prevailing taste was for a life of retirement and literature; and he is said to have expressed to the last his regret that he had suffered himself, by the acceptance of the cardinalship, to be drawn into busier scenes. The work by which he is most honourably remembered is his *Concordance of the Bible*; a contrivance of which he was the inventor, and which he completed by the assistance of some of his monks, who wrote under his direction.

THOMAS OF CANTINPRE,

Thomas of Cantinpre.

a Flemish divine, also of the Dominican order, claims a place here, on account of the celebrity which attached to his work entitled *Bonum Universale, seu de Apibus*, in which under the form of a "Fable of the Bees," he illustrates and enforces the duties of the different ranks of society in their carriage towards each other. He died in 1263.[1] His book has been several times printed.[2]

Among the most distinguished members of the Dominican order at this time, we must not omit the mention of

RAYMOND DE PENNAFORTE,

Raymond de Pennaforte.

of whom it has been said, that he was one of the first among the Latins who undertook to vanquish the Jews and Saracens by reason and argument, rather than by terror and force,[3] was born at Barcelona about the year 1177, and studied and afterwards professed the canon law with great distinction at Bologna. On his return to his country in 1222, he found the Dominican order just established. He immediately took the habit himself, and in 1238 was elected General; but this dignity he soon resigned, and uniformly refused every other that was offered to him, passing the rest of his life, which was prolonged to nearly a century, in his convent at Barcelona. He died in January, 1275, and three centuries after was canonized by Pope Clement VIII. Besides a compilation of the decretals, which he made at the desire of Pope Gregory IX., Raymond composed an excellent *Summa* of cases of conscience for the use of confessors, which was probably the earliest work of its kind that has appeared.[4]

[1] According to Lipsius, though other writers place the date of his death nine years after. See Dupin, thirteenth century, ch. 4.

[2] At Douay, in 1597, 1607, and 1627.

[3] Mosheim, cent. xiii., ch. 3. If this be true of the method which he employed towards infidels, it can hardly apply to his mode of dealing with heretics, as it is known that he was most immediately and actively concerned in the original establishment of the Inquisition both in Arragon and Languedoc.

[4] The best edition is that of P. Laget, Lyon, 1718, in folio; the date of which is a sufficient indication that, notwithstanding the many imitations of its plan, the work up to a late period retained its value.

Of the same city, and of the same religious order, was

RAYMOND OF MARTINS,

who similarly distinguished himself by his controversies with the Jews and Saracens; to qualify himself for which service, by the recommendation of Raymond of Pennaforte, he acquired, what was very rare at that time, a knowledge of the Hebrew and Arabic languages. Thus accomplished, he produced his celebrated book, the *Pugio Fidei;* a work which is still considered one of the most conclusive of its kind, and which has been more than once reprinted with the annotations of the learned.[1]

Raymond of Martins.

[1] Particularly by Joseph Voisin, Paris, 1651, and by Benedict Carpzovius, Leipsic, 1687.

CHAPTER III.

THOMAS AQUINAS.

BORN A.D. 1224; DIED A.D. 1274.

PHILOSOPHY OF THOMAS AQUINAS AND THE SCHOOLMEN.

Uniformity of scholastic Biography.

THE biography of the schoolmen of the Middle Age presents at the first view little to interest the general reader, who seeks to be led through a series of incidents various in character and striking in effect. A prospect seems stretched before him of wild plains or barren sea, without any landmarks to arrest the eye, or irregularities to break the dull level. But it is only at the first vague glance of the subject that it appears in this uninteresting form. The level which, whilst we viewed it from a distance, seemed nothing but uniformity, on the nearer approach discloses the variety of hill and valley, which its broad surface had concealed from the distant survey. And so the life of the schoolmen, when closely studied, is by no means devoid of the interest naturally to be expected from an account of any one among men, whose name has attracted the admiration of ages, and thus obtained an historical importance.

But the interest here is of a different kind from that which an unreflecting prejudice may suggest to our wishes. It is true, that there is something of that uniformity, which repels and disappoints both the imagination and the feelings. There are no vicissitudes of fortunes, like those which diversify the story of the more busy agent in the History of the World. For the most part, the life of the philosopher of the schools of the Middle Ages was drawn out in even tenor, amidst the still shades of the cloister, or the wrangling but still innocuous tumults of the schools. We may single out, indeed, the instance of the celebrated Abelard in the twelfth century; whose calamities, the effects of the vicious system of the age more than the fault of the individual, have rendered him notorious in the page of ecclesiastical and literary history, no less than his labours as a philosopher and a theologian. But with this remarkable exception, and perhaps one or two others, one uniform character seems to prevail over the whole assemblage of those once illustrious names, which the annals of the schools present.

Peculiar interest of that uniformity.

Is there, however, no interest even in this very uniformity? Is variety of incident all that captivates the reader of biography? If the development of human character be a principal object in the record of human actions and events, then is the very uniformity of the scholastic biography an important feature in it, demanding

our attention and close examination. For the sameness of character, which we thus observe diffused over so large a surface of human life, is clearly not a fortuitous desultory effect; but is an index to the philosophical eye, of the force of circumstances in influencing and modifying the human mind. Men born in different conditions of life, of different tempers and talents, have been found to be acted on by the discipline of circumstances, in the Middle Ages, nearly in the same manner, and to have yielded to the same impressions. It is an interesting inquiry, then, to trace these dominant influences in the life of any of those distinguished individuals, who shone as the luminaries of their own dark age. It is the philosophy of man that we are unconsciously searching into: and even the scanty fragments of incident which we may be able to collect are valuable: for they give us some instruction in the elements of which our nature is compounded, some illustration of what it is susceptible of under the varied action of society and education.

Aquinas pre-eminent among the schoolmen.

The life of Aquinas may be particularly selected as a type of the scholastic biography. His name is familiar to every one, as the representative of the class to which he belongs. That very familiarity is an evidence of the conspicuous place which he holds among the theological philosophers of the Middle Ages. But we have been taught at the same time to associate his name with all that is dark in religion or in philosophy; and we are apt, therefore, to think of him with some degree of ridicule or contempt, as unworthy of the serious inquiry of enlightened times. In truth, however, Aquinas, when impartially examined, will be found not to shrink from a comparison with the philosophers of the brightest period of literature. If we are to judge of the philosopher from the intrinsic powers of mind displayed, independently of the results attained by him, which chiefly depend on the concourse of favourable circumstances, then may Aquinas be placed in the first rank of philosophy. If penetration of thought, comprehensiveness of views, exactness the most minute, an ardour of inquiry the most keen, a patience of pursuit the most unwearied, are among the merits of the philosopher, then may Aquinas dispute even the first place among the candidates for the supremacy in speculative science.

Nobility of his family.

Descended from a noble ancestry on both sides; his father Lodolph being Count of Aquino, and his mother Theodora, daughter of the Count of Theate, the future saint and doctor of the Church seemed destined for a fortune of life very different from that to which his own temper subsequently directed his choice. He was born at the castle of Roccasicca at Aquino, in the year 1224,[1] being, it seems, the youngest of several sons. Whilst his

[1] *Sub initium anni*, 1225. Oudin, *in Vit.*

brothers, however, pursued the military profession, the circumstances of his early life soon marked him out for another path of employment and distinction. Being sent at the age of five years to the monastery of Monte Casino, one of the usual places of education for the children of Italian nobles, during the five years spent there, he gave indication, even at this early period, of that seriousness and abstractedness of mind, which characterized his maturity. The thoughtful manner of the child attracted, indeed, the notice of the abbot of the convent; by whose recommendation his parents sent him to Naples, which was then established as a flourishing school of philosophy under the patronage of the Emperor Frederic II. The six years which he passed at Naples tended only to foster and develop this contemplative disposition: and it was a natural result when, at the age of seventeen years, he passionately devoted himself to the monastic life; embracing the profession of a Dominican, and adhering to his resolution in spite of the remonstrances and opposition of his family.

Educated at Monte Casino;

Afterwards at Naples.

We may, perhaps, at first be at a loss to conceive the inducement to a young man of rank to relinquish his hereditary pretensions, and to embark on a scheme of life, in which distinction was to be attained by dint of personal labour and the acquirements of the individual. We might wonder the less, had we heard of his leaving his father's home on some romantic project of adventure, suggested by the enthusiasm of a young and ardent mind; such as would be furnished by the occasion of the holy wars. But our surprise will be removed, when we reflect on the general condition of the Western or Latin world in those times, and the relation in which the Church then stood to the community at large. The Crusades of the twelfth century had supplied the cravings of the public mind for some matter of interest and excitement, to relieve the monotony and listlessness which overspread the face of society. The eager and blind obedience with which the call to fight the battles of the Lord in a distant land was answered at the first throughout the length and breadth of Christendom, show the existence and the universality of the popular feeling to which Peter the Hermit and his followers addressed themselves. But by those very proceedings, the cause which had stimulated, and in a great measure occasioned them, was removed; and the public mind then sought employment in a new direction. The fact is evidenced in the little interest manifested generally in the Crusades of the following century. Infidels were yet to be exterminated from the land of the Holy Sepulchre; the sacred duty of waging interminable war against the infidel still continued to be preached. But the call was no longer heard with alacrity: the interest was gone: and the change of circumstance was not so much a state of inaction or of lassitude and exhaustion after violent exertion, as of a desire of employment, as

Cessation of inducements to active life at this period.

we have said, in a new direction. The activity which then began to develop itself, may be characterized in general terms, as an expansion of intellect, as a reaching towards larger and more diversified means of learning and information. The efforts made in this direction were indeed feeble in their result: they were those of persons ignorant of the true grounds of mental cultivation as well as of the right method of applying any existing resources to that end. But still there was a vigour about them; a spirit of enterprise, which, in more felicitous circumstances, would undoubtedly have produced more fruitful results. There was enough certainly in the intellectual labours of the thirteenth century, however, in the pride of modern improvement and advances in philosophy and literature, we may look back on them with contempt, to engage the elevated and aspirant mind. Little indeed worthy of such minds was to be accomplished by the adventures of a military life, the only existing resource besides the studies of the Cloister and the Schools, to those endued with any energy of character. The spirit of Chivalry had its charms for those cast in a rougher mould; to whom the stillness of a life of study would in any age have seemed no better than torpor and stupidity. But to the gentler, more thoughtful dispositions, the diversion into the field of purely mental activity would be a welcome refuge from the turbulent restlessness of the world without; where they too might find a congenial employment, and contend no less for the cause of God, though with other arms, by the power of their reason and their learning, against the infidel and the misbeliever.

Social importance of the Church.

To those, however, who were susceptible of the refinement proceeding at that period, the Church of the thirteenth century presented the only opportunity for indulgence of the sentiment awakened in their minds. The great society of the Church itself, and the several subordinate associations into which it was divided, the monastic orders, and the universities and schools of theology, presented means of combination, and opportunities for the display of personal talent and for obtaining influence, which could be found nowhere else. The Church in fact, as then constituted, was the great centre of power. Men who looked on what passed around them with any shrewdness of discernment, could not but observe that, whilst kings and armies were the ostensible agents in the affairs of the world, it was the power of the Church which actuated the whole, and guided, if it did not always originate, the complex movements of the mass. If there was ambition then in the breast of any one, here was the theatre on which it might act; if there was the love of learning, here it might find opportunities for its gratification; if there was concern for the public good, the high-born wish to be among the benefactors of the human race, here were the means provided by which good

might be achieved on the greatest scale. Nor was the simple circumstance of the fellowship subsisting between members of the Church as such,—and more particularly of that intimate connection between individuals of the same religious fraternity,—an inconsiderable attraction to men of sensibility and refinement, in those days when society scarcely existed in the world at large. In these associations, the artificial distinctions which separated man from man disappeared. Men met together on a principle independent of the passions, the conventionalities, and the vicissitudes of the world, the principle of equality in the sight of Him who is no Respecter of persons. At the same time, there was enough in them to solicit and reward the candidates for the honours of the spiritual society, who entered it with higher pretensions of birth, or talent, or character. The dignities of bishop, or abbot, or general of an order, held out to such rank and importance; or where a more unworldly ambition might actuate the individual than the reputation of exalted sanctity, and the luxury itself of a devoted profession of religion with all the self-sacrifices and austerities which it imposes, would serve as powerful allurements. Then, moreover, the Church, notwithstanding its degeneracy in those times from the primitive faith and Scriptural simplicity of doctrine, had within its bosom truth, and right, and order, and brotherly love; and these could not but draw to them the nobler, kindlier, and gentler natures among men, and forcibly tend to enlist such into its service, whether as preachers or as argumentative expositors of its doctrine by their studies, their public disputations, and their writings. Thus not only the ambitious, and the enthusiastic, and the devoted, would obtain in the Church a sphere of duty suited to their temper and their talents, but many also, among whom we may doubtless reckon Aquinas himself, would honestly and simply engage themselves,—from their own love of the truth and earnest belief of the whole system of the Church in which it was contained,—to embrace the calling of its professed advocates, and apply themselves to those studies, which were not only in accordance with their own taste and feelings, but also were held subservient to its teaching and defence.

Probably indeed the adoption of the monastic profession by Aquinas, in the first instance, was not altogether voluntary. The first step may have been taken with little reflection on the momentous change of life consequent on it; from the mere enthusiasm of a youthful mind, and an ardent compliance with the example and wishes of a revered instructor. The Dominican and Franciscan orders, themselves in great measure an effect of the peculiar circumstances of the times, were but recently established in the early part of the thirteenth century. The spirit of proselytism consequently was actively exerting itself at this

period, to obtain for each its respective votaries, and raise it to an ascendancy over the rival institution. The Dominican order especially, framed as it was in a more worldly spirit of fanaticism, had its clever and active partizans dispersed everywhere, who, by the fame of their erudition and piety, and by their tact, won the hearts of devout hearers to their cause. It was by the addresses of a preacher at Naples, a Dominican, by name John de St. Julian, that Aquinas was induced to take up the monastic profession. He had imbibed the teaching of this person with an eager attention, and anxiously sought an opportunity of personal conference with him. A conversation with the monk of St. Julian decided his purpose. His religious wish was communicated to the brothers, and readily approved by them; on which he immediately assumed the habit of a Dominican, and immured himself within a monastery of the order at Naples.

Aquinas won to the Dominican profession by John de St. Julian.

Enters a monastery at Naples.

Intelligence of this proceeding on his part was received by his family with the greatest concern and indignation. Theodora, his mother, especially, remonstrated with passionate vehemence against the act, and strove to reclaim him to his family. The writer of the life prefixed to his works, in his partiality to the sacred order, would have us believe that the resentment of the mother was an after-thought; and that at first she expressed the piety of her heart in devout thankfulness to God at the event. But with what probability this statement is made, we may judge from the active measures taken to frustrate the purpose of her son. The recovery of such a step was not easily to be effected, or rather was impracticable. The victim of the cloister was bound by a spell which no entreaties or menaces could unsay. In this difficulty, force was resorted to as the only expedient. But the Dominicans were on the alert. To prevent the effect of an interview with his mother, they conveyed their novice to Rome, intending to transmit him thence to Paris. His mother followed him to Rome, and disappointed of seeing him there, instructed his brothers to watch the roads, and intercept him on his way. They succeeded in surprising him as he was drinking at a spring after the fatigues and heat of his journey, forcibly seized him, and struggling in vain to strip him of his monastic habit, carried him away to his home. His mother received him with tears, and provided for his future security, by confining him within their own castle. The Dominicans complained to the pope of the sacrilege. But though the pope was disposed to favour the new religious orders, as great bulwarks of his authority, the power of the Emperor, who was in the interest of the brothers of Aquinas, was then in collision with that of the apostolic see, and could not be boldly opposed. His family was left for the present, therefore, in undisturbed possession of their recovered prize.

Indignation of his mother.

He is rescued by his brothers, and confined at his own home.

Aquinas being once more in the bosom of his own family, every

Expedients tried by his family to reclaim him.

argument of kindness was tried by his mother and sisters to alter his unwelcome purpose. He was proof against these, and even against the severities of angry rebuke; expressing his readiness to submit to the closest confinement, but never to abandon the religious profession which he had assumed. To complete the trial of the future saint, by an experiment usual in the legends of saints, the biographer adds, that the brothers of Aquinas next assailed him with the blandishments of female society; thinking that the resolution which had proved inexorable under stern trials, might at length yield to softer impressions. They introduced accordingly a female visitant to his apartment. Consolation was made the ostensible pretext of the visit; whilst under this cover all the winning arts of womanly endearment were plied to solicit his affections. His firmness had nearly failed him under this ordeal, when suddenly collecting himself, with a rude indignation, he abruptly dismissed his female assailant, scaring her from his presence with such arms as were ministered by the fury of the moment, a burning stick snatched from the hearth. He then threw himself, as the story proceeds, before the sign of the cross, which the random force of the stick had traced on the wall; and praying for strength to resist the temptations of the flesh, and for an entire devotedness, he at length fell asleep from exhaustion. The scene is closed by a vision of two angels, appearing to him as he slept, girding him, and strengthening his chaste determination.

He is imprisoned for two years; relieves his solitude by prayer and study.

He patiently endured this imprisonment at his own home for two whole years, relieving his stubborn solitude only by prayer, and religious contemplation, and literary studies. Together with the Scriptures, the Book of the Sentences, the celebrated Digest of Theology compiled by Peter Lombard, a bishop of Paris in the preceding century, now engaged his attention. At the same time he employed himself in writing a commentary on Aristotle's book of *Refutations of Sophisms*. The art of disputation was cultivated at this period with the most intense interest, as we shall presently show more fully, being regarded as an essential part of the education and business of the theologian. The writings of Aristotle in particular, becoming more known to the Christians of the West about the same time, attracted extraordinary curiosity: and both the Dominicans and Franciscans dexterously availed themselves of the course which the fashion of the age had taken; establishing chairs of philosophy at the various schools and universities, for the express purpose of commenting on, and expounding the doctrines of Aristotle. We find accordingly a logical work of that philosopher occupying the leisure of this secluded devotee, no less than studies of a strictly theological character.

The tenderness of a mother was no match for the implacable resolve of an enthusiastic self-devotion. The mother of Aquinas,

who had all along been the chief agent in these measures of restraint, finding all endeavour to turn him from his purpose utterly unavailing, at length gave up the unequal contest, and connived at his escape; preferring probably making the concession in that way, to openly surrendering him to the demands of the Dominicans. The monks were apprized that his escape might be effected by night. Accordingly, they were in attendance at the stated time, at the well-known window of his apartment, through which they had been used secretly to convey to him the woollen habit of the order. He let himself down from the window, was received by them, and conducted to Naples, and then to Rome, to John the Teutonic, the general of the order. This took place in the year 1244, when he was in the twentieth year of his age.

His escape connived at by his mother.

He returns to Naples,

He was immediately placed by the General of the order under the charge of Albert of Cologne, also a Dominican by profession, and whose fame for science and erudition, then diffused throughout Europe, had obtained for him the distinctive appellation of the Great. The school of Albert, indeed, like that of Plato at Athens (if we may venture to compare the degenerate philosophy of the Middle Ages with the high thoughts and animated eloquence of the classic age of science), appears to have been the great seminary from which the chief philosophers of the subsequent period were propagated. Plato combined the traditions of ancient wisdom extant at his time, and moulded them into a whole by the force of his genius: and it is to the spirit which he breathed over the whole, and which his disciples imbibed, that we may trace both the acute vigour of the Aristotelic logic, and the masculine dignity of the Stoic ethics. So to Albert of Cologne the epithet of the Great appears to be not unworthily attached, if we look to the effects of his influence on the philosophy of the schools of the Middle Ages. Before him there hardly existed any philosophy that might properly be called scholastic. There had been many who had taught the like principles, and had reasoned in the same manner: particularly we may notice Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury; who, in the century preceding, composed several treatises which display an astonishing power of metaphysical reasoning. So, again, Abelard, though inferior to Anselm, might be mentioned as an eminent instance at the same period, of the same kind of metaphysical acuteness. And perhaps but for him,—but for that popularity which Abelard attained, and for the disciples of his school, who afterwards filled influential stations in the Church,—the school of Albert would not have been frequented, nor his method of philosophizing have been so generally adopted. Still Albert must have the praise of having systematized the scholastic discussions; of having perfectly accomplished what Anselm and others had only partially executed; the drawing to one point the mass of reasonings which

And becomes the disciple of Albert of Cologne.

had hitherto existed in dispersed portions, and combining the various principles employed in those reasonings into one peculiar philosophy, to which we give the peculiar name of scholasticism.

He holds the office of master of the students under Albert.

In Aquinas, Albert had a pupil exactly qualified for maturing the instructions received in his school. To carry on the analogy just mentioned, Aquinas was to Albert what Aristotle was to Plato. Aquinas digested the rude plan of Albert, and elaborated the system in its minutest parts. Under Albert, indeed, at Cologne, he exercised the functions of "master of the students;" collecting and reducing to writing the lectures of his master; so that his mind was in fact completely formed by the training of Albert.[1] He had not that taste for physical pursuits, or that various knowledge for which Albert was distinguished: but his attention was more concentrated on the pure theories of scholasticism in itself, and their application to theology. And here he may be said to have surpassed his master. The wonderful perspicuity which, amidst all the subtilties and abstruseness of metaphysical speculation, pervades his celebrated work entitled the *Sum of Theology*, is enough to establish his superiority in the contrast, as well with Albert, as with any other scholastic writer, on this particular ground.

Extreme reserve and diffidence of Aquinas.

Whilst a hearer of Albert, Aquinas was content to listen and learn in silence, leaving the exercise of disputation to others; both from an extreme reserve and shyness of disposition, and from his strict devotional engagement, which led him to avoid all conversation and concern in affairs of the world. He carried this reserve so far as to incur the reproach of stupidity from some, and even the humorous appellation of "the mute ox," which the massy frame of his limbs rendered the more apposite. But he had an opportunity of showing how little the reproach was merited, when Albert, having heard how he had convinced and silenced some individuals who had presumed to instruct him, called on him to defend a particular opinion on the following day. The dexterity with which he executed this task, reluctant as he was to undertake it, from an excess of diffidence in himself, astonished all present, and extorted from Albert the honourable and characteristic eulogy; that the "mute ox, as he was called, would one day make the world resound with his roaring."

The great professors of that day did not confine their instructions to one particular place, but like the Greek sophists of old, went from place to place and school to school, as their services might be required. During three years, from 1245 to 1248,

[1] *Frater Thomas magister lecturam studiosè collegit, et redegit in scriplis opus, stylo disertum, subtilitate profundum, sicut a fonte tanti doctoris haurire potuit, qui in scientiâ omnem hominem in sui temporis ætate præcessit. Vita S. Thom., ap. Act., SS. Mens. Martii*, tom. i., p. 603. Jourdain, *Rech. Crit., sur l'Age et l'Origine des Trad. Lat. d'Aristote*, p. 436. Paris, 1819.

Albert filled the chair of theology at the College of St. James at Paris. There accordingly he was attended by Aquinas. On the return of Albert to Cologne in 1248, Aquinas accompanied him; and appears to have resided there until 1253, when he returned once more to Paris, and commenced the office of a public lecturer. At the commencement of his lecture, which consisted of an exposition of the *Book of the Sentences*, he had only the degree of bachelor: but the talent which he displayed so excited the admiration of all, that at the close of his course he was created master in theology; an honour which he accepted, it is said, not without a modest reluctance.[1]

He lectures at Paris.

Is created master in theology.

In 1260 he left Paris, and appeared as a professor of theology and philosophy in his native country; accompanying the court of Rome in its successive changes of residence, and teaching at Rome, Bologna, Pisa, and other cities of Italy. At length, in 1272, he proceeded to Naples, where he continued the same course of laborious employment during the remainder of his life.

He settles finally at Naples.

In the midst of these active labours, his mind, it is said, was incessantly engaged in religious contemplation, which he regarded as the most real mode of prayer. To such excess did he carry these devout contemplations, that in the midst of society he would sometimes be entirely lost in mental abstractedness. An instance of this, it is said, occurred in the presence of the King of France; when, from the vehemence of his interest in an argument pursued in the silence of his own thoughts, he struck the table with his hands, exclaiming, "that the argument was now conclusive against the Manichees." But further, if we are to believe the writer of his life, he was at times so rapt in meditation, as to be transported out of the world of matter, so that even his body was lifted up from the ground and suspended in the air.

His mental abstractedness.

In order, indeed, to arrive at a just estimate of the religious and philosophical character of Aquinas, and, in him, of the whole class of theologians to which he belongs, we should observe him under this point of view more particularly. It is the practical exemplification of the scholastic philosophy. As that philosophy was a blending of heathen with scriptural truth, so the religion of the schoolman was a blending of two systems of life—the perfect life of man as sketched by the heathen philosopher and that which revelation sets forth to the Christian. From heathenism were the practice of austerities and privations, and the sequestration of the thoughts and affections from the concerns and sym-

General view of the scholastic religious life.

[1] There is some difficulty in ascertaining the dates of these circumstances. According to the biography prefixed to his works he was twenty-five years of age when he went to Paris, and obtained the theological degree. This would probably precede his formal commencement of the duty of a lecturer in theology. Oudin, in his *Life of Aquinas*, assigns the year 1256 as that in which the degree of doctor was conferred on him at Paris: a date which is confirmed by the observations of Brucker also. *Hist. Crit. Philos.*, tom. iii., p. 800.

pathies of humanity, and the appreciation of the character so formed as that of purity and sanctity. These things certainly are not peculiar to Christianity. They have been found under false religions no less than under the true. They are, in fact, the offspring of the natural heart of man vainly seeking for Atonement and cleansing from sin, when no real remedy was known or could be found. Accordingly, they began to insinuate themselves into the Church as the pure doctrine of Christ Crucified began to be corrupted by human traditions, by the Cross of man's devising, substituted for the Cross of Christ; and thus, through the speculations of the schools, they have assumed their place in the theory of Christian perfection. They have been added as a superstructure on that which has a real foundation in the gospel; inasmuch as it represents to us the true excellence of a life devoted to the service and glory of God —the duty of taking up the cross and following Christ—of self-denial—of renunciation of the world and its vanities—of looking to the things which are above, the invisible and eternal, and not to those which are visible and transitory—of living in the world, as not of the world. Christianity, however, disowns the specious but false additions. It nowhere exalts the contemplative life over the practical. The self-denial and the mortification which it enjoins, are both exercised, not in seclusion and solitude, but amidst the temptations and business of the world in which our probation is cast. They are not to be disciplined by our own devices, but by the trials which He sends, who knows what our weaknesses are, and what we require for our chastisement and improvement. Action, not Contemplation, is its word. It presents to us accordingly, as our great exemplar, one of eminently social disposition, dutiful, affectionate, kind, courteous, pitiful, sympathizing with our infirmities and weaknesses, living among men, mingling with them in the occasions of their daily life, eating and drinking with them, and drawing his instructions from familiar incidents and the conduct of men in the world. Nor do we find recorded in Scripture, any example of a follower of our Lord, whose life was that of the Christian ascetic of a later age, as we assuredly should have found, if such were the model of Christian imitation of the life of Christ. St. Paul, indeed, mortified his body and brought it into subjection; but it was not by self-inflicted punishments, and by avoiding the converse of his fellow-men, but by patient and cheerful endurance amidst perils and trials in the world of every various kind, standing fast in the hour of temptation, and fighting the good fight of faith to the end. On the contrary, the philosophy of heathenism has exalted the abstracted contemplative life in comparison with the practical and social. And it naturally did so. Its theory of human happiness acquired such a view. For human life, the thoughtful heathen clearly saw, bore the marks of ruin and disorder; and he

felt himself contradicted by the facts of his observation when he attempted to realize his theory in the instances of Man living in the world. He was led accordingly to consider Man out of the world. In his theory, accordingly, the life of abstraction and contemplation was the natural substitute for the Future State which Christianity reveals. He beheld in that Life the nearest approximation to a condition in which there is no liability to change or accident—where there are no wants to be supplied—where the wicked cease from troubling, and there are pleasures for evermore. Exemption from the active engagements of the social world, where the force of inordinate passions is ever interrupting the tenor of happiness, promised a continuance and security of enjoyment attainable in no other way. He, accordingly, who should live, as far as possible, a Life of Contemplation, having no further concern with the world than was necessitated by his existence in it, would be the perfectly virtuous man, as freely exercising the highest principles of his nature, the intellectual, and consequently, the most truly happy man, in the view of philosophy unenlightened by the gospel. It followed from such an estimate of happiness, that action and the social principles of man's nature would be thrown into the shade, and their discipline and cultivation overlooked and neglected. Where such a theory was consistently followed out, the social principles, from the want of due exercise, excluded as they would be from opportunities of exerting themselves in action, would lose their relative strength and momentum, as parts of the whole constitution of Human Nature. Next, the indulgence of them would come to be regarded as wrong and sinful. Then would rise on the ruins of this beautiful and lovely portion of man's constitution, the proud fabric of those unreal virtues of human device, the self-devotedness of the recluse, the excellence of a life of abstinence and of celibacy and entire separation from the endearments of family, renunciation of self and personal freedom of action to the will of a spiritual superior, and consequent extinction of the practical force of conscience; the living among men, as if one were not a man—merely as a living instrument, actuated, not by Feeling, conjointly with Reason, and controlled and regulated by Reason, but by pure unimpassioned Reason alone. Such then were the factitious systems engrafted on the true Christian Self-denial. There is something attractive to the imagination, it must be confessed, in the notion of thus shunning all contact with the pollution of the world, divesting one's self, as it were, of the fleshly nature, drying up the affections at their fountain-head, living and dying in what has been called "the odour of sanctity." But it is only an illusion of the imagination; which, overlooking the actual constitution of Human Nature and its condition in the world, is captivated by the ideal beauty of a superhuman purity and of a heroic, transcendental virtue. The amount

of human misery which has been produced by the indulgence in this fond illusion, who can duly estimate? or the secret distress of those waverings and searchings of heart, which an artificial standard of religious and moral excellence must occasion to simple honest minds seeking only to know their plain rule of duty and to perform it?

Censures of the Monastic system at that time.

The real evils over which the theory of the Contemplative Life cast its veil, did not escape the notice or the censure of some even in that age, when the fashion of piety was entirely set that way. Indeed, the disobedience to parental authority, the breaking of ties of blood and of friendship, which this unsocial religion produced; the contempt of ordinary duties, the proud humility involved in it; could not pass unobserved. For who, in his heart, could justify the renunciation of family, the fanatical self-devotedness of the young Aquinas, when once he had given himself over to the religious fraternity? If the constancy and pious feeling of the individual be admired, yet who could approve the spirit of an institution, which could so control and pervert the best principles, shaping the immutable law of right and wrong according to its own arbitrary will. The biographer of Aquinas, in order to magnify the virtue of his hero, has introduced his mother and sisters pathetically remonstrating with him on the act of desertion, and asking whether those could be preachers of peace who could produce so much discord in the bosom of families? The speeches, however, which he puts in their mouths, appear to be the real expressions of the popular indignation against the monastic orders. Nor were these complaints without their organs among the clergy themselves. A work appears to be presented to the Pope Clement IV., in which the author freely discussed the merits of the monastic life, complaining of its inertness and its opposition to the precepts of Scripture. This work, indeed, Aquinas was called upon to answer; and he succeeded, as we might expect from an effort made under the command of the sovereign authority of the Church, in silencing the obnoxious publication.[1]

Real bases of the Monastic institutions.

In truth, the cause of the monastic institutions did not rest on argument; however ingeniously Aquinas may have defended it; nor would argument, however conclusive against them, have put them down. They were a requisition of the times. They were aristocratical, as opening to the higher class a source of power and influence: but there was also a democratical leaven in them, as in the Church of the Middle Ages, so far as the lowest of the people might be admitted into them, and all as brothers were on a footing of equality. They had therefore in their constitution a principle of conservation. All in some measure felt it to

[1] *Vit. S. Thom. Opera*, ed. Antuerp, 1612.

be their interest that these societies should exist. Their vices would sometimes attract indignation, or their follies excite a laugh: but these were transient expressions: the institutions themselves survived these attacks, unshaken at least, so long as they rested on the demands of the age.

Peculiar claims of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders.

Add to this, that the institution of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders was an effort of reformation. The world was scandalized at the luxurious habits and pomp and wealth of the ancient Orders. It occurred to thoughtful observers, that new institutions professing poverty, and devoted to the active duties of preaching, and the cultivation of learning and philosophy, were wanted at such a crisis; in like manner then, as at the time of the Reformation, three hundred years after, when the Society of the Jesuits took its rise. And the truth of their calculations was shown in the great popularity which the institutions so framed immediately obtained. It was an infusion of new blood and new life into the decayed body of monasticism; and men forgot the innate deformity of the system, in the renovation of energy and active usefulness which it exhibited in its revival.

Aquinas refuses all worldly dignity.

The situation in which Aquinas now stood was so congenial to his temper, that no offers of promotion to the dignities of his order or of the Church, could induce him to quit it. Clement IV. would have advanced him to the archbishopric of Naples. But though his own town of Aquino had been sacked by the Imperial forces, and his relatives who had espoused the cause of the pope were slain or driven into exile, he could not be prevailed on to receive any accession to his worldly fortunes. Nor would he even accept the station of abbot of Monte Casino, which was also offered to him, and which might have seemed more accordant with the tenor of his life. He delighted rather to show his contempt of all earthly honours and wealth. For when on a visit at Paris, his pupils had jocosely observed that the kingdom of the Gauls was what they wished for him, he replied, "For my part I would rather have the Commentaries of Chrysostom on Matthew." The answer might have seemed not more serious than the observation of his pupils. But it was his earnest conviction, doubtless, which he expressed.

His perspicuous method of instruction.

Rome, Paris, and Naples appear to have been the principal scenes of his labours. His lectures were crowded not only with doctors and dignitaries of the Church, but with persons of every class. His teaching is characterized as eminently perspicuous, though proceeding in the established scholastic method of disputation, by question and answer, and discussion of objections. For though he had spent much study on Cicero and other classical writers, he did not think it becoming his modesty to depart from the usual method, and adopt a more easy, open style.

Such, at least, is the statement of his biographer. But we

must express our doubts whether any other form of teaching than that generally adopted in the schools of the Middle Ages, would have appeared at all proper or logically sound; or even have suggested itself, to a mind trained in the philosophy of the period. The method itself is so closely connected with the philosophy, that for a writer or lecturer to have followed any other, would have appeared a departure from his principles, and a solecism.

His vast labours in composition.

The whole period of his life was included within fifty years, the latter half of which was uninterruptedly devoted to these intellectual labours. How incessantly his mind was occupied in them, is sufficiently evident from the voluminous monuments of them which are yet extant. The mass of accumulated commentary on various treatises of Aristotle, of discussion of questions of philosophy and exposition of Scripture, which composes his works, is truly astonishing. The printed edition of his works extends to eighteen volumes in folio. Of these, the first five consist of commentaries on Aristotle, the remaining volumes being occupied by his *Sum of Theology;* his principal work, which fills three of the volumes, his commentary on the *Book of the Sentences*, commentaries on various books of Scipture, sermons, and some smaller theological tracts. Nor are these the whole of his writings.[1] If we may believe his panegyrists, his facility of composition was so great, that he constantly employed four persons to write by his dictation, which was even too rapid for their united labours. Or if we would follow them in the incredible marvel of the story, he could compose himself to rest when exhausted, and still carry on the connection of his argument unbroken.

His sickness.

This restless working of the mind at length exhausted the powers of his constitution. He had been invited by Gregory X. to attend the second Council of Lyons in 1274, in which the disputes constantly agitated with the Greek Church were to be debated with a view to their settlement. By command of the preceding pope, he had composed a work against the Greeks, which he intended to have presented at the Council. But he did not live to attend the Council. He was seized with illness on his journey, and immediately feeling that his end was near, observed to his companion Reginald, who was in constant waiting on him, when, after long reverie, he returned to himself, that "soon he should write no more." Afterwards he became more languid, but rallied again a little, sufficiently to be conveyed on a mule to an adjacent monastery of the Cistercians. There, on entering the Church, he observed in the same strain of melancholy anticipation to Reginald: "Here is my resting-place for ever and ever." The

[1] Considerable deduction must be made for the Commentaries of the Cardinal Caietan, appended to his text, for the translations of Aristotle accompanying the exposition, and for some additions of writings which are not his. The Antwerp edition of 1612 is the one referred to here.

monks were delighted to receive so distinguished an inmate, and waited on his dying bed with sedulous kindness. He lingered for several days; but they were days in unison with the tenor of his life. He continued conversing with the monks, and instructing them to the last, and even at their request composed, in that extremity, commentaries on the Canticles of Solomon. He received the Eucharist, prostrating himself on the ground, and exerting his feeble strength to meet the Host. After receiving also the rite of Extreme Unction with the same devoutness, he gently expired with a serene countenance; replying just before his departure, to an inquiry from his sister, "whether he had any wish to express," that "soon he should have every wish gratified." His death.

Thus died this extraordinary man; a martyr, we may say, to the spirit of the times in which he lived; and affording in himself a striking picture of the state of Christianity in that age. There was in him the gentleness, the modesty, the piety of the Christian character; but these graceful outlines were disfigured by the hard features of monastic austerity. He stands forth to our view, like some sculptured image of the form of Christianity, executed by a rude hand, as in the infancy of the art, which has failed to give the living touch to the marble, and render it the true counterpart of that which it seeks to represent. His mental endowments and character were not inaptly portrayed by the description given of his person. His body, it is said, was "almost vast, tall, and massy in the bones, to which the spare flesh scarcely gave a complete covering." For so was there something vast in the capabilities of his mind, and the extent of his studies, and the devotedness of his life; whilst there was a nakedness and dreariness—a want of substance and vitality about the whole man, both intellectually and morally—truly characteristic of the theologian and philosopher of the schools. Nor is the remainder of the portrait out of keeping with the above. "The expression of his eyes," continues his biographer, "was most modest; his face oblong; his complexion inclined to sallowness; his forehead more depressed than the profoundness of his intelleet might seem to require; his head large and round, and partly bald; his person erect."[1] His character. Description of his person.

Some of his sayings have been thought worthy of being recorded. Being asked why he had kept silence so long under Albert, he answered, "Because as yet I knew nothing to say worthy of Albert." Being asked again what was the most agreeable thing that could happen to him, he answered, "To understand all that I have read." Some one observed that he was not so learned as he was thought; "It is for that reason His reputed sayings.

[1] Life prefixed to the edition of his works. Antwerp, 1612.

I study," he said, "that men may not be deceived." Being reproached for the size of his body; "The cucumber," he said, "also grows without food." Being blamed by a certain matron for avoiding women, when he was himself born of a woman; "This is the very reason," he answered, "because I was born of a woman." To his sister, inquiring what and where Paradise was; "You will know both," he said, "if you will only merit it." To persons consulting him how they might escape error; "By doing everything," he said, "so as to be able to give a reason for the action." Going to visit Bonaventura, and finding him employed in writing the life of St. Francis; "Let us leave," he said, "the saint to labour for the saint;" and retired.[1] Being led by an importunate brother about the streets of Bologna, until he was exhausted with fatigue, he replied to one who wondered at his patient submission; "By nothing else is religion perfected but by obedience."

Extent of his fame.

His great reputation during his lifetime attracted to him the notice and favour of the several pontiffs under whom he flourished. He enjoyed also the patronage of the chivalrous and sainted King of France, Louis IX., who highly esteemed him both for his learning and his counsels. A work addressed by him to the king of Cyprus, on the government of princes, shows still further the extent of his fame. He was frequently applied to for counsel in difficulties by various persons throughout Europe. So much was the recluse monk, living out of the world by profession, familiarly known to the world of his day: and so great must have been the influence really exercised by him, amidst his formal renunciation of all human concerns. Amongst his friends, of whom he had several warmly attached to him, he particularly honoured Albert, whose name from a feeling of respect, it is said, he would never expressly mention in any discussion of his opinions. The legend says, that so great was the union of friendship between these two, that Albert being at dinner at Cologne at the time when Aquinas expired, felt a secret intimation of the event; for that, rising with tears in his eyes from the table, and being asked by the persons present the cause of his distress, he informed them that Thomas Aquinas, the light of the Church, and his dearest friend, was dead. Albert, too, it is added, so approved the doctrines of his favourite disciple, and felt so great an interest in his reputation, as to have undertaken a journey to Paris, in his eightieth year, to defend Aquinas from the attacks of theological opponents.[2]

The friendship between Aquinas and Albert.

But great as his reputation was during life, it was increased

[1] The proper name of Bonaventura was John de Fidanza. He was a native of Tuscany, born in 1221, and of the Order of St. Francis. He became a cardinal, and died in 1274, during the holding of the second Council of Lyons.

[2] In 1277. Albert died at Cologne, November 15, 1280, at the age of eighty-seven. He was also, like Aquinas, of noble family. Jourdain, *Rech. Crit., sur l'Age et l'Origine des Trad. Lat. d'Aristote*, p. 332.

tenfold after his death. It was then cherished as the property of a rival party in the Church. The interest of the Dominican Order was engaged in setting forth the heroism and the philosophy of their own brother to the greatest advantage. Hence the miraculous attestations which are alleged to have been given to his sanctity and the truth of his doctrines. The question of the Immaculate Conception which divided the Dominicans and Franciscans, made each party solicitous about maintaining their ground in the popular favour. Arguments might suffice, as addressed to each other, and to learned and philosophizing theologians; but other means of persuasion were required with the mass of believers. This is evident in the introduction of accounts of miracles confirmatory of their doctrines, both in the life of Aquinas, and in the counterpart on the Franciscan side, the life of John Duns Scotus. They are not merely the miracles of the ordinary legend, but miracles intended to bear on the truth of their doctrines. To John Duns Scotus, the marble statue of the Virgin bows its head, as he offers a prayer before it, on his way to the place where he is to hold his triumphant disputation in favour of the Immaculate Conception.[1] To Thomas Aquinas, not only the Apostle Paul is declared to have given an express sanction to the saint's interpretation of his epistles, but the Virgin, and even Jesus Christ himself, speaking through the mouth of their images, to have confirmed the saint's exposition of doctrine, by the attestation, *Bene scripsisti de me Thoma.*

Miracles attributed to Aquinas.

The honours of canonization conferred by John XXII. in the year 1323, and the assignment to him of the rank of Fifth Doctor of the Church, were the fruits of the same struggle. The honours given to a Dominican were paralleled on the other side by the like decrees in favour of Bonaventura, a Franciscan. And as Aquinas was styled in the phraseology of those days, the angelic doctor, so, on the other hand, the title of the seraphic doctor was assigned to Bonaventura.

His canonization.

But the theology of Aquinas triumphed in the end. The repeated declarations of popes that his writings were perfect, without any error whatever, gave a sanction to them which perpetuated their authority in the Church and in the schools. The intrinsic merits, indeed, of his *Sum of Theology*, in comparison with every other composition of the scholastic age, secured for that work the high estimation in which it has been constantly held. But the fact of his having represented more closely the doctrines of St. Augustine, the great authority of the Latin Church, on the questions of grace and predestination, than the rival philosopher of the Franciscans, John Duns Scotus, is quite reason enough to account for his more extensive and permanent popularity in the Church.

Triumph of his doctrines in the Church.

[1] *J. Duns Scoti Vit., a* Luc. Wadding. Scoti *Oper.*, tom. i.

Uniform character of the scholastic philosophy.

As we remarked, at the commencement of our observations on the life of Aquinas, the invariableness of character in the different philosophers of the schools, is the point to which we would first direct attention, in order to arrive at just views of the nature of the scholastic philosophy. The uniform aspect of their biography and their philosophy is equally remarkable, when we compare them with the eminent men of any other period of literary history. Take, for instance, Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, all, we may say, trained in the same method, and nearly contemporary: and yet how different is the character both of their lives and of their philosophy! We see in them all the variety of original minds; the latter, indeed, versed in the systems of the former, but yet striking out a path for themselves, and throwing into their speculations the peculiarities of their own turn of thought and of their respective condition of life. But compare Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, John Duns Scotus, William Ockam, the four most eminent in the annals of scholasticism, and to whom we may most properly refer as illustrations of its spirit and form, and we observe only an expansion and working out of the same ideas, in Ockam the last in the succession, which we find in Albert the first. There may be minor differences in parts; the conclusions at which they arrive are sometimes directly opposed. But still it is one note that we hear sounding through all. One might think that it was some mechanical process by which the several elaborate systems of these authors had been constructed: so little evidence is there in them of the vitality of human nature; of their works having been composed by men each of whom had his own feelings, his own views, his own temper and prejudices.

This uniformity the general idea of the system.

Proceeding then from the uniformity of scholasticism as the most general idea of its nature, we shall the more easily fall into that train of speculation which the philosophy of the schools exhibits. We commonly hear this philosophy spoken of as dark and subtle, and intricate; and indeed the words "Scholastic subtilty," "Scholastic trifling," are in the mouth of every one. But these declamatory expressions give us no proper general description of its character. They denote qualities which accidentally belong to scholasticism, and which are the consequences of its fundamental idea; modes of proceeding to which it was led by the principle on which it took its rise. The uniformity which pervades it is, as we have said, the most faithful representation of that principle. This is its real characteristic as it is distinguished from all other scientific methods which have engaged the attention of mankind. The explanation and account of that uniformity

will be the great object of our present inquiry. This will lead us to just notions of the method pursued by Aquinas and his brother philosophers, and of the nature of that system in itself.

Constitution of the Latin schools.

If we revert to the character of the schools of the Middle Ages, we shall find a tendency in those institutions to impress one unvarying form on the mental constitution of those educated in them. They were not founded with a view to the enlargement of the mind, to the cultivation and improvement of the intellectual and moral principles, for their own sake, in order to the perfect development of the human being. But they were designed for a particular object; to render those trained in them more fit instruments for the civil or ecclesiastical power. We have only to read the regulations of the Theodosian Code, concerning the students at Rome, in A.D. 370, to form an idea of the spirit of those institutions. The strictest supervision, we find, was exercised in regard to the studies pursued and the disposal of the time of the students; the Emperor requiring a report to be sent to him every year of those admitted, that he might know the merits of each, and employ them in offices of public business suitable to their talents.[1] Nor were they permitted to remain at Rome beyond a certain age: the object being, probably, to disperse them through the provinces of the Empire, and diffuse the benefits of Roman civilization. The Latin language, by a wise policy, being retained throughout the Empire, as the language of public business, the institutions of the schools was directed to the cultivation of a knowledge of that language, and a study, consequently, of Latin authors. Provision, indeed, was made for the study of Greek literature; but it appears to have formed only a subordinate object of the schools of the Western Empire, more as the accomplishment, than as the business, of the student. In the East, where Greek civilization was in action at the time of the Roman conquests, Greek continued to be spoken and studied, both as a vernacular tongue, and as the sacred idiom of poetic and philosophic inspiration. But in the West, the legions of Rome had to carry the civilization of Rome into barbarian regions. They had to mould and refine the rough material on the ground to which the sword had cut their way. This part of the Empire, therefore, was more completely assimilated to Rome. It exhibited, consequently, what we may call a Latin nationality; and the Eastern and Western portions of the Empire became contradistinguished as the Greek and Latin worlds. A Roman policy has hence been impressed on the schools of the West, and has survived with that durability which characterizes the conceptions of Roman genius, through the long night of the Middle Ages. The Latin language and literature, and a limited practical subserviency

[1] *Codex Theodos.*, lib. xiv., tit. 9. Bulæi *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. i. pp. 76, 77.

of the studies pursued, are the prominent features of those schools, wherever they may have flourished, whether in France, or Italy, or Spain, or Africa, or the British Islands. The great regeneration of the human mind consummated in the reformation of religion, has, in fact, only modified and improved these fundamental characteristics of the education of the Western world. The original scholastic form has not been obliterated; as we may see in the circumstance alone of the importance which the Latin language still holds in the schools and universities of modern Europe.

Transition of the schools into the hands of ecclesiastics.

But why do we direct attention to the original constitution of the schools of the West? It is because it contains in it the germ of that principle, which afterwards developed itself in the system of philosophy called scholasticism. The Latin Church, growing over the ruins of the Roman Empire, succeeded to the policy and power of the civil ruler. The maintenance of the Latin theology became accordingly the immediate object to which the schools, now passed into the hands of ecclesiastics, would be directed. Men expert in fighting the battles of the Lord, skilful in defending each disputed point and in parrying the assaults of the heretic, were the kind of persons which the method of teaching pursued in the schools would particularly contemplate. There would be no desire on the part of the Latin churchmen to encourage a freedom of inquiry, or a wide range over the field of literature. The adventurer in such a track might be dangerous to the repose of the Church; might break that chain of dependence, which bound the subject-people to the chair of a spiritual authority presumed to be infallible. Only such a discipline of the intellect would be provided, as should sharpen and strengthen without emboldening it; render it apt to object, to discuss, to infer, without tempting it to spread forth Dædalean wings, and soar above the mazes of the labyrinth in which it was immured.

Effects of studies confined to books.

A commenting literature, and a second-hand philosophy, naturally became the burthen of the lessons taught in schools so constituted, both under their heathen and their Christian administration. The invention of works of original genius was foreign to their purpose. The Roman literature, indeed, was essentially derivative. The spirit of the republic in the busy period whilst it was occupied in the acquisition of its empire, was averse to the softening influence of letters: and a great people found itself mistress of the world, and in a high state of civilization, with no domestic philosophy, and scarcely any domestic literature. In this state of the case, when the leisure of the people demanded the gratification of literature, recourse was necessarily had to the stores of a Foreign Tongue: and the learned Greek was sought by the studious Roman as the interpreter of the language and

philosophy of Greece. Thus the learning from books was the expedient to which the literary Roman was necessarily driven. And this led further to the rise and employment of commentators; to the study, in short, of Language as the instrument of knowledge in combination with the subject explored, and at length to the use of the mere books as an end of study in themselves. When the schools assumed an ecclesiastical character, this restricted mode of teaching would only be more fully established. The very low estimation in which all heathen literature was held by some of the Christian Fathers; the reprobation, indeed, often cast on it, and the mistaken jealousy with which it was regarded as a rival to Christianity, would contract, instead of extending, the range of studies. Further, Christianity imposing on its disciples the study of a Book, the sacred records in which its own truths are deposited, the Christian student would be led to seek his instruction analogously in other subjects from books also; and his learning, consequently, would consist principally of an interpretation of books.

Increasing ignorance of the Greek language.

The same reason which induced the Emperors to make the Latin the language of Government and of civil intercourse throughout the Empire, would operate no less strongly with the leaders of the Church. The Scriptures being at an early period translated into Latin, were in that form as an original to the Latin world; the knowledge of Greek declining more and more in the West; to such a degree that, at the close of the fourth century of the Christian era, and the beginning of the fifth, St. Jerome was perhaps a single exception of a Latin Father competently acquainted with the Greek language. It would evidently be an important point with the influential governors of the Church, to obtain from all parts, especially in times of active controversy, a confession of the same doctrines in the same words. It is evident what opening is afforded by the translation of expressions of one language into the corresponding ones of another, to vary the sense; or rather, how impossible it is to transfuse precisely the same ideas, without any addition or diminution, from the terms of one language into those of another. This, indeed, was felt particularly during the agitation of the early controversies of the Church. The Greek would insist that the Latin should confess in his phraseology, and the Latin was peremptory in resisting, on finding that the terms imposed by the Greek conveyed to his ear a sense which he could not admit. The desire, therefore, of preserving a uniformity of doctrine suggested the necessity of keeping up a knowledge of the Latin language, throughout the Church of the West, as the idiom of theology, and, with a view to theology, of all literature in the Church, wherever the spiritual power had the rule.

Translations into Latin of the works of Greek Authors were

Effect of translations.

accordingly the principal, if not the only methods by which those authors were studied in the schools of the West. It is obvious that such a method would lower the standard of knowledge. It brought the range of studies immediately under the control of the heads of the Church. Those who from their superior learning or talent in governing, were called to the station of command in the Church, were enabled to select those portions of the Greek literature which might answer their own views, and to detain the mind of the student on these chiefly, if not exclusively. The consequence was, that many valuable treatises of the Greek philosophy were neglected, and some forgotten, in the Western schools. Nothing appears to have contributed more than this circumstance to that barren state, in which we find the Latin schools in the centuries subsequent to the fourth and fifth, which have proverbially obtained the name of the Dark Ages. The irruption of barbarians and the miserable state of society, doubtless aggravated the darkness which then spread over Europe. But the seeds of ignorance were sown in the system itself. The wildness and fury of the elements raging without, will not entirely account for that jejune and frivolous erudition, which overran the very soil itself of the fields of knowledge, during this period. We see, however, a sufficient reason for it, in the intrinsic narrowness of the mode of education subsisting in the schools, in the circumstances of there being no proper Latin literature, amidst the neglect of the study of the Greek, and the consequent restriction of the attention of thinking men to certain works existing in Latin translations.

Effect of Commentaries.

Besides this, the need of commentaries to explain the text of an author, when he is read as the writer of another age and another country, gave occasion for further limiting the views of students. For soon the original text of the author would scarcely be read: the labour would be spent on the commentary: and only such works would be read, as were illustrated by commentaries. And thus in process of time an artificial, microscopic literature would grow up, wanting entirely the raciness and spirit of original composition, and encumbering the understanding with its accumulations of comment on comment. Such was the result, in fact; as a glance over any page of the scholastic literature will readily make appear to every one. The explanation of the sense of the author commented upon, is the utmost aim of the expositor: his highest ambition is to show what his author means under every possible light, or to elicit out of his assertions a multiplicity of subordinate propositions and distinctions.

Unphilosophical nature of the Latin language.

The unphilosophical nature of the Latin language was in itself a fatal impediment to the vigour of philosophical studies, when that language came to be employed as the sole medium of intellectual cultivation. Its utter inadequacy to express the subtile

abstractions of the Greek philosophy, served to pervert in great measure the truths of science; and not unfrequently indeed to engraft materialism on the metaphysical ideas of the Greek, when they came to be represented in Latin phraseology.

Scholasticism the result of this method of education.

The same method of education, carried to its full extent, developed itself at length in the proper form of scholasticism. Nothing was wanting for this result but to direct the attention of the student to certain subjects, and certain treatises on those subjects. And this was naturally the next step taken. It is by observing the stages of this progress, that we shall arrive at correct views of the peculiar philosophy of the schools.

Scholasticism an inversion of the natural progress of knowledge.

But first it becomes matter of inquiry why it should have resulted in establishing a particular philosophical system, rather than in forming a particular school of literature in general. Now this will appear, if we consider that philosophy is the ultimate growth of a people's intellectual progress. Where a people passes through the regular transitions from an infancy to a maturity of intellectual cultivation, poetry and the fine arts at first engage their attention: the taste is formed before the powers of judgment and reasoning are wrought to their severe perfection. This appears from the case of Greece, where we have the instance of a people forming for themselves, by successive original efforts, their own intellectual character. Their genius threw itself forth in its native Poetry: and their temples, their statues, and their pictures, proclaimed its graceful vigour, before the bowers of the Academy or the Lyceum resounded with the hum of their Philosophy. This then seems the natural progress of things; the natural course of the education of a people. But in the case of the Latin world, as we here designate that part of the Roman Empire which was united into a social mass by Roman civilization, the intellectual character, on its revival, first developed itself in Philosophy: the first great movement was to that which is the last properly in the order of nature. But the fact explains itself when we look into it more closely. The schools of the Middle Ages received in a mass the accumulated treasures of antiquity. They invented nothing for themselves: the riches of Poetry, Eloquence, and Philosophy, were poured out on them in lavish profusion. At the same time, there was no capacity for appreciating the relative value of the several acquisitions of knowledge. At this crisis, however, polemical disputation called upon the heads of the Christian Church, to acquaint themselves with the theories of that Philosophy, from which the infidel or the heretic drew his attacks on Christianity. The necessity was felt of opposing Philosophy with Philosophy. Hence, from the earliest ages, Christianity is spoken of by the Fathers as a *Philosophy;* and is strenuously maintained to be the only true Philosophy of life, as contrasted with that of heathen sages.

Whilst the poetry, therefore, and history, and eloquence of the classic authors were held in contempt, as comparatively unworthy of attention from the Christian, the pages of the Philosopher were eagerly explored, in order to an acquaintance with those principles which were brought into competition with Christianity. And thus, unhappily, the Christian schools reversed the natural order of the education of the human mind, rushing all at once to an end, legitimately attainable only by the fruit of matured habits of thought and the discipline of all the faculties of the mind. Their Philosophy consequently was an insincere, unreal system; a collection of principles, the data not of investigation and experience, but of a prescriptive authority; the results of the speculative ingenuity of others assumed as certain and indisputable maxims, and applied without examination to the discovery of truth by deduction from them.

Logic studied as an art of Polemics.

But not only were works of philosophy the principal objects of attention to the Christian student, as containing theories of science, but also, and more especially, as an instruction in the *method* of polemical defence. The disputers against Christianity were found to possess an acute science of argument, by which they could give a plausibility to their objections or heretical speculations. The multitude of believers was open to seduction from the true faith through the arts of the skilful dialectician, who could by his sophistry make the worse appear the better view of a doctrine or opinion. The possibility of converting the same instrument to the support of the sacred cause of Christianity and Christian orthodoxy, was obvious. The questionings indeed of the faithful themselves, which we know from ecclesiastical history to have arisen on various points of doctrine time after time, admitting of no direct solution as touching on mysteries belonging to Divine Revelation, required some answer, so that the difficulty might at least be removed a step beyond that at which the questionist had taken his stand. Thus the necessity of combating the infidel or heretic with his own arms, and of providing the Christian advocate with a defensive armour, such as should meet all the emergencies of doubt and difficulty in the Christian community, made the study of works of dialectical science,—the logic or dialectic of the ancient schools,—imperative in the course of Christian education. Hence recourse was had to the great master of that science among the philosophers of Greece; and the works of Aristotle, at first reprobated as atheistical and impious, obtained a practical value, for the purpose of disputation, which soon bore down all speculative opposition to them, and exalted that philosopher to the pre-eminence in the scholastic system.

The combination of these two objects,—the necessity of an acquaintance with the theories of ancient philosophy in them-

selves, and of acquiring an art of polemical defence, produced in the result what may be termed an eclectic logical philosophy as the peculiar system of the schools of the Middle Ages. To explain the nature of this logical philosophy will be to develop the fundamental principles of scholasticism.

An eclectic logical philosophy the result.

We must observe, then, that Platonism was the established philosophy of the Church in the primitive ages of Christianity. The first converts to the gospel from the class of philosophers appear to have been of that sect: and these on embracing Christianity, brought with them their prejudices in favour of those theories in which they had been trained; in fact only formally renouncing their sect *as a profession*, in adopting for their rule of life the purer, higher, philosophy, as they regarded it, of the gospel. Though the accommodation then attempted to be made between truths of religion and theories of philosophy, awakened a just alarm in the minds of many, yet the devout and sublime tone of Platonism softened down the opposition of the pious, and won them over as by a syren-song in despite of themselves. Thus we find St. Augustine, the great father of Latin orthodoxy, commending and approving the Platonists, as the only philosophers who had "spoken fitly of Divine things and of human nature;" and in describing his own conversion to Christianity, mentioning the advantages he had derived from reading their writings.

Platonism first cherished in the Church.

Platonism, accordingly, we may say, was the original orthodox philosophy of the Church, so far as the Church owned itself philosophical. We see this very strikingly in the early controversies of the Church, when both the orthodox and the heretic, not content to accept with simple faith in God's Word, the mystery of the Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity, attempted by explanations drawn from Platonism, the former to maintain, the latter to assail, the sacred truth, which, strong on its own foundation in Scripture, rejected all such vain and officious support. So firm was the hold which Platonism had on the Church, from the veneration paid to the great men of its early history who had professed their admiration of it, and from its having been incorporated with various expositions of Christian truth, that it was impossible to substitute any other philosophy in its place, even had any such design existed, in the schools of the Middle Ages. Still that philosophy did not suffice for the whole state of the case. It presented, indeed, the means of speculating on the truths of Christianity, and explaining them to the satisfaction of speculative men: but it was deficient as a *method* of investigation and argument. It was only a vast collection of theories, sketched out indeed by a master hand, but leaving much to be done by the student. Such, however, was not the case with the philosophy of Aristotle. This was eminently a science of Method. Aristotle had analyzed the principles of

Insufficiency of Platonism.

human knowledge, developing the nature of language as the instrument of communicating knowledge, and had delivered with accuracy the means both of conviction and persuasion. This was observed to be the characteristic of a large portion of Aristotle's works, that collection of logical treatises to which moderns have given the name of the *Organon;* whilst throughout his writings a methodical character prevails in contrast with the rhetorical diffuseness and irregularity of Plato. Thus was the Christian student invited to the study of the logic of Aristotle; and thus too has the name of Aristotle been identified with that of Logical Philosopher. An imperfect superficial Dialectic, indeed, was already taught, drawn from the Stoic school, which being more accordant with the degenerate literature of the later days of Greece, had superseded the scientific method of Aristotle in the schools of Greece. But the heretics of the second and third centuries had infested the citadel of orthodoxy with missiles furnished from the logical armoury of Aristotle himself. And this circumstance, whilst it excited a strong prejudice against the philosophy of Aristotle in general,—for the heresy of his interpreters was imputed to the system of the philosopher,—pointed out to the orthodox, at the same time, the resources for improving their own argumentative power.

Aristotle's philosophy supplies the defect.

Objections of Platonizing Christians to Aristotle.

The Platonizing Christians strenuously opposed the introduction of Aristotle's writings, not only as Churchmen, but as Philosophers. That sublime point in the philosophy of Plato, towards which all his speculations converged, and in which they found their ultimate reason—the theory of Ideas—had been the especial object of attack by Aristotle himself. It would be difficult to give in a few words a just description of that theory. In fact, as sketched by Plato, it has been left in shadowy and indefinite outline. But it may be sufficient for the purpose here to state, that the term "Ideas" in his philosophy is not identical with notions or conceptions of the mind, but represents real existences, objects external to the intellect which apprehends them, the supposed originals and causes of all things in the universe. To this general theory, the followers of Plato, in endeavouring to understand and apply it for themselves, had given a precision and a positiveness not contemplated by their great Master. According to the interpretation of his Alexandrian followers, the neo-Platonists, and through them current in the Christian Church, the Ideas were the eternal reasons of things as they exist in the Divine intellect. Naturally therefore they were still more hostile to the antagonistic teaching of Aristotle on this head, than their predecessors in the School of Plato. The Philosophy of Aristotle, entirely destitute of anything like enthusiasm, possessing no attraction for the imaginative and the mystic, seemed to those already enamoured of the pleasing reveries of Platonism, a cold, atheistical system

that tied down the intellect to the mere things of sense, depriving it of its high and ennobling contemplations of the Divine Being.[1]

Logical Treatises of Aristotle exclusively studied.

Hence we may account for the entire neglect into which all other portions of Aristotle fell, except the Logical Treatises. These were neutral in the matter of Theology. They contained the rules of a universal method, equally applicable to all subjects. They coincided, however, with the system of the Platonists, inasmuch as that was also an application of the Philosophy of Thought, and of Language as its sign, to the interpretation of Nature. Plato, indeed, had assigned the name of Dialectic to the highest Philosophy—that conversant about the Ideas themselves—a description, which prepared the way for the transformation of it into the Logical Philosophy of the Schoolmen. Thus were the two systems, the Platonic and the Aristotelic, imperceptibly blended together. The Aristotelic, repulsive in its dryness of methodical discussion, and disappointing to the religious feelings of the heart, obtained a support in the enthusiasm of Platonism ; whilst Platonism, too imaginative in itself alone, and little available for the purpose of disputation, was now enabled to assert its own principles, by the aid of that exact method of definition and argument which the Aristotelic discipline imparted to it.

Union of Mysticism with an Argumentative spirit the result.

This union of the two systems was never indeed completely effected, until the period of the Scholastic Philosophy which was the mature result of it; until the period, that is, of Albert the Great and Aquinas, in the middle of the thirteenth century. In the meantime, we may see the two streams running together, sometimes joined in one channel, sometimes receding from each other. We clearly recognize, as we cast the eye over the page of ecclesiastical history, two classes of theologians, the Mystic and the Argumentative ; the representatives of each of the two combined Philosophies, and each representing that combination in process. For the Mystic is Argumentative; and the Argumentative betrays a tendency to Mysticism : both, in fact, working on partial, and as yet undeveloped views of one and the same end —that very Scholasticism to which their labours separately tended. The Mystic, indeed, as the representative of the original Church Philosophy, is found continually charging on the argumentative theologian the heresy of his Logic; but the Logician, on the other hand, as the innovator, so far from retorting the censure of Mysticism on his opponent, seems anxious to show his own contemplative spirit amidst all the rigour and homeliness of his reasonings. These struggles for ascendancy between the Platonic and Aristotelic systems, antecedently to their perfect union in Scholasticism, are exemplifications of the conflicts which have ever existed in the human mind, and which

[1] The existence of a work attributed to Justin Martyr, entitled *Eversio Aristotelicorum Dogmatum*, is an evidence to this point.

the condition of the Church in the Middle Ages greatly fomented, between Faith and Reason, and Authority and Reason. The Mystics arrogated to themselves the merit of supporting the Faith handed down by the Fathers in its Divine simplicity, whilst the Logicians were characterized as the impugners of Authority and assertors of Reason against Revelation. Both, however, were as we have said, urging forward the same principle, the construction of a Divine Philosophy, in which Faith and Reason, Authority and Reason, should meet together, and lay down their arms and coalesce in friendly alliance. The Mystics accomplished this by ascending to the Ideal region of Divine Truth, by means of a continued spiritualization of the thoughts and affections, more and more, in abstractedness from the world. The Logical Theologian gradually cleared his way to the same elevation, by the instruments which his Art of Discussion and Disputation placed in his hands.

Augustine and Boethius the leaders in forming the system.

The two great leaders in the formation of this system were St. Augustine, at the close of the fourth century and commencement of the fifth, and Boethius about a century afterwards. Augustine, as a venerated head of the Church, whose voice was received as decisive of all points of controversy, set the example in his own writings of a speculative Theology, in which the truths of Revelation were subjected to argumentative discussion. Whilst his authority overruled the refractory reasonings of heresy, he established, by the course of his own disputations, orthodox principles of religious speculation. Still, in Augustine, the Theologian prevailed over the Philosopher. In Boethius, on the contrary, Philosophy was supreme. This may be seen in his well-known Treatise *On the Consolation of Philosophy;* in which it is not Christianity, but Philosophy, that whispers peace to the troubled soul, and pours the balm into its wounds. This excellent and great man formed the patriotic design of laying a broad basis of Latin Philosophy, by transfusing the stores of Greek wisdom into the Latin language. His project was vast beyond the powers of any single agent, however energetic. Though, however, he accomplished but little in the way of translation, his exertions were fully instrumental in introducing to the Latin world that Eclectic method of Philosophy which afterwards ripened into Scholasticism. This Eclectic method, having for its express object to establish a concord between Plato and Aristotle,[1] was the

[1] Ego omne Aristotelis opus quodcumque in manus venerit, in Romanum stylum vertens, eorum omnium commenta Latinâ oratione præscribam; ut si quid ex Logicæ Artis subtilitate, et ex moralis gravitate peritiæ, et ex naturalis acumine veritatis, ab Aristotele conscriptum est, id omne ordinatum transferam; atque id quodam lumine commentationis illustrem; omnesque Platonis Dialogos vertendo, vel etiam commentando, in Latinam redigam formam. His paratis, non equidem contempserim Aristotelis Platonisque sententias in unam quodammodo revocare concordiam, et in his eos, non ut plerique, dissentire in omnibus, sed in plerisque quæ sunt in Philosophiâ, maxime consentire, demonstrem, &c.—Boethius, *Comment. in lib. de Interpretatione.*

ultimate form which the Greek Philosophy had received in the School of Athens, where Boethius himself had imbibed it. It was, however, but imperfectly maintained through the centuries intermediate to the age of Boethius and that of Albert and Aquinas. During this period, when Philosophy began at length once more to emerge from the pressure of ecclesiastical authority, speculative men were engaged in endeavouring to resume the thread of their lost Philosophy, and in making desultory experimental efforts. The first great effort appears to be the abstruse metaphysical treatise of the celebrated John Scotus Erigena in the ninth century. And this is characterized, as we might have expected, by a wild metaphysical Mysticism; such as the religious spirit of the preceding ages would have suggested to a philosophic mind, anxiously seeking to think for itself, yet encumbered with the heavy armour of a severe ecclesiastical authority. A mind so circumstanced finds its relief in explaining away, by principles of Philosophy, the opinions imposed on its passive belief; and instead of simply making Reason subservient to the defence and exposition of doctrines, mystifies and overwhelms the sacred truth with the officiousness of its speculation. The mixed system accordingly, compounded of the Philosophies of Plato and Aristotle, degenerated in the hands of Erigena, from the more sober method of the original School of the Academy, into the wild enthusiasm of the Platonism of Alexandria. Others again, as Anselm of Canterbury in the eleventh century, exemplified more of the Aristotelic character; whilst Abelard seems to vibrate between the two elements of the combination,—a Platonist where he professedly teaches Theology; a disciple of the Aristotelic School in the rigour and positiveness of his abstract reasonings.

John Scotus Erigena.

The confusion and misery prevailing in the West during the tenth century produced a retrograde movement in the condition of Learning. The feudal anarchy which then desolated a large portion of Christendom, threw the Christian labourer in the field of science on the resources supplied by the Arabian literature of those times. The only conspicuous name which emerges out of the storms and clouds of this period, to preserve the tradition of Latin philosophy, is that of Gerbert, whose reputation for learning cast a lustre on the papal throne, to which he was elevated under the title of Sylvester II. He, it appears, was chiefly indebted to the Arabian philosophers of Spain for that learning which rendered him the prodigy of his age. The Arabians, studious of physical and mathematical science, had cultivated an acquaintance with portions of Aristotle's philosophy, which had been neglected in the West,—the physical and metaphysical treatises. By the aid of these they had elaborated those artificial sciences, so eagerly pursued in the Middle Ages, of magic and alchemy. From them,—for their works were translated into Latin,—the Christian schools

Influence of Arabian Literature.

Gerbert.

in the West derived that bias towards Pantheism—that delusive system which, making a Divinity of the universe, destroys all personality and all reality in the notion of a Deity,—which is betrayed in the speculations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A system drawn from commentators on Aristotle was naturally confounded, in the ignorance of those times, with the philosophy of Aristotle himself. Hence was occasioned a still greater opposition to the reception of his writings. We find in the twelfth century "the Books of David de Dinant, and Amalric, and Maurice the Spaniard," which taught the Pantheistic system of the Arabians, expressly reprobated by papal decrees, and with them, in the same sentence, the physical and metaphysical writings of Aristotle.[1] But Albert and Aquinas, by a more enlarged study of the works of Aristotle, removed that prejudice which the association of Oriental philosophy with his physical theories had engendered. They laboured against that disposition to follow Arabian interpreters, which speculating Christians had displayed. Aquinas more particularly, as the less addicted to physical inquiry, contributed to give right views of the nature of Aristotle's philosophy, and by his exposition of it to establish it in the Church, and thus restore that original Eclectic philosophy of which Boethius had set the example to the Latins.

Importance of the treatise of the *Categories*.

At first then, we should observe, when Aristotle was united with Plato in the Church system, it was only the logical treatises of Aristotle that were studied. Of these, that entitled *The Categories*, or the *Predicaments*, was the chief object of attention, and soon the exclusive one. Logic, indeed, being studied with a view to polemics, was necessarily very imperfectly studied. The elementary theory of the science, that which lays the foundation of it in the study of the laws of Thought and of language as its sign, principally attracted notice. For that which engaged the attention of controversialists was the extent of signification of terms, the differences of the several notions included in them, and their exact definition. This was the kind of science chiefly required in order to theological disputation. It was important to be able to defend certain expressions in the enunciation of doctrines, or to exclude others brought forward by the heretic, — to remove alleged consequences by distinctions,—and to state in explicit terms the notions embraced in any particular dogmatic expression. Hence we find that portion of the *Organon* of Aristotle, which was most applicable to this purpose, principally studied until the thirteenth century. Other logical treatises of Aristotle besides the *Categories* existed in Latin translations. But these, as John

[1] Non legantur libri Aristotelis de metaphysicâ et de naturali philosophiâ, nec summæ de iisdem, aut de doctrinâ magistri David de Dinant, aut Amalrici hæretici, aut Mauricii Hispani.—Launoii *De Var.*, *Aristot. Fortunâ in Acad Paris.*—Bulæi *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii., p. 82.

of Salisbury, writing in the twelfth century, indignantly complains, were little used in his time;[1] and no logic was tolerated in the schools, but such as was conversant about the mere technicalities of the sterile art then professed. To state the truth, indeed, Aristotle himself, though his name was in the mouths of all the reasoners of the Middle Ages as that of the great master of their art, was absolutely unknown to them. Abstracts drawn from translations and comments of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries had superseded the originals, even on the narrow ground to which his logical science had been reduced.

Maturity of scholasticism seen in Aquinas.

To judge then of the true internal character of scholasticism, we must view it at that point of its progress, where those principles which presided over its formation were at length fully developed; at the period, that is, of Thomas Aquinas, who is eminently the philosopher of the schools, the creature of the system which had then obtained its full strength. We see in him, that acuteness which the polemical spirit had fostered in the Church; that narrowness which the limited range of studies had necessarily engendered; that servility to authority which the magisterial power of the Latin Church had engraved on the mind of the pious votary; that boldness of speculation, at the same time, which philosophical talents, pent up within the barriers of a technical logic and metaphysics, would naturally acquire, and by which they would, however imperfectly, assert their conscious dignity and vigour. After Aquinas there is evidently a decline in the character of scholasticism. There were not wanting men of considerable power of mind to carry on the system. It is enough to mention the names of John Duns Scotus and William Ockam; names indeed well nigh forgotten in these days, particularly in this country, from the dark shade into which the reformation of philosophy and religion has thrown their volumes, but by no means meriting that silence into which they have fallen. Hooker indeed has honoured Scotus with the appellation of "the wittiest of the school divines."[2] But Ockam especially ought never to be forgotton among those who prepared the way for the improved science of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was owing to the juster notion of the nature and value of general terms which his Logical system inculcated, that thoughtful men began to suspect the soundness of those reasonings from abstract conceptions of the mind on which the science of the former age had been entirely built, and to look to observation and experience for a surer information concerning the truths of nature. But in depicting the form of scholasticism, we must pronounce both those eminent men far inferior to Aquinas, as representatives of its genuine features at its maturity. They present its features rather under

John Duns Scotus; William Ockam.

[1] *Metalogicus*, lib. iii., c. v., p. 859.

[2] *Eccl. Polity*, book i., c. xi.

distortion and caricature; the less graceful characteristics being magnified to an undue proportion, though but slightly varied from the original outlines. In them and in the later schoolmen generally, down to the period of the Reformation, there is more of the parade of logic, a more formal enumeration of arguments, a more burthensome importunity of syllogizing, with less of the philosophical power of arrangement and distribution of the subject discussed. The dryness again inseparable from the scholastic method is carried to excess in the later writers; and perspicuity of style is altogether neglected. The patient schoolman of the latter age plods his way through the desert sands of his journey, with all the alacrity of a traveller through the most picturesque country, careless, as it would seem, who may follow him, so he may himself reach the point in view. The same faults exist in Aquinas: but in him they are rendered less offensive by his greater art in the management of the method of disputation. It is not, perhaps, saying too much, to give him the praise of even exciting interest in his reader;—no small merit, when we think of the intrinsic repulsiveness of the method itself. To refer more particularly to his greatest work, his *Sum of Theology*, the admirable order which reigns throughout it, the regular succession of the several questions adduced for discussion, and the combination of the mass of particulars into one whole,—certainly impart an attractiveness to the work, of which, on the first superficial examination of its contents, it would seem utterly incapable.

Character of Peter Lombard's *Book of the Sentences.*

These remarks should be extended, on the other side, to the immediate predecessors of Aquinas, Peter Lombard and Albert. If we assign to Lombard the merit of having laid the literary groundwork of scholasticism by his *Book of the Sentences*, we must at the same time deny him any other merit in the comparison with Aquinas. Nothing can be more meagre than the work itself in point of thought. This absence, indeed, of all purely intellectual merit is a principal cause of that ecclesiastical sanction which the *Book of the Sentences* obtained. The timidity of the speculation charmed to rest the jealous feeling of spiritual authority: and with some passing slight objections, it was allowed to descend into the schools as a manual of orthodox theology. It thus gave a license for theological speculation, whilst it marked out exactly the lists within which the religious tournament should be held. It embodied in itself, that is, those narrow, exclusive principles on which the system of education in the Latin world had been all along proceeding; reducing them to these two general ones: first, that no authority sanctioned by the Church should be questioned; secondly, that nothing should be attempted to be established, independently of those authorities, or which could not be reconciled with them. The discernment of Lombard appears in his having seized the spirit of his age, and with a

prophetic sagacity laid a foundation on which the shrewder genius of his successors in scholasticism might build securely. But his work is nothing more than a rough foundation as compared with the fabric of the *Summa* of Aquinas.

Contrast of Albert with Aquinas.

Nor, again, can we consider the works of Albert, though more closely resembling those of Aquinas, as presenting an equally comprehensive and masterly display of the character of scholasticism. Albert had in view rather to imitate the method of Aristotle, following throughout the physical treatises, supplying, as he himself says, parts either omitted or lost, and elucidating by digressions what was obscure or doubtful in the Greek philosopher.[1] He affects more the character of the philosopher than of the theologian; though in the schoolman, as we shall have occasion to remark more particularly presently, the two functions were almost coincident, as in Aquinas, indeed, they are completely. Employment strictly ecclesiastical was uncongenial to his taste. For a time he was drawn from his philosophic seclusion to the more busy station of the bishopric of Ratisbon: but a restless hankering after his loved studies, and an impatience of the detail of official duties, very soon induced him to renounce the incompatible charge. His devotion to physical studies especially is evident, from the title of magician, by which a superstitious age characterized the operations of that rude and unscientific chemistry, by which he sought to explore the latent processes of nature. Alchemy and astrology found in him an ardent devotee; and such was the repute which he obtained for his mystic science, that, in fact, he is more known in modern times for these pursuits than for his scholastic disputations.[2] Aquinas, on the other hand, followed the proper path of the scholastic theologian with an undivided attention. He regarded the attempt to explore the secrets of nature with a superstitious dread; so far that, on seeing the speaking automaton which the art of Albert had constructed,

[1] Albert, *Mag. Physic*, lib. i., tract i., tom. xi., p. 1.

[2] The following passage from Albert sufficiently testifies to his enthusiasm in alchemy. Having spoken of his laborious travels, and the inquiries he had pursued for ascertaining the truth of the science, but for a long time without any satisfactory result, he adds:—"Ego vero non desperavi, quin facerem labores et expensas infinitas, vigilans, et de loco ad locum migrans omni tempore, ac meditans, sicut dicit Avicena; si hæc res est, quomodo est? et si non est, quomodo non est? Tandem perseveravi studendo, meditando, laborando in operibus ejusdem, quousque quod quærebam inveni, non ex meâ scientiâ, sed ex Spiritûs Sancti gratiâ. Unde quum saperem et intelligerem, quod naturam superaret, diligentius vigilare cæpi in decoctionibus et sublimationibus, solutionibus et distillationibus, secretionibus, et calcinationibus, atque coagulationibus alchimiæ, et in multis aliis laboribus, donec inveni, esse possibilem transmutationem in solem et lunam."—Albert, *Mag. libell. de Alchim, Præfat.*

So extensive was the fame of Albert, that William of Holland, passing by the way of Cologne, paid a visit to the great professor of the day. On this occasion, Albert astonished his royal visitor by producing in the depth of winter from the garden of the cloister the flowers and fruits of spring. The artificial skill of the hothouse was interpreted as an evidence of the magic art of the philosopher.

in a paroxysm of pious horror he dashed it to pieces, dissolving the demon-spell to which he attributed the wonder.

The voice of fame, indeed, has not unreasonably discriminated between the master and the disciple, in awarding to the one the title of the Great, expressive of the prodigy of his learning and science; to the other, that of the Saint, and the Angelic Doctor, characteristic of the devout theological philosopher.

Literary spirit of Aquinas.

There is yet another important circumstance by which Aquinas is distinguished, not only from Albert, but from all other scholastics. There is more of the literary spirit about him. We can scarcely call it criticism:—for the critical art could not have lived in such days, when examination of principles was forbidden ground to the religionist and the philosopher:—still there are attempts at criticism to be seen in his writings. He ventures to question the correctness of the translation of passages of Aristotle, to compare different versions, and to qualify his own exposition by examination of conflicting authorities. But we see nothing of this in Albert, who is content to follow his text with an unscrupulous and servile docility. A still greater test of the literary spirit of Aquinas is given in the care expended by him on a new translation of Aristotle. At his desire, a Dominican, by name Henry or William of Brabant, made a new translation of the treatises of Aristotle from the Greek original.[1] Hitherto the versions used were principally drawn, not immediately from the Greek, but indirectly from the Arabic, or Hebrew, or Syriac, or Persian; and sometimes from versions that had passed through several of these secondary channels. For it was but a small portion of the *Organon* that Boethius had translated: and in this century many treatises of Aristotle, which, if not unknown before among the Christians of the West, had at any rate fallen into disuse, were brought into the schools, either from the Arabians of Spain or directly from Constantinople and the East. Many of these were brought in that form, in which the successive transfusion from language to language only imperfectly represented the sense of the philosopher. It argues no little vigour of mind in Aquinas at such a time, to have provided for a more genuine acquaintance with the philosophy, which was destined to hold a permanent dominion in the Church, and to absorb into its vortex the whole of Christian theology. By some, indeed, the

Improved versions of Aristotle.

[1] Wilhelmus de Brabantiâ ordinis prædicatorum trænstulit omnes libros Aristotelis, de Græco in Latinum, verbum e verbo, quâ translatione scholares adhuc hodiernâ die utuntur in scholis ad instantiam St. Thomæ de Aquino Doctoris.—*Auct. Anonym., Chron. Slav., apud Lindenbrog*, p. 206.

Eodem autem tempore, anno nimirum Christi 1271, Henricus Brabantinus, Dominicanus, rogatu D. Thomæ, e Græco in linguam Latinam, de verbo ad verbum, transfert omnes libros Aristotelis. Albertus usus est veteri translatione quam Boethianam vocant.—*Aventin. Annal. Boior.*, lib. vii., c. vii.

Jourdain, *Rech. Crit., sur l'Age et l'Origine des Trad. Lat. d'Aristote*, p. 266.

work of translation has been attributed to Aquinas himself. But besides the express testimonies on the other side, there is no ground to think that he was at all acquainted with the Greek language. References to Greek words occur in his writings: but these are evidently drawn from second-hand authorities. Indeed, the business of translation, in that age, may be regarded as properly a professional one. The philosopher superintended the task; whilst the learned Jew, or Saracen, conversant with the Greek, the Latin, and the Arabic languages, was engaged in the actual process of translation. The Christian philosopher resorting to Toledo, had the Greek text interpreted to him in the vulgar idiom, the Moorish, or Spanish language spoken there; and then himself rendered the interpretation so given into Latin.[1] The new translations, indeed, which Aquinas was instrumental in producing, were probably little more than collations of those already extant, with a view to ascertain their variations; and not original versions founded on a simple study of the original Greek.

Imperfect method of translation.

In setting forth then a general view of the philosophy of Aquinas, we may fairly assume, that we are taking a survey of scholasticism in its most general form, the proper characteristic of its nature, independently of individual peculiarities which may have accidentally modified it in part.[2]

In examining into any philosophy, there are two leading points to which we naturally advert. 1. The substance itself of the philosophy; or the Principles in the different departments of Human Knowledge, of which it actually consists: 2. The Method on which it proceeds; what data it assumes, and in what order it applies these for the construction of its system.

Now in the philosophy of the schoolmen these two points of view meet in one. We have shown how the method of Aristotle was gradually superinduced on the established Platonism of the Church. The introduction of so powerful an ally was the means of revolutionizing the system to whose aid it was brought. The philosophy so constantly engaged in the field with the heretical disputant, obtained a practical ascendancy founded on its actual services in the emergencies of the faith. Not that we are to suppose that Platonism was extinct in the Church, even when the Aristotelic infusion triumphed. This would be to mistake the true character of scholasticism, which, as we have pointed out, never abandoned its first attachment to the Platonic mysticism.

Scholasticism confounds the method and the principles of philosophy.

[1] This appears to have been the mode in which Michael Scot, like Albert, also, more known for magic than for philosophy, performed his translations of Aristotle. He was at Toledo, engaged in this work, in 1217. Christian students used to learn at Toledo the necromancy of the Arabians. See Jourdain, *Rech. Critiques*, &c., pp. 139-235.

[2] Aquinas is particularly selected by Dante to represent the philosophers of the schools

But Platonism was the strong under-current. The Aristotelic philosophy was the tide that flowed on the surface, propelled by every wind and storm that vexed the Church.

The Aristotelic philosophy, accordingly, being cultivated only as a science of defence, and consequently established as a logical philosophy, what was in its proper nature simply a method of discussion, became, in the result, an organ of investigation, and a science also of the first principles of every other science. This was in direct opposition to the views of Aristotle himself. For the great service rendered by him to the cause of scientific truth, was, that he separated logic from the metaphysics with which it had been confounded in all former systems. But the Church philosophers, cleaving to the original misconceptions of the Platonic schools, brought back that confusion, and perpetuated it in their own artificial mode of philosophizing.

Source of this confusion in the nature of general terms.

The science of logic, leading us to consider the manner in which general principles are applied to the deduction of truths and communication of knowledge, is apt on that account to give the delusive idea of its power to interpret the secrets of nature. The universality of the terms of language is mistaken for the generalization of facts. Because (as we may explain this more fully), we discover by reasoning from words as the signs of our ideas, a vast variety of particulars involved in general notions (every argument being in fact a deduction of some particular, or a less general, out of a general principle), we seem to have occasion only to study the abstractions denoted by words, and draw them forth into their particulars, to obtain a universal science. The most abstract ideas become, according to such a view, the most perfect and true conceptions of things; as presenting, both in the extent and fixedness of their survey, at once the greatest variety of objects, and that character of them which is independent of the changes and accidents of the universe. Such a philosophy resolves itself into a system of idealism. By realizing the abstractions of the mind, and creating for itself a science of physical truth out of materials which have no external objective existence, it cannot but result in a system, in which the material world disappears, and metaphysical truth is all in all.

Coincidence of idealism and realism the result.

Such then, in the general view of its nature, was the philosophy of the schools. It was idealism, so far as the Platonic spirit predominated in it: it was realism, or that system which transforms abstract conceptions of the mind into objective realities, so far as the logical or peculiarly Aristotelic character pervaded it. Idealism describes the system itself as to the nature of the principles on which it was founded; realism describes the method of investigation pursued, or the action of those logical processes by which it explored the truth. We may characterize scholasticism truly, by one or the other of these two designations, according as

we look to its internal nature, or to its logical method of proceeding.

The scholastic philosophy is the only system in which idealism and realism have completely coincided. Plato gave the name indeed of dialectic to the supreme science: for, proceeding as he did by interrogation of the mind and ascending to those instinctive principles which are the origin of all our knowledge, he was naturally led in following this train of thought to designate the highest philosophy a science of dialectic or discussion. But still the ideal or metaphysical character predominates over his whole philosophy. He argues strenuously, but as if argument, *as such*, was not his concern; as if he wanted only to clear away by discussion the obstructions of the human intellect, and to present the realities of the invisible world—the "ideas" of his system—clearly before the eye of abstract contemplation. In Aristotle actually, notwithstanding his disclaimer of it and denial of its truth in his logical treatises, there is much of realism, especially in his physical philosophy, which is for the most part, an assumed science of nature, deduced from abstract notions as they are expressed in the terms of the Greek language. At the same time his general views are entirely adverse to idealism; and no philosopher of antiquity has displayed so fully throughout his writings the scientific value of experience and observation. But in the schoolmen idealism and realism go hand in hand. In them, there is no proper direct appeal to experience and observation. The visible world is to them only a shadow and type of the metaphysical; a writing, as it were, in cipher, to be read by the key of those recondite truths which exist in the secret chambers of the intellect. But their very business is argumentation. And thus conclusions, indicating nothing more than connections of thought in the mind, are continually realized in their mode of speculation; applied, that is, as if they were indications of real connections in nature. This idealism and this realism correspond with the mystical and the argumentative character, which, as has been already observed, were combined in the system.

Distinction of Nominalist and Realist.

We find, indeed, the different schoolmen, especially after the thirteenth century, distinguished from each other as Nominalists or Realists. The logical question which had attracted particular notice in the eleventh century, respecting the nature of universals, or to the existence of objects corresponding to the general ideas denoted by abstract terms, having been silenced for a while by the authority of Anselm of Canterbury, was again agitated with renewed vigour in the fourteenth century, and from that time ostensibly divided the schools into the two great parties of Nominalists and Realists. These two classes included under them several shades of opinion; of which we may state the two extremes to be, on the one hand, the opinion that regarded abstract

terms as mere sounds, of *flatus vocis;* on the other hand, that which supposed a Real distinct Essence corresponding to every abstract term. Still Nominalism, as it existed in the scholastic ages, was rather a modification of Realism, a protest against the extreme to which Realism had been carried in the ardour of theological controversy, or the exception from the general system. It certainly preluded to a more liberal method of philosophizing: and this tendency appears to have been foreseen, though indistinctly, in the jealous opposition which it excited. But the scholastic Nominalists were practically Realists, so far as they pursued the same mode of establishing truths by syllogistic processes, as those who were Realists in theory. Albert and Aquinas, to whom we have attributed the formation of the scholastic system, were avowed Realists.

Conceptualism the prevalent doctrine.

The truth appears to be, that an intermediate opinion,—that denoted in modern philosophy by Conceptualism, the ideal theory of Locke,—was the notion most generally adopted in the subject. This was the neutral ground on which the controvertists on each side seem to have retired when pressed by argument on the other. The ambiguity of the word *res*, from its extensive application to the objects of thought as well as to those of sense, gave a facility to the arguer for sliding from the notion of physical existence to metaphysical, and again from metaphysical to physical. An abstraction so vague, indeed, it is hardly possible to hold distinctly in the mind: so that the theorist on a question in which this term is so essentially involved, is apt to be led astray even in the processes of his own mind in forming his view of the subject. It is no wonder, therefore, that the scholastic disputant should have found such matter of altercation on this speculative question.

Importance of the theory of universals.

Nor was the question by any means so trifling as we are apt to suppose it at this day. The whole system of scholasticism depending on abstract general notions, whatever touched the character of these first principles of the science, affected the whole nature of the science deduced from them. It raised a question whether the speculative theology so deduced, were sound or not; and each party therefore had to justify his view on this ground. About the same period too, or rather just before the agitation of the question concerning universals, the discussions relative to the nature or mode of the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which had arisen in the ninth century, began to be revived. And these, turning principally on the notions attached to the words *really* and *truly*, were intimately connected with the theory of general notions. The Real Presence of Christ, indeed, in the sacrament, as asserted in the speculations of the schools, was that of the abstract personality of Christ: the divinity and manhood conjoined in his person being regarded as that abstract substance, which, truly existing in itself, was capable

of communicating itself to the forms of bread and wine, and of being thus infinitely multiplied and infinitely present without multiplication of its own essence. So that any question as to the nature of abstract existences, was a question also bearing on the doctrine of the Eucharist.

Theology becomes the universal science.

The mixed character of scholasticism develops itself to our view more fully, when we look closely into its internal nature. A universal *à priori* system of speculative truth would be the natural produce of such a combination; or in other words, a theological philosophy, comprehending in it all knowledge. Consistently to follow out such a method of philosophizing, there could be no pause to the speculatist, until he had reached the Fountain of all Truth, and seized the primary principles existing in the mind of the Deity Himself. The schoolmen, indeed, as disciples of Christianity, felt themselves bound by the double tie of religion and Church-authority, to uphold that divine knowledge, which the Scriptures and the dogmas of the Church had delivered, as the ultimate highest knowledge of man. They thought it necessary therefore to show, that in this were contained the elements of all truth whatever; not only in matters of religion,—in what concerns the relations of man to his Creator,—but generally, in every department of human speculation. This mistaken notion of Revealed Truth was engendered and fostered by that Ideal and Logical theory of the nature of science, which they had adopted. Had they simply regarded science as the generalization of facts, they could not have incurred this error in regard to Revealed Truth. They must then have seen the propriety of suffering each science to rest on its proper principles obtained from the study of its own facts, without endeavouring to bring all together within the embrace of a universal method. But an essentially logical philosophy is not satisfied with this simple historical method. It must lay down its theorems as universals, and from them deduce synthetically all other truths as necessary consequences of these first principles. In that case only would the requisitions of a logical method of philosophy be fully satisfied. Hence we find Aquinas condemning as false, whatever may be found in any other science contrary to the principles of theology. And we know from the history of philosophy, how extensively such a maxim has operated to the prejudice of scientific truth; the authorities of the Latin Church having constantly opposed all improvements in natural science, from the fear of contradicting some doctrine of theology.[1]

[1] Witness the persecutions of Roger Bacon and of Galileo. The instance, which has been often cited, of the declaration of the Jesuits in their edition of Newton's *Principia*, that they assume the motion of the earth in order to the demonstrations, but comply at the same time with the papal decrees against its motion, is in itself enough to illustrate the point. Their words are:—"Newtonus in hoc tertio libro

Union of the Theory of Ideas with that of Matter and Form.

The later Platonists had prepared the way for this universal theological science in assigning to the "Ideas" of their master's theory a locality in the Divine Mind. But a difficulty arose to the schoolmen, as the disciples of Aristotle, in reconciling this tenet of the New-Platonism with Aristotle's disavowal of the Ideal theory. The Eclectic method of philosophy, established by the labours of Boethius in the Latin Church, provided a solution of the difficulty, in the introduction of Aristotle's physical theory of Matter and Form. Under these two terms Aristotle had classed all the principles which respect the physical constitution of bodies: *matter* denoting all that constitutes them physical beings simply; all those properties by which they affect the senses, or display to our observation changes in their composition: *form* denoting whatever distinguishes them as belonging to different classes of being. Both these terms were of logical origin; being, in truth, heads of classification under which the mind ranges its first rough observations on nature. The notions of matter and form were therefore readily incorporated into a logical philosophy. By an extension of the terms, which Aristotle's authority by no means warranted, they were applied by his expositors universally. As it was apparent of every object of thought, that it had certain points of agreement with others, and also certain peculiarities, or points of difference, it was concluded, that these logical arrangements might be applied to every subject indiscriminately. And thus the schools resounded throughout with the technical language of matter and form. Had these notions been restricted to their true meaning as subtile abstractions of the mind; as analyses performed by the mind for its own direction in the general survey of nature; it might have been well: though little benefit to the purpose of sound philosophy could have resulted from their adoption. But the mischief was, that they were taken into the scholastic system, as expressions denoting physical constituents in the different subjects to which they were applied. Everything was considered as *made up* of Matter and Form; as consisting of something *out of which* it was made, and of something *by which* it was made what it actually was. Then it came further to be supposed that these two constituents of things might exist *separately* from each other: and the ingenuity of a subtile philosophy was exercised in giving a history of their conjunction; or in explaining how things came to exist as they actually are, by the descent of forms into matter. So that, these principles of a perverted Aristotelic philosophy being adopted, the proper order of philosophical inquiry was

telluris motæ hypothesim assumit. Autoris propositiones aliter explicari non poterant, nisi eâdem quoque factâ hypothesi. Hinc alienam coacti sumus gerere personam. Cæterum latis a summis pontificibus contra telluris motum decretis nos obsequi profitemur. Tom. iii., ed. Jacquier and Le Sueur, 1742.

reversed. In the scholastic system, the object was, not to rise from individuals to general principles, but to descend from the highest abstractions to individual beings. The only certain real existences given in the system, were the natures of matter and form. The problem then was, to find the principle of individuation: to show how these infinite natures were circumscribed and limited in the various individual objects which the sensible universe presents.

Accommodation of Aristotle's notion of the Deity.

But Aristotle's Physical Philosophy being understood in this manner, the difficulty arising from his rejection of the Ideal theory was easily evaded. It was only to call the Ideas by the name of Forms; and the objectionable part of the theory was then removed. For Aristotle had only argued against the separate sole existence of Ideas as a philosophical account of all actual individual beings. He had said nothing to exclude the supposition of the pre-existence of the *Forms* of things in the divine intellect, or rather according to his view of the Deity, in the universal operating or moving principle of nature. Indeed, he might be considered as having invested these abstract forms with some such pre-existence, in assigning them, as the ultimate *ends* to which nature must be conceived to tend, in all its manifold productions, with instinctive, unceasing effort.

Inconsistency of this notion with Christianity.

This notion of the Divine Principle evidently could not be embraced by a believer in Christianity. Christianity is expressly opposed to it, inasmuch as Christianity reveals the Deity to us in the strictest sense as a Personal Agent, acting on and controlling by His will the course of nature—not identified and confounded with that course. It was necessary, therefore, in the reception of Aristotle's philosophy, to modify this view of the Divine Principle. And this was effected by the alliance formed with the more pious theism of Plato. The incongruity of the alliance was indeed continually appearing to view. Some following too closely the language of Aristotle would relapse into notions of Pantheism, attributing to nature itself an instinctive Divine vitality; others, again, would reduce the whole of nature to mere phantom and shadow, asserting in pure idealism the sole real existence of the Divine Being.

Thus, however, were the Platonic ideas reinstated in their empire over the realms of philosophy. A basis accordingly was laid for a theological interpretation of nature (if interpretation may be said of a system which was only a string of mental anticipations), and at the same time for rationalizing the truths of Revelation.

Profane sciences studied as instruments of theology.

The manner in which the profane sciences were brought into the service of Christian theology, and blended with it in one system, is a point particularly to be noticed. The confusion itself was drawn from Platonism: so also Platonism furnished the mys-

terious links between the worlds of Reason and of Revelation. As the ideas of the purely intellectual region were assumed to be the primary elements of all truth—the principles from which the constitution and order of the sensible universe were derived—they were evidently to be explored in those types and representations of them which the universe presents to our observation. Plato had remarked the great law of Association in the constitution of the human mind, and applied it to the establishment of his ideal theory. From the observed fact, that one object serves to suggest to the mind a variety of other objects, he concluded that the whole of nature was to be regarded as an instrument of suggestion; as the means of reviving in the mind the invisible, recondite truths of the intellectual world, which had a more *real* existence, according to his theory, than the flowing things of the external world cognizable by the senses.[1] He thus bound together physical and metaphysical truth; and led the philosophical student through the course of the various sciences, as through a necessary initiation, to the sublime point, where the purified intellect should ultimately expand itself to the contemplation of the mysterious "Ideas." We may remark, that his attempt was, in fact, to merge the certainty of all other truth in the evidence of consciousness; and to counteract the method of the vulgar, which holds no other truth so real as that which is apparent to outward observation. The scholastic theologians proceeded on the same view. They wished to exalt the spirituality of the Christian profession above the grossness of worldly pursuits; and therefore sank all profane science in theology. In theology was the reality and the truth of science: all other science was instrumental and subsidiary. The world of sense and observation, according to their view, lay between the Divine mind and the human. The mind by the study of the forms impressed in that world, under the guidance of the natural sciences, penetrates the interposing mass; and thus at length, rising by the steps of sublime contemplation, is brought more immediately into the Divine Presence, and enabled more and more to see God as He is.

Consequent Theological character of all Science.

In accomplishing this connection, Theology was the first and the last of the links. Theology, both Natural and Revealed, was the point of departure as well as the consummation of all science. The principles of Theology were assumed as those by which each science was to be interpreted and ascertained. The dominion of the Ideas was carried throughout. Each science had its metaphysical basis; not being founded on any conclusions of experience, but on mental abstractions, or definitions of its terms. This is particularly evidenced in Physics; where the Scholastics had the example itself of Aristotle to mislead them, and to increase their funda-

[1] See the *Phædo.*

mental misconception of the nature of this science in particular. Here the theological character of the principles assumed is apparent at the first view. The doctrine of final causes is the master principle of the whole inquiry. Instead of looking at phenomena, and examining things in themselves, the schoolman, following Aristotle, is employed in considering the tendencies or designs of nature, and constructing a hypothetical system on assumptions of what is best and most perfect in nature. The whole drift of his inquiry is the *idea* or abstract *form* which nature is supposed to be endeavouring to realize. Thus, therefore, in the pursuit of his lofty science, his own mind, as the mirror of the Divine—the philosophical synopsis of all that exists without it in the universe —becomes the only field of study; whilst he neglects that actual form which things present to external observation, as accidental, and unreal, and unscientific.

To examine, however, more particularly into the influence of this mode of philosophizing on the different branches of science; we will proceed first to the character of the theology resulting from it.

Speculative Theology multiplied by refutations of Heresy.

As in the Ancient Philosophy there was an exoteric and esoteric method; an internal instruction addressed to the speculative disciple, and a popular one addressed to the general hearer; so in the philosophical theology erected by the schoolmen, we find a twofold teaching adapted to corresponding classes in the Christian Church. Though the habit of reasoning on the truths of Religion had been formed by the struggles against heresy and infidelity, the practice itself once acquired could not easily be renounced; and a morbid taste for abstract speculation outlived the occasions by which it was engendered. The continued conflicts, indeed, with disputatious theologians, involved the orthodox in such a mass of technical doctrines—of decisions accumulated upon decisions—that the business of ratiocination became indispensable to the churchman of the Middle Age. What may be called an excess of legislation in matters of doctrine had taken place, through the mistaken notion on which divines had acted, that every variation of opinion required to be ruled by the coercive judgment of the ecclesiastical power. This state of things naturally led to the creation of a class of expositors and commentators, who should maintain the consistency of this vast accumulation of decisions—bring to light what was obscure—defend what was ambiguous from the perverse constructions of the heretic. For this state of things, instead of resting at any given point, constantly worked its own aggravation. Repeated declarations on controverted statements of the religious truth, only opened a larger frontier to hostile invasion. With the conquests of orthodoxy increased also its points of attack from heresy: and thus a more complex system of speculative defence was necessarily organized; and all the outposts of doctrine were fortified and guarded with the subtile arms

of orthodox Metaphysics. It is the collection, then, and systematic arrangement of these several points of debate—these multiplied decisions of the Church-authorities—that properly constitutes the Scholastic Theology. The Logical Philosophy of the schools was the cementing principle—that which gave unity and symmetry to the chaotic assemblage. But by this elaborate process, this ceaseless deposition of matter of speculation by the active current of controversy, a pile of religious doctrine rose to view by the side of the Scriptural truth—a new land, like the Delta of the Nile, the creation itself of the busy stream, which had been constantly flowing, and accumulating soil in its course. And, like that artificial land, it was the ground on which Priestcraft and Superstition fixed their peculiar abode; where a speculative fancy erected the shrines and altars of its idols; and whence, as from their proper home, the mystical symbols of theological doctrine proceeded to diffuse themselves over the Western world.

Sketch of the *Summa* of Aquinas.

To judge adequately of the nature of this Theology, we have only to take a survey of the celebrated *Summa* of Aquinas. We have there a complete science of Theology, sketched in all its parts by a master-hand; the genius, as it were, of Scholasticism embodied by the mighty magician, whose call it was forced to obey. He did not live, indeed, to work out all the parts of his system; but he had cast the whole at once with a vastness and a minuteness of design, which more reminds one of the great philosopher himself, whose principles he undertook to expound, than of any other writer. There is, at least, the same endeavour shown to grasp the subject in all its bearings, and to leave no region of it undistributed or unoccupied, that we find in the most elaborate treatises of Aristotle.

Threefold division of the *Summa*.

The work is divided into three great parts :—1. The Natural; 2. The Moral; 3. The Sacramental. The first, being a speculation concerning the nature of things, lays down and discusses the principles of the Divine Being, from which hangs the golden chain of physical and moral truth in perpetual series. "We have considered," he says in his prologue, "that novices in this doctrine are greatly impeded, in consequence of what has been written by different persons; partly, indeed, on account of the multiplication of useless questions, articles, and arguments, partly, also, because the things necessary for such to know, are not delivered according to the order of discipline, but according to what the exposition of books required, or as the occasion for disputing presented itself; partly, indeed, because their frequent repetition generated both disgust and confusion in the minds of the hearers. Studying, therefore, to avoid these faults and others of the like kind, we will endeavour, in confidence of Divine aid, briefly and luminously to pursue, to the extent that the matter will permit, what belongs to sacred doctrine." He proceeds, accordingly, to

point out the scientific nature of Christian Theology, that it is strictly a science capable of being argumentatively established, and resting on certain assumptions, themselves founded in the Divine knowledge, and communicated to man by Revelation. The questions discussed in this part respect the existence and attributes of God,—the nature of His Intelligence and Will,—His Providence and Prescience, the Trinity in Unity. From these he proceeds to the divine effects manifested in the works of creation, in the existence of angels, in the material world, and in the human being; dilating more especially on the subject of Man's Nature, and interweaving a mass of Metaphysical discussion concerning the soul and its faculties, its connection with the body, and the primitive condition of man in Paradise. *Prima Pars.*

The second part is divided into two; which are commonly distinguished under the titles of the *Prima Secundæ* and the *Secunda Secundæ*. The first of these enters more immediately and strictly on the examination of the nature of man. The nature of man has been considered, indeed, in the first part, but under a different point of view; as it is involved in the history of the Divine operations. Here man is viewed as he is a complex system in himself, having in himself a principle of operation. The former part considered man as he is a physical being, the creation of the Divine hand; the *Prima Secundæ* regards him under the aspect of a moral and intellectual agent. Aquinas here takes a survey of the principles of human nature as they are exemplified in human sentiments and actions. Having in the outset examined how man is naturally impelled to action, in the sequel he views the natural principles as they are modified by the operation of Divine grace. In discussing these subjects, the comparison of the state of man under the systems of Nature and of Grace, and the doctrines consequently of Free Will, Original Sin, and Justification, come to be considered. The various laws also given by God for the guidance of man are minutely examined in this department of the inquiry.[1] *Prima Secundæ.*

The *Secunda Secundæ* takes up the great moral argument, where the former part had left it, and discusses the several virtues in detail. The former part had examined the principles of human action under their most general form. This part considers them as they take the forms of particular virtues, whether under the influence of Divine grace, or by the operation of nature. The virtues are classed according to the threefold arrangement, which he found already received in the Church; as they are Theological or Ethical, infused or acquired, or as they are the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit: the Theological virtues being Faith, Hope, and Charity; the Ethical, the four cardinal virtues, *Secunda Secundæ.*

[1] The same kind of abstract speculation into the nature of law is pursued, which we find adopted by Hooker in the first book of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*.

Justice, Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance. This portion of the work has attracted peculiar notice and commendation as a systematic exposition of Christian Ethics. And certainly for the copiousness of its matter, the connection of the points of discussion, and the ingenuity with which the ethical theories of Aristotle are grafted into the Christian moral code, it fully merits that high admiration which successive ages have bestowed on it. As for originality of observation, this, of course, we could not expect to find in the most gifted schoolmen. But a close examination will disclose to the inquirer, that Aquinas has occasionally struck out thoughts, which imply a power of observation superior to the system within which the learning and the ecclesiastical spirit of the age restricted him.

Tertia Pars. The third part is devoted to the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Sacraments. According to the Scholastic Philosophy, these two subjects are intimately and inseparably connected. The theories belonging to them were brought into perfect harmony. For since the sacraments were regarded in a physical sense, as vital influences of grace descending immediately from the sacred person of Christ, it was necessary for the unity of the system, that an adequate notion should be settled of the great truth of the Incarnation. The traces of this connection are apparent in the peculiar importance attached by the Church of Rome both in its doctrine on the subject and its ritual, to the sacrament of the Eucharist. Undoubtedly this holy sacrament demands the highest estimation from every true believer, as the special means of grace, ordained by the Lord Himself, and sanctified by his Presence for the spiritual food and sustenance of his members. But the teaching of the Church of Rome throws its own veil over the simple Scriptural view of its importance. Adopting the scholastic sacramental theory, it regards this sacrament as the mystical conveyance of the actual Passion of Christ, attributing to the act of Consecration of the elements by the Priest, the power of bringing down to them the whole virtue of the Priesthood of Christ Himself. The same idea indeed is extended in a degree to all the Seven Sacraments of the Church of Rome, in accordance with the scholastic theory; the only difference with regard to the other rites so termed being, that they are in their measure *participations* of Christ; whereas in the Eucharist the theory asserts the presence of the *substance itself* of Christ. It was necessary, accordingly, for the consistency of their system, that the Doctrine of the Union of the Divinity and Humanity in the Person of the Incarnate Lord, should be premised and accurately defined, not by means of Scripture-proof only, but also, and still more, on the principles of the Scholastic Philosophy, in order that the sacramental virtue of the Passion of Christ might be maintained in the theory, as flowing in continuous stream from Christ to his mystical body,

the Church, and through the Church and its Priests. This whole part, indeed, develops with the utmost precision what may be termed the complex philosophy of expiation, under the representations of it contained in the doctrines and ritual of the Church of Rome. The latter portion of it is occupied with a comparison of the two leading modes of life, the life of contemplation in abstractedness from the world, and the life of action in the world; and in showing the superiority of the former, or according to its Christian representation, the life of monastic devotion.

Close connection of questions throughout the *Summa*.

This is a general outline of what is discussed in this extraordinary work. It demands indeed a far more detailed statement of the matters contained in it, to do even moderate justice to its merits, or unfold the various instruction conveyed in it. What, however, is most important to observe in it, is the connection of the several parts and questions throughout it. To observe this, is to seize its proper scholastic character. The Deity himself, it will be perceived, agreeably to what we have already stated as to the general nature of Scholasticism, is the point of departure: and Theology consequently furnishes the principles, on which the whole fabric of science embraced in the compass of the work is rested. All other sciences are strictly treated as handmaids and auxiliaries to Theology. They are employed instrumentally, as the means of disengaging, if we may so express it, the principles of the Divine Science, from the external forms in which they are involved,—whether these forms be the mysteries of Revelation or of Nature,—and presenting them as pure matter of intellectual perception to the philosophic mind. All other sciences, that is, served only as a method of analysis,—as a symbolical language, analogous to that of Algebra, by which the connections of sacred truth might be ascertained and systematically deduced. Accordingly a great part of the discussion is occupied in perfecting this symbolical language, as we have called it; in showing, by examination of doubts and difficulties on various points, the coherency of the analytical system in itself. This, of course, was required in such a mode of philosophizing; just as a method of algebra must cohere in all its parts, that the interpretations of its symbols may throughout be consistent.

Real Theological importance of Scholastic Discussions.

There is still, however, amidst all the speculative matter with which this work of Aquinas abounds, a very valuable theological knowledge to be extracted from it. It brings into one view the subtile distinctions and arguments, which theologians at various times have employed in order speculatively to maintain their peculiar doctrines or views. It enables us to ascertain the precise controversial sense of terms in Theology. We see here the reasons for their introduction, and their mutual connections. It was, in fact, in the course of the scholastic discussions, and by their instrumentality, that the exact force of these terms was positively

fixed. Previously, their sense had remained in a fluctuating state: the early polemical writers having varied in their use of them. There had been, at the same time, a constant endeavour to reduce the use of them to greater exactness. Now at length in the proper age of Scholastic Theology, the scheme of uniformity was wrought to its perfection. A large induction of instances was brought from the volumes of ancient Polemics; and an acute Reason was exercised upon them, in rejecting differences of meaning, and selecting the points of general agreement. In this office, the Scholastic Divines have shown a real philosophical power: and to estimate their merits properly, we must contemplate them under this point of view. A study of Aquinas will convince us, that he was not a mere compiler of authorities, or a mere logician, but that he possessed a true perception of the nature of Philosophy, whilst he was cramped by the fetters of an artificial method, and was compelled to exercise his great powers at a disadvantage, within the narrow range of a technical Theology, and under the jealous supervision of a presumed infallibility in the supreme authority of the Church.

From what has been already observed on the subject, it would be expected that the Physical Philosophy of the Schools should present nothing but a barren waste to the view. There is nothing indeed in it of that animation and business which the mind expects to contemplate in opening a volume of the history of nature; or, to speak more correctly, of the Divine operations, whether in the world, or in the kingdom of Grace. But all is silent as the page itself, which arrogantly and vainly attempts to tell of laws of the universe which can only be learnt from experience and observation, or made known to us by the express word of Revelation, and in the latter case no further known than they are revealed. Ideas of power, and motion, and energy, are presented before us: but it is only in the little laboratory of the mind itself that all this activity is exhibited. We seem to be standing by as spectators of the construction of the fabric of the universe; the laws by which all the changes of the natural world take place, appear to be subjected to our survey: but we find the whole system only a vast illusion, produced by the dizzy height to which we have been carried. The speculation taking its outset from the great original causes of things in the mind of the Creator, mocks us by the unreal universality of the principles, which it presents to us as solutions of the course and constitution of nature. As theories of the creative and disposing power of the Divine Author of nature, these principles may possess a speculative truth: they may, that is, be just, comprehensive views of the objects of the natural world, as they admit of being mentally analyzed into different views of the Divine Agency. But, as Bacon observes, of the whole Scholastic method of anticipation, "the

subtilty of nature far exceeds the subtilty of sense and intellect:"[1] and these general principles accordingly, specious as they are in promise, are much too superficial in reality, to give any sound information concerning the actual processes of nature.

Doctrine of four universal causes.

Thus the schoolmen, following Aristotle, state four universal causes of existing things: 1. The material; 2. The formal; 3. The efficient: 4. The final: the material cause being supposed to be that common substance or nature, out of which things are made; the formal cause, that by which one object is made to differ from others produced out of the same common matter; the efficient or motive cause, that which originates the motion or change from which the particular thing results; the final cause, the tendency, or end, to which the whole process of formation has reference, and in which it is completed and perfected. These several causes (as we have said before respecting the notions of matter and form in particular) are evidently nothing more than certain classifications, the mere creations of the mind, under which it arranges its different views of any object considered as a thing *produced*. They are so many different reasons which the mind may assign for the existence of a thing; and the aggregate of which seems to give a full account of its being. For the material cause is the first most general view that we take of it; that general resemblance according to which we class it with certain other objects. The formal cause is a more distinct view of it; exempting it from that vagueness and indistinctness in which our first rough classification had left it. The efficient cause is a still further limitation of it, as the effect of a given power. The final cause again brings it still more within the grasp of the mind by assigning the boundaries to which it is tending, or the ultimate object, the attainment of which appears to explain, or account for its existence. Now all these causes or reasons may be very useful to us *logically*,[2]—as principles to guide our investigation into the nature of any object,—but without experience and observation they are utterly fruitless. They are the rules by which our observations are to be conducted, and they of course imply that these observations should be made. The Schoolmen, however, used their logical rules *instead* of observation, and set

[1] *Nov. Organum*, lib. i., *Aph.* 10.

[2] Take, for example, the familiar instance of Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood from an application of the doctrine of final causes. By appealing to the principle according to which the mind views an object in its ultimate *tendency or end*, he was led to consider whether the structure of the valves in the blood-vessels might be thus limited and summed up, as it were, in a final result: and by *observation* on them according to this principle, discovered the *fact* of the circulation. Again, when it is said that the eye is evidently made to see with—the ear to hear with—the hand to handle with—these are instances of final causes assigned for the existence of those organs. Such explanations of them present them in that point of view which is the object, end, and perfection of their structure.

themselves to explain how each object in nature was *constructed* according to these rules.

Doctrine of Contrarieties.

The doctrine of Contrarieties, again, which the Schoolmen adopted from the ancient Physics, as an explanation of the changes which took place in the natural world, what was this but the realizing of a principle of Logic, and vainly endeavouring to make the operations of nature submit to a law of the human understanding? It is evident that there are certain notions which mutually exclude one another; that the same thing, for instance, cannot be hot and cold at the same moment; and that to remove the one idea therefore is to admit the idea of the other. But the Schoolmen applied this logical truth to physical existences. They gave an activity, that is, to these abstract notions, and regarded any two contraries, as principles coming and departing in perpetual real succession, and which, by their presence or their absence, constituted physical bodies what they are.

Principles of Transmutation and Privation.

With this doctrine of Contrarieties the ancient Physics connected the principles of Transmutation of bodies, of Privation, and the distinction between Potential and actual Being. These several principles, as flowing out of the same logical doctrine of Contrarieties, were readily taken into their physical system by the logical Philosophers of the Schools. The facility with which the mind substitutes one notion for another, and varies at will the forms which it creates, was converted into a real capacity of transition in nature itself from one form of being into another. Hence everything in nature was conceived capable of being changed into another; the same common matter remaining as the subject of the alteration.

Generation and corruption.

And thus in the language of the Schools was everything said to be generated or corrupted,—the transition from one nature into another being the generation of that which resulted, the corruption of that which disappeared.

Doctrine of Motion.

Thus, too, the motion of bodies was said to be of three kinds: since besides locomotion, the changes which occurred, either by the alteration of the thing, or by its growth and diminution, were included under the term: logical distinctions being here again converted into physical forces. The principle of Privation, clearly part of the same logical analysis by which the notions foreign to any subject are excluded from it, underwent the like physical adaptation; the qualities *mentally* excluded by any particular notion, being conceived to be *physically* removed from it, when the thing passed from one nature into another. In like manner, attributing to everything a potential and an actual being, realized distinctions which exist only in the mind; the former being the object, as it may be supposed to exist in that capable of producing it: as the plant, for instance, in the seed; the latter being the production into being, of that which before only existed in such a capacity or power.

Potential and Actual Being.

Upon this distinction, indeed, it should be observed,

the Schoolmen, closely following Aristotle, founded their philosophical description of the Deity as "Pure Act." All created things existed at one time in *power*, at another time in *act*. But in God, in whom nothing is antecedent, nothing consequent, all is action and energy at once.

Notion of the Deity as Pure Act.

This notion of the Deity as "Energy," or "Act," was the connecting principle of the Theology and Physics of the Schools. That the Deity pervaded all things as the ultimate sovereign good which all things, whether animate or inanimate, desired to attain, and in attaining which the perfection of each consisted,—was the theological point of view in their system. But it was further required to exhibit the Deity, as the universal principle of motion, as the *origin* of those changes which were observed in the world. And this was accomplished by the representation of him under the notion of "pure operation," or "act." The Divine goodness became thus, by the realism of the system, a real vital power impelling the whole course of Nature. Regarded as an unoriginated ceaseless energy, it presented an adequate cause of the perpetuity of life, and motion, and production throughout the universe.

Scholastic Philosophy of Mind.

In noticing the general character of the Scholastic Theology and Physics, we have brought forward the heaviest charges which lie against the system. In the sciences which immediately belong to the philosophy of human nature, whether in those purely conversant about the intellect or the heart, we cannot apply the same censure to the scholastic method; though at the same time we cannot give, even here, unqualified praise. A great part of their Metaphysics was mere Ontology; a science, that is, of the abstract nature of being, meagre in its pursuit and unfruitful in its result. For they did not extend the term Metaphysics, according to modern usage, to the science of the laws of the human mind. The knowledge of the nature of Mind was included by Aristotle, and other ancient Philosophers, under Physics: and the schoolmen here, as in other respects, followed the arrangement already prescribed. Nor is there indeed any fault in such an arrangement; if we understand by the nature of the mind, simply the laws of its operations, as unfolded in the facts of consciousness and observation. And, perhaps, it would be better if the term Metaphysics were restricted to an investigation of the laws of thought; to an analysis, that is, of the various notions of the mind. In this view of the science, language furnishes the principal field of observation: since language has been formed by that very analysis which we are formally pursuing in this method of metaphysical science. This is the view given in the treatise of Aristotle, to which modern commentators have assigned the name of *the Metaphysics:* and which is consequently adopted by the Schoolmen, a term derived simply from the fact, that in the arrangement of the treatises of Aristotle, the portion of them so

denominated, followed next in order to the Physics. So far as this restricted view of the science is concerned, much valuable matter is to be collected from their writings. No philosophers have traced with such patience, and minute exactness, the shades by which the ideas involved in terms of language are discriminated from each other, or more illustrated that secret process by which ideas are combined and infinitely diversified. Their whole Philosophy indeed bears on this point. But their great error is, as we have throughout endeavoured to show, that they have carried principles of this science into other sciences, and by a fallacious Realism have made these principles interpreters of external nature.

Logic confounded with Metaphysics.

Further, as studying the Philosophy of Mind by the medium of language, they were led to overlook the limits which separated it from Logic. Accordingly, though they have displayed a wonderful practical acuteness as logicians, they have by no means excelled as scientific expositors of logical truth. They cultivated it chiefly in subservience to Metaphysical truth, and therefore comparatively neglected the treatment of that part of it which more strictly relates to the theory of Reasoning. Paradoxical as it may seem, they had properly no Logic strictly so called. Logic not being studied by them as a science of the Laws of Thought and of language as its sign, but as a method of universal discovery, was in consequence of this misapplication stinted of its due proportion as a science of Reasoning; whilst it was preposterously enlarged in its immediate connection with Metaphysics in the sense in which this latter science was understood by them.

Importance of Aristotle's Ethics.

In Moral Science they had an admirable guide in the Ethical system of Aristotle. The extensive and accurate knowledge of human nature which Aristotle displays throughout his Moral Treatises, served to his disciples of the Schools instead of their own experience. Otherwise, shut out as they were from the general intercourse of mankind, and living entirely in the secret converse of their own thoughts, how could they have learned the nature of human actions and sentiments, principles which depend in great measure on society for their perfect development? As it is, they have merged Moral Philosophy in Theology, by connecting the rules of duty with the abstract notion of the Deity regarded as the Chief Good of man. We feel, indeed, even in this day, the effect of this confusion, in the vague opinions commonly held respecting the relation of Morality to Theology. But the case was here as in their Logic. Their practice was superior to their theory. Whilst they constructed a system of Moral Theology, as their Ethical science was termed, they spoke as practical moralists with a wisdom far exceeding the stretch of their technical Philosophy. Much of this practical excellence must undoubtedly be attributed to the clear outlines which Revelation has sketched for those who would "do justly and love mercy," whilst they also

Moral Theology.

"walk humbly with their God." Still, as the Scriptures refrain altogether from Moral Theory, simply employing the popular language on moral subjects to express their precepts; there is ample room for the Scriptural theologian to construct his own system of Ethics. And thus have philosophers, in some instances, at the same time that they acknowledged the authority of the Scriptures, deviated widely in their conclusions from the practical spirit of Christianity. This, in fact, is what has happened in the case of the Schoolmen. The pursuit of the principle of the chief good,—the Platonic part of their Ethical doctrine,—led them to place the excellence of the Christian life in an estrangement from active duties, and in an entire abstraction of the thoughts and affections from all human concerns. Here it was then, that the philosophy of Aristotle applied a salutary check, and prevented the whole system of Scholastic Ethics from rushing into a theoretic enthusiasm. How far it acted in this manner may be judged from those of the Schoolmen, who, indulging a mystic imagination, felt less of this control. If we compare Bonaventura with Aquinas, we shall see the decided superiority of the Aristotelic moralist over the tender enthusiast of the Platonic school.

No proper distinction of Sciences in Scholastic method.

In treating, however, these different sciences as distinct, we have done so only by way of illustration of the influence of the Scholastic method on the great leading divisions of human knowledge. Strictly to speak, Scholasticism was in itself one absorbing science, in which all sciences were confounded. An evidence of this is, that no other kinds of knowledge were pursued by the Scholastic Philosopher, except those which admitted of being transfused into this promiscuous, technical system. There subsisted, indeed, a formal division of the Arts into Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, Music—the first three named the *Trivium*, the four last the *Quadrivium:* still the Arts were by no means cultivated in themselves, when Scholasticism had once taken deep root. It was not unlike the vast trunk of some aged tree, spreading far out its dry and leafless branches, sightly and venerable indeed in itself, but withering and destroying all vegetation around it by its shade. As for Rhetoric, considered as an art of eloquence or composition, it was entirely unknown. An importunate, technical Logic occupied every place, and effectually excluded by its presence, any expression that could strike the imagination or interest the feelings. For it is not only the naked framework of argument which is presented in the Scholastic page. There is an eloquence in the mere force of argument barely stated, without the least adjunct of recommendation from language. But this is not the mode in which the Scholastic argumentation is exhibited. The parade of the syllogistic process—the anatomy itself of argument—is forced on our notice. The same fundamental error, through which the Schoolmen applied rules of

investigation to the solution of physical facts, is shown in their application of the technical principles of Logic to the purpose of reasoning. The syllogism, which, properly considered, is nothing more than a development of the latent process in every argument, becomes in their hands the method of communicating knowledge, and the instrument by which conviction is to be produced; not the mere analysis of an operation of the mind. The office of Rhetoric, of course, was entirely superseded by such a method of teaching. There was no room left for arguments of inducement,—for enforcing persuasion by appeals to the moral as well as intellectual principles of human nature. Nothing could add to the cogency and perspicuity of an instrument, conceived to be so efficacious and infallible.

Importunate use of the syllogism.

The marks, indeed, of the origin of the Scholastic Philosophy, accompany it throughout in its development. As it arose in the struggles of Reason against an imperious authority, so Reason is throughout the principle with which it is concerned, and which alone it endeavours to satisfy. It had not for its object to win men to the truth: it sought only to justify and secure an obedience to which the unwilling intellect was constrained.

The Reason the only principle addressed.

Its whole tendency, accordingly, was to magnify Reason against the principle of mere authority. And on this account (though the assertion may seem strange) the Schoolmen must undoubtedly be reckoned among the precursors of the reformation both of Religion and Philosophy. By the temerity of their speculations, they inured the minds of men to think boldly: and they raised doubts and difficulties which sustained the inquisitive spirit, until at least a better day should dawn upon its efforts. Unconscious they were themselves of the benefit, which was slowly and painfully resulting from their own abortive endeavours. But what they were in themselves was merely accidental, and passed away with them. The spirit which they had nurtured, survived beyond them, to fight against the system within which it had grown up; as the system itself had fought against the arbitrary authority of the Church, within whose bosom it had been cherished. Thus we find some of the early Schoolmen strenuous opponents of the usurpation of Rome: as Robert Grossetete, Bishop of Lincoln, in the thirteenth century, and Ockam in the fourteenth. A reaction, indeed, took place, by which the conclusions of the Scholastic Theologians were expressly affirmed in the decrees of the Church of Rome; and invested with that perpetuity which the dogmatist of that communion claims for its authoritative declarations. This curious effect, consequently, has followed; that the same writers live as authorities in theological speculation to the Roman Church, who, as the advocates of Reason against the Church-system, have raised up its most formidable antagonists both in Religion and in Philosophy.

Influence of the Schoolmen on the reformation of Religion and Philosophy.

CHAPTER IV.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

General Remarks.

THE fourteenth century is another dark period in the History of the Christian Church, relieved, however, towards the close of it, with some gleams of light which are the earnest of a brighter and happier era. Religion had now arrived at its greatest degree of corruption, and Learning was at its lowest ebb. The study of Theology had dwindled among the Clergy into mere scholastic trifling, and not a few of that body were ignorant of it even in its most useless form; while the Mendicant Orders, who possessed almost exclusively what little remained of Scriptural Learning, were by no means content with a moderate use of the reputation and influence which they by this means acquired. The Clergy were as remarkable for their vices as for their ignorance, and the ambition and internal dissensions of the Mendicants concurred with their evil example in producing a general depravity of morals. In the early part of this century, the temporal power of the Papacy was at its height, but before the close of this period it received various blows, from which, although it seemed for a time to withstand the check, it received such injury, that not long afterwards it began visibly to decline. The temporary removal of the Papal residence to Avignon, the quarrel of the Pope with the Emperor Louis, and the Schism which commenced in the year 1378, all contributed to diminish the secular greatness of the Romish See. The freedom of inquiry to which these events gave rise, united with the preaching and invectives of the Franciscans and others, tended at the same time to weaken its authority in spiritual matters. At last, some German Reformers, and Wickliffe, began successfully to question some of its erroneous doctrines, and thus, under Providence, paved the way for that Reformation of Religion and extensive restoration of primitive truth which afterwards took place. Hence, this century is entitled by Ecclesiastical writers *Sæculum Wicklevianum.* During this period, attempts to set on foot new Crusades were not unfrequently made, but without any effect; and proposals which were brought forward for a reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches proved equally abortive. The profession of Christianity in its various forms was confined within nearly the same limits as heretofore.

We resume the narrative by relating the succession of the Popes, and giving a succinct account of the events which occurred

in the Church while they respectively filled the Chair of St. Peter.

Benedict XI. A.D. 1303.

Boniface VIII., as has been said, died on the 11th of October, 1303. He was succeeded by Nicholas de Boccacini, a General of the Dominican Order, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, who received the name of Benedict XI. The affairs of the Papacy were at this time in a critical position; and if the other sovereigns of Europe, who had been haughtily treated by Boniface, had combined with the insulted king of France for the assertion of their rights, they would perhaps have succeeded in recovering from the Papal Chair a large measure of its usurped authority. There was, indeed, something unfavourable to such an attempt in the spirit of the age; but the chief impediment lay in the jealousies which subsisted between the several princes. The policy of Philippe would not suffer him to unite with the Emperor for the overthrow of the Pope's temporal power; and, as to his own views upon the matter, he seems to have regarded Boniface as a personal enemy rather than to have had any idea of attacking the papal supremacy as a system; he was indignant on account of the wrongs which he had suffered from the man, but he was not prepared to contend against the usurpations of the chair. Under these circumstances, the accession of a pope who was individually of a pacific disposition, effectually prepared the way for an adjustment of differences with the Court of France. A strong remonstrance, indeed, was made to Benedict concerning the encroachments of the Papal power, together with an urgent representation of many existing abuses, by a friar whom Philippe had despatched to Italy during the pontificate of Boniface; the traffic in benefices was denounced; the rights of chapters and patrons were asserted; and many prevalent practices, tending to the centralization of ecclesiastical and temporal power in the seat of the Papacy, were expressly declared to be unwarranted and grievous innovations. At the same time, a petition from the people of France called upon the king as "hereditary defender of the Faith," to protect the liberties of the Gallican Church against the encroachments of the Pope, and to resist his pretensions to temporal supremacy. But the desire of both Benedict and Philippe was evidently to repair the breach rather than to widen it. The king sent to request absolution from the pope; and Benedict anticipated the presentation of this request by a Bull in which the desired boon was in this extraordinary manner granted, "for the health of the king's soul, and for the honour of his dominions." The convening of a General Council, to which the King had appealed, was again sought in vain; but various rights and privileges were restored to the Gallican Clergy, and all proceedings derogatory to the crown of France were declared to be null and void. Sentence of excommunication, however, still lay against those persons who

had taken part in the imprisonment of Boniface; and especially Nogaret failed, for the present, to obtain absolution.

Benedict made an attempt for the pacification of Italy, and more particularly of Florence, when the contention between the Guelphs and Ghibellines was raging with great violence; but the attempt was without success. He died, probably by poison, July 6, 1304, leaving behind him an excellent character for moderation and personal piety. He was descended from parents in a very humble condition of life; and, as a proof of his humility, it is said that, on one occasion, soon after his elevation to the Papal See, when his mother was introduced into his presence richly attired in silk, with other ornaments of dress such as were worn by ladies of high rank, he refused to recognize her until she had laid aside this costly apparel, and reappeared before him in a more homely attire.

After this, the See continued vacant for nearly a year, in consequence of dissensions among the Cardinals; one party desiring to have an Italian Pope, favourable to the friends of Boniface, the other, a French Pope, or at least a friend of Philippe and the Colonnas. This dispute was ended on the 5th of June, 1305, by the election of a Pope, whom the King of France had previously enlisted in his interests,[1] in the person of Bertrand de Got, Archbishop of Bourdeaux, who assumed the title of Clement V.

In the procession which took place at the coronation of this pontiff, the King of France condescended for a while to hold the Pope's bridle, and afterwards rode by his side. On this occasion, the Pope was thrown from his horse by the fall of a wall as he was passing; a circumstance which members of the Italian party were not slow to interpret as an evil omen.

Clement V. A.D. 1305.

The removal of the Papal residence to Avignon (A.D. 1309), the increase of Pontifical avarice and extortion, and the obsequiousness of the Holy See to the King of France, constitute the most remarkable features of this Pontificate. Nor are these features to be regarded as distinct from each other: it was the subserviency of Clement to the interests of Philippe which caused him to reside within the French dominions; and it was this change of residence, which, decreasing his Italian revenues, excited him to devise new means of obtaining wealth. As a proof of his obedience to the King of France, Clement restored the Colonnas in Italy to their Ecclesiastical dignities, revoked the hostile Bulls of Boniface, and gave Philippe a bounty of five years' tenths from the Clergy of his Kingdom. He granted (upon hard terms), absolution to Nogaret, who had been excommunicated by Boniface, but eluded the request of the King to

[1] A more particular account of these transactions is given in the History of France, PHILIPPE LE BEL, *Ency. Met.*

condemn the memory of that Pontiff and cause his bones to be burned. Clement favoured the enterprise of Charles de Valois against Constantinople; and pronounced sentence of excommunication against Andronicus Palæologus: but he afterwards, by a subtle and complicated artifice, disappointed the French King of his designs to advance his brother to the Empire. A most remarkable act of compliance on the part of Clement with the wishes of the Court of France, was the suppression of the Knights Templars, which was formally effected by the Council of Vienne, A.D. 1311.[1] While, however, the Pope, sheltered within the dominions of France, was obliged to act on principles of submission towards the Court on which he was actually dependent, he assumed a tone of especial arrogance, and made high pretensions to sovereignty, with regard to all other States.

The Emperor, Henry VII., was crowned at Rome in the year 1312, after having fully recognized the exorbitant claims of the Church, and having taken the customary oath whereby he bound himself to aid and assist and do good service to the Pope and the Church, as occasion should require. This oath was interpreted by Clement as an oath of allegiance, in the full sense of the expression, whereby the Emperor was said to acknowledge the Pope as his superior and sovereign lord in things temporal as well as spiritual, and to have bound himself to attend to the Papal dictates even in the administration of affairs pertaining to his kingdom; and when the Emperor, in league with the King of Sicily, was preparing to reduce Robert, King of Naples, to submission, the Pope not only asserted his own sovereignty over Sicily, but affected to regard the contending parties as equally vassals of Rome, between whom he had a right to interpose and settle the dispute. Henry, in return, asserted his independence: and this resistance would probably have formed the commencement of a difficult struggle, had not the Emperor been speedily carried off by death, occasioned, as was said, by poison administered to him by a Monk in the consecrated wafer. It is said that, when his physician advised the use of an emetic in order to discharge the poison, the Emperor positively refused to adopt the prescribed remedy, affirming that he would rather die than be guilty of an act of disrespect to the body of Christ. And yet this same Henry, when threatened with excommunication, and the hostility of the Pope, if he should venture to take up arms against Robert, is reported to have made this pious and spirited reply, "If God be for us, neither the Pope nor the Church can do us any harm." Men often become sensible of the oppression and injustice of Ecclesiastical tyranny, before they are convinced of the unsoundness of those erroneous dogmas upon which that

[1] A more particular account of these transactions is given in the History of France, PHILIPPE LE BEL, *Ency. Met.*

tyranny has been, in no small measure, erected. Grant but the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as held by the Church of Rome, and it is hard to refuse her all the authority which she has ever claimed; but men sometimes discover the absurdity and impiety of that doctrine, while yet they are willing to submit to the despotism of those who teach it. After the death of Henry, Clement expressly asserted the sovereignty of the Popes over the Emperors[1] without any show of contradiction. He issued a most formidable Bull against Venice, which disputed with him the possession of Ferrara, and compelled the Republic to submit (A.D. 1313). Clement died on the 20th of April, 1314, having filled the Papal chair for the space of nearly nine years. His character is depicted in dark colours by contemporary historians, who accuse him of avarice even to simony, and of the extreme indulgence of profligate habits. A story is related concerning him, which reminds us of some parts of the Vision of Dante. It is said that, upon the death of a favourite nephew, who was a Cardinal, Clement had recourse to a famous necromancer, whom he urged to reveal to him what had become of the soul of the departed. The necromancer is reported to have succeeded by his art in conveying one of the Pope's chaplains to Hell, where he was showed a palace in which the soul of the Cardinal lay on a bed of fire, as a punishment for the sin of simony; and he was afterwards conducted to another palace in the infernal regions, said to be prepared for the Pope himself. It is added that, upon receiving this intelligence, Clement was seized with a fit of melancholy, which was speedily followed by his death. Some writers defend the character of Clement against what they describe as the invectives of calumny: but all accounts concur in stating that the Pope left behind him enormous treasures.

The residence of the Popes in France, commenced by this Pontiff, continued until the year 1376, a period of about seventy years.[2] From the length of its duration and its disastrous consequences to the Church, it is compared by Italian writers to the Babylonish Captivity.

Vacancy of the Papal Chair.

In the Conclave which was held to elect a successor, the Cardinals differed among themselves as before; those of Italy demanding an Italian Pope, and the French insisting upon having one of their own nation. The Conclave was broken up by a tumult in the place in which it was held;[3] and the Cardinals did not assemble again for the space of two years, not being able to agree either respecting their place of meeting or in their choice of a Pope. During this vacancy of the Papal Chair, Philippe le Bel died, and was succeeded by his son Louis X. The

[1] Clementin., lib. ii., tit. 9. Raynald., *ad ann.*, 1314.

[2] The chief authority for the History of this period is Baluzii *Vitæ Paparum Avenionensium.*

Empire was at the same time not less divided than the Church. The Electors did not fix upon a successor to Henry VII. during the space of fourteen months; and in the year 1314, one party elected Louis of Bavaria, and the other Frederick, Duke of Austria. This double election was followed by great disorders.

John XXII. A.D. 1316.

At the instigation of France, the Cardinals at length, on the 7th of August, 1316, concurred in the election of James of Eusa, Cardinal Bishop of Porto, who took the name of John XXII. It is affirmed by a contemporary writer that, on occasion of his election, which took place at Lyons, this Pontiff took an oath that he would never mount horse or mule unless he returned to Rome; and that he kept his oath (in the letter), by sailing to Avignon, and there entering his palace on foot, never afterwards quitting that palace except when he walked to a neighbouring church. This Pontificate is chiefly remarkable for the disastrous contest in which John engaged with Louis of Bavaria, who had secured his election to the Empire. It was evidently the design of the Pope to establish the power of Robert, King of Naples, in Sicily; and with this view he sought to weaken the influence of both aspirants to the imperial crown, as long as the election was undecided. Some time after the accession of Louis, John made a haughty claim of his obedience, demanding an acknowledgment of his dependence upon the Holy See for his dignity as King of Rome, under pain of excommunication. Against this the Emperor protested; at the same time retorting a charge of being a patron of heretical pravity, which the Pope had made against him, upon the Pope himself; and he concluded by appealing to the decision of a General Council. This was followed by a Bull of Excommunication, bearing date March 21, 1324. In a second appeal to a General Council, the Emperor charged the Pope with being an enemy of peace, and a fomenter of divisions amongst princes; accused him of having abused his spiritual power by an unjust condemnation of parties who had not committed any ecclesiastical offence, and who were without reason stigmatized as heretics; inveighed against his unfair partiality in the bestowment of ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, and denounced his conduct with regard to himself and his election as that of a fierce and cruel tyrant rather than of the Vicar of Christ; severely censured his proceedings with regard to the Franciscans, not hesitating to affirm that in the course of that controversy he had broached impious and heretical doctrines; and declared him guilty of injustice towards the Holy Land, inasmuch as he had diverted to other purposes the large sums of money which had been raised, especially in Germany, for conducting a crusade. The German nation took part with the Emperor; the Bull of excommunication was utterly without effect, even its promulgation being in many cases resisted; and, notwithstanding a variety

of political intrigues to the contrary, the Emperor firmly maintained his ground against the Pope.

In this controversy, the Emperor was greatly assisted by the writings of Marsilius of Padua, and John of Janduno. In his celebrated book entitled *Defensor Pacis*, Marsilius showed that in order to the peace and tranquillity of states and kingdoms, it is necessary that the spiritual power should be confined to its just and ancient limits: and he observed from Scripture that neither the Bishop of Rome nor any other bishop or priest possessed right of jurisdiction or authority over any man whatever; that the punishment or coercion of heretics and schismatics belonged not to the priesthood, but to the civil magistrate: that all the apostles were on a footing of equality; and that it was an erroneous doctrine of the Decretals that the Bishop of Rome possessed authority in temporal matters not only over the clergy but also over princes. He maintained that, even if the apostles had elected St. Peter to a chair of primacy, it would not follow that this dignity should belong to his successor in the See of Rome or elsewhere, unless they should receive a special appointment by a new election; and that, in point of fact, the Bishop of Rome had no peculiar claim to be regarded as the successor of St. Peter. He considered that St. Paul ought to be regarded as the first Bishop of Rome rather than St. Peter, with respect to whom, it cannot be proved from Scripture, said he, that he was at any time Bishop of Rome, or even that he was ever present in Rome at all. He maintained that the right of convening General Councils belongs only to the temporal sovereign, and that no Bishop has a right to excommunicate a prince, or to lay an interdict upon his dominions. He then proceeded to point out the encroachments and usurpations of the Romish See.

On the other hand, the claims of the Pope were asserted in the most extravagant manner by apologists who wrote in his defence; as, for example, by *Augustinus Triumphus*, in a book entitled *Summa de Potestate Ecclesiastica*, in which all the questions of the day were disposed of in accordance with the fundamental maxim that the power of the Pope alone is immediately derived from God, and that accordingly it is supreme upon earth, extending to things spiritual and temporal alike.

The people of Rome having in vain entreated the Pope to return to that city, were now inclined to side with the Emperor; the Guelph party was expelled, the troops of Robert were forbidden to enter, and Sciarra Colonna, a leader of the Ghibellines, was appointed governor of the city. Under these favourable circumstances, Louis went into Italy, where he was received with great joy, and publicly crowned at Rome, January 16, 1328. In return for the Pope's sentence of excommunication, he formally deposed John from his dignity (whom he designated the mystical

Antichrist, or at least, his forerunner), and procured the election of Peter Rainallucci in his room, May 12, 1328, under the name of Nicholas V.; but two years afterwards, the Emperor having found himself obliged to retire from Italy, and beginning to be humbled under the power of the Pope, Nicholas voluntarily abdicated the Papal Chair, and was detained by John as a prisoner at Avignon during the remainder of his life.

The struggle between the Emperor and the Pope continued. Louis was, for a long time, far inferior in the strife, and made repeated proposals for reconciliation with the Holy See; on one occasion, he even made preparation to abdicate the crown. Afterwards, however, he obtained so much influence among the superior clergy, that he was on the point of convening a General Council, by which John would, in all probability, have been effectually deposed; but before this measure was carried into effect, the death of the Pontiff put an end to the controversy.

During this period Italy continued to be distracted by the contentions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines; the latter, whom the Pope designated as rebels against the Church, being supported by the power and favour of the Emperor.

Towards the latter part of his Pontificate, John occasioned himself much trouble, and incurred very general censure, by maintaining that the beatific vision of God is not fully enjoyed by the souls of the blessed before the Resurrection, a tenet which was at variance with the received opinion on the subject: he subsequently retracted his error, but in terms somewhat equivocal, which failed to give general satisfaction. A Bull was afterwards issued by his successor, in which the doctrine he had held on this point was formally condemned. It was this Pontiff who completed the form of the triple crown.[1] He died at Avignon December 4, 1334, in the ninetieth year of his age, having filled the Papal Chair during more than eighteen years. He has been praised for great learning and firmness of character, but at the same time severely condemned on the charges of unbounded avarice and ambition. He amassed an enormous amount of wealth, chiefly from the merchandise of sacred offices according to established precedents; and partly also from the proceeds of a source of revenue which he himself opened in the shape of Annates, or First Fruits, that is to say, the first year's produce of Ecclesiastical benefices, which he ordered to be paid to the Holy See by their new possessors.

After the death of John, the Cardinals, without much delay,

[1] The Pope Hormisdas first added a crown to the tiara: Boniface VIII., in the course of his quarrels with Philippe le Bel, assumed a double crown, indicative of his supremacy in things both temporal and spiritual. John XXII. added the third. Choisy, *Hist. de Philippe de Valois*, lib. i. According to other accounts it was Urban V. who first assumed the triple crown.

agreed to the election of James Fournier, a native of France, and Cardinal of Sta Prisca. This election took place on the 20th of December, 1334, and the new Pope assumed the name of Benedict XII. It ought to be mentioned, to the honour of the Cardinal Bishop of Porto, on whom the choice of the College fell in the first instance, that he absolutely refused to accept the pontifical dignity under the promise of not returning to Rome, which was demanded as the price of his exaltation. Benedict continued the Papal residence at Avignon, but not, it is said, without having been disappointed of his intention to take up his abode in Italy. His change of purpose in this respect has been ascribed by some historians to the unfriendly disposition of the Italian cities; while others attribute it chiefly to the influence of the King of France. It is probable, indeed, that Benedict ascended the Papal Chair with a real intention of throwing off the French yoke; but his Court was too firmly linked with that of France, and Philippe knew how to control the will of the Pope by the preponderating influence of the Cardinals who were in his interest. This Pope was anxious to complete a reconciliation of the Holy See with the Emperor Louis, but from that measure also he appears to have been diverted by the interference and menaces of Philippe. Hereupon the Electors and Princes of the Empire, in the celebrated Diet at Frankfort, A.D. 1338, declared the Emperor to be independent of the Pope, and annulled all the acts and procedures of John against him: which decree called forth a number of hostile Bulls from the enraged Pontiff.[1] Benedict XII. A.D. 1334.

A Bull was issued against Frederic, King of Sicily, and in favour of Robert, which, however, was treated with indifference. An ineffectual attempt was likewise made to effect the re-union of the Greek and Latin Churches: the Greeks demanded the assembling of a Council, in which the great question respecting the Procession of the Holy Ghost might be determined; but this was refused on the ground that the question had already been settled by former Councils, and it was plainly declared that nothing short of absolute submission to the faith of the Romish Church would be accepted. Benedict died at Avignon, April 25, 1342. He appears to have been a man of far greater integrity than any of his immediate predecessors. The Histories of the times, instead of being filled with complaints of Papal avarice and simony, are, on the most part, loud in their commendation of disinterestedness, liberality, learning, and personal piety on the part

[1] Bullis horrendis et multis fulminavit, quibus conscientiæ miserrimè tortæ sunt, Mutius, lib. xxiv., p. 238. See also Du Mont, *Corps Diplomatique*, tom. i., part ii., p. 169. This account, however, does not agree with that of Choisy, *Hist. de Philippe de Valois*, lib. i., p. 48, who says that the Pope, pour s'assurer d'un potecteur contre Philippe de Valois, s'accommoda avec Louis de Bavière, lui donna l'absolution, et le reconnut pour Empereur; which statement Mosheim seems to have followed.

of the Pontiff. Benedict also has the praise of having attended to the welfare of the Church, by a judicious distribution of Benefices, and by vigorous attempts to reform the several Religious Orders.

Clement VI. A.D. 1342.

The choice of the Cardinals now fell upon Pierre Roger, Cardinal of St. Nereus, who was elected eleven days after the death of Benedict, and took the name of Clement VI. The character of this Pontiff is quite the reverse of that of his predecessor: he soon became remarkable for rapacity and avarice, and for partiality towards his own relatives in the conferring of Benefices and Ecclesiastical dignities. He continued the Papal residence at Avignon, notwithstanding an entreaty to the contrary conveyed to him by means of a formal deputation from Rome.[1] The Holy See was still at variance with the Emperor Louis, who by some ill-judged proceedings had furnished it with fresh arms against himself, so that decrees and sentences of excommunication were thundered against him. Louis was desirous of reconciliation, and, as a proof of this, he addressed a petition to the Pope, couched in terms of the deepest humiliation, and offering the most profound personal submission to the Holy See; but eventually, through the influence of Philippe, the terms proposed were such as he could not accept. In the course of the negotiations, the Pope required him to acknowledge, in effect, that he held the Empire as a Benefice from Rome; but this proposition was formally disclaimed by the Electors and Princes of the Empire assembled in a Diet at Frankfort, A.D. 1344. Two years afterwards, the Pope published against the Emperor a most severe sentence of deposition and excommunication, and at the same time excited a portion of the Electors to choose Charles of Luxemburg Emperor in his room, who accepted the Empire on terms of the most abject submission to the Holy See, and was soon after confirmed in his new dignity in consequence of the death of Louis. This sentence of Clement against Louis may be regarded as a complete specimen of Papal fulmination. "We implore Almighty God," says the Pontiff, "to confound his folly, to bring down his pride, and to overthrow him by the might of His right hand, to deliver him up into the hands of his enemies and persecutors, and to cause him to fall before them. May a secret snare overtake him, and may he fall into it! Cursed be he in his coming in and in his going out! May the Lord strike him with madness, and blindness, and fury! May Heaven cast forth its lightnings upon him! May the wrath of Almighty God, and of the blessed Peter and Paul, whose Church he has presumptuously attempted, and still does attempt, to confound with that which belongs only to himself, burn against him in this

[1] The celebrated Petrarch was one of the deputies on this occasion. He also concurred in the request for the return of the Court, which was afterwards made to Urban V.

world and in the world to come! May the whole world fight against him! May the earth open and swallow him up alive! May his name be blotted out in a single generation, and may his memory perish from the earth! May all the elements be against him! May his habitation be void! May the merits of all the saints who are asleep confound him, and take open vengeance upon him even in this life! May his sons be thrust out of their habitations, and be delivered into the hands of his enemies, to their destruction, before his eyes!" [1]

The year 1347 was distinguished by a temporary Revolution at Rome, in which Nicolas Gabrini di Rienzo, who had ingratiated himself into the favour of the people, succeeded in getting the Government into his own hands under the title of Tribune of Rome. His measures, however, were precipitate, and his pretensions excessive; and before the close of the year, he found himself stripped of his power, and an exile from the city. He took refuge with the Emperor Charles, by whom he was soon after delivered up to the Pope, who kept him as a prisoner at Avignon. Under the following Pontificate (A.D. 1354) he was set at liberty, and sent to Rome with a view to support the interests of the Pope. Here he was at first well received, but he soon after lost his popularity, and was killed in a tumult.

Clement purchased the city and territory of Avignon for the Church, from the Queen of Naples, A.D. 1348.

The people of Rome, with a view to repair in some measure the loss which had been occasioned to them by the residence of the Popes at Avignon, had accompanied their prayer for a return of the Court by a request that the Jubilee should be celebrated twice in every century, instead of once only according to the institution of Boniface VII. This petition was readily granted, and the desired Jubilee, held in the year 1350, attracted an immense concourse of pilgrims to Rome.

During this Pontificate, the English Parliament made an attempt to resist some of the Papal usurpations in this country, and even declared it illegal for any ecclesiastic to accept a vacant see as a benefice from the Pope. But this measure of reform was speedily nullified by the influence of the Papal legates and the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is said to have originated in the displeasure of the King (Edward III.) on account of the refusal of the Pope to appoint a Cardinal in compliance with his recommendation. By the *Statute of Provisors* (A.D. 1350), Papal appointments to vacant sees, Provisions, and Reservations, were declared illegal; and afterwards (A.D. 1353) the *Statute of Præmunire* enacted that all persons who should take out of the realm pleas concerning matters which belonged to the jurisdiction of the

[1] Raynald., *ad. ann.*, 1346.

King's courts, should be subject to outlawry, confiscation of their property, and imprisonment during the royal pleasure.

Clement designed to assemble a Council for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation between the Eastern and Western Churches; but the fulfilment of this scheme was prevented by his death, December 6, 1352.

Innocent VI. A.D. 1353.

After the decease of Clement, Etienne d'Albert, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, ascended the Papal Throne under the name of Innocent VI. The Cardinals, while in Conclave, had passed certain resolutions for the limitation of the Papal power with respect to their own body, and each had bound himself by oath to the observance of them, in case of his own election. Innocent, however, who was one of the number, had no sooner assumed the Pontifical dignity than he declared this act of the Conclave to be null and void, and that he was himself free from the obligation of his oath, which he had taken on condition that the transaction to which it related should prove to be, of itself, right and legal. —A correspondence was carried on between this Pope and John Palæologus for the re-union of the two Churches, but as the Pope was unable to furnish the vessels and troops which the Emperor needed for his service against the Infidels, the negotiation was fruitless. Italy continued to be in a state of disturbance and insubordination, and a Legate was sent into that country to reduce the States to obedience.

Charles entered Italy in the year 1354. He was crowned King of Lombardy, at Milan, in the beginning of the year following; and soon after, proceeding to Rome, he there received the Imperial crown at the hands of Bertrandi, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, by commission from the Pope. An opportunity of strengthening the Imperial authority in Italy appeared now to present itself; but it was not turned to any account by the Emperor.

In Germany, notwithstanding the devotion of Charles to the interests of the Papal See, an effectual resistance was made to a demand of the tenth of ecclesiastical revenues for the use of the Pope. In England, also, some measure of a spirit of independence again displayed itself. "The Bishop of Ely, arriving at Avignon, and complaining that he had been tried and imprisoned by the King's judges, contrary to the privileges of ecclesiastics, the Pope ordered the whole process to be transmitted to him by the judges, under pain of excommunication if they refused. The judges not only refused to obey the Pope's mandate, but one of them even imprisoned his nuncio; which Innocent being informed of, he immediately excommunicated them, ordering the Bishop of Lincoln, and some other prelates, not to allow the bodies of the judges, if they should die, to be buried in consecrated ground. This proceeding of the Pope greatly offended the King, and soon

after, having apprehended some persons who delivered an apostolic letter to his treasurer, he ordered them to be put to death."[1]

Innocent died on the 12th of September, 1362. He is said to have been learned, and to have made some efforts towards the reformation of the Clergy: he also abolished some existing regulations which were unfavourable to public morals.

Urban V. A.D. 1362.

Soon after the death of Innocent, the College chose as his successor Guillaume Grimoaldi, Abbot of St. Victor at Marseilles. He was elected on the 28th of October, 1362, and took the name of Urban V. In the early part of this Pontificate, a project was formed for another Crusade to the Holy Land, which, however, was not put into execution, in consequence of the backwardness of the King of England to join the expedition. In Italy peace was made with Bernabo Visconti, on his submission to the Church, accompanied by a promise not to oppress the Guelphs in his territories.

Since the removal of Clement V. to Avignon, the Popes, as we have seen, had continued to reside in that city; but at length Urban, at the earnest request of his Italian subjects, repaired to Rome, where he was received with great marks of respect and demonstrations of joy, on the 16th of October, 1367. In the following summer, he received, at Montefiascone, the Emperor Charles V., whose presence he had implored as a security against the disaffected Italians; but the efforts of that Prince against the enemies of the Church were neither crowned with decisive success, nor pursued with a vigour sufficient to give satisfaction to the Pope.

The Greek Emperor, John Palæologus, visited Clement, in the course of the next year, at Rome, for the avowed purpose of negotiating the re-union of the Churches. The Emperor on this occasion made a public profession of orthodox faith; but as he obtained no effectual assistance against the Turks, which was in fact his primary object, the negotiations of course failed to produce any permanent results. Italy was, at that time, no agreeable residence for a Pope: Urban, having remained there during three years, returned to Avignon, for the professed purpose of procuring peace between France and England, where, however, he died, December 19, 1370, before he could enter upon the business of his proposed design.

Great commendations are bestowed upon this Pontiff as a man of personal piety, and as having been upright and conscientious in the discharge of his public functions. He is said to have set himself vigorously against abuses in the management of ecclesiastical affairs, and against all laxity in morals and in discipline.

[1] *Modern Univ. Hist.*, book xix., c. 5, from Walsing. in Edw. III., Harpsfeld, sec. xiv., c. 29.

He was just and impartial in his decisions; methodical and punctual in the conduct of business; a munificent patron of learning and science; and liberal in the distribution of his revenues, which he regarded as being, to a great extent, the property of the poor and indigent.

Under this Pontificate, differences continued to exist between the Holy See and the King of England. Urban threatened to summon the King to appear at Rome and answer for his conduct in having refused to pay that allegiance to the supreme Pontiff which had been solemnly promised and vowed by King John. "The Bishop of Ely, the Chancellor of the kingdom, informing the Parliament of these menaces of the Pope, they unanimously agreed that the King was not bound by the extorted confession of John; and that, if the Pope should proceed any farther in his demand, they would oppose him to the utmost of their power. The Parliament likewise renewed the former act against the conferring of benefices upon foreigners; and the King prohibited any one from paying the tax of St. Peter."[1]

Gregory XI. A.D. 1370.

Ten days after the death of Urban, Pierre Roger, a French ecclesiastic, in possession of several benefices, was elected to the Papal chair. He was a nephew of Clement VI., by whom he had been created a cardinal before he had attained his eighteenth year. He assumed the name of Gregory XI.

Attempts at the re-union of the Greek and Latin Churches were renewed during this Pontificate; but, as the Christians of the West could not be induced to hazard their own safety in the defence of the East against the victorious Infidels, which was the reward demanded by the Greek Church in return for her submission, the negotiations for reconciliation, as formerly, proved ineffectual. Gregory was earnest in his efforts for the extirpation of the heresies of the Beghards and Beguines, the Fratricelli, and others, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more particularly hereafter. He exerted himself also for the reformation of manners, and the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline; and, like his predecessors, he was zealous in upholding the so-called rights of the Church against the laity. Edward III., King of England, sent ambassadors to the Pope at Avignon, requiring him to cease from granting reservations, and from nominating to benefices in England, and demanding that, according to ancient custom, the election of Bishops should be left to the clergy, and their confirmation to the metropolitan. The Pope deferred his reply; but sent back the ambassadors to England bearing some demands which he required the King to grant before he should make known his determination. In the meantime, some of the chief English bishoprics became vacant; and the Pope having pro-

[1] *Modern Univ. Hist.*, book xix., c. 5, from Harpsfeld, sec. xiv., c. 5.

ceeded to nominate to them upon his own authority, these nominations were accepted. Two years afterwards, deputies from both parties met at Bruges, by whom it was agreed that the Pope should cease from the obnoxious practice of granting reservations; but nothing was settled respecting appointment to vacant bishoprics. By degrees, however, the Papal provisions in this matter became obsolete in England, in consequence of the stringent laws which were enacted against parties who should receive such grants, and the Royal prerogative was universally acknowledged: the chapters retained an empty form of the election of bishops, who were, in fact, appointed by the Sovereign, and the Pope retained only the right of granting confirmation to the newly appointed prelates.[1] But the leading event in the reign of Gregory was the final transfer of the Papal seat from Avignon to Rome. Pressed by the urgent solicitations of his Italian subjects, incited also, as it is said, by the counsels of a fanatical woman, Catherine of Sienna, and by the pretended revelations of Brigitta, but chiefly induced, as it is reasonable to suppose, by the disturbances of Italy, where the Ecclesiastical States, dissatisfied with the Popes, and oppressed by their Governors, had declared themselves independent, and entered into a league with the Florentines and the Visconti, Gregory formed the determination of taking up his residence in the original seat of the Papacy. On the 17th of January, 1377, he entered Rome, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy. But the long absence of the Popes from Italy had so diminished their authority in that country, that Gregory soon found his new residence to be far from pleasant or easy; and, accordingly, he speedily resolved to return to France, which he would, doubtless, have attempted to do had not the design been frustrated by his death, which took place at Rome, March 27, 1378. A Bull, dated May 22, 1377, was issued by this Pope against Wickliffe, whose doctrines and efforts, as we shall hereafter see, had by this time become formidable to the Court of Rome.

End of the Papal residence at Avignon.

The death of Gregory was followed by serious difficulties respecting the choice of his successor, which gave rise to the long-continued dissension in the Church, commonly called *the Great Western Schism.*[2] We have already seen that the people of Rome, having felt the inconvenience arising from the absence of the Popes, were anxious to secure their future residence in that city; and we have also had several instances of dissensions in

GREAT WESTERN SCHISM.

[1] Spondan., *ad. ann.*, 1373, from Walsingham and Harpsfeld, sec. xiv., c. 5.

[2] The chief authorities relating to the History of this period are the following:— Theodoric de Niem., lib. iii., *de Schismate;* Martene et Durand, *Thesaur. Novus Anecdotorum*, tom. ii.; Eorundem, *Veterum Scriptorum Ampliss. Collectio*, tom. vii.; Pierre du Puy, *Histoire du Schisme;* Louis Maimbourg, *Hist. du Grand Schisme d'Occident;* Jaq. Lenfant, *Hist. du Concile de Pise*, liv. i. ii.

the Conclave with regard to the election of a Pope. These conflicting interests and inclinations now led to most serious disturbances. When the Cardinals were about to elect a new Pontiff, the inhabitants of Rome came to the Conclave, and insisted, with great violence and tumult, upon the choice of a Roman, or at least of an Italian, Pope; and in consequence of their menaces, Bartolomeo de Prignani, Archbishop of Bari, a Neapolitan, was declared duly elected.[1] The new Pontiff assumed the title of Urban VI.; the sixteen Cardinals who were in Italy wrote to six others who remained at Avignon, informing them of the election, and for the space of three months the whole College recognized the newly elected Pope as the lawful Head of the Church. But Urban, as it appears, was by no means the real object of the Cardinals' choice, even at the first; and after his election, by a course of harsh and haughty behaviour, he rendered himself completely odious alike to clergy and laity. Hence resulted the excommunication of Urban by the Sacred College, and the election of another Pope, or, in the language of Romish Historians, an Anti-Pope. The Cardinals withdrew from Rome to Anagni, where they drew up a requisition to Urban, calling upon him to resign the Papal dignity; and from that place they proceeded, for the sake of greater security, to Fondi, where they declared the election of Urban to be null and void, and proclaimed Robert of Geneva, who had been made Cardinal by Gregory XI., to be the rightful possessor of the Papal Chair. He assumed the title of Clement VII., and took up his residence at Avignon, being acknowledged as Pope by Sicily, France, and, through French influence, by Scotland, and afterwards by Castile (1381), Arragon (1387), and Navarre (1390). Urban remained at Rome, refusing to resign his dignity, and was acknowledged as Vicar of Christ by all the rest of Europe. Thus there existed two contemporary Popes who incessantly excommunicated and anathematized each other, and were a subject of division and dissension to the whole of Christendom.[2] Continued disorders and

Urban VI. at Rome. A.D. 1378.

Clement VII. at Avignon. A.D. 1378.

[1] The circumstances of this election are narrated with great variety and confusion by different Historians; but they, for the most part, substantially agree in describing the election of Urban, on the one hand, as forced, and on the other, as provisional. And yet, according to the letter sent by the Cardinals at Rome to those at Avignon on the subject, no election could be more free or canonical than that of Urban.

[2] It is difficult, or almost impossible, to determine which of the contemporary Popes had the greater right to the title. The Church of Rome, of course, can acknowledge but one at a time, and designates the other by the title of Anti-Pope. But the following are the words of a Roman Catholic writer on this subject:—"Il est démontré que l'élection d'Urbain VI. fut faite par violence; et que celle de Clement VII. ne fut pas exempt de mauvaise foi; d'où je conclus, que ces deux Papes étoient intrus, et que l'Eglise fut sans chef sous leur administration.—Precibus quidem petierunt a Cardinalibus Papam Romanum aut Italicum; sed preces erant quibus contradici non posset, ut ait Tacitus. Minas enim jactabant, pericula intendebant, formidines opponebant, et vagabantur passim toto foro cum barbaro atque immani terrore."—*Not. ad. Vit. Pap. Avenion.*, *ap.* Baluz.

disturbances between the contending parties were the immediate results of this fatal schism; which tended to weaken the Papal power, and to make way for the subsequent Reformation of Religion. For the space of fifty years the Church had two, and sometimes three, different heads at the same time, each of whom, with its respective partizans, was in direct hostility to the others. Opportunities were thus afforded to the factious and turbulent of committing all kinds of disorders; the faith of many of the more simple-minded was shaken, and religion was reduced to the lowest possible ebb; while it became more and more manifest that one visible and supreme temporal Head was no necessary part of the Church of Christ upon earth.

During this period there is little in the History of the Church which demands our attention, if we except the struggle of the contending parties, and the attempts which were made at reconciliation. Clement declared himself willing to refer the matter to a General Council, with a promise that, if the decision of the Council should be in his favour, he would create Urban a Cardinal of the first rank; and that, if the decision should be against him, he would then submit to Urban. But these conditions were not accepted by his rival. The proceedings of Urban against the Queen of Naples and his quarrels with Charles of Durazzo, belong rather to the History of Italy. He caused five of his Cardinals to be put to death, after having thrown them into prison and put them to the torture, on a charge of conspiracy against his life. Urban died at the latter end of the year 1389, when the Italian Cardinals elected as his successor Pietro Thomacelli, a Neapolitan, who took the name of Boniface IX. In the following year, another Jubilee was celebrated at Rome, in conformity with a Constitution of Urban; but the number of pilgrims was smaller than on former occasions, and the sale of Indulgences in various countries, to which the Pope resorted as a means of supplying the deficiency of his revenues, was the cause of great and scandalous disorders. This Pontificate was remarkable for the growth of Simony, and the increase of all the various evils which had previously existed in the Church. Boniface published a Bull reserving the Annates or First Fruits, *i. e.*, the first year's revenue of all vacant Bishoprics and Abbacies. This source of revenue had for some time past been adopted by the Popes, but it was now for the first time decreed to be perpetual and universal; and henceforward not only was the payment of First Fruits regularly required, but the tax was often employed as a means of extortion. At Avignon, Clement surrounded himself with no less than thirty-six Cardinals, whom he attached to his interests by the bestowment of a large number of benefices, and of *gratiæ exspectativæ*, that is, grants of benefices before they became vacant, conferring possession as soon as the vacancies should occur.

Boniface IX. at Rome. A.D. 1389.

These measures, with other methods of extortion which the Pope did not fail to practise in favour of his partizans, were highly oppressive to the French clergy, and formed the subject of urgent remonstrance and complaint. Clement died at Avignon on the 16th of September, 1394, when the French Cardinals, instead of delaying the election, agreeably to the order of the King of France, with a view to bring about a union, immediately raised to the Pontificate Pedro de Luna, a Spaniard, who had acted as Legate of Clement at the Court of France. He assumed the title of Benedict XIII.

Benedict XIII. at Avignon. A.D. 1394.

The University of Paris distinguished itself by its endeavours to put an end to the schism. Having failed in its efforts to bring the contending Popes to a friendly accommodation, it at last (A.D. 1394) obtained permission from the King of France to hold a formal consultation respecting the means of effecting the requisite union. For this purpose it proposed three expedients, by one of which peace might be restored, viz., the method of cession or resignation of both the Pretenders, a mutual compromise by which both parties should agree to refer the matter to arbitration, or the determination of a General Council. But through the opposition of the Duke of Berri, and the intrigues of Pedro de Luna, Clement's Legate (afterwards, as has been said, Benedict XIII.), the King commanded the University to refrain from any further proceedings on the subject. On the death of Clement, at Avignon, the Cardinals, when about to proceed to the election of a successor, bound themselves by oath, that whoever of them should be elected, should use all means in his power[1] to restore the unity of the Church, not refusing to resort even to the method of cession, if such measure should be deemed necessary; but Benedict, after his election, adhered to his oath as little as any of his predecessors. In the following year (1395), a Council of Divines at Paris, assembled by the King of France for the purpose of determining the best means of union, having decided in favour of the method of cession, the King conveyed the message to Benedict for his acceptance; but the proposal was met by the Pontiff of Avignon with an evasive answer, to the purport that he would rather have a personal interview with his rival, and adopt the method of compromise, the futility of which proposition it was easy to perceive. The University, however, persevered in its efforts, and at length (1398) succeeded in inducing the French King, Charles VII., and the Emperor Wenceslaus, to use their endeavours to compel the resignation of both the Pretenders, by threatening to withdraw their obedience in case of

[1] Omnes vias utiles et adcommodas ad unitatem Ecclesiæ—sine machinatione seu accusatione vel dilatione quâcumque servabit et procurabit—usque ad cessionem inclusivè per ipsum de Papatu faciendam, si Dominis Cardinalibus—hoc pro bono Ecclesiæ et unitatis prædictæ videatur expedire.—Bulæus iv., p. 730.

refusal. Accordingly, when Benedict refused to comply with the requisition, France, together with Castile, renounced obedience to him, and the Pope was confined a prisoner at Avignon. Boniface, however, although equally obstinate, retained his portion of the Church; the Clergy of England would not comply with the requisition of the French King to withdraw their obedience, and Wenceslaus excused himself from fulfilling his part of the engagement, alleging that he must first gain the consent of the Princes of the Empire, and of the Kings of Hungary and Poland. And thus the close of the century found Benedict a prisoner at Avignon, and Boniface in the full exercise of his share of dominion at Rome.

Progress of Christianity.

The limits of Christianity were not much extended during the fourteenth century. The hopes which had been entertained respecting the conversion of the Moguls had now begun to fail, the greater part of that people having declared for Mohammedanism. In China, also, the profession of Christianity had lost ground.[2] In the meantime, the Gospel was received in Lithuania, when the Prince with many others were publicly baptized; although the great body of the people still secretly inclined to Heathenism.[3] The state of Lapland was nearly similar.[4] In Spain a severe persecution of the Jews (1390) forced many of that unfortunate people to an insincere profession of the Christian Faith. In 1367, Armenia fell under the power of the Mamelukes, who commenced a violent persecution of Christianity: and the Coptic Christians in Egypt were harassed by similar opposition.

Attempt at reconciling the Greek and Latin Churches.

The projected union of the Eastern and Western Churches[5] was an object of various ineffectual attempts. The Greek Emperors, anxious to procure the assistance of the West against their powerful enemies the Turks, continually used their endeavours to effect this reconciliation; but as none of the people, except a few of those connected with the Court, would submit to make any concessions, these efforts were invariably fruitless. In the year 1339, Andronicus III. sent an Embassy to Avignon, to treat in his name respecting the union; but although Barlaam, who was at the head of this Embassy, afterwards (in 1341) adopted the Faith of the Romish Church, and invited his countrymen to follow his example, yet the prospect of reconciliation continued to be as distant as ever. In the year 1369, the Emperor John Palæologus appeared at Rome, and published a Confession of Faith conformable to the Creed of the West; but his example was insufficient to induce the body of his subjects to alter their

[1] Raynaldi; *ad. an.* 1398.
[2] See Mosheim, *Hist. Tartarorum Ecclesiast.*, p. 90, *et seq.* and 119, *et seq.*
[3] Jo. Dugloss, *Hist. Poloniæ*, lib. x.
[4] Jo. Schefferi, *Laponia.*
[5] See on this subject Leo Allatius, *De Eccl. Occident. et Orient. perp. consensione.*

sentiments on the point in dispute, and his son and successor, Manuel II., engaged his pen in the controversy against the Latins. Several other Greek writers appeared during this Century, who opposed the Church of Rome on the controverted points,[1] while there were not wanting some who followed the example of Barlaam in going over to the other side of the question, and entering the lists as opponents of the Creed which they had abandoned.

Decline of Papal authority.

But the most remarkable characteristic of the period which is under review was the incipient decline of the Papacy in respect of both its temporal power and its spiritual authority. Various causes, more or less connected with each other, contributed to this result.

Its causes. 1. Removal of the Papal Court to Avignon.

1. The removal of the Popes to Avignon is unquestionably to be ranked among the first of these. The Pope at once lost the character of an independent Prince when he took up his residence in a country which acknowledged another temporal head; and it was manifest also that, in return for the protection which was afforded to himself and his Court, he yielded most implicitly to the influence of French counsels or authority. Besides this, increased disorder and insubordination in Italy were the natural consequence of the removal. During the absence of the Popes, the country which they had abandoned was desolated by the contentions which subsisted between the Guelphs and Ghibellines. The patrimony of St. Peter was plundered, and all Italy became a prey to parties who, from time to time, were struggling for power or for existence. While the Emperor Charles IV. submissively acknowledged the newly asserted superiority of the Pope, Gregory found himself unable to maintain the undoubted prerogatives of the Papacy in Italy, either by force of anathema and excommunication, or by his personal presence.

2. Papal exactions.

2. Accordingly, the Papal revenues from this quarter were greatly diminished, while at the same time the Court at Avignon, having increased in profligacy and extravagance, demanded for its support yet larger supplies of wealth than ever. Hence arose a system of increased extortion on the part of the Pontiffs of Avignon, oppressive alike to Clergy and Laity. Reservations, Expectatives, and other such impositions were among the first means employed for enriching the Apostolic coffers. Clement V. reserved many Churches, and incurred the too common charge of Simony; and John XXII. reserved the more lucrative places of all Collegiate bodies, together with all the Churches in Upper Italy. The payment of Annates or First Fruits was exacted on

[1] Besides Barlaam we may mention Maximus Planudes, 1340; Nilus Cabasilas, 1340; Gregorius Palamas, 1350; Nilus Danyla. 1400.

[2] Demetrius Cydonius, A.D. 1357; Manuel Caleca, 1360; Simon of Constantinople. See J. G. Walchii *Hist. Controv. Græcorum Latinorumque de Processu Spiritûs Sancti.*

a larger scale than formerly, and established as a permanent and oppressive tax; while the frequent demand of Tenths, under pretence of a Crusade or the like, became burdensome, more especially to the inferior Orders of Clergy. These exactions from the Sacred Body were equally oppressive and impolitic; and tended, of course, to weaken the attachment of a large portion of the Clergy to the Papal authority. From the Laity also large sums of money were raised during the same period by the sale of Indulgences and of various licenses at exorbitant prices; a tax upon popular credulity and ignorance, which, while it succeeded admirably well as a temporary expedient for augmenting the Papal revenues, proved to be the source of multiplied abuses, and became a ruinous scandal to the Church.[1] 3. The morals of the Clergy in general, influenced by the example of the higher Orders and other unfavourable circumstances, especially by the corrupt methods of obtaining Benefices and the law by which punishments due to their crimes could be commuted for money,[2] had sunk to the lowest state of depravity. Ignorance and immorality characterized at once the Dignitaries of the Church and the Clergy who had the more immediate cure of souls; while the partial and feeble attempts of the Synods to remedy the evil remained comparatively fruitless. Concubinage was openly tolerated, and even encouraged, with a view to prevent still greater disorders; while the fines which had been imposed upon the practice by the Decrees of Synods were converted into a mere tax, which contributed to augment the revenues of the Bishops. At the same time all attempts of the Temporal Authorities to restrain the vices of the Sacred Order were resented as insults offered to the Church and to the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff. 4. These causes contributed at once to excite and to give powerful effect to the invectives of the Franciscans and others against the Clergy and the Papacy. The quarrels of the Monastic Orders with the Popes, and the unmeasured terms in which many individuals belonging to those Orders exposed the corruptions of the Church, contributed to awaken men's minds on the subject, and to decrease that spiritual influence which had hitherto constrained them to blind and absolute submission. A more particular account of the Monastic Orders during this period will follow in its place. 5. The quarrels of the Popes with the temporal Princes are also to be regarded as one chief cause of the decline of the Papal power. Philippe le Bel had already suggested an appeal from the Pope to a General Council; and Louis of

3. Depraved morals of the Clergy.

4. Invectives of the Franciscans and others.

5. Quarrels of the Popes with temporal Princes.

[1] On these subjects consult Nicolas de Clemangis, *De Ruinâ Ecclesiæ.*

[2] Omnis noxa, omnis error, omnia maleficia, etiamsi capitalia sint, per pecuniam laxantur ac delentur. Nicolas de Clemangis, *De Ruinâ Eccl.* c. 20.—The writings of Petrarch contain many strong testimonies to the debauchery and immoralities of the Court of Avignon.

Bavaria repeated the formidable threat. The protection of Louis was readily afforded to the clamorous Franciscans and other declaimers against the Papacy; and learned men were encouraged by his favour to employ their pens in exposing its enormities.

The Great Schism.

6. But the greatest and most fatal source of weakness which this Century presents to our notice was undoubtedly the Schism which arose after the death of Gregory. This fatal dissension augmented the evils already existing in the Church, diminished the means of internal reformation, and furnished the disaffected with fresh reasons of complaint and new grounds of attack. As the weakness of the Papacy afforded opportunity for fearless inquiry respecting the Constitution of the Church, so the Schism, with its consequent evils, contributed to set such inquiry on foot. While two hostile competitors were contending for that which had hitherto been regarded as the supreme Ecclesiastical authority, without affording any hope of a speedy settlement of the dispute, it followed, as a natural result, that men looked to the spirit of ancient institutions in search of a still higher authority which may again be rendered available. The seats of learning, and especially the University of Paris, entered with spirit into the discussion, and thus acquired increasing esteem and importance. Individuals were not wanting who went so far as to denounce the Papacy as the source of all the evils existing in the Church, and to call for its total abolition;[1] while even some of its firmest adherents were convinced of the undue extent of its power and the enormity of its privileges; tracing the mischief which existed, and even the Schism itself, to the secular authority which was attached to the Apostolical See, and wishing for the time in which an Emperor might again summon a Council by his own authority, in order to prevent the possibility of disunion. The exactions and oppressions which at this time existed in the Church contributed also to the wish for a diminution of the Papal authority. And lastly, the Schism occasioned a frequent discussion of the question concerning the relative powers of the Pope and a General Council, which, as might be expected, was decided in favour of the latter; and it eventually led to the summoning of a Council at Pisa, for the purpose not only of ending the dispute between the rival Popes, but also of setting new limits to the Papal authority and correcting its abuses.

Decreased power of the Spiritual Courts.

In the meantime, the power of the Spiritual Courts was greatly abridged. The contests which subsisted between the temporal and the spiritual jurisdiction proved highly disadvantageous to the latter. In Germany, the position that temporal affairs belonged to the jurisdiction of Secular Courts, was almost universally acknowledged, although in some cases the Spiritual Courts

[1] *Ep. Univ. Par. ad Clementem VII.* (A.D. 1394); Bulæus.

transgressed the bounds of their authority. In Switzerland, their power was confined within still narrower limits. In Italy, it varied with the change of circumstances; wherever the Ghibelline party prevailed it was almost entirely suppressed. In France, the spiritual jurisdiction subsisted for some time under more favourable circumstances; the Barons, indeed, perpetually complained of the interference of the Prelates, but the latter were protected by the King. Here, however, the Parliament, from the time of Charles V., made a powerful opposition to the power of the Spiritual Courts; thenceforward not only was their jurisdiction confined within its proper limits, but the Parliament assumed a superiority over them, and claimed a right of decision in many matters which had hitherto been regarded as entirely spiritual.

The Canon Law was extended first by the Clementine Decrees (of Clement V.), and afterwards by the Extravagantes of John XXII. To these were added, in the following century, the Extravagantes Communes, a collection of Decrees by various Popes from Urban IV., A.D. 1262, to Sixtus IV., A.D. 1483.

Council of Vienne.

In the course of this century only one general Council was assembled, which sat at Vienne in Dauphiné from the 16th of October, 1311, to the 6th of May, 1312. The matters brought before it related chiefly to the suppression of the Knights Templar, the sending of succours to the Holy Land, and the reformation of the morals of the Clergy and Ecclesiastical discipline.

Ecclesiastical Discipline.

Great disorders were occasioned in the state of Ecclesiastical discipline by the introduction of Jubilees, the sale of Indulgences, and the undue partiality manifested by the Church in the dispensations of graces and censures. The Jubilee, or solemn Centennial pilgrimage to Rome for obtaining a plenary indulgence, was established by Boniface VIII., and first celebrated A.D. 1300. The interval was afterwards reduced by Clement VI. to fifty years, by Urban VI. to thirty, and by Sextus IV. to twenty-five.

Religious worship and doctrine.

Two new Festivals in honour of the Virgin Mary were instituted during this Century; namely, the Festival of the Presentation, on the 21st of November, by Gregory XI. (A.D. 1372), and that of the Visitation, on the 2d of July, by Urban VI. (A.D. 1389). The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was warmly opposed by the Dominicans, but it gained ground in the Church. In the year 1384, the enraged Dominicans began a furious attack upon the doctrine and its supporters in Paris, which excited the hostility of both the people and the University. The latter, A.D. 1387, formally condemned the rejection of this doctrine, which had been published by John de Montesono, a Dominican friar, who had taken a prominent part in the controversy. From this sentence the Dominicans, with their leader, appealed to Clement VII., but the University obtained the victory at Avignon; (Jan-

uary, 1389); several of the Dominicans were compelled to retract the positions which they had advanced against the doctrine in question, and under the auspices of the learned Body at Paris, it became generally acknowledged as an Article of Faith.

Fresh additions were made during this period to the catalogue of Saints, Relics, and Holidays: Masses also were excessively multiplied; but it had already become evident to reflecting and judicious persons, that some limits must be set to these numerous external rites and ceremonies, by which the Spiritual worship of Almighty God had been grievously encumbered.[1]

Scholastic Theology.

In the early part of this Century the Scholastic Theology was dignified by some of its brightest ornaments in the persons of John Duns Scotus, a Franciscan (*Doctor subtilis*), Durandus, a Dominican (*Doctor resolutissimus*), and William Occam, a Franciscan, pupil of Scotus (*Doctor singularis et invincibilis; venerabilis inceptor*). Scotus engaged in warm contentions with the Dominicans, endeavouring to refute several doctrines of their favourite, Thomas Aquinas; and hence arose the Sects or Parties which, under the name of Scotists and Thomists, continued to be distinguished by conflicting opinions concerning the Human Will, Divine Grace, and such points. Occam contributed to form an era in the History of Scholastic Learning, by boldly reviving the tenets of the Nominalists, which had for a long time been almost entirely suppressed. In Paris, where, after Occam, his pupil, John Buridan, had warmly espoused these tenets, a public edict was passed to prohibit their promulgation; but the party of the Nominalists imperceptibly gained the superiority, and at the close of the Century their doctrines were decidedly prevalent at Paris, while elsewhere they continued to be warmly opposed.[2] These violent contentions between the Realists and Nominalists form a prominent feature in Scholastic History during the period which is under review. The time and labours of Divines were almost exclusively bestowed upon fruitless disputes respecting abstract ideas; and so little interest was taken in the more practical part of Theology, that even the speculations of the celebrated Thomas Bradwardine[3] concerning Predestination, which at any other time would have excited violent disputes, were but little regarded. The unprofitableness of the existing controversy, and the deplorable state of Theological Learning, were felt and acknowledged, not without some effort for improvement, by two celebrated Scholars who flourished in the latter part of the century, viz.,

[1] See Nicolas de Clemangis, *De novis celebritatibus non instituendis, in opt. ed.* Lydii, p. 143, *et seq.*

[2] As, for example, at Oxford. See Ant. Wood, *Hist. et. Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* p. 169.

[3] Professor of Divinity at Oxford, 1325; Archbishop of Canterbury, 1348. *Doctor profundus.*

Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris,[1] and Nicolas de Clemangis, Private Secretary to Benedict XIII.[2]

Mystic Theology.

Among the Mystics of this period, Tauler became eminent as a Preacher in Strasburg, and Suso attained nearly an equal celebrity in Ulm. Ruysbrock was held in still higher esteem by his contemporaries; but it would seem that he is justly charged with fanaticism. Gerson knew how to appreciate the Mystic Theology, and showed how to temper and improve it by sound knowledge; but there were not wanting fanatical teachers who degraded the doctrines of the Mystics, and abused them, to the great detriment of Religion.[3]

Casuistry.

Several writers appeared who composed elaborate Treatises concerning Cases of Conscience. To the *Summa Raymundiana*, already extant and used as the great authority, were added the *Summa Astesana*, by Astesanus, a Minorite, and the *Summa Bartholina*, *Pisanella*, or *Magistruccia*, by Bartholomæus de Sta. Concordia, a Dominican. These books, however, relate almost entirely to Ecclesiastical jurisprudence and matters concerning the authority of the Church, while the great principles of Morals were treated with comparative neglect.

Sacred Scriptures.

Arguments for the truth of Christianity were brought forward in a few, but not very powerful Treatises. Little was done in the way of exegetical writings or commentaries on the Sacred Scriptures: the best commentator was Nicolas Lyranus, whose Work on the Old and New Testaments[4] was executed in a manner at least superior to that of any of his contemporaries.

The Mendicant Orders.

We now proceed to a survey of the progress and transactions of the various Religious Orders which had come into existence in the course of the preceding Century. The Mendicants, while they maintained a greater decency of conduct than the secular Clergy, were also the chief depositories of the Literature of the Age, and by these means their influence was greatly extended, both in the Universities[5] and elsewhere, at the expense of those whom they excelled. The opposition which was offered, especially by the University of Paris, to their privileges, remained without any effect, and left the Mendicants in a condition even to exceed the limits of these privileges, when opportunity offered, with impunity. The ancient jealousy between the Dominicans and Fran-

[1] See Jo. Gersonii *Epist. duæ de Reform. Theol.* (*opt. ed.* Du Pin, 1.)

[2] See Nicolas de Clemangis, *Lib. de Studio Theol. in* D'Achery, *Spicil.* tom i.

[3] See Gotfr. Arnoldi *Historia et Descriptio Theol. Mystic.* Francof. 1702.

[4] *Postillæ perpetuæ in Biblia;* Romæ, 1471; Lugd. 1590. The latter is the best edition.

[5] Of the twenty-nine Doctors of Divinity who were assembled in the year 1382 by Philip of Valois at Vincennes, thirteen were Mendicants. We find complaints respecting their influence in the University of Oxford, on the ground that they enticed the students to enter their Order. See Ant. Wood, *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* p. 150-196.

ciscans was fomented by disputes respecting the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception, Evangelical Poverty, and the merits of their respective founders.[1] The opposition of these Orders to each other was, however, less serious in its consequences than it might have been had not each of the contending parties gradually fallen into a different sphere of exertion and influence. The Dominicans, almost exclusively in possession of the power of the Inquisition, and in the course of their ministration brought much into contact with the higher classes of the Laity, gradually lost the character of a Mendicant Order; while the Franciscans assiduously courted the favour of the lower ranks of the people, and by the use of various impostures and arts of deception [2] secured high veneration and liberal contributions from that quarter.

The Franciscans in particular.

The controversies among the Franciscans themselves continued during this Century with unabated violence, and many of that body were occasionally exposed to severe persecutions. Boniface VIII. annulled the Act of Celestin V. in favour of the Spirituals, and this served only to widen the breach between that party and the brethren of the community. The former could not be induced by all the efforts of the Popes to unite themselves with the great Body of the Order; and even the mediation of Clement V. was without effect, who, in the Bull *Exivi de Paradiso*, issued in 1312, gave a new explanation of the Rule of St. Francis, with a view to unite the contending parties by means of mutual concession. The Spirituals at this time assumed a habit of a meaner and coarser kind than that worn by the rest of the Order, and this distinction tended to augment the existing animosity. John XXII., instead of renewing attempts at conciliation, which had so frequently failed, proceeded to the use of more violent measures, and employed the power of the Inquisition against the refractory Friars; for which purpose he issued the Bull *Gloriosam Ecclesiam*, in the year 1317. Great numbers of the Spirituals suffered themselves to be thrust out of the Church as Heretics rather than make any submission; and these ejected brethren, *Fratricelli*,[3] with a great many Tertiaries,

[1] See Luc. Waddingus, *Annales Minorum Fratrum*; Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*.

[2] They asserted, for instance, that St. Francis went down once a-year to Purgatory, and liberated the souls of all those whose bodies were buried in the habit of his Order. Wadding. *Ann. Min. an.* 1371.

[3] After the separation of the Fratricelli from the Order, the term *Spiritual* seems to have been applied to those who preserved their connection with it, but were more strict in their tenets and practices than the members of the Body at large. The Fratricelli or Fratres Minores were, therefore, a rigid Sect of Franciscans *who separated from their Order*, and chose a new President, embracing the absolute poverty enjoined by St. Francis. They declaimed against the corruptions of the Clergy, and refused to acknowledge the Pontiffs as the lawful heads of the Church. In effect, they were a kind of precursors of the Reformation. Both the Fratricelli and the regular Franciscans had their respective Tertiaries, *i. e.*, those who observed the third

augmented the list of heretical Beghards, adopted many of their opinions, and were made to feel the extreme rigour of Inquisitorial opposition. Those who were put to death were of course regarded by their own party as martyrs to the cause; and Mosheim refers us to a Martyrology of the Spirituals and Fratricelli, containing a list of a hundred and thirteen victims sacrificed from the year 1318 to the time of Innocent VI.

Among the great Body of Franciscans (*Fratres de Communitate*) the renunciation of temporal possessions had been reduced to a mere form, by virtue of the Papal exposition of the Rule of the founder; still, however, so great was the importance which they attached to this form or semblance of absolute poverty, that in the year 1321 a furious dispute arose between the Franciscans and Dominicans respecting the poverty of Christ and his Apostles; the former maintaining that neither our Lord nor his Apostles possessed anything in the way of property or dominion, either in common or otherwise; while the latter strenuously asserted such opinion to be erroneous. The matter was at last referred to the Pope, John XXII., who, weary of the disputes respecting the Rule of Poverty, declared himself in favour of the Dominicans, pronounced the doctrine of the Franciscans to be heretical, and in the name of the Church disclaimed all right of property in their estates (A.D. 1322). In consequence of this decree, many of those who persisted in asserting the poverty of Christ and his Apostles were seized by the Dominican Inquisitors and committed to the flames. When the quarrel broke out between John and Louis of Bavaria, many of the enraged Franciscans, with Michael de Cæsenas, the General of the Order, at their head, fled to the Emperor's dominions and assailed the Pope with their writings.[1] Another result of the decision of the Pontiff was, that the Rule of St. Francis was observed with less strictness than ever by the generality of the Order. Hence arose various attempts of the more rigid Franciscans in Italy to unite in small Societies for the purpose of promoting the strict observance of the Rule of the founder; and although these Societies were at first frequently dispersed, yet they afterwards found protection from some Generals of the Order, and became so considerable that at length a division of the Order was agreed to, and the Council of Constance recognized the more rigid Franciscans as a distinct Body, under the title of *Fratres regulares observantiæ*, while the more lax party was designated by the term of *Fratres conventuales*.[2] (A.D. 1415).

or less rigid Rule of St. Francis, by which they entered into the Order without abandoning their worldly possessions or pursuits. The term Beghards (called in France Beguines, in Italy Bizochi or Bocaroti), seems to have been applied originally to the Tertiaries belonging to the Fratricelli, but it soon became a general name for all who were suspected of Heresy or dissent from the Church of Rome.

[1] See a list of these writings *ap.* Raynald. *an.* 1323.

[2] The fictitious honours which the Franciscans claimed for their founder, and the

New Orders.

Several Religious Orders were founded during this Century, corresponding in principle to those which already existed. John Tolomei instituted an Order of Benedictines (*Congregatio S. Mariæ Montis Oliveti*) in the neighbourhood of Sienna, which was confirmed in 1319 by John XXII. John Colombino established in Sienna the Order of Jesuates, which was confirmed by Urban V. A.D. 1367. This was a Mendicant Order, consisting entirely of laymen, and following the Institute of Augustin. To these may be added an Order of Saint Brigitta, and several Orders of Hieronymites (*Eremitæ S. Hieronymi*) in Spain and Italy.[1] None of these Orders ever attained any considerable celebrity, and many of them were speedily dissolved.

Free Religious Societies.

Clement V. determined to rid the Church of the Beghards, as being convicted of Heresy, and they were accordingly subjected to the most violent persecution. The Inquisition at the same time manifested the utmost jealousy towards all Religious Societies which were not formed into a regular and established Order. Still, however, such independent associations continued to spring up, and to indicate by their existence the decline of Monachism in public estimation. John XXII. took the Female Societies of Orthodox Beguines under his protection, A.D. 1318. In Flanders and Germany the Society of the Alexian or Cellite Brethren took its rise at the very commencement of the Century. These were persons who united themselves into a Society at Antwerp, for the purpose of rendering charitable aid and performing pious offices to the sick and dying, and hence they were called by the common people Lollards.[2] The term Lollard soon became equivalent, in general use, to that of Beghard, and both were applied indiscriminately to persons who dissented from the Church of Rome. In spite of all opposition, these new Societies continued to gain ground, and at length, A.D. 1374, Gregory XI. issued an order to the Bishops of Flanders and Germany to leave the Members of them unmolested, unless distinctly convicted of Heresy. Hereupon one Gerhard Groot instituted a Society of Priests (*Fratres vitæ communis*[3]), who were to support themselves by the labour of their hands, after the example of the Apostles, and to aim at primitive piety in their doctrine and practice. Societies of this nature soon became numerous, and under their

comparisons which they instituted between him and Jesus Christ, are highly extravagant and blasphemous. They are detailed in the Book of the Conformities of St. Francis with Jesus Christ, written in the year 1383 by Bartholomew Albizi, a Franciscan, and received with general approbation.

[1] See Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Monastiques.*

[2] They were named Cellites, from the Cells in which they lived; Alexians, from Alexius their patron Saint; and Lollards, says Mosheim, from the word *lullen, to sing*, because they used to sing dirges over the bodies which they carried to the grave.

[3] The celebrated Thomas à Kempis was a member of this society during the greater part of the following century.

auspices similar associations were formed from time to time among the Laity.

Sects and Heresies: 1. Albigenses and Waldenses.

The severe measures adopted by the Inquisition during the former half of this Century seem to have put an end to the Sect of the Albigenses in the South of France, and to have driven the remains of these people Eastward, where, especially in Bosnia, they afterwards became numerous. On the other hand, the Waldenses, notwithstanding all opposition, continued to subsist in the South of France, and especially in the valleys of Piedmont, to which they had retired. The other Separatists from the Church of Rome were designated, as has already been said, by the common appellations of Lollards, and Beghards or Beguines, the latter term being frequently restricted to females. Under these names the Fratricelli and Brethren of the Free Spirit were included. The Beghards of the South of France, Italy, and Sicily seem to have been for the most part Fratricelli; while the German Beghards or Lollards were chiefly Brethren of the Free Spirit, who are said not only to have renounced obedience to the Church, but also to have disclaimed all moral obligations. The Inquisition, after having long remained dormant in Germany, renewed its efforts for the extinction of these obnoxious Heretics.[1] To these Beghards belong, perhaps, the Adamites, who appeared in Austria, A.D. 1312, and the Turlupins, in the Isle of France, who were exterminated in the year 1372.

2. Beghards, Lollards, &c.

3. Flagellants.

Early in the Spring of 1349, Societies of Flagellants[2] appeared in the Northern parts of Germany, which soon spread themselves over the whole of that Country and the neighbouring territories. It was the practice of those who formed these Societies to parade the country in companies, and flog themselves publicly several times in the course of the day by way of Spiritual discipline, to which they attributed far greater efficacy than to the penances imposed by the Church.[3] Their fanatical proceedings were reduced to a kind of system, and their Societies subjected to the government of a Master. Clement VI. put a stop to their public processions by a Bull dated October 20, 1349, but the system of flogging was not at the same time destroyed. The jealousy which

[1] About the year 1367, Urban V. appointed two Dominican Friars or Inquisitors from Germany, one of whom especially (Walter Kerling) soon became formidable to the Beghards. Charles IV. by three edicts, in 1369, supported the Inquisitors in the execution of their office. In 1372, Gregory XI. increased the number of German Inquisitors to five; and in 1399, under Boniface XI., there were six in North Germany alone.—Mosheim, *De Beghardis.*

[2] Concerning this sect consult Boileau, *Historia Flagellantium;* Schoettgen, *De Sectâ Flagellantium Commentatio.*

[3] They held that flagellation was of equal virtue with baptism and the other sacraments: that the forgiveness of all sins was to be obtained by it from God without the merits of Jesus Christ; that the old law of Christ was soon to be abolished, and that a new law, enjoining the baptism of blood, to be administered by whipping, was to be substituted in its place.—Mosheim.

was felt towards a Church which had thus prohibited what was deemed to be an acceptable and meritorious work, produced a set of heretical Flagellants, who were soon included with the other opponents of the Church under the general name of Beghards, and lasted until the Reformation, especially in Thuringia and various parts of Germany.

4. Dancers. In 1374 the Sect of the Dancers had spread itself over various parts of Flanders. It consisted of persons who, like the Flagellants, treated the rules of the Church with contempt, and who, as they wandered from place to place, used suddenly to fall into dancing with violent gesticulations, affirming that, during that state of agitation, they were favoured with extraordinary visions. The Orthodox, who supposed that all other Sects served the Devil, believed that these unfortunate persons were possessed by Evil Spirits, whom they proceeded to exorcise accordingly, not without the desired success. The whole affair was a mere imposture.

Attempts at reformation. But besides these Heresies and extravagancies, there were also during this period some early attempts at a real reformation of the Church, set on foot by persons who acknowledged it to contain the fundamentals of Christianity, and sought only to clear it of the various abuses with which the doctrines of the Gospel were encumbered. These early attempts at reform were diversified in their character and tendency. They aimed for the most part at no more than the restoration of external order by a limitation of the Papal authority, and the establishment of outward decency in the conduct of the Clergy. This was good as far as it went, but it did not go to the root of the evil. Among the Mystics, at the same time, were some who made a nearer approach to the principles of effectual reformation. These teachers attached but little importance to external worship, and directed their efforts entirely to the promotion of vital Religion in the hearts and lives of men. But it is a bad thing to attempt to separate external worship from internal Religion, and it is especially injurious to extol either of these to the disparagement of the other. The persons of whom we are speaking were less useful than they might otherwise have been, because, from the narrowness of their views, they were unable to form a due estimate of the whole condition of the Church, and they passed over with neglect whatever did not bear upon their favourite opinions. There were others, however, who recognized the corruption of the Church not merely in its individual abuses, but in its general and pervading spirit, and who sought to apply a corresponding remedy. Later Protestants include in the number of these *Testes veritatis*,[1] some who are by no means properly so called; but the Fourteenth Century did unquestionably produce many who are fully entitled to the character

[1] Matthias Flaccius, *Catalog. Testium Veritatis.*

of early Reformers. Several such persons appeared in Bohemia.[1] The first of these was Conrad Styckna (Conradus ab Austriâ), who died in the year 1369. He was followed by John Militius, a celebrated and powerful Preacher at Prague, who so far excited the opposition of the Clergy, and especially of the Monks, that he was accused as a Heretic at Rome, whither he repaired for his defence, and was acquitted, but died soon after, A.D. 1374. Matthias Parisiensis made a still more vehement attack upon the existing abuses of the Church, and the unholy spirit of the Clergy, deprecating the system of mere mechanical worship which prevailed, and insisting upon the importance of internal and vital Religion. He died A.D. 1394. These men are justly regarded as the precursors of Huss.[2]

Wickliffe.

At length England produced a Reformer who exposed with hitherto unparalleled success the multiplied abuses of the existing Church, the corruption of the morals of the Clergy, and some of the most prominent errors in doctrine. John Wickliffe (Wycliffe, or Wiclif) appears to have been born in the year 1324, at a village of the same name near Richmond, in Yorkshire. When sixteen years old, he was entered as a Commoner in the College, then newly founded by Philippa, Queen of Edward III., in Oxford (Queen's College); whence he soon afterwards removed to Merton College, in the same University. Subsequently, according to some accounts, he became Master of Balliol College; but certain it is that, having resigned this appointment—if, indeed, he held it at all—he was made Warden of Canterbury Hall, then newly founded by Archbishop Simon of Islep. This appointment was reversed by the Archbishop's successor, and the reversal was confirmed by a Papal decision. Wickliffe had become by this time exceedingly obnoxious to the maintainers of Papal usurpation and error. In his University career, he had made great and rapid progress in the study of the scholastic philosophy, and of the Civil and Canon Law, the fashionable learning of the times. As a theologian, however, he was not content to follow in the beaten track of his contemporaries, who lost themselves in a maze of philosophic subtleties, and occupied their minds in scholastic trifling and in frivolous debates, rather than in searching the Scriptures. Wickliffe drew his theology from the Bible, and appealed to the sacred volume as the only authoritative depository of religious truth; a peculiarity of teaching (for such in those days it was) which procured for him the honourable title of the Evangelic or Gospel Doctor. Thus distinguished by his talents and learning, Wickliffe appeared in the year 1360, as the champion of his University in its disputes with the Mendicants, when

[1] See Balbinus, *Epit. Rerum Bohem.*

[2] But it does not appear that any of them contended for the administration of the Communion in both kinds to the laity, except, perhaps, Matthias Parisiensis.

he began boldly to inveigh against the uselessness of the Order, and the mischievous tendency of their practices. He denounced them as intruders in the Church, and called for the removal of Friars as absolutely necessary to ecclesiastical prosperity and the efficiency of the Clergy. By this means he drew upon himself the opposition of a host of powerful enemies, his contests with whom formed a memorable feature of the subsequent portion of his life. In 1356, we find Wickliffe engaged in defending the measures of Edward III., when that Sovereign, with the aid of his Parliament, refused payment to the Holy See of the tribute money which had been imposed by Innocent III., and had continued from time to time to be paid, or had been withheld, according to the different relations subsisting between the Pontiffs and the Kings of England. The writings of Wickliffe, on this occasion, tended in no slight degree to strengthen the hands of the Government in finally rejecting the Pope's arrogant claims to be regarded as the Feudal Sovereign of England. In 1372, Wickliffe proceeded to the degree of Doctor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, when he appears to have made good use of this license to act as a public teacher of theology. In his writings, "the leading articles of Christian belief are brought down from the region of cold abstraction, and are connected—through their legitimate effects, the love of Christ and obedience to his commandments—with the personal enjoyment of God's favour, and final bliss. 'I say this for certain, that though thou have priests and friars to say for thee, and though thou each day hear many masses, and found chauntries and colleges, and go on pilgrimage all thy life, and give all thy goods to pardoners,—all this shall not bring thy soul to heaven: while, if the commandments of God are revered to the end, though neither penny nor halfpenny be possessed, there shall be everlasting pardon and the bliss of heaven.' It might strike dismay to greedy friars, but would carry unspeakable consolation to many a weary soul, to hear our blessed Redeemer termed 'the Bull of our everlasting pardon, written with all the might and virtue of God.' 'See,' says he, in another place, 'the great kindness which Christ hath showed thee, and thereby learn thy own great unkindness, and then thou shalt see that man is the most fallen of creatures, and the unkindest of all the creatures that God has ever made. It should be full sweet and delightful to us to think on this great kindness and this great love of Jesus Christ.' None, however, could charge the reformer with substituting sentiment for duty, or turning the grace of God into licentiousness. Each of the commandments is made the subject of spiritual explanation and earnest monition; the vice of swearing, in particular, in which even prelates and clergy were not ashamed to indulge, is reprehended in terms of unsparing severity; and while it is fearlessly an-

nounced how that 'Jesus Christ, both God and man, died so painful a death upon the cross, to buy man's soul out of hell, even with his own heart's blood, and bring it to the bliss of heaven,'— 'every man and woman who desires to come speedily to the life that lasts for ever,' it is strongly asserted, 'must do his business with all strength of body and soul to keep the commandments.'"[1]

When Edward was making an effort to redress the grievances of the Church of England, and especially the abuses which had arisen from the custom of provisors, Wickliffe was appointed second of seven delegates who proceeded to a conference with the papal commissioners at Bruges (A.D. 1374), and effected a treaty by which the Pope renounced his pretended right to reservations within the limits of the King's dominions, on condition that the civil power should not undertake to dispose of ecclesiastical property. At this period, Wickliffe was presented by the King, first to the Prebend of Aust, in the Collegiate Church of Westbury,[2] in the diocese of Worcester, and afterwards to the Rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire.

Having now become intimately acquainted with the corruptions of the Papacy, and the mischiefs of the Monastic Institutions, Wickliffe proceeded to bear testimony against the evil with unremitted industry and ardour. He was soon accused of Heresy, and summoned before a Convocation held in London, A.D. 1377; but on this occasion, in consequence of the powerful protection which was afforded him by the Duke of Lancaster, he was suffered to escape any injurious consequences of the proceedings which had been instituted against him. In 1378, he was summoned before a Synod convened at Lambeth, to which he delivered a paper containing an explanation of opinions ascribed to him; this explanation, as might have been expected, was not satisfactory to his judges, who, however, contented themselves with prohibiting him from teaching or preaching the doctrines he had maintained, without finding it expedient to institute further proceedings against him. The Great Western Schism, which began in the year 1378, gave Wickliffe a favourable opportunity of exposing the corruptions of the Church and calling for reform. He had hitherto confined his opposition for the most part to the ecclesiastical constitution and discipline: he now proceeded to still bolder measures. In 1380, he began a translation of the Bible into English; and when this undertaking was denounced as heretical, he defended the right of the people to the possession of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue. This task of preparing for the first time a complete translation of the Holy Scriptures into the vernacular tongue was happily accomplished; and in the case of Wickliffe, as of Luther afterwards, we may well regard

[1] *Church History of England*, by Rev. J. A. Baxter.
[2] Westbury-upon-Trym, in the county of Gloucester.

this translation as the great work by which, under Divine Providence, more than by any other of their labours or their sufferings, the cause of a solid and lasting reformation was most effectually promoted. Hitherto there had been only partial translations of Scripture, and even these were accessible to but comparatively few readers; a translation of the whole Bible into a language which all could understand, and intended for general circulation and use, was in those days a novelty. But in the eyes of the Romish clergy, it was more than a mere novelty,—it was regarded and denounced as dangerous; nor did they fail to meet it with the most violent and bitter opposition. "Christ," says the historian Knighton, a contemporary of Wickliffe, "delivered his doctrine to the doctors of the Church, that they might administer to the laity and weaker persons, according to the state of the times and the wants of men. But this Master John Wickliffe translated it out of Latin into English, and thus laid it more open to the laity, and to women who could read, than it had formerly been to the most learned of the clergy, even to those of them who had the best understanding. And in this way the gospel pearl is cast abroad, and trodden under foot of swine; and that which was before precious to both clergy and laity, is rendered, as it were, the common jest of both. The jewel of the Church is turned into the sport of the people; and what was hitherto the principal gift of the clergy and divines, is made for ever common to the laity." And in full accordance with these views was the following enactment, which was made at the beginning of the next century, by a Council of the English Clergy assembled under Archbishop Arundel:—"The translation of the text of Holy Scriptures out of one tongue into another is a dangerous thing, as St. Jerome testifies, because it is not easy to make the verse in all respects the same. Therefore, we enact and ordain that no one henceforth do, by his own authority, translate any text of the Holy Scriptures into the English tongue, or any other, by way of book or treatise; nor let any such book or treatise now lately composed in the time of John Wickliffe, or since, or hereafter to be composed, be read in whole or in part, in public or in private, under pain of the greater excommunication." But Wickliffe knew how to defend himself, on Christian principles, against the hostility of the clergy to his translation of the Bible. In one of his earliest vindications (quoted by Dr. Vaughan, *Facts and Observations concerning the Life of Wickliffe*) he thus writes:—"Seeing the truth of the faith shines the more by how much the more it is known, and that lords bishops condemn the faithful or true opinion in the ears of secular lords, out of hatred of the person who maintains it; that the truth may be known more plainly and diffusively, true men are under a necessity of declaring the opinion which they hold, not only in Latin, but in the vulgar

tongue. It has been said, in a former Looking-Glass for secular lords, written in the vulgar tongue, that they ought wholly to regulate themselves conformably to the law of Christ. Nor are those heretics to be heard who fancy that seculars ought not to know the law of God, but that it is sufficient for them to know what the priests and prelates tell them by word of mouth; for the Scripture is the faith of the Church, and the more it is known in an orthodox sense the better. Therefore, as secular men ought to know the faith, so it is to be taught them in whatever language is best known to them. Besides, since the truth of the faith is clearer and more exact in the Scripture than the priests know how to express it—seeing, if one may say so, that there are many prelates who are too ignorant of the Scripture, and others conceal points of Scripture, such, to wit, as declare the poverty and humility of the clergy, and that there are many such defects in the verbal instructions of priests—it seems useful that the faithful should themselves search out or discover the sense of the faith, by having the Scriptures in a language which they know and understand. Besides, according to the faith taught by the Apostle (Heb. xi.), the saints by faith overcame kingdoms, and by the motive of faith chiefly hastened to their own country. Why, therefore, ought not the fountain of faith to be made known to the people by those means by which a man may know it the most clearly? He, therefore, who hinders this, does his endeavour that the people should continue in a damnable and unbelieving state. The laws, therefore, which the prelates make are not to be received as matters of faith; nor are we to believe their words or discourses any further or otherwise than they are founded on the Scripture, since, according to the constant doctrine of Augustine, the Scripture is all the truth. Therefore, this translation of the Scripture would do at least this good, that it would render priests and prelates unsuspected in regard to the words of it, which they profess to explain."

In 1381, Wickliffe proceeded to attack the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Hereupon many of his former adherents withdrew their support, and even the Duke of Lancaster advised him to refrain from the controversy; but Wickliffe had already so many partisans among the learned, especially in Oxford, that the defection of powerful friends was no ground of discouragement with regard to the ultimate triumph of Reason and Truth on a point of such vital importance. It was in vain, however, that the Reformer defended his doctrine concerning the Eucharist with great ability, when called to answer for himself before a Convocation assembled in Oxford under the presidency of Archbishop Courteney; his judges succeeded in obtaining letters from the king by which he was compelled to desist from his course of teaching in the University. He then retired to his Rectory at

Lutterworth; whence he continued to attack with his pen the abuses and corruptions of the existing ecclesiastical system.

Wickliffe died on the 31st of December, 1384. The effects of his labours, and the history of his followers, will be related in the Annals of the following century.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

THE division of Ecclesiastical Writers into Greek and Latin has become less convenient and comprehensive than in preceding centuries, and we shall therefore proceed with our enumeration in simple chronological order, merely affixing the letters Gr. to the names of Greek writers. Our remarks must be brief, and confined to the principal writers of the age.

JOHN DUNS SCOTUS.
THEODORUS METOCHITA, Gr.
RAYMUND LULLY.
ANTHONY ANDREAS.
HERVÆUS NATALIS.
FRANCIS MAYRONIUS.
WALTER BURLÆUS.
NICHOLAS DE LYRA.
MICHAEL CÆSENAS.
PETER PALUDANUS.
PETER AUREOLUS.
JOHN BACON.
WILLIAM OCCAM.
THOMAS BRADWARDINE.
NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS, Gr.
LUDOLPH, OR LANDOLPH, OF SAXONY.
MATTHÆUS BLASTARES, Gr.
BARLAAM, Gr.
NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, Gr.
THEOPHANES, Gr.
RICHARD FITZRALPH.
FRANCIS PETRARCH.
STA. BRIGITTA AND STE. CATHARINE.
JOHN TAULER.
JOHN RUYSBROCK.
GREGORY PALAMAS, Gr.
PETER DE ALLIACO.
JOHN WICKLIFFE.

JOHN DUNS SCOTUS.

John Duns, surnamed Scotus (*Doctor subtilis*), was a native of Dunstance, in the parish of Embleton, near Alnwick, in Northumberland; although some represent him as having been born in Scotland, and others in Ireland. He attached himself to the Order of Franciscans. As Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, he made great progress in scholastic theology and all the learning of the place, and became eminent, first in his own University, and afterwards at Paris. He maintained and propagated the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, which was opposed by the Dominicans, but ultimately prevailed. He was also remarkable for the opposition which he made to several positions of Thomas Aquinas. His arguments found many strenuous advocates, and gave rise to the well-known controversy between the Scotists and Thomists. Scotus died at Cologne, A.D. 1308. An accurate edition of his works, which were written in Latin, was published by Wadding, at Lyons, 1639.

THEODORUS METOCHITA, Gr.,

a Greek, celebrated for his learning and eloquence, and of great influence at the Imperial Court. He wrote a Compendium of Roman History from Julius Cæsar to Constantine the Great, a Paraphrase on the Physics of Aristotle, and some other works of history and philosophy.

RAYMUND LULLY,

a Franciscan, celebrated for his skill in chemistry and the Oriental languages, for his attempts to convert the Saracens, and his sufferings in that cause. His writings on Theology and Natural Philosophy were very numerous. He died A.D. 1315. See Wadding, *Annal. Minor. ad an.* 1315.

ANTHONY ANDREAS

(*Doctor dulcifluus*), a Minorite, a Spaniard by birth, and disciple of John Duns Scotus. He wrote a Commentary upon the Master of Sentences, upon Aristotle, and Boethius. He died in 1320.

HERVÆUS NATALIS,

of the Order of Preaching Friars, of which he was chosen General in 1318. He wrote Commentaries upon the Master of Sentences, and upon Aristotle, a Treatise concerning the power of the Popes, and several Theological Tracts. He died A.D. 1323.

FRANCIS MAYRONIUS

(*Doctor illuminatus et acutus*), a disciple of Duns Scotus, a Minorite. Like most of his contemporaries, he wrote Commentaries upon Peter Lombard and Aristotle; but, what is more remarkable, he incurred the displeasure of the Popes by denying the truth of a superabundant treasure of merits belonging to the Saints. He died in 1325.

WALTER BURLÆUS

(*Doctor planus et perspicuus*), was educated at Merton College, Oxford, and afterwards proceeded, as was usual, to Paris, where he attained great celebrity. At both Universities he attended the lectures of Duns Scotus, whose opinions he afterwards warmly opposed. He wrote Commentaries upon the Sentences, and many philosophical treatises. He died about the year 1337.

NICHOLAS DE LYRA

(*Doctor planus et utilis*), a Franciscan, by birth a Jew. He was remarkable for his expositions of Scripture delivered during successive years at Paris, and afterwards collected into the form of a perpetual Commentary, under the title of *Postillæ Perpetuæ seu*

Brevia Commentaria in Universa Biblia, libris lxxxv. A good edition of this work was published at Lyons in the year 1590. These Postils were greatly admired and much read by Martin Luther, and appear to have contributed not a little to the formation of his mind and character. It became a common saying, *Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset.* This author wrote also tracts against the Jews, and a Treatise on the Life of St. Francis. He died in 1340.

MICHAEL CÆSENAS,

elected General of the Franciscan Order in 1316. He entered warmly into the controversy respecting the poverty of Christ and his Apostles, against the Pope, by whom he was summoned to Avignon and cast into prison, from which when he had made his escape, the Pope pronounced sentence of excommunication against him, and deprived him of his dignity. Michael fled to the Court of Louis of Bavaria, and was one of those who aided the Emperor in his disputes with the Pontiff. He died in 1343. He wrote, besides Treatises on the Controversies in which he engaged, a Commentary upon the Master of Sentences, and upon the Book of Ezekiel.

PETER PALUDANUS,

a Dominican, a strenuous defender of the doctrines of Thomas Aquinas, and an opponent of Michael Cæsenas on the question of the poverty of Christ and his Apostles. He wrote Commentaries upon the Master of Sentences and the Books of Scripture. He was appointed Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1330, and died in 1342.

PETER AUREOLUS,

a Franciscan, who strenuously opposed the election of Michael Cæsenas to the dignity of General of the Order. He wrote a Commentary upon the Master of Sentences, an Epitome of Scripture, and a Treatise on the Immaculate Conception. The date of his death is not ascertained. He wrote his Epitome of Scripture in the year 1345.

JOHN BACON

(*Doctor resolutus*), Provincial of the Carmelites in England. He fell into disrepute at Rome by asserting the power of the Pope to grant dispensations for marriage within the degrees forbidden; an error which he afterwards retracted. He wrote Commentaries on the Master of Sentences, the Books of Scripture, and Augustin on the City of God; also Treatises against the Jews, and against John xxii. concerning the Beatific Vision. He died at London A.D. 1346.

WILLIAM OCCAM

(*Doctor singularis et venerabilis Inceptor*), a Minorite. He was a disciple of Duns Scotus, whose opinions he afterwards strongly opposed, and became the leader of the party of the Nominalists. In 1322, he was chosen Provincial of the Minorites in England. He strenuously maintained the position, that neither Christ nor his Apostles had any property, either individually or in common. He fled for protection from the effects of Papal displeasure to the Court of Louis of Bavaria, and was foremost among the writers who took part against the Pope. He wrote Commentaries upon Peter Lombard and Aristotle, besides various treatises respecting the controversies of his day. He died in 1347.

THOMAS BRADWARDINE

(*Doctor profundus*), an Englishman, educated at Merton College, Oxford, in favour at the Court of Edward III., and appointed Archbishop of Canterbury a short time before his death, A.D. 1348. His principal theological work was a Treatise against the Errors of Pelagius, published at London in the year 1618.

NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS, Gr.,

who compiled an Ecclesiastical History from the works of Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, &c., a Latin translation of which went through several editions in the sixteenth century.

LUDOLPH, OR LANDOLPH, OF SAXONY,

at first a Dominican, afterwards a Carthusian. His writings were of a practical and devotional character, and consisted of a Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, with a Commentary and Prayers, and a Commentary upon the Psalms of David from Jerome, Augustin, Cassiodorus, and Peter Lombard. The year of his death is unknown.

MATTHÆUS BLASTARES, Gr.,

a Grecian lawyer, celebrated for his *Alphabeticum Canonum Syntagma*, which was published in Greek and Latin at Oxford in the year 1672.

BARLAAM, Gr.,

a Monk of the Order of St. Basil. He joined the Greek Church, and became a zealous champion of its cause against the Latins. He also warmly opposed the doctrine of Gregory Palamas, who maintained that the light seen on Mount Tabor was uncreated, and partook of the nature of the Divine essence. Silence was enjoined on both disputants by a Synod convened for the purpose of considering the question, but Barlaam continued to assail his

opponents. In the year 1339, he went as Ambassador from the Emperor Alexius to Avignon, with a view to procure the calling of a General Synod, for the discussion of the points of dispute between the Greek and Latin Churches, which, however, was refused. After the death of the Emperor Andronicus, the followers of Palamas being in favour at the Imperial Court, Barlaam withdrew from Constantinople, joined himself to the Latin Church, opposed the dogmas of the Greeks, which he had formerly defended, and was promoted to the Episcopal dignity.

NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, Gr.,

a Byzantine, who wrote against the Palamites, but is celebrated chiefly as the compiler of the Byzantine History, *Historiæ Byzantinæ libri xi. a capta per Latinos Constantinopoli usque ad Andronici Junioris obitum, seu ab Anno* 1204 *ad* 1341.

THEOPHANES, Gr.,

a Greek, Archbishop of Nice, was celebrated as a defender of Christianity, especially against the Jews. He wrote a Treatise against the Jews, and a Harmony of the Old and New Testaments. He flourished about the year 1347.

RICHARD FITZRALPH,

a native of Ireland (or England), Professor of Divinity at Oxford, afterwards Dean of Lichfield, Chancellor of Oxford, and Archbishop of Armagh. He was a warm opponent of the Mendicants, by whom he was accused of Heresy, and being summoned to Avignon, died there before his cause was determined, A.D. 1360.

FRANCIS PETRARCH,

an Italian, generally known as a poet, was Archdeacon of Parma, and wrote many works on practical piety. He severely censured the corruptions and profligacy of the Clergy, and especially of the Court of Rome. He died in 1374.

STA. BRIGITTA AND STE. CATHARINE

were two fanatical women, whose writings and pretended revelations were made use of by the Franciscans and Dominicans respectively for the promotion of their conflicting interests. The former died in 1373, the latter in 1380.

JOHN TAULER AND JOHN RUYSBROCK

were two celebrated Mystic Divines. They were Germans, and wrote in their native language. Their works were afterwards translated into Latin. The former died in the year 1361, the latter in 1381.

GREGORY PALAMAS, Gr.,

a Greek Writer, the celebrated opponent of Barlaam in the controversy respecting the nature of the light seen on Mount Tabor. The year of his death is not ascertained.

PETER DE ALLIACO

(*Pierre d'Ailly*), a native of France, in which country he rose to the highest Ecclesiastical dignity. He took a powerful part in persuading Benedict XIII. to institute the Festival of the Holy Trinity. He flourished from 1375 to 1425. His works were numerous, partly on Natural Philosophy and partly on Theology; the latter including a Commentary upon the Books of Sentences, Meditations on various parts of Scripture, and valuable contributions to the History of the Great Western Schism. He was a friend of the celebrated Gerson: in concert with whom he laboured for the restoration of Biblical Learning and Theology, in preference to the existing jargon of the Schools.

JOHN WICKLIFFE.

The works of this great Reformer were very numerous; they were written partly in Latin and partly in English. His chief Works, next to the English translation of the Bible, are the following:—1. *Trialogus: Dialogorum libri iv. quorum primus Divinitatem et Ideas tractat; secundus Universarum Creationem complectitur; tertius de Virtutibus Vitiisque ipsis contrariis copiosissimè loquitur; quartus Romanæ Ecclesiæ Sacramenta, ejus pestiferam rationem, Antichristi Regnum, Fratrum fraudulentam originem atque eorum Hypocrisin, variaque nostro ævo scitu dignissima perstringit.* 2. *A Treatise against the Orders of Friars.* 3. *A Complaint exhibited to the King and Parliament.* 4. *Wickliffe's Wicket* (a Treatise written in English against Transubstantiation, in the reign of Richard II.) 5. *Why Poor Priests have no Benefices.* 6. *Answer of Wickliffe to Richard II., as touching the Right and Title of the King and the Pope.* 7. *Letter in excuse to Pope Urban VI.* 8. *Confession of Wickliffe concerning the Eucharist.* 9. *Confession on the Eucharist, delivered to the Delegates at Oxford in* 1382. Many other of Wickliffe's works exist only in manuscript. A copious Catalogue of the Writings of Wickliffe may be seen in Vaughan's *Life* of the Reformer, or in that by Le Bas, extracted from the former.

CHAPTER V.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

General remarks.

In the Ecclesiastical Annals of the Fifteenth Century we find light springing up as it were in the midst of darkness. The ignorance, vice, and general corruption of the Clergy continued to be excessive; but there were many individuals of that Body who were at once conspicuous for their personal piety and learning, and ardently desirous of a general improvement. The usurpations, together with the superstitions and errors, of the Church remained in full force; but there were many persons who had caught a view of the right and the truth, and were consequently loud in their invectives against Ecclesiastical abuses, and in a call for the propagation of Scriptural doctrine.

At the commencement of this period, the Schism of the Pontiffs continued to engage the attention of the Prelates and Princes of Europe. The quarrel of the Council of Basle with Eugenius IX., and the projected union of the Greek and Latin Churches, were the next objects of general interest; but neither the evils which were apprehended from the former of these events, nor the good which was anticipated from the latter, were realized. The doctrines of Wickliffe made great progress on the Continent, and produced not only a growing demand for reform from persons who separated themselves from the Romish communion, but also a more serious attention to the subject on the part of the Prelates and other members of the Church. In this matter, the University of Paris, with the celebrated Gerson at its head, distinguished itself by a laudable zeal and activity. The settlement of learned Greeks in Italy and the neighbouring countries, together with the invention of Printing, contributed, in no slight degree, to the revival of Literature. Some good, but not so much as had been desired, was effected by the assembling of the Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle. And, although the Romish Hierarchy, and especially the Court of Rome, continued to evince the same spirit of despotism and tyranny which had hitherto been displayed, it became abundantly evident that a power was springing up which would enable mankind, to a great extent, to cast off the fetters which had been forged for them. It is not perhaps right to represent the Church of Rome, as it existed in the dark period of the Middle Ages, as nothing else than a system of superstition and Priestcraft, and a source of unmitigated evil; but it is pleasing to observe that the time was at length at hand in

which its evils could be, by the arrangements of a merciful Providence, rejected; while an opportunity was afforded to men, in a state of liberty, of making a good and profitable use of the treasure which it had preserved for them, but had almost entirely withheld from their possession.

We begin with recording the succession of the Pontiffs, and annexing a brief outline of the History of the Church during their several governments.

History of the Popes. Benedict XIII. at Avignon: Boniface IX. at Rome.

At the opening of this Century, the Western Church was still divided by the claims of two rival Pontiffs with their respective partisans. Benedict was detained as a prisoner at Avignon by the French, who had withdrawn their obedience, and endeavoured to force him to resign, until the year 1403, when, having contrived to effect his escape, he found many adherents, and was once more acknowledged by France as the legitimate Pope. He had promised to confirm all the provisions and grants of Benefices, &c., which had been made during the subtraction of obedience; but no sooner had he recovered his authority than he proceeded to fill up all places which had become vacant during his captivity, to the exclusion of the new possessors. Hereupon the King of France issued an Edict, by which he declared valid all collations made during the subtraction; an Edict remarkable as being one of the early foundations of the liberties of the Gallican Church.

Innocent VII. at Rome. A.D. 1404.

Boniface died at Rome in the following year (1404), when he was succeeded by Cosmato Migliorato, who assumed the title of Innocent VII. The new Pontiff, as was customary, had promised to use all efforts in his power to put an end to the Schism; but, as was also usual, he took no measures for the accomplishment of that object. His reign was short and troubled. Soon after his accession, he was obliged to withdraw from Rome to Viterbo, in consequence of the successes of the Ghibellines, supported by Ladislaus, King of Naples, who at this time made so vigorous an effort for obtaining the government of the city, that he for a while overbore the opposition of the Guelphs and their partisans. At the request of the Romans, who had become dissatisfied with the Neapolitans, Innocent afterwards returned to the City; when his death speedily ensued (A.D. 1406). This event appeared to open a new prospect of a termination of the Schism. The Roman Cardinals at first resolved to defer the election of a Pope until they could act in concert with the College at Avignon: but this determination, overruled, it is probable, by the demands of the people of Rome, yielded to the final resolution of electing a successor to Innocent, who should have previously bound himself by oath to resign his dignity, if this step should be requisite for the union and peace of the Church. The lot now fell upon Angelo Corrario, a Venetian, titular Patriarch of Constantinople, and Cardinal, a man whose unsullied reputation for sanctity and virtue

led to the hope that he would not refuse to fulfil his engagement, if called upon to do so. But Angelo Corrario, now acknowledged at Rome as Pope, under the title of Gregory XII., refused as pertinaciously as any of his predecessors to adopt the method of cession when it was really proposed to him; he evaded a conference with his rival, which had been appointed to take place at Savona; and it became manifest that the peace of the Church would never be restored by the resignation of a rival Pontiff. The majority of the Roman Cardinals, disgusted with the conduct of Gregory, quickly deserted his Court and retired to Pisa; and, not long after, a new subtraction of obedience from Benedict having been published by the King of France, and acceded to by Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia, this Pontiff escaped the seizure of his person by flight from Avignon, and took refuge at Perpignan in Spain, while his Cardinals remained in France.

Gregory XII. at Rome. A.D. 1409.

Council of Pisa. A.D. 1409.

In this state of things the two great bodies of Cardinals resolved on a coalition, and, having effected this important measure, they summoned a General Council to assemble at Pisa, for the express purpose of deposing the two rival Pontiffs, and electing one true and universal Head of the visible Church. The Council met in the spring of 1409, and was numerously attended.[1] Here a sentence of condemnation was pronounced against the contending Popes, who were denounced as guilty of perjury, contumacy, and heresy, and the Holy See was declared vacant.

Alexander V.

The Cardinals then proceeded to the election of a Pontiff; and their choice fell upon Peter Philargi, Cardinal of Milan, who took the name of Alexander V. The deposed Pontiffs refused, of course, to renounce their dignity, and they still put forward their respective claims to the obedience of Christendom, Benedict remaining at Perpignan, and retaining the obedience of Spain, and Gregory having escaped to Caieta, where he enjoyed for a season the protection of Ladislaus, King of Naples. The Schism, say some, was by this means increased, inasmuch as three Pontiffs, instead of two, were now laying claim to the supremacy of the Church; but it is perhaps more correct to consider that the Council of Pisa contributed, in some measure, to the removal of the disorder, since it served to exhibit and establish the principle, that the authority of a General Council was superior to that of the Pope.[2]

John XXIII. A.D. 1410.

Alexander did not long enjoy his new dignity; he died at Bologna in the year after his election (May 3, 1410), and was succeeded by Balthasar Cossa, a Neapolitan, and Legate at Bologna, who assumed the title of John XXIII. Soon after his elevation, the new Pontiff took part with Louis of Anjou against

[1] See Lenfant, *Histoire du Concile de Pise.*

[2] The acts of this Council, and of those which followed it, will be mentioned more particularly in a subsequent part of this Chapter.

Ladislaus, King of Naples: he entered Rome in triumph, and Gregory, compelled to quit his dominions, sought an asylum at Rimini. Ladislaus, not long after, having prevailed against John, compelled him in turn to quit Rome; whence he repaired first to Florence, and afterwards to Bologna.

John, soon after he had attained the Pontificate, contributed to the advancement of Sigismund to the Empire, in concert with whom he resolved upon once more convening a General Council, with the view of establishing the union of the Church. The place fixed upon for this important assembly, in compliance with the wishes of the Emperor, but not in accordance with the interests of the Pope, was Constance, in Switzerland: and the day appointed for the meeting was the 1st of November, 1414.[1] The assemblage of Ecclesiastics, and also of Laymen, on this occasion, was immense. The Council was divided into four national sections, of Italy, France, Germany, and England, and the votes were taken according to this division, instead of being registered according to the opinions of individual members of the body. Both the Emperor and John were present. The professed objects of this famous Council were, the extinction of the Schism, and the reformation of the Church, or the correction of those manifold abuses which existed in the management of Ecclesiastical revenues. Here it was determined, after some debate, that a General Council could compel the Pope to abdicate, and the method of cession was moreover declared to be the only means of securing the peace of the Church. Accordingly, on the 2d of March, 1415, John publicly pronounced his abdication, on condition of a similar proceeding on the part of Benedict and Gregory. Suspicions, however, having been manifested by the Council with regard to the sincerity of the Pontiff in these transactions, the latter planned his escape from Constance, and fled first to Shaffhausen, afterwards to Brisac, and at length to Fribourg, where he expected to receive the protection of the Duke of Austria, but was treacherously delivered into the power of the Emperor and the Council. A series of enormous crimes being now laid to his charge, John was solemnly deposed from the Pontificate, May 29, 1415, and condemned to rigorous imprisonment, which he suffered, first at Heidelberg and afterwards at Manheim, for the space of three years. In the course of the same year, Gregory sent to the Council a voluntary and solemn resignation of his dignity. Benedict, however, remained inflexible, declaring that he was the true, and now the only, Pope. Sigismund went in person to Perpignan with a view to obtain his resignation; but Benedict obstinately resisted all solicitations, and ultimately withdrew, for the security of his

Council of Constance. A.D. 1414.

John deposed.

Gregory resigns.

[1] See Lenfant, *Histoire du Concile de Constance.*

person, to the small fortress of Paniscola. The Council, fully convinced of his contumacy, proceeded to the sentence of deposition; and although Benedict continued to anathematize his adversaries daily in his obscure place of refuge, he had ceased to be a means of dividing the obedience of the Church. The claims of the late competitors having been thus entirely destroyed, the Cardinals proceeded to the election of a new Pope, and agreed in the choice of Otto de Colonna, a Roman, who ascended the Papal Chair under the name of Martin V. And thus the primary object of the Council, the healing of the great Schism, which had long been productive of such numerous disorders, was successfully accomplished. Angelo Corrario died soon after his cession, under the protection of Alphonso, King of Arragon. Peter de Luna lived at Paniscola, but without resigning his pretensions, until the year 1424: three Cardinals, who continued with him until his death, elected a successor according to his entreaties, who styled himself Clement VIII., but shortly afterwards retired (A.D. 1429). Balthasar Cossa, restored to liberty about three years after his deposition, was solicited by some of his friends to resume the Papal dignity, but, instead of complying with their advice, he voluntarily threw himself at the feet of Martin, who received his submission, and afterwards admitted him to his friendship, and appointed him Cardinal, and Dean of the Sacred College, a situation which he retained with fidelity to his master and benefactor. And thus the Great Western Schism was completely at an end.

Martin V. sole Pope. A.D. 1417.

End of the Great Western Schism.

The progress made by the Council of Constance in the correction of Ecclesiastical abuses, which we shall hereafter have occasion to observe, was not very great; and the proceedings against the memory of Wickliffe, and the persons and doctrines of Huss and Jerome of Prague, which will likewise fall under our notice in another place, have called forth the loud and lasting censure of mankind. The Council was dissolved on the 22d of April, 1418, having sat three years and six months; and the question of Reformation was deferred to another assembly of the same kind, to be summoned after an interval of five years. After the dissolution of the Council, Martin returned to Italy. He first went to Florence, where he remained until September, 1420. It was here that he received the submission of Balthasar Cossa, the late Pope John XXII.

In the year 1420, Martin took up his residence at Rome. In 1423, a Council assembled at Paris, in accordance with the arrangements which had been made at Constance. A pestilence having broken out in this place of assembly, the Council was transferred to Sienna, where it continued to hold its sessions under the presidency of Papal Legates, but without proceeding to the proposed work of Reformation. The number of Prelates

assembled was small, and, some impediments to deliberation having been alleged by the Pontiff, he deferred the question of Reformation until another Council should assemble, which he appointed to be held at Basle at the expiration of seven years.

In 1426, Martin wrote to Henry, Bishop of Winchester, enjoining him to use his efforts for the revival of Papal and Ecclesiastical authority in England, and upbraiding him with his apparent want of energy in the promotion of this cause.[1] He told the Bishop that he ought not to endure the indignities which were offered to the Pontifical authority, in a country where the King was presuming to make and enforce regulations concerning the occupation and administration of churches, the Clergy, and Ecclesiastical affairs in general, with as absolute power as if he were, in very deed, the Vicar of Christ,—a country to which all men alike, even Jews and Turks, had free access, and where none but those who were appointed by the Apostolic See were exposed to banishment, imprisonment, and plunder; where those who attempted to fulfil the commands of the Pope, or to carry into effect any ordinances of the Apostolic See, were threatened with capital punishment. Against these enormities, the Pope required the Bishop to make a firm and decided stand, and especially to pronounce sentence of excommunication against all who should dare to oppose the exercise of Ecclesiastical liberty.[2]

Martin concluded a Concordat with Germany, and another with England, in general accordance with his own views and interests; but he met with strong and effectual opposition when he endeavoured to make similar arrangements with France. The liberties of the Gallican Church were strongly defended by able men, especially by Gerson. When Martin attempted to establish the maxim that no appeal could be made from the decision of the Pope, Gerson published a treatise in opposition to the doctrine, in which he successfully opposed its utter unsoundness, and the illegality of all pretensions which might at any time be founded upon this unsubstantial claim.

Martin died suddenly on the 20th of February, 1431, just before the meeting of the new Council, and was succeeded in his dignity by Gabriel Condolmieri, Bishop of Sienna, a nephew of Gregory XII., who assumed the title of Eugenius IV.; a Pontiff elected by accident, or rather who owed his elevation to his previous insignificance, and who soon displayed the weakness and inconstancy of his mind in the maladministration of his office. Eugenius IV. A.D. 1431.

The Council of Basle was opened on the 23d of July, 1431,[3] Council of Basle.

[1] Raynaldi, *ad an.* 1426, vol. xix.

[2] Ecclesiastical liberty, in the language of the Popes, meant independence of the State; in France, it was understood to signify a certain degree of independence of the Pope in favour of the French Sovereign and Clergy.

[3] For the more particular history of this Council, see Lenfant, *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites et du Concile de Bâle;* Æneæ Sylvii *Libri duo de Concilio Basiliensi.*

under the presidency of the celebrated Cardinal Julian Cæsarini, in place of the Pope. The professed objects of its meeting were, the union of the Greek and Latin Churches, the reformation of the Church in its head and in its members, and the extirpation of Heresy or the suppression of the Hussites. Not long after the Council had assembled, Eugenius sought to transfer the place of meeting to Bologna in Italy: his mandate was, indeed, disobeyed; but this was the beginning of a contention for superiority between the Council and the Pope which lasted for two years; at the end of which period, the Pope, having at one time been deposed from his authority by the Council, and having, in return, annulled its decrees, was at length obliged to submit, and to acknowledge the paramount authority of the Council. The Council then proceeded to make some salutary regulations. The supremacy of General Councils, established at Constance, was solemnly affirmed: Annates were abolished: a Confession of Faith was prescribed to be read by every Pontiff immediately after his election: and Expectatives, Reservations, and Provisions were done away. But when the question concerning the reconciliation of the Greek and Latin Churches was coming on, the Pope, exasperated by the late proceedings, insisted on transferring the Council to some place in Italy. Hereupon he was summoned to appear at Basle, on the 26th of July, 1437; but instead of complying with the requisition, he issued a decree to dissolve the Council, and to assemble another at Ferrara. A sentence of contumacy was passed against the refractory Pontiff by the Fathers assembled at Basle, who, with very few exceptions, continued to hold their Sessions in that place, while Eugenius, with his few partisans and the deputies from the East, proceeded to consider the terms of union of the two Churches, first at Ferrara and afterwards at Florence. On the 25th of June, 1439, the Council of Basle deposed Eugenius from the Pontificate, and afterwards (November 17 of the same year), elected in his room Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, who assumed the title of Felix V. Eugenius of course disregarded the sentence of deposition, and issued a severe Edict against the members of the Council of Basle, declaring their acts null and void: and thus the Church was divided by a Schism, not only between two contemporary Pontiffs, but also between the two rival Councils of Basle and Florence.

In France, the decrees of the Council of Basle, so far as they tended to abridge the power of the Pope, were formally recognised, and embodied in a famous Decree, entitled the Pragmatic Sanction, designed to form the palladium of the liberties of the Gallican Church.

The Council of Florence dissolved itself, April 26, 1442; the members of the Council of Basle dispersed in the following spring, declaring, however, that the Council was not dissolved,

and that it would assemble again at some convenient place, when a good opportunity should occur. The greater part of Christendom persevered in its obedience to Eugenius, and the more powerful Princes were dissatisfied with the extreme measures which had been adopted at Basle. The new Schism was not of long duration. Eugenius died February 23, 1447, and was succeeded by Thomas de Sarzano, Bishop of Bologna, under the title of Nicholas V. The new Pontiff, distinguished for his learning, genius, and moderation, secured to himself the attachment of the great body of the Church. In 1448, a Concordat was concluded between the Emperor and the Pope, greatly to the advantage of the latter; and in 1452, Frederick entered Sicily, and was crowned with great solemnity by the Pope at Rome. In 1449, Felix resigned his dignity, and the Fathers of the Council of Basle, assembled at Lausanne, confirmed his abdication, and acknowledged Nicholas V. as the supreme Head of the universal Church. During this Pontificate, and indeed for many years afterwards, no General Council was held. Nicholas was a liberal encourager of Literature [1] and the Arts, and hence his personal character was held in great estimation. Men began, perhaps, to esteem the peace of the Church as more desirable than even the correction of abuse in the application of Ecclesiastical revenues; and their attention at the same time was engaged by the successes of the Turks in the East. The capture of Constantinople, in the year 1453, is said to have preyed much upon the mind of Nicholas, and is supposed to have accelerated his death, which took place on the 24th of March, 1455. He was succeeded by Alphonso Borgia, a native of Spain, who took the name of Calixtus III. This Pontificate was short, and distinguished by no remarkable events. In Germany, loud complaints and a formidable protest were made against excessive exactions and usurped authority on the part of the Roman Pontiff; and the Gallican Church continued to put forth efforts for the maintenance of its rights and liberties, with energy and success. Some attempts were made to unite the Christian Princes in a war against the victorious Turks, but the desired confederacy was not formed.

Nicholas V. A.D. 1447.

Calixtus III. A.D. 1455.

Calixtus was succeeded, in the year 1458, by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who had formerly distinguished himself as the opponent of Papal usurpations at the Council of Basle; but during the Pontificate of Calixtus, by whom he was promoted to the rank of Cardinal, he stood forth as the assertor of Papal rights, and the opponent of all measures which tended to degrade the Holy See and to diminish the power of the Pontiff. He ascended the Papal Chair under the title of Pius II.; a name which he rendered illustrious by his encouragement of Learning and the

Pius II. A.D. 1458.

[1] He founded the Vatican.

energy of his government; while at the same time he furnished a remarkable example of inconstancy, by the total abandonment of his former principles respecting the power and authority of the reputed successors of St. Peter. In the early part of his Pontificate, A.D. 1459, he assembled a Council at Mantua, with a view to promote a general crusade against the Turks; but, notwithstanding the engagements into which several Princes entered, the attempt was eventually unsuccessful. An Embassy from the East, imploring succour, in the year following, was received with great respect at Rome, but proved wholly ineffectual. Before the dissolution of the Council of Mantua, Pius denied the position that the authority of the Pope was inferior to that of a General Council, and at the same time prohibited all appeals to such Council. He employed great efforts in the annulling of the Pragmatic Sanction. In the year 1493 he published a formal retractation of all which he had written in support of the proceedings at Basle; pronouncing himself to have been, as Æneas Sylvius, a heretic, but asserting at once his orthodoxy and his authority as Pius II. Some forces were at length assembled at Ancona, where they were destined to embark on board Venetian galleys on an expedition against the common enemy of Christendom, which the Pope proposed to conduct in person; but, by his death, which happened at the place of rendezvous, his intentions were frustrated, and the feeble attempt at warfare which had been made under his auspices was, in consequence, abandoned.

Paul II. A.D. 1464.

Peter Barbo, a Venetian, Cardinal Priest of St. Mark, was raised to the Pontificate in the year 1464, and assumed the name of Paul II. He had engaged, before his election, to carry on the war against the Turks; and he afterwards used some efforts to promote an expedition into Asia, by earnest exhortations encouraging the European Powers, and making preparations to sail into Asia himself. He sent a Legate into France, with a view to induce the Parliament of Paris to confirm the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction; but, although the King was disposed to comply with his desire, the mission was rendered useless by the firm resistance of the Parliament and of the University of Paris, who appealed at once from the Legate and from the Royal edict to the decision of a General Council. This Pontiff reduced the cycle of the Jubilee from thirty-three to twenty-five years; but this superstitious ceremony was not celebrated until the reign of his successor. Paul died on the 25th or 26th of July, 1471, and

Sixtus IV. A.D. 1471.

his place was supplied by Francis Rovere, under the name of Sixtus IV. His Pontificate was signalized chiefly by its duration: it lasted thirteen years. At first Sixtus called loudly on the Powers of Europe to arm against the Turks; but his appeals were ineffectual, and he soon ceased to repeat them. He engaged in a dispute with Florence and with France, which was terminated

only by the approach of the Ottoman arms, which about this time became a cause of serious alarm to the States of Italy, from which, however, they were at length delivered by the death of Mahomed. During this Pontificate, the Church of Scotland was withdrawn by a Papal Bull from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York, and the Church of St. Andrew was raised to the rank of a metropolitan see. Sixtus is particularly noted in history as having carried the system of nepotism or partiality towards his own relatives in the distribution of ecclesiastical benefices, to a great and scandalous extent; and as having established a public brothel at Rome. Yielding to the impulse of his private views and feelings, he embroiled Italy with wars; and towards the end of his Pontificate, after the Roman territory had been ravaged by the Neapolitans, he concluded a treaty with the King of Naples against the Venetians, his former allies; against whom, however, supported as they were by Milan, he was unable to prevail. He died in the year 1484, and was succeeded by John Baptist Cibo, a native of Genoa, who is said to have purchased the votes of the Cardinals, by virtue of whose election he ascended the Papal Chair under the name of Innocent VIII. The attempts of this Pontiff to set on foot a crusade were attended with no better effect than those of his predecessors had been. He was speedily involved in a war with Ferdinand, King of Naples, against whom he at one time pronounced sentence of excommunication and deposition, assigning his dominions to the King of France: afterwards, however, upon the submission of Ferdinand, the Pope granted him absolution, and a new investiture of the kingdom. Contemporary historians give a mournful account of the personal character of this Pontiff. His profuse heaping of benefices and wealth upon his illegitimate children was still more indecent and flagitious than the nepotism of Sixtus. He died in 1492. Roderic Borgia, having secured his election by high prices for the votes of the majority of the Cardinals, now succeeded to the government of the Church under the name of Alexander VI. He projected an alliance with Bajazet, the Turkish Sultan, against Charles VIII. of France, but received no succour in consequence of this infamous alliance, and afterwards was alarmed by a visit of Charles at Rome, upon whom, however, he prevailed to abstain from the obnoxious measures which he had dreaded, more especially the assembling of a General Council. Hereupon, he entered into an alliance with the King of France; this, however, he afterwards abandoned, and united again in a league against the King, with the Emperor, the Venetians, and others. After the death of Charles, Alexander contracted another alliance with his successor, Louis XII. This Pontificate was rendered remarkable by the grant which

Innocent VIII. A.D. 1484.

Alexander VI. A.D. 1492.

Alexander made of the newly discovered regions of America to the Crown of Spain, notwithstanding an edict which had formerly been made in favour of the Portuguese by Eugenius IV. Alexander is usually regarded as the most degraded and profligate of all who have filled the Papal Chair. "The crimes and enormities," says Mosheim, "which history has imputed to this Papal Nero, evidently prove him to have been not only destitute of all religious and virtuous principle, but even regardless of decency, and hardened against the very feeling of shame." Cæsar Borgia, the son of one of Alexander's concubines, was the great favourite of his father, whom he exceeded, if possible, in profligacy of manners. He was created Duke of Valentinois, in Dauphiny, by the King of France, and afterwards Duke of Romagna by Alexander. His arms were freely employed as the temporal champion of the Holy See, and distinguished by some of the worst excesses of cruelty and rapine. It is commonly supposed that Alexander met his death, in the year 1503, by drinking wine mixed with poison, which had been prepared for a wealthy Cardinal, by Borgia, or by the Pope himself. Contemporary accounts differ as to the details of this affair; but they agree in substance, and especially in affixing the charge of criminal intentions upon the Pontiff or his son.

Progress of Christianity.

The public profession of Christianity was during this century opposed, and partially suppressed, by the progress of the Ottoman arms in the East; and the residence of the first Christian Emperor became the chief seat of Mohammedan power. In other parts of the world the Christian Religion maintained its former ground. An ineffectual attempt for the conversion of the Jews was made by Benedict XIII.; and a severe edict against this people was issued by Eugenius IV.: but in the conference which was held by the former, both parties claimed the victory in argument; and the forced conversions which followed the harsh measures of the latter were, of course, insincere and nugatory.

Greek and Latin Churches.

The early part of this century was distinguished by a formal and elaborate, although ultimately ineffectual, attempt at the union of the Greek and Latin Churches. The Emperor of Constantinople, having received separate proposals from the Council of Basle and the Pope Eugenius respecting the discussion of the question, determined at length to prefer the authority of the latter, and consented to negotiate with the Council assembled under his auspices at Ferrara. Deputies on both sides were accordingly appointed to argue the points of dispute before this Council; by whose efforts it was vainly hoped that the dissensions which had so long existed would be brought to a favourable issue. The cause of the Latins was defended by the celebrated Cardinal

Julian Cæsarina and others, while that of the Greeks was committed to the conduct of Bessarion, Archbishop of Nice, and Mark of Ephesus. It was agreed at the outset that the subjects of dispute were four in number; namely, the procession of the Holy Ghost, the kind of bread to be used in the celebration of the Eucharist, the doctrine of Purgatory, and the supremacy of the Pope. Little progress was made at Ferrara. Some time was wasted there in a dispute which arose between the Greek colleagues respecting the doctrine of their Church with reference to the state of the Saints between the periods of death and the resurrection; and a long debate was afterwards carried on between the Latin and Greek doctors concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost. After this, the Council was transferred to Florence. Here, after a renewed debate, the Emperor and Bessarion yielded the disputed point of the procession, which was in fact the chief subject of controversy, and a common Confession of Faith was drawn up which served as the foundation of a treaty of concord between the two Churches. With respect to the Eucharist, the Greeks conceded that unleavened bread, as well as leavened, may be lawfully employed in its celebration. The dispute relating to Purgatory, or the means of Purification of departed souls, namely, whether this is fire, as the Latins declared, or tempestuous darkness, according to the tenet of the Greeks, was declared to be indifferent, or, at least, to require no positive decision. And the question respecting the Pope's supremacy was made the subject of a compromise which looked like a temporary adjustment of the mattter, and made way for the signing and ratification of the decree of union. But the measure which had thus been carried was wholly unpopular at Constantinople; and the members who composed the deputation of the Greek Church, with the exception of Mark of Ephesus, who had refused his consent to the concessions and the union, were received on their return with insults and reproaches as traitors to the Catholic Faith. Mark, at the head of a large party, was urgent for a repeal of the union; while the power and patronage of the Court were as strenuously exerted to maintain it. The patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria openly declared against the union and its authors; Russia and Moscovy concurred in this protest; and, in one word, the decree of the Council of Florence, while it was partially received at Constantinople, was yet indignantly rejected by the great body of the Greek Church and Empire. Party spirit was running high on the subject of the union, when Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks, A.D. 1453. The promised boon of assistance against a threatening power could now no longer sway the counsels of an empire already fallen; and the Greek Church, disengaged from its political connection with the Byzan-

tine Court, persists, to the present day, in its doctrinal disagreements with the Churches of the West.

Religious Worship in the West.

Confining our attention to the state of things within the limits of the Papal dominion, we advert, in the first place, to one or two prominent features in the public celebration of religious worship during this Century. The Jubilee, about this time, was at the height of its credit. In the year 1400, great numbers of persons flocked to Italy for the purpose of celebrating this festival, notwithstanding an express injunction of the King of France, by which he prohibited his subjects from undertaking the journey. The pilgrimage was fatal to many who performed it: some were plundered and others assassinated by the enemies of the Pope in Italy; while still greater numbers were carried off by the pestilence which at that time was raging at Rome, where it is said that six or seven hundred persons died daily. The next Jubilee was celebrated in the year 1450, during the Pontificate of Nicholas V., which passed off without the recurrence of similar disasters, but was rendered remarkable by the breaking down of a bridge, in consequence of which two hundred persons were drowned. The Jubilee which was held in 1475, in compliance with the institute of Paul II., was less numerously attended than the former, in consequence partly, it may be supposed, of the more frequent recurrence of the festival, partly of the increasing unpopularity of Papal superstitions, and partly of the wars in which Europe was at that time engaged. In the year 1456, Calixtus III. established the universal celebration of the festival of the Transfiguration of Christ; and in 1476 Sixtus IV. declared his approbation of that in honour of the Immaculate Conception of the blessed Virgin, by issuing an Edict for the grant of Indulgences to those who should devoutly celebrate it. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, as well as that which related to the use of the Cup in the Eucharist, formed the subject of violent and protracted controversy.

State of Literature and Theology.

The puerilities of the Scholastic Theology continued to increase, and the credit of the system proportionably to decline during the Fifteenth Century. Some persons contended for the necessity of entirely abolishing this method of trifling disputation; while others, including the celebrated Gerson and Savonarola, advocated only the reform of its abuses, and a correction of the disorders which it had introduced into the Seminaries of Learning. The credit of this system of quibbling and jargon continued, however, to be upheld by the Dominicans and Franciscans; so that form and sound had yet many defenders against

[1] On the subject of this long continued dissension, see Leo Alatius, *Perpetua Consensio Ecclesiæ Oriental. et Occident.* Spanhemius, *De Perpetua Dissensione Eccles. Orient. et Occident.*

the intrusions of sense. It is, however, to this Century that the early revival of Literature in Europe is to be referred. The study of the ancient classics, introduced into Italy and the neighbouring Countries by the Greek refugees, who repaired thither after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in the year 1453, was one proximate cause of the restoration of Letters:[1] the invention of Printing, and the patronage of Pope Pius II., contributed greatly to the same effect; and this improvement, continuing to advance, became a powerful assistant to the cause of the Reformation at the commencement of the following Century.

During the present period, translations of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongues began to be circulated in England, Germany, and other countries. Laurentius Valla published his annotations on the New Testament, which led the way for future critical expositions of a more complete and elaborate nature. Marsilius Ficinus, Savonarola, and others, produced learned Treatises in defence of Revealed Religion.

Mystics.

Under the name of Mysticism, or sentimental Theology, we are to understand much real and ardent piety, which existed in the case of some individuals, as well as some fanaticism and extravagance which marked the conduct of others. Mysticism, in the worst acceptation of the word, as denoting a system of absurd or unreasonable devotion, was the perverted religion of the heart; as the Scholastic Theology, in its subtley and coldness, was the perverted religion of the head. In an age of general ignorance and dry scholastic disputation, those who exhibited a distaste for the prevailing superstitions and subtleties, together with a certain degree of feeling in matters of Religion, were ranked in the same class as the mere senseless and violent enthusiast. But we shall do wrong if we suppose the Mystic Theology of the Middle Ages, and more especially that of the Fifteenth Century, to imply nothing more than the expression of fanaticism. The extremes of Scholastic Theology contributed to produce the opposite extremes of Mysticism; the former were suited to men of a speculative, the latter to those of a contemplative, turn of mind; the one has been not unaptly designated as the tilt and tournament, the other as the romance, of mind. Abstraction of the mind from the world and its affairs, and communion with God or divine love, were the great principles of Mysticism; qualities and habits of mind which, rightly understood and moderated, are evidently the principles of true Religion, but if ignorantly adopted, or carried to excess, may be expected

[1] For an account of the influence of the Greeks upon the Literature of the West, Mosheim refers to Humphrey Hody, *De Græcis Illustribus Literarum Instauratoribus*, London, 1742; and C. F. Börner, *De Doctis Hominibus Græcis Literarum Græcarum in Italia Instauratoribus*, Leipzig, 1750.

to issue in enthusiasm, and even to merge in a system of Pantheism.

Some great names appear among the (so called) Mystics of the Fifteenth Century. Of these none are more celebrated than Thomas à Kempis, whose book *Concerning the Imitation of Christ* is said to have gone through more editions in various languages than any other Work except the Holy Scriptures. To this writer, as well as to Tauler of the last Century, and the author of the German Theology, Luther afterwards expressed his obligations. The writings of Vincent Ferrerius, Henry Harphius, and Bernhard Senensis were of a more fanatical cast, but are not without traces of piety and wisdom. Marsilius Ficinus, Gerson, and others, endeavoured to temper the Mystic Theology with the scholastic system.

Monastic and other Religious Orders.

The more opulent Orders of Monks, especially the Augustinians and Benedictines, are represented as having arrived at the extreme of luxury and degeneracy during this Century. Attempts were made in Germany and France, by zealous individuals, to effect a reformation of those Societies; but the result of their labours was small, and the enormous evil of the system continued to display itself in the obstinacy of those who indulged in licentiousness and vice under its protection. The Mendicant Orders, quarrelsome and ambitious, were perpetually embroiled with the Clergy, and frequently subject to difficulties and persecutions: the refuge which they afforded to the Beguines and Lollards, who were especially offensive to the Clergy, having increased the prejudices of the Sacred Order against the whole body. The Fratricelli, and their Tertiaries the Beghards, who resided chiefly in Italy, were the objects of severe persecutions, carried on chiefly by the Popes, Nicholas V. and Paul II.; but they found some powerful protectors, especially in Bohemia, and were sometimes in a condition to offer forcible resistance to the measures pursued against them. The Sect was, however, to a certain extent suppressed towards the latter part of the Century, but it was not entirely destroyed, and it eventually lost its identity by becoming merged in the great body of the reformed who adopted the tenets of Luther in the Sixteenth Century.

The Society of Brethren of the Common Life (*Fratres Vitæ Communis*), instituted in the last Century by Gerhard Groot, was finally established by the Council of Constance, and flourished in Germany and Holland.[1] The members of this Society had all their property in common, and lived in great harmony and peace: they were divided into two classes, the Illiterate and the Literate or Clerks; the former being employed inm nual labour, the latter in works of Literature, or in the conduct of schools, of which

[1] See Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. iii.

they erected a great number, and in these they were industrious and successful in the education of youth.

Sects and Heresies.

The Waldenses still subsisted in Pomerania, Brandenburg, and other Provinces; but they were subject to continual persecutions, and their number, before the close of the Century, was very small. More than three thousand of these unfortunate people are said to have been destroyed at one time, in consequence of a cruel commission issued against them by Pope Innocent VIII. in the year 1488, and executed by Albert, Archdeacon of Cremona.[1]

In Bosnia, Servia, and some neighbouring Countries, the Heresy of the Manichæans received countenance and protection, and was the object of Ecclesiastical jealousy.

The Adamites, or more fanatical Beghards or Turlupins, who were still found in France, Germany, and Switzerland, were the objects of a severe inquisition, and many of their number were committed to the flames; but this extravagant Sect continued in existence throughout the Century, and was at length exterminated by the arms of Liska, in the year 1421.

The beginning of this Century was distinguished by the appearance of a new Sect, called the White Penitents, which spread rapidly and extensively in Italy. In the year 1399, a certain Priest, who gave himself out as Elijah the Prophet, and predicted the immediate destruction of the world by an earthquake, descended from the Alps into Italy, and attracted universal attention by his method of conducting his pretended mission. He was attended at first by a few followers, clothed like himself in white garments, and carrying a crucifix from which blood appeared to exude. He laid claim to extraordinary revelations, and preached peace and repentance. In his progress through Italy his followers continued to increase, and even some dignitaries of the Church were included in the number. A considerable sensation was produced by his proceedings, and the appearance at least of repentance and mutual forgiveness became general wherever he went; until at length the fanatical Priest found himself at Viterbo, in the neighbourhood of Rome, at the head of several thousand followers, partaking in his austerities, and deluded by his imposture. Here, however, his course was finished: the Pope (Boniface IX.) caused his person to be seized, and, having extorted, or invented, a confession of his guilt, condemned him to the flames. His followers afterwards dispersed, and the Sect was annihilated.[2]

A fanatical Sect, of minor importance, appeared also in Flanders and Germany; but it attained little celebrity, and was speedily suppressed.

Towards the close of this Century the Inquisition was intro-

[1] Paul Perrin, *Histoire des Vaudois.*

[2] See Theodoric de Niem, lib. ii., c. 16. Poggio, *Historia Florentina*, lib. iii. Muratori, *Annal. Mediol.*

The Inquisition in Spain.

duced into Spain under the auspices of Ferdinand and Isabella, with Thomas de Torquemada, a Dominican, confessor to the King, for its chief. The institution soon began to assume a formidable aspect in that Country, more especially in its proceedings against the Jews; persons of all conditions were made subject to its authority, and those whom it condemned of Heresy were deprived of their property and civil privileges, while others were compelled, in great numbers, to seek safety in flight. The more particular history of this formidable tribunal belongs, however, to a later period, when its authority had become more extensive, and its system established and refined.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF REFORMATION. 1. Councils, and public attempts at Reformation.

One professed object of the several Councils which assembled during this Century was the Reformation of the Church, or the removal of ecclesiastical abuses. By this was meant, not a correction or renunciation of erroneous doctrines, but an improvement in external discipline, and the abridgment of the Papal power: it was a design, good indeed as far as it went, on the part of those who were deeply imbued with the theological errors of the Church of Rome, not to alter or destroy, but to purify and give stability to the existing system. Reform, in this sense of the word, had been often advocated; but in later times, as the abuses of the Church had multiplied, so the complaints respecting them had become more vehement, and that which had been hitherto a matter of private declamation became now a leading subject of public discussion. The attempts thus made to reform the Church in its head and in its members (according to the phrase then current) were not indeed productive of the results desired; but it is on many accounts interesting to trace the history of the proceedings connected with them. By the Council of Pisa, which met in 1409, the Cardinals, before they proceeded to the election of the new Pope, were obliged to bind themselves by oath, that whoever should be elected would not dissolve the Council until the work of reformation should have been effected. But Alexander V. afterwards displayed no hearty concurrence in the views of the reformers; he conceded some few points of minor importance, and remitted some claims which he would have found it difficult to exact; but he deferred the question of a comprehensive reform until the meeting of another General Council, which he promised to convene at the end of three years. This last, however, was no unimportant provision: and it is usually regarded as the most weighty result of the Council of Pisa, that by it the Pope was acknowledged to be inferior to a General Council. In the Council of Constance which met in the year 1414, after the termination of the Schism by the election of Martin V., and the proceedings relative to Huss, Jerome, and others, the great question of reform was brought under consideration. A Committee of Reform had been appointed in one of the early Sessions of the

Council, to inquire into the existing necessities of the Church, and to prepare plans of improvement. After this it was debated whether the question of reform, or that of the election of a Pope, should be first disposed of. This became a subject of warm and protracted debate; it was, in fact, one of the greatest moment, for experience had by this time made it abundantly evident that a Pope, if previously elected, would defeat the proposed measure of reform; and so it was easy to perceive that the question of previous or subsequent election involved that of reform itself. On this ground, indeed, that question was lost: it was agreed that the election should be the first measure; and this, when effected, led to the usual policy of the Pope, to reluctance, evasion, and delay. Before the election took place, the plans of the Committee of Reform were made known, and favourably received by the Council; but it had now been determined that they could not be carried into effect without the concurrence of the future Pontiff, who afterwards, having enjoined upon the Committee a revision of its task, and having associated some creatures of his own in the work, entangled the Reformers by this means in endless divisions and disputes, and rendered their efforts nugatory. At length, the Pope, having published his own scheme of reformation, which was, as might have been expected, altogether trifling and inefficient, and having declared it to be ample and satisfactory, dissolved the Council, and repaired to Italy, to enjoy the opulence and the power which had been so dexterously preserved. It had been enacted that another Council should assemble at the end of five years from the period of the dissolution of that of Constance; but it was not until the year 1431 that the meeting took place at Basle. Here again the reformation of the Church was the avowed, and, as far as regarded the majority of the members, was doubtless the real, object of desire. But here likewise the Council and the Pope, Eugenius IV., came into collision on this important question. The superiority of the Council to the Pope, which had been declared by the decree of Constance, was warmly asserted and as eagerly resisted; and much time was wasted in angry altercation, which ceased only when the political weakness of the Pope had constrained him to submission. After this, some important Edicts were passed for the suppression of Ecclesiastical abuses; the chief of which related to the abolition of Annates, Expectatives, Reservations, and other provisions; subscription of a Confession of Faith by a newly elected Pope; the number of Cardinals, which was reduced to twenty-four; and the morals of the Clergy. The Council of Basle was thus, in some measure, successful with regard to the projected scheme of the reformation of Ecclesiastical abuses; but the Popes afterwards found means to evade, more or less, the substance of its decrees. In Germany, however, and more especially in France, much was effected towards

the limitation of Papal power and impositions, by means of national assemblies. At the very commencement of this Century, during the Pontificate of Gregory XII., the Parliament of France had prohibited the levying of Annates in that Country: a warm opposition was afterwards made by the University of Paris to a demand for the payment of Tenths made by Alexander V., and some resistance was made to a similar claim put forward by John XXIII.[1] At length, in the Council of Bourges, held under Charles VII., in the year 1438, the liberties of the Gallican Church were placed on a firmer foundation, by the passing of the celebrated ordinance called, by way of eminence, the Pragmatic Sanction. By this constitution the Pope was entirely excluded from the exercise of temporal authority in the Kingdom of France; and his spiritual authority was declared to be limited by the ancient Canons of the Church. In Germany, notwithstanding a considerable opposition to Papal despotism which occasionally manifested itself, the cause of Rome gained ground, and the decrees of the Council of Basle lost their force not long after they had been enacted.

John Huss.

The effects of Wickliffe's labours in the last Century developed themselves at the commencement of the present, more especially in Bohemia, where the opinions of this early Reformer were circulated through the instrumentality of Huss and his friends. The history of these followers of Wickliffe involves within it that of the more important part of the progress of the Reformation during the Fifteenth Century. John Huss was born on the 6th of July, 1373, at Hussinetz, a village of Bohemia. His parents were poor, and unable to afford him a liberal education; but, by the bounty of some opulent friends, he was enabled to pursue a course of study at the University of Prague, where he became distinguished by his talents and virtues, and was appointed Professor of Divinity and Philosophy. In the year 1400, he was chosen by Sophia of Bavaria, Queen of Bohemia, to be her Confessor, and soon after he acquired great credit as a Preacher at the Chapel of Bethlehem, where he delivered his discourses, according to the custom of the place, in the vulgar tongue. He had thus obtained powerful means of influence over the Court, the Students, and the People, and he directed his unwearied efforts to the promotion of practical piety in each of these quarters. He continued for some time to lecture and to preach with the approbation of both Clergy and Laity; and it is said that Sbinko, Archbishop of Prague, availed himself of his talents for the correction of some irregularities of morals which had disturbed his Diocese. During this time, Huss was by no means charged, or chargeable, with Heresy. On the contrary, when he first became acquainted with the writings of Wickliffe, he severely

[1] Du Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. v., p. 210, *et seq.*

condemned the tenets by which they were distinguished, and approved himself as a good Catholic by his vehement protestations against these reputedly dangerous productions. But it was a more deep and thorough acquaintance with the Works of our English Reformer, for which Huss is supposed to have been indebted, under Divine Providence, to his friend Jerome, that led him to discover, and eventually to abandon, the errors of the system in which he had been brought up. Urged by his convictions, he now began to inveigh boldly against the errors and abuses of the corrupt Church, and by so doing, while he found many partisans, he drew upon himself, of course, the dislike and opposition of the adherents of Rome. He was involved also at the same time in a philosophical dispute, taking part warmly with the Realists against the doctrines of the Nominalists; and he afterwards used his influence with Wenceslaus to obtain an Edict, whereby the Bohemian members of the University, who were for the most part Realists, and favourers of the doctrines of Wickliffe, should have three votes in four, in matters relating to the government and dignities of the University, while the Germans, who took the different side, should be restricted to one only, thus inverting the ancient and established order of the prerogative. This occasioned a secession of several thousand[1] German (*i. e.*, Polish, Saxon, and Bavarian) Professors and students from Prague, who afterwards settled at Leipzig, Erfurt, Ingolstadt, Rostock, and Cracow, and carried with them, wherever they went, their animosity against Huss and Jerome, as the chief causes of their misfortunes at Prague. By this means the seeds of a violent opposition to the Reformer and his doctrine were spread over Germany. Prague was declared to be infected with the Heresy of Wickliffe, and many of the inhabitants of that city itself were little inclined to favour the doctrines and the opinions which had diminished their gains by occasioning the secession of so large a portion of the Academical body. After the death of the Archbishop of Prague, who had become a violent opponent of Huss, the Pope's Legate, who was sent in the year 1412 with the pallium to his successor, brought with him a Bull for the issue of Indulgences, which roused the indignation of the Reformer, and was met by open hostility on the part of himself and his friend Jerome. It was in consequence of this resistance to Papal authority that Huss was summoned to appear before the Council of Constance. This summons he unhesitatingly obeyed, and on the 3d day of November, 1414, he arrived at the place of assembly with the safe-conduct of the Emperor Sigismund, in his pocket, but with that amount of Ecclesiastical odium on the one hand, and that resolution and firmness of mind on the other, by

[1] This number is usually stated at five thousand, but some accounts go much higher.

which he there fell a sacrifice to the cause of truth. Soon after his arrival at Constance, Huss was placed in close confinement, in which he remained during several months. At length, on the 5th, 7th, and 8th of June, 1415, he had a public hearing before the Council. But when, in answer to the charge of Heresy, he appealed to the Holy Scriptures as the source of his doctrines and opinions, such a course of justification was declared to be inadmissible, and the paramount authority of the Council in matters of Faith was strongly asserted. Even Gerson, the great reformer of Ecclesiastical abuses, concurred in claiming unlimited obedience to the great assembly of the Church: and Huss was told by another of the Doctors, as much perhaps in earnest as in jest, If the Council declares that you have but one eye, though indeed you have two, you must yet acknowledge the Council to be right. The articles of accusation which were brought against Huss related chiefly to his tenets respecting the revenues and power of the Clergy; these he was called upon publicly to renounce; but these, he asserted in reply, he must continue to maintain until he should be better instructed by the Council. Various methods were employed to induce him to retract the offensive opinions, but to no purpose. On the 5th of July he was summoned to a final audience, the Emperor himself being present;[1] and then, persisting in his refusal to retract, he was condemned to the flames as an obstinate Heretic. Huss suffered the execution of his sentence with great patience and devoutness on the following day; his ashes were cast into the Rhine, and he had committed his soul into the hands of his Redeemer. In point of doctrine he had not departed widely from the established creed of the Roman Catholic Church; and his condemnation was brought about, not so much by any suspicion or charge of spiritual Heresy, as, first, by the boldness with which he had attacked the corruptions of the Clergy, and especially the danger which threatened the Ecclesiastical revenues from the dissemination of his doctrines; secondly, by the animosity of the Nominalists, which had been excited by his attachment to the opposite party; and, more particularly, by the resentment of the Germans, whom

[1] Sigismund concurred in the sentence of the Council, although he manifested a disposition both before and afterwards, to save the Reformer from the flames. The terms of the safe-conduct which he had granted are as follows:—"Honorabilem magistrum Johannem Huss—de Regno Boemice in Concilium Generale—transeuntem—vobis omnibus et vestrum cuilibet pleno recommandamus affectu, desiderantes, quatenus ipsum, cum ad vos pervenerit, grate suscipere—omnique prorsus impedimento remoto transire, stare, morari, et redire libere permittatis, sibique et suis." It is true that the condemnation of Huss was the act, not of the Emperor alone, but of the Council; the Doctors at the same time affirming that no faith was to be kept with Heretics, and that the protection of the Emperor could not be lawfully extended to such; but it is plain that, in fact, whatever may have been the decision of the Council, Sigismund was bound, by the terms of his safe-conduct, to secure *the return* of the Reformer to Bohemia.

he had been instrumental in removing from the University of Prague. To these causes may, perhaps, be added, his appeal to the Sacred Writings in support of his opinions, as an authority superior to that of a General Council.

Jerome of Prague.

Jerome, the friend of Huss, who had propagated his opinions at Prague, and had attended the Council of Constance to assist in his defence, perceiving that he was himself obnoxious to the Ecclesiastical authorities, retired from the place of assembly, and then professed himself ready to make his defence before the Council when he should have obtained sufficient assurance for his personal safety at Constance. The safe-conduct which was granted, in reply to this application, contained a provisional clause, which sufficiently indicated to Jerome the danger which would attend his appearance before the Council; and he accordingly began his return to Bohemia. In the course of his journey, however, he was seized by order of the Council, and conducted to Constance as a prisoner. He was brought before the Council for the first time on the 23d of May, when he firmly maintained his opinions; he was heard a second time shortly after the execution of Huss, and again on the 11th of September, on which last occasion he was induced to make a formal retractation of the errors with which he had been formerly infected, and to profess his adherence to the Church of Rome.

Notwithstanding this, Jerome was kept in confinement, and soon had an opportunity of showing how sincerely he repented of his denial of the truth. His enemies brought forward new charges against him; and at another audience, which was granted him on the 23d of May, 1416, when the assembled Fathers hoped to receive fresh concessions and submission, he openly recalled his former retractation, acknowledged his continued adherence to the opinions of Huss, and declared himself ready to suffer the penalty which, as he candidly acknowledged, he had on the former occasion too much dreaded. His doom was now sealed; he perseveringly refused to make another retractation, and, in the course of a few days, he cheerfully submitted to the flames.

As a preliminary step to the condemnation of Huss, the Council had stigmatized the Writings of Wickliffe as heretical, and had issued a decree commanding his bones to be dug up, and to be burnt together with his Works.

The Hussites.

The condemnation of Huss and Jerome excited in the minds of the Bohemians a powerful feeling of hostility against the Emperor and the Council. A spirit of insubordination and revolutionary movements displayed themselves in the country, where the voice of reason and attempts at reformation had been so violently suppressed. Little was now wanted to kindle the flame of rebellion, and that little was speedily supplied. After the departure of Huss from Prague, his friend Jacobus (or Jaco-

bellus) de Misa had insisted strongly on the necessity of administering the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in both kinds to the Laity, in opposition to which doctrine the Council of Constance enacted a statute expressly declaring that the communion was to be administered to the Laity in one kind only. Huss had given it as his opinion that the administration in both kinds was conformable to the practice of the primitive Church, but he did not attach much weight to the question, and he would by no means have encouraged a violent demand for the administration in both kinds in opposition to the decision of the Council. But a matter of form is precisely adapted to engage the passions of the multitude, and after the death of the martyrs of Constance, *the Cup!* became the watchword of party, and the signal of open rebellion; so that four thousand Bohemians were soon in arms, under Nicholas of Hussinetz and the furious Ziska. The rebels pitched their tents, and erected a fortified camp, on a mountain of Bohemia named Tabor, from which they assumed the distinguishing appellation of Taborites. Here a successful resistance was offered to the Imperial forces; an attack was made upon the city of Prague with a favourable result; and in a short time all Germany was disturbed by a commotion which had now assumed the formidable appearance and name of the Hussite war.[1] These extreme measures alarmed, however, the more moderate of the partisans of Huss, and a division of the party ensued. Those among them who demanded only the restoration of the cup to the Laity, the translation and explanation of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, the improvement of Ecclesiastical discipline, and the abatement of the revenues of the Clergy, adopted the name of Calixtines or Utraquists;[2] while those who advocated the pushing of Reform to still greater lengths, and sought to reduce the Church to a state of Apostolical simplicity, retained the appellation of Taborites. These latter were fanatical in their notions, and violent in their proceedings; they despised all constituted authority, Ecclesiastical as well as Civil, and acted upon the suggestion of Martin Logius, a Moravian, who pretended to foretell the immediate coming of Christ to commence a visible personal reign upon earth. Ziska died, by the pestilence, in the year 1424, and Procopius Rasa, a Bohemian nobleman, of great courage and resolution, was chosen General in his room. Under his auspices, the war was carried on with unabated fury, and great barbarities were committed on both sides. At length all parties seemed desirous of an accommodation, and the Bohemians were invited to the Council of Basle, with a view to the accomplishment of this object. Great numbers of these people, with

[1] See Lenfant, *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites et du Concile du Bâle;* Beausobre's *Supplement.*

[2] From *calix, the cup,* and the phrase ***sub utraque forma,*** in both kinds.

Procopius at their head, repaired accordingly to Basle in the early part of the year 1433; but they returned in April of the same year without having effected their purpose, although not without having left a good impression on the minds of the people of Basle, with respect at least to the more moderate and religious of their party. The war was accordingly renewed; and the Catholic party, under Maynard, having obtained a signal victory over the insurgent Taborites, destroyed great numbers of the most violent of these unfortunate people, by an inhuman but successful artifice. A deputation from the Council was afterwards sent into Bohemia, by which a reconciliation was brought about with the Calixtines, upon condition of allowing them the use of the Cup; and the Taborites, having subsequently endured a severe persecution from the King of Bohemia, although they continued to retain most of their opinions, and refused to join the Communion of the Romish Church, were yet induced to abandon the most unchristian portion of their doctrines, to lay down the arms of rebellion, and adopt a more moderate course of proceeding.

Other individual Reformers.

This Century was distinguished by several eminent men, besides Huss and his friends, who may be regarded, if we consider the tendency and effect of their writings, as the forerunners of Luther. John Wessel, a pupil of Thomas à Kempis, born at Gröningen in the year 1419, is a celebrated member of this class. This man, uniting the sentiments of a fervent piety with the exercise of a fine genius and the attainments of extensive learning, acquired a high reputation, and received from his numerous admirers the overstrained, and even presumptuous, title of Lux Mundi, or Light of the World. He followed the steps of Wickliffe and Huss, in denouncing the Papal supremacy, together with many of the existing superstitions and Ecclesiastical abuses; and was compelled to quit the University of Paris on account of his opinions. He attached more importance to love than to knowledge; but he did not undervalue knowledge when made subservient to love. It was a favourite aphorism with him—*Qui scit, ut sciat, stultus est; qui sciunt ut sciantur stultiores.* Luther afterwards expressed his entire agreement in sentiment with Wessel, and his reverence for his character.

John Burchard, commonly called, from the name of his birthplace, John of Wesalia, inveighed boldly against many of the errors of the Church of Rome, and denounced especially Indulgences, Pilgrimages, and Fasts, as worthless and vain. His opposition was resolute, and his irony was bitter; he was tried as a Heretic, and sentenced to solitary confinement, in which he died.

Towards the latter part of this century, Jerome Savonarola, a Dominican, native of Ferrara, created a great sensation in Italy, and especially at Florence, by preaching reform both in the

discipline of the Church and in the morals of the people, as well Laity as Clergy. These demands he enforced by a pretended commission from Heaven, and multitudes were disposed for a season to regard him as a Prophet of the Lord; until at length the Franciscans, the inveterate enemies of the Order to which Savonarola belonged, contrived by an artifice to destroy his popularity, and to procure his condemnation as a Heretic. The preacher was accordingly committed to the flames; and thus the enemies of the truth which he had promulgated appeared to gain a temporary triumph. That truth, however, was left as a leaven in the minds of many men; and Luther does not hesitate to class Savonarola, with Huss and Jerome, among the Reformers of the Church.

Followers of Wickliffe in England.

The doctrines which had been faithfully and earnestly taught by Wickliffe made great progress in England during this century; and the sayings, sufferings, and doings of those persons who may be regarded, in a subordinate sense, as his followers, compose a great and important portion of this period of our national Church History. The Wickliffites, or Lollards, as they were commonly called, became now the subject of a fierce and unrelenting persecution. Upon the accession of Henry IV., the Statute was enacted *De Heretico Comburendo* (A.D. 1400), under which so many witnesses of Christian Truth sealed their testimony with their blood during the space of nearly two centuries. "The first victim of this odious Statute was William Sawtree, parish priest of St. Osyth, in the city of London, against whom eight articles were exhibited, of which the principal was his denial that the element ceased to be bread after consecration. After going through the formalities of degradation,—the symbols of each of the seven Orders, from Priest to Sexton, having been successively placed upon him to be ignominiously removed,—the last sign of the clerical character was shaved from his head, and he was transferred, dressed as a layman, to the Sheriff charged with his execution. It was right that an Ecclesiastic should take honourable precedence as England's Protestant Protomartyr.[1] The second was an humble artificer (a tailor), of Worcester, named John Badby, who, after having received sentence from his diocesan, was brought up to London, and, still refusing to disbelieve the evidence of his senses, as to any corporal transmutation of the consecrated host, was committed to the flames in Smithfield. But the most signal victim of Archbishop Arundel's relentless activity was the illustrious Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, who

[1] It may be right to say that one or two instances of the infliction of capital punishment on account of religious opinions occurred in this country during the thirteenth century. But the martyrdom of Sawtree was the beginning of the great persecution in England, when the contest began between the Church of Rome and our Reformers.

was believed to have expended large sums upon the transcription of Wickliffe's works, and on the maintenance of his itinerant preachers. In vain did his sovereign, Henry V., implore his faithful servant to yield to the decisions of Holy Church The acknowledged Head of that Church Cobham firmly maintained to be the predicted Antichrist: and Henry, unable to obtain a retractation of his opinion, reluctantly abandoned his faithful servant to the effects of what he considered to be his own wilful obstinacy. When brought before the Primate for the second time, at the Hall of the Black Friars, in Ludgate, and required to acknowledge his errors, and humbly to seek absolution,—"I never yet," replied the intrepid Confessor, "trespassed against you, and therefore I will not do it;" then, kneeling down, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he said, "I shrive me here unto thee, my eternal living God, that in my frail youth I offended thee, O Lord, most grievously in pride, wrath, and gluttony, in covetousness, and in lechery. Many men have I hurt in my anger, and done many other horrible sins. Good Lord, I ask Thee mercy!" Rising, in tears, he said with a loud voice, "Lo! good people, lo! for the breaking of God's law and his great commandments they never cursed me; but for their own laws and traditions most cruelly do they handle both me and other men; and therefore, both they and their laws, by the promise of God, shall be utterly destroyed." When asked to declare his faith concerning the blessed Sacrament, his evasive reply, "I believe that in the sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body in form of bread," was deemed unsatisfactory; and his further explanation in answer to the demands of his inquisitors, "that it was Christ's body *and* bread, the former being concealed under the latter, as the invisible Godhead was concealed under the visible manhood,"[1] was pronounced heretical. Vainly did he appeal to St. Paul, who called it bread, though consecrated. Holy Church, he was informed, had decided that the Apostle's words were not to be so understood. In the course of the discussion, Wickliffe's name having been contemptuously introduced, "As for that virtuous man," said Cobham, "whose judgments ye so highly disdain, I shall say here, of my part, before God and man, that before I knew that despised doctrine of his, I never abstained from sin. But since I learned therein to fear my Lord God, it hath, I trust, been otherwise with me; so much grace could I never find in all your glorious instruction." When interrogated regarding his sentiments concerning the Church and the Pope,[2] he boldly avowed

[1] It appears from this answer that Cobham was only partially enlightened on the subject of the Lord's Supper. He seemed to cling to the idea of something like a *corporeal* presence *in the elements*; whereas, the real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper is a *spiritual* presence *in the hearts* of *faithful* communicants.

[2] The Articles on which Lord Cobham was examined are distinctly stated by Bale; and they are well worthy of consideration, as being substantially those which

his conviction, that the whole hierarchy corresponded to the Apocalyptic Beast, of which the Pope was the head, the Bishops, Priests, Prelates, and Monks, the body, and the begging Friars the tail, which covered the filthiness of the rest by their subtle sophistry. Information of this nature was anything but desirable for a mixed audience; but the examination still proceeded. "Sir," said a Dominican, "will you worship the cross of Christ, that He died upon?" "Where is it?" said the Lord Cobham. "But, supposing it were here," rejoined the friar. "A wise man," said Cobham, "to question me earnestly of a thing, and yet he knows not where it is; but again I ask, what worship should I do unto it?" "Such," interposed a clerk, "as Paul speaketh of, 'God forbid that I should glory, but in the cross of Jesus Christ.'" "Then," said the Lord Cobham, and spread his arm abroad, "this is a very cross, yea, and so much better than your cross of wood, in that it was created of God; yet will I not seek to have it worshipped." "Sir," said the Bishop of London, "ye wot well that he died on a material cross." "Yes," replied Cobham, "and I wot also that our salvation came not by that material cross, but by Him alone who died thereon." Against so prompt and unyielding an opponent, nothing was to be gained by protracted argumentation. The result had from the first been anticipated; the condemnation was now solemnly pronounced. On hearing himself adjudged as an excommunicated heretic to be delivered to the secular jurisdiction, "to do him thereupon to death," the intrepid prisoner exclaimed, "Though ye judge my body, which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certain and sure

continued for a long time to constitute the touchstone of heresy, and for the denial of which multitudes of martyrs were from time to time committed to the flames. Here we see what are the points on which the Church of Rome in those days *insisted* as capital. And we may be assured that the same tests would again be applied if an opportunity of using them should be permitted to occur. The Articles are as follow:—"The faith and determination of Holy Church touching the blissful sacrament of the altar is this: that after the sacramental words be once spoken by a priest in his mass, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christ's very body; and the material wine, that was afore wine, is turned into Christ's very blood; and so there remaineth in the sacrament of the altar from thenceforth no material bread nor material wine which were there before the sacramental words were spoken. How believe ye this Article?—Holy Church hath determined, that every Christian man living here bodily upon earth, ought to be shriven to a priest ordained by the Church, if he may come to him. How feel ye this Article?—Christ ordained St. Peter the Apostle to be his Vicar here in earth; whose See is the Holy Church of Rome. And he granted that the same power which he gave unto Peter should succeed to all Peter's successors, which we now call Popes of Rome; by whose special power in Churches particular, be ordained prelates, as Archbishops, Bishops, Parsons, Curates, and other degrees more; unto whom Christian men ought to obey after the laws of the Church of Rome. This is the determination of Holy Church. How feel ye this Article?—Holy Church hath determined that it is meritorious to a Christian man to go on pilgrimage to holy places; and there specially to worship holy relics and images of Saints, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and all other Saints besides approved by the Church of Rome. How feel ye this Article?"—See *Chronicle of the Examination and Death of Lord Cobham*, by Bishop Bale, in *Select Works of Bishop Bale*, published by the Parker Society.

that ye can do no harm to my soul, no more than could Satan unto the soul of Job. He that created that, will of his infinite mercy and promise, save it. I have therein no manner of doubt. And as concerning these Articles before mentioned, I will stand to them even to the very death, by the grace of my eternal God!" Death, however, was not so near as he imagined. He was remanded to the Tower, whence, escaping into Wales, where Wickliffe's opinion found many adherents, he contrived for four years to baffle the efforts of his enemies. Being at last apprehended through the vigilance (it is added, the treachery) of Lord Powis, he was brought to London; a vague and unsupported charge of treason was made a ground for augmenting the cruelty of his previous sentence, and he was consumed, hanging in chains, over a slow fire, praising God, and with his last breath commending his soul to his Redeemer. Under the primacy of Archbishop Bouchier (1457), the tender mercies of a sleepless hierarchy were signally exhibited towards one of their own order, Reginald Peacock, Bishop of Chichester. That amiable and learned, though not altogether consistent prelate, had the misfortune to think that reasoning might be beneficially substituted for persecution, the candour to allow that the arguments of refuted heretics against some received practices were not altogether contemptible, and the boldness to affirm that the law and faith of the Church might be tested by the Scriptures, to see whether it be the very faith which Christ and His Apostles taught or no. For a learned and influential prelate of the Church thus to defend the position of those who questioned her infallibility, and to call up reason, long slumbering under the footstool of authority, to try her claims at the bar of Holy Scripture, was a portentous shaking of the foundations of spiritual dominion, and an opening wide of the sluices of omnigenous error. A charge of heresy was, of course, exhibited against him, and a public abjuration at Paul's Cross was required, as the condition of escape from the flames. His spirit did not rise, his convictions probably did not impel him, to choose the more dreadful side of the alternative. One by one he delivered his books into the hands of the person charged with their combustion, confessed in abject terms his error in having allowed himself to rely upon his own wisdom, and formally abjured every erroneous tenet imputed to him, humbly submitting to the judgment of the Church and his Lord of Canterbury. Deprived of his bishopric, he was doomed to pass the residue of life in solitary confinement at Thorny Abbey, in Cambridgeshire; and the name of Peacock, in the next generation, was only remembered by being associated with those of Wickliffe and Huss, as a beacon-light to warn the adventurous student how he made shipwreck upon the adamantine rock of Church authority. During the fierce conflicts between the houses of York and Lan-

caster, the persecuted Wickliffites experienced a brief respite. In the beautiful language of Fuller, "The very storm was their shelter." But with the reign of Henry VII., who found in ecclesiastics the most zealous supporters of his claim, sanguinary proceedings were revived. "To the dissolute Clergy," says the same authority, "he was indeed severe; but to the Lollards more cruel than his predecessors." On one occasion, the Monarch condescended to argue with an aged priest of Canterbury, who professed himself unable to cope with royal logic, but was burnt immediately after his abjuration. The honours of fourscore years were not allowed to plead exemption for a venerable lady, Joan Boughton, who was committed to the flames in Smithfield (A.D. 1498), and whose ashes were collected during the following night, to be treasured up as tokens of pious remembrance. And the triumph of religious bigotry was complete when at the burning of Tylsworth, at Amersham (A.D. 1506), his only daughter, suspected of entertaining his opinions, was compelled to kindle the flame which consumed her parent. Above sixty persons who had dropped expressions more or less offensive to Holy Church bore faggots at this execution; a large number of whom were, moreover, tied to a post with towels, and, their hands being tied fast, were branded on their cheeks with a hot iron; ever after, bearing, as Fox observes, "in their bodies, the prints of the Lord Jesus."[1]

The labours of Reuchlin and Erasmus, the great literary promoters of the Reformation, will properly engage our attention in the Annals of the following century.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

John Huss.
John Gerson.
Theodoric de Niem.
Vincent Ferrerius.
Nicholas de Clemangis.
Demetrius Chrysoloras, Gr.
Alphonsus Tostatus.
Laurentius Valla.
Marcus Eugenicus (Mark of Ephesus), Gr.
Bessarion, Gr.
John de Turrecremata.
George of Trebizond, Gr.
Reginald Peacock.
Thomas a Kempis.
George Scholarus, or Gennadius, Gr.
Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini.
John Wessel.
Jerome Savonarola.
Marsilius Ficinus.
John Picus of Mirandola;
And others.

JOHN HUSS.

The History of this Reformer's life belongs to the Annals of the Church. His writings relate, for the most part, to the controversies of the day; comprising various Defences of the Works

[1] Baxter's *Church History of England.*

and Opinions of Wickliffe, Tracts on the Church, on Antichrist and the Anatomy of his Members; a Commentary on the Apocalypse; Sermons, and Letters. While confined as a prisoner at Constance, Huss wrote *An Explanation of the Creed, Decalogue,* and *Lord's Prayer;* Treatises on *Mortal Sin; On Matrimony; On the Knowledge and Love of God; On the Three Enemies of Man, and the Seven Mortal Sins; On the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.* The greater part of his Works, together with various documents relating to his Life, were collected and printed in two volumes, folio, Nuremberg, 1588.

JOHN GERSON,

(*Doctor venerabilis et Christianissimus*), Chancellor of the University of Paris. This celebrated man was born in the year 1363, and sent at the age of fourteen to the University of Paris, where he distinguished himself by his talents and learning, and rose rapidly to the highest offices. As Chancellor of the University, he made great efforts to put an end to the Schism with which the Church was distracted; and in the Council assembled at Paris in the year 1408, he induced Charles to withdraw his obedience from Benedict and Gregory. He wrote a treatise defending the principles upon which the Council of Pisa was convened; and after that Council, he urged strongly upon the three rival Pontiffs the propriety of adopting the method of cession. At the Council of Constance he persevered in his efforts for the restoration of unity; and there, while he joined in the condemnation of Huss, he displayed an extraordinary zeal in the cause of the Reformation of the Church in its Head and in its members. Gerson attempted also to improve the system of scholastic learning, but without much success. He died A.D. 1429, in voluntary exile, at Lyons, being unable to return from Constance to Paris, on account of the influence of John, Duke of Burgundy, whose hostility he had provoked by his proceedings against Petit, who had defended the assassination of the Duke of Orleans in 1407. Mosheim designates Gerson as "the most illustrious ornament of his age; a man of extensive influence and authority, whom the Council of Constance looked upon as its oracle, the lovers of liberty as their patron, and whose memory is yet precious to such among the French as are at all zealous for the maintenance of their privileges against Papal despotism." A good edition of his works, by Du Pin, was published at Antwerp, 1706.

THEODORIC DE NIEM,

author of a History of the Schism between the Popes and Antipopes, from the death of Gregory XI. to the Election of Alexander V., in three Books; to which is added a fourth Book,

entitled *Nemus Unionis.* He was secretary to several of the Roman Pontiffs; and rose to the dignity of Archbishop of Cambray.

VINCENT FERRERIUS,

a native of Spain, a Dominican Monk, Confessor to Benedict XIII., was celebrated as a Preacher, and author of a Treatise on the Spiritual Life, or concerning the Inner Man, Sermons, and Letters. He attained great popularity during his life, and was distinguished by a place in the Calendar after his death.

NICHOLAS DE CLEMANGIS,

(*Doctor Theologus*), Rector of the University of Paris, 1393. He was distinguished by his integrity and piety, and employed his pen in depicting and denouncing the errors of the times, inveighing against the ambition and other enormities of the Pontiffs, the avarice and vices of the Clergy, the idleness, luxury, and debauchery of the Monks, and the general depravity of morals among the Laity. He wrote, among other Treatises, *On the Corrupt State of the Church, On the Ruin of the Church, On the Study of Theology,* and numerous Epistles. He died about the year 1440. The greater part of his Works were collected and published at Leyden by J. M. Lydius, 1613.

DEMETRIUS CHRYSOLORAS, Gr.,

was distinguished as the author of several Works in the controversy against the Latins, and was eminent as a Philosopher and Astrologer. He flourished about A.D. 1430.

ALPHONSUS TOSTATUS,

Bishop of Avila, author of a very voluminous Commentary on the Scriptures, and other Works. He is said to have written, in the space of twenty-two years, more than any other person can read with attention in the course of a whole life. He died A.D. 1454.

LAURENTIUS VALLA

is remarkable chiefly as the great restorer of Latin Literature; but he was likewise the author of Annotations on the New Testament, and other Theological Works. He died in the year 1465.

MARCUS EUGENICUS (MARK OF EPHESUS), Gr.,

Archbishop of Ephesus, a firm supporter of the tenets of the Greek Church against the Latins. He refused his assent to the union of the Churches, agreed on in the Council of Florence; and after his return to the East, he continued to attack the Latin doctrines in his controversial writings.

BESSARION, Gr.,

Archbishop of Nice; at first a friend of Mark of Ephesus, and a supporter of the doctrines of the Greek Church, but afterwards a great supporter of the union at Florence, and defender of the Latin tenets. On his return from the Council, he was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople; but, in consequence of the opposition made by the Greeks, he was unable to retain his office. He then removed to Italy, was made a Cardinal, and employed in important services to the Romish Church, and in the patronage of Literature. He died A.D. 1472.

JOHN DE TURRECREMATA,

a staunch supporter of the Pontifical party in the Council of Basle against the Hussites, and in that of Florence against Mark of Ephesus and the Greek party. His writings relate chiefly to Ecclesiastical and Monastic affairs; they comprise also a Commentary on the Psalms and the Epistles of St. Paul, and Sermons.

GEORGE OF TREBIZOND, Gr.,

wrote in defence of the Latin doctrine concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost; but is celebrated chiefly as a translator of the Works of several of the Greek Fathers into Latin. He wrote also a Treatise on the Truth of the Christian Religion in Greek. He died A.D. 1486.

REGINALD PEACOCK,

Bishop of St. Asaph, wrote against the followers of Wickliffe; but was so ready to acknowledge many of the errors and abuses of the Church of Rome, that he was accused of Heresy, and obliged to make a public retractation of his obnoxious opinions.

THOMAS A KEMPIS,

the reputed author of the celebrated Treatise on the *Imitation of Christ.* It has been warmly contended that Thomas a Kempis is to be regarded only as the Latin translator, not as the author, of this Treatise; but the matter has not been satisfactorily made out, and he therefore enjoys, for the most part, the credit of having composed this admirable book. He was born in the year 1380, of John and Gertrude Hammerlein, at Kempis or Kempen, a small town in the Duchy of Cleves. In 1406 he became a Canon Regular of Augustines, and was afterwards made Subprior of Mount St. Agnes' Monastery. He died A.D. 1471, in the ninety-second year of his age. Sermons, Meditations, and a variety of practical and devotional Treatises, besides the book above-mentioned, are attributed to this author.

GEORGE SCHOLARUS, or GENNADIUS, Gr.,

He is said to have taken part at first with the Greeks in the controversy against the Latins, but afterwards to have favoured

the latter, and the proceedings of the Council of Florence. He was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople by Mahomet, after the capture of that city, which dignity he retained during the space of five years, when he resigned the office and retired to a Monastery, where he died about A.D. 1460.

ÆNEAS SYLVIUS PICCOLOMINI,

afterwards Pope Pius II. During the rupture between Eugenius and the Council of Basle, he supported the cause of the latter by his eloquence and his pen, but subsequently he went over to the party of the Emperor and the Pope, and, after his own elevation to the Papacy, publicly retracted his early opinions, and condemned the writings in which he had maintained them. A large collection of his Epistles is extant, besides a great variety of other Theological and Historical Treatises, together with some Works on Rhetoric and Grammar.

JOHN WESSEL,

a native of Gröningen, Professor of Theology at Cologne, Heidelberg, Paris, Basle, and Gröningen. He was distinguished as a Linguist, a Poet, and an Orator, and especially as a Philosopher and Divine. Among his principal Treatises are to be reckoned those *On Providence; On the Incarnation and Passion of our Saviour; On the Dignity and Power of the Church; On the Sacrament of Penance and the Power of the Keys; On Purgatory; On Prayer; On the Eucharist; On Justification by Christ.* He died A.D. 1489.

JEROME SAVONAROLA.

The following are some of the chief Works of this celebrated writer. *The Triumph of the Cross*, a Treatise on the Truth of the Christian Religion; *On the Christian Life; On the Love of Christ;* Dialogues, Epistles, Meditations, Sermons. He was born in the year 1452, and put to death May 23, 1498, aged forty-six years. His life was written by J. F. Picus of Mirandola.

MARSILIUS FICINUS,

Canon of Florence, a celebrated Platonist. He wrote a Treatise on the Christian Religion; on the Platonic Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul; a Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul; Epistles, Sermons, and various Treatises on the Christian Religion and the Platonic Philosophy. He died A.D. 1499.

JOHN PICUS OF MIRANDOLA,

born A.D. 1463, was remarkable, while yet a youth, for his talents and eager pursuit of Literature. Having at an early age visited the principal Universities, and formed the acquaintance of their

most eminent Professors, he became celebrated for his extensive erudition, eloquence, and proficiency in polite Literature. He then repaired to Rome, and there proposed for public disputation nine hundred intricate questions in Dialectics, Metaphysics, and Mathematics. He was afterwards accused of holding heretical opinions, and defended himself in an Apology: but the public disputation was forbidden; and Mirandola, having lost his desire for such discussions, applied himself to the more quiet study of the Scripture and Theology. He wrote, among other Works, *Heptaplus*, or a Treatise on the Six Days' Creation; Commentaries on the New Testament; and a Defence of the Christian Religion. He died A.D. 1494, at the early age of thirty-two.

To this list may be added, as writers of inferior note, although of some consequence,—

BERNARDINUS SENENSIS, an author of devotional Treatises;

JOHN NIDER, who wrote on Casuistry and Practical Divinity;

LAURENTIUS JUSTINIANIS, author of Devotional and Practical Works;

NICHOLAS DE CUSA, a Theological and Mathematical writer;

DIONYSIUS A RYCKEL, a Scholastic writer, author of Commentaries on Scripture, Sermons, and other Practical and Devotional Treatises;

ALPHONSUS SPINA, a converted Jew, author of a Defence of Christianity against the Jews, Saracens, and other impugners of the Faith;

HENRY HARPHIUS, a writer on Mystic Theology;

PETER DE NATALIBUS, a Martyrologist;

BARTHOLOMEW PLATINA, author of a Biography of the Popes to the year 1471, and other Treatises, Historical and Moral;

STEPHEN BRULIFER, a Scholastic writer.

CHAPTER VI.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

General Remarks.

THE Sixteenth Century, destined as it was to witness the subversion of the Papal power, opened with but few symptoms of the approaching crisis. On the contrary, most of the clouds, which, in the commencement of the preceding century, disturbed the repose of the eternal city, had dispersed and left but little apprehension of the returning storm. In many particulars the security of the Pontiffs had been considerably increased. The Albigenses, Beghards, and Bohemians were either extinguished or reduced to insignificance. The Waldenses lived in contented poverty in the obscurity of their native valleys. The great Western schism had terminated, never again to be revived. The Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle, which, in the first half of the Fifteenth Century, had threatened a speedy reduction of the Papal usurpation, proved to be of little permanent use. Their decrees, no doubt, were inestimable as a testimony of the general sense of the Christian Church. The doctrine, indeed, was asserted, but, beyond the assertion, little if anything was effected. The Pope was, in the abstract and in theory, reduced within the limits of canonical subordination, and the superiority of a General Council, equally ideal, was vindicated and recorded. But each individual Pope knew full well that too many, in all parts of Europe, were personally interested in the maintenance of corruption and tyranny, to render it likely that any actual attempt against his supremacy would be made, and still less likely that such an attempt should prove successful. For the Papal supremacy was intimately connected with the religion of the age. The history of this century furnishes abundant proof how deep and practical a hold it could possess over even the most cultivated and discriminating minds. Guarded thus by selfishness and cowardice on the one hand, and by superstition and piety on the other, the throne of St. Peter seemed to have gained stability from each abortive effort to disturb it. The revival of literature and education, the unsparing ridicule of the vices of the Clergy, and even of the Roman court itself, the demand of the Christian world for reformation, all were alike unheeded, if not scorned in the Vatican. The policy of Rome has, indeed, always allowed a certain quantity of liberty to her subjects, but beyond that customary limit no one seemed disposed to venture. If any symptom of such a disposition had appeared, the Pontiffs had not yet lost confidence in the arts of intimidation and in-

trigue. Certainly no human foresight could have anticipated the future. In the preceding century a new world had been discovered: but the discovery of ten thousand worlds was not half so incredible as that an obscure monk in Germany should shake the very foundations of the Papacy, and, by his single-handed intrepidity, effect such wide and permanent reformation as Princes and General Councils, and the whole Christian world combined, had never yet had the hardihood to contemplate.

Security of the Popedom.

There are two facts which most strikingly illustrate the security of the court of Rome up to the very accomplishment of the Reformation. The first is, the obstinate determination with which it opposed every attempt to redress those enormities and check those corruptions which had disgusted every part of Christendom. Had the just and moderate demands of the Princes of Europe received a timely and respectful consideration, it is extremely unlikely that those individuals, whose notions of reformation went somewhat deeper than the common outcry against abuses and extortions, would have found many to enter with them into the examination of spiritual delinquencies and errors, which pressed not so instantly as the insatiable covetousness and ambition, the ignorance and immorality which forced themselves on the notice of all classes in the community. Nor is it to be believed that these demands would have long remained postponed or unheeded, had the Popes entertained the slightest apprehensions that the day of retribution was at length so near.

A second circumstance not less convincing, is the extraordinary want of prudence which, time after time, successive conclaves displayed in their choice of a Pope. During the latter half of the preceding century, and up to the very commencement of the Reformation, while all Europe was crying to Heaven against the exactions and immoralities of Rome, the Cardinals still persisted in committing the government of the Church to men, whose personal character, as well as their public actions, not only set the common sense and good feeling of the Christian world wantonly at defiance, but irrefragably demonstrated that both the Popes, and the Cardinals to whom they owed their election, were equally blind to the suicidal folly of their profligate impiety. The prosecution of this history will present abundant proof of the truth of these observations.

Alexander VI. dies. A.D. 1503.

Alexander VI., whom Mosheim calls the "Nero of Pontiffs,"[1] expired along with his abandoned son, Cardinal Cæsar Borgia, after an entertainment, in which they had inadvertently drank of poison which Cæsar had prepared for four rich Cardinals. The Pontificate of his successor, Pius III. (Francis Todeschini Picolomini), lasted but twenty-six days.

Pius III.

[1] *Hunc non immerito Neronem Pontificum dixeris.* Mosheim. Cent. xv., part ii., ch. ii., sect. 18.

Julius II.

Julian de Rovere, nephew of Sixtus IV., succeeded. Having secured his election by bribery and fraud, he took an oath, which he never intended to observe, to call a Council for the reformation of the Church. This man, whose abilities and tastes were entirely military, from an insane desire of imitating Julius Cæsar, assumed the name of Julius II. In addition to his warlike propensities and other vicious passions, his ferocity, arrogance, and vanity, have rendered his name odious to posterity. He made war against the Venetians and the Duchy of Ferrara, and laid siege to Mirandola in person: and having sacrificed thousands to his restless ambition, and kept all Europe in confusion while he lived, he died amidst projects for the ruin of France. Louis XII., exasperated by the conduct of Julius, issued medals with the inscription PERDAM BABILLONIS NOMEN, and made considerable preparations for a war. Having ascertained the disposition of the French Clergy, Louis proceeded, with the assistance of the Emperor Maximilian and three of the Cardinals, to summon a General Council for the reformation of the Church. The Council opened at Pisa, A.D. 1511, and, after a few sessions, removed to Milan, where the Pope was summoned to attend, and was afterwards suspended. This Council, consisting chiefly of the French Clergy, was opposed by a Council of Italians, which Julius held in the Lateran, A.D. 1511. The Pope and the Emperor were soon after reconciled, and Louis being defeated at Ravenna, lost all his Italian conquests. The Lateran Council closed in 1517, after having received the submission of the French King in person. Julius, however, did not live to enjoy this triumph, having died A.D. 1512. It was this Pontiff who permitted the marriage of Henry VIII., then Prince of Wales, with Catharine, his brother's widow.

Leo X. A.D. 1513.

John de Medicis succeeded under the name of Leo X. With habits more peaceful and literary than his predecessor, his voluptuousness, irreligion, and architectural luxuries, rendered him not less mischievous to the Church. In 1516, he persuaded Francis I. to enter into a Concordat, by which the Pragmatic Sanction was annulled, and, in the following year, he managed to close the Lateran Council without entering on the dreaded question of reformation. It was at this crisis, when this short-sighted policy seemed most triumphant, that the Providence of the Almighty interposed to deliver the Church from the degrading tyranny of the Roman court. On the 1st of October, 1517, Luther published at Wittemberg his ninety-five propositions in condemnation of the Papal indulgences, by which all Christendom was drained to fill the exchequer of a Pontiff, whose virtues, vices, and tastes, were equally expensive.

Luther.

At first the attempts of Luther furnished amusement to the haughty Leo. The German Monk was a theme of satirical

merriment to the heedless Pontiff. Luther himself acknowledged the moderation of Leo, saying, "We have a good Pope at present —we are gladdened by his sincerity and his learning." As matters proved more serious, Leo proceeded to citation; and at last, urged on chiefly by the Dominicans, he (1521) excommunicated the offender. But Luther burned the Pope's Bull with all solemnity at the East Gate of Wittemberg, along with copies of the Canon Law, the Decretals, the Commentaries and the Extravagantes of the Popes. But neither Luther nor the Reformation were any longer to be put down by Papal Bulls. Had Leo possessed the requisite discretion or ability, the first dispute between Luther and the Dominicans might easily have been adjusted, and the Reformation indefinitely postponed. But the conduct of the Popish party appears at every step of the proceeding to have been as foolish as it was wicked. Leo died on the 1st of December, 1521.

Hadrian V., a native of Utrecht, and tutor to Charles V., succeeded through the interest of the Emperor. Naturally averse to luxury and extravagance, he felt the abuses and corruptions of the Church of Rome, and had the honesty to confess his determination to commence the work of reformation in his own court. He was too upright to escape the ridicule of the Romans while he lived, or the censure of their historians after his death. Whether his short reign was violently terminated or not is uncertain; but it is asserted, that the morning after his decease, the door of his physician's house was adorned with a wreath of flowers, inscribed "*to the deliverer of his country.*" Hadrian V. A.D. 1523.

Julius de Medicis, the illegitimate nephew of Leo. X., succeeded by the name of Clement VII. Inferior to his predecessor both in abilities and integrity, his reign was a series of political mistakes. By his duplicity he lost the confidence of all parties, whilst, by resisting the righteous claims of the Reformation, he rendered still wider the irreparable division which had been already made in Christendom. By this time scarcely any part of Europe was uninterested in the controversy. Some of the principal kingdoms openly renounced the authority of Rome. In his quarrel with the Emperor, Clement had the mortification to see Rome taken and plundered, and to suffer a disgraceful imprisonment in his own capital. To the last he was engrossed in schemes for the aggrandizement of the House of Medicis, and (as Father Paul informs us[1]) shortly before his death he gave to his nephew, the Cardinal de Medicis, liberty to hold in commendam all the benefices in the world, secular and regular dignities and parsonages with and without cure being vacant, for six months from the date of his possession, with power to dispose of all the fruits Clement VII. A.D. 1523.

[1] *History of the Council of Trent*, lib. ii., Anno 1547.

and convert them to his own use. Clement died September, 1534, in the midst of his contrivances to evade his promise of calling a Council, of which, on account of his illegitimacy, he was peculiarly apprehensive.

Paul III. A.D. 1534.

Alexander Farnese succeeded, by the name of Paul III. Eminent as a statesman, one of the first acts of his Pontificate proved the profligacy of his character as a clergyman. He created his two young grandchildren Cardinals, the sons of two of his illegitimate children. The policy of Paul was to deceive the reforming party by an apparent anxiety to fulfil his engagements and convoke a General Council. Having appointed a congregation of Cardinals for this purpose, and having sent Vergerius to Germany to confer with Luther and the Protestants, he had an interview with the Emperor at Rome. In order to gain time, he proclaimed (A.D. 1536) a Council to be held at Mantua, well knowing that the Duke would object to the collecting of so many strangers in his capital, and that the Protestants had refused this very place, when proposed by Clement VII., on the ground that a Council held there would be virtually Italian. In 1538 the Council was summoned to Vicenza, a choice which he knew would be still more disagreeable than the former, even if the Venetians should suffer the Council to meet in their dominions. At last he named Trent, and gained the Emperor's consent, notwithstanding the opposition of the Protestants, whom the Emperor and the Pope had now determined to destroy by force of arms, unless they should submit to the decrees of the Council. In 1545 the famous Council of Trent opened, and, shortly after, received orders from Paul to submit all their decrees to him before publication, and not to presume to inquire into the Papal authority. Still he was not yet satisfied, and after an ineffectual attempt to recall to himself the whole business of reformation, he ventured to remove the Council to Bologna, 1547, and afterwards had the session adjourned during the pleasure of the Council. He died November 10, 1549. He had greatly displeased the Emperor by his attempt to get the Duchy of Milan into the hands of the Farnese family, and, still more, by investing his illegitimate son with Parma and Placentia, which were Imperial fiefs. As it was under this Pontiff that the institution of the Jesuits was publicly recognized, a brief sketch of the life of its founder may therefore be appropriately inserted here. Ignatius Loyola, or Don Inigo Lopez De Recalde, the founder of the order of Jesuits, was the youngest son of Don Bertram, and was born in 1491, at the Castle of Loyola, in the district of Guipuzcoa in Biscay. He was attached in his youth as a page to the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, and trained up in all the vices and frivolities peculiar to his position. When still a young man he entered the army, and during his defence of Pampeluna in 1521 against the French, he was severely

wounded, and a long and tedious confinement was the result. The invalid, however, amused himself with the Spanish legends of the saints, and other works of a kindred character. His fancy was seized, and in a fit of mystical devotion he renounced the world, made a formal visit to the shrine of the Virgin at Montserrat, and on the 24th of March, 1522, laid his arms on her altar, and vowed himself her knight. Arrayed in the garb of a pilgrim he then went to Manresa, and devoted himself to deeds of benevolence, which won him great renown. His next resolution was to proceed to the Holy Land, and after ten months' residence at Manresa, he travelled to Barcelona, a poor, begging, sincere, and resolute ascetic, sailed thence for Rome, received the blessing of Pope Adrian VI., and at length reached Jerusalem in September, 1523. After staying but a brief period he returned by Venice and Genoa to Barcelona, where he began in earnest to study Latin at the age of three-and-thirty. At the end of two years, that is in 1526, he removed to Alcala in order to make himself master of philosophy. His retreat from Barcelona was hastened by the danger he had incurred in exposing and attempting to remedy some flagrant disorders in a convent of nuns. His peculiarities of thought and address made him suspected at Alcala, and the Inquisition charged him with witchcraft, warned, threatened, imprisoned, and finally dismissed him. The indomitable student was not to be crushed, but repaired at once to Salamanca, where he met with a similar treatment. Little did those inquisitors dream of the power that slumbered in the strange and self-denied recluse. Leaving Spain, which could not appreciate his motives, or divine his character, he came to Paris in February, 1528, where he studied in the lowest classes of the university with unfeigned humility, begged for his daily sustenance, and occasionally startled his friends by religious exhortations. Several young men admired his unwearied zeal and drew around him, and of the two who were domiciled with him, one was the famous Francis Xavier, afterwards known as the Apostle of India. Their hearts were on fire for the conversion of the world, and they took solemn vows of chastity, poverty, and entire consecration to the Church, in the subterranean chapel of the Abbey of Montmartre. At length these companions, ten in number, agreed to leave Paris and meet in Venice in January, 1537. As they resolved to go to Jerusalem, they went to Rome to receive the Papal blessing, and came back to Venice in order to embark. But a war with the Turks frustrated their intentions, and their enthusiasm was in the meantime expended in various forms of effort. Rome naturally became their head-quarters, and Loyola conceived the idea of founding an order to be devoted to the very work in which he and his fellows were so ardently engaged. The nature and plans of the new institution were

sketched, and submitted to the Pontiff, Paul III., who, under certain limitations, confirmed it on 27th September, 1540; but three years afterwards those limitations were withdrawn. Loyola was president of the order, and remained in Rome in order to direct and stimulate its movements. Thus sprung up the Order of the Jesuits—the mightiest by far of the kindred institutions of the Church of Rome, and which has more than once shaken the nations of Europe. The order increased with great rapidity; it had a romantic origin and a definite aim. Loyola founded at Rome an asylum for converted Jews, and a penitentiary for reclaimed females. Julius III. in 1550 confirmed the order, and Loyola remained its general till his death on 31st July, 1556. At his death the society consisted of more than 1,000 persons, possessing 100 religious houses, and divided for the prosecution of its labours into twelve provinces, reaching from Spain to India and Brazil. Loyola was beatified by Paul V. in 1609, and canonized by Gregory XV. in 1622. His famous "Spiritual Exercises" were published at Rome in 1548. Many even in his own Church deny that he had enough of learning to write this book, or even enough of ingenuity to construct the rules of the Order of Jesus, affirming that he was in both respects the instrument of minds more refined and subtile than his own. His was a self-sacrificing fanaticism. His life was a spiritual knighthood—undaunted in the cause which he had espoused. His labours were soon appreciated by the Church, and the Society of Jesus became a mighty engine, before which Popes themselves have trembled. Its secrecy has defied investigation, and its unscrupulous means are only surpassed by the devoted spirit of its combined phalanx of agents and associates. Luther and Loyola represent progress and check, march and counter-march, action and reaction in the same epoch of the ecclesiastical world.

Julius III. A.D. 1550.

The influence of the Farnese family, uniting with the French party in the conclave, procured the election of John Maria Giocchi, Cardinal De Monte, who had been the late Pope's Legate in the Council of Trent, and now succeeded him as Julius III. At the solicitation of the Emperor he re-opened the Council at Trent (1551), which, however, was again suspended (1552), and was not re-assembled during this Pontiff's life. He was involved in continual quarrels with Venice, with France, and with Ferdinand, King of the Romans; and, after having lived to enjoy the temporary triumph of Popery in England, on the accession of Mary, he died March 23, 1555, leaving a character infamous for the vilest debaucheries and crimes. In the commencement of his Pontificate he adopted as his nephew and created Cardinal, De Monte, a boy who had been his page and the keeper of his monkeys.

Marcellus II. A.D. 1555.

The reign of his successor, Marcellus II., seemed to promise better things, but he died in twenty-three days after his election.

John Peter Caraffa, the head of the Inquisition at Rome, succeeded, in the eightieth year of his age, and assumed the title of Paul IV. To the natural severity of his character he added an excessive love of pomp, and a determination to carry to the utmost possible height the temporal and spiritual supremacy of the Papacy, and to subjugate the whole Christian world by the terrors of the Inquisition. Sooner than acknowledge the title of *King* of Ireland, which Henry VIII. had assumed without the permission of Rome, and which Mary was not disposed to relinquish, he created Ireland into a kingdom. He involved himself in a war with Spain, and was very nearly being imprisoned by the Duke of Alva in his own capital. He quarrelled with the Emperor Ferdinand, because he had taken the Empire before the Pope had received the resignation of Charles V., and with Henry II. of France, because he relaxed in his severity to the Protestants. His dislike of Cardinal Pole led him almost to an open rupture with Mary, Queen of England; which, however, took place immediately after her death, as he refused to acknowledge Elizabeth's title to the crown, unless she would submit to hold it in fee of the See of Rome. Towards the end of his life he behaved with extreme severity to his own family, and, at last, having with his dying breath recommended to the Cardinals the universal establishment of the Inquisition, as the only means of preserving the Church, he expired (August 18, 1559), detested by the people of Rome, who broke his statue to pieces, and dragged the head about the streets, burst open the prisons, burnt the Inquisition, and set at liberty hundreds of prisoners.

Paul IV. A.D. 1555.

The admonition of Paul seems to have influenced the Cardinals in the choice of the two following Pontiffs. John Angelo de Medicis succeeded, and assumed the title of Pius IV. Not less arrogant in his pretensions than Paul, he pursued the same project of putting down the Reformation by force and severity. He was obliged, however, to reopen the Council, which, after several delays and difficulties, most agreeable to the Pope, reassembled in 1562, and, after much altercation, hardly managed by all the intrigue and bribery of the Roman court, was finally dissolved December 3, 1563. In 1564 Pius published a Bull containing the profession of faith to be made by all orders of the Clergy. In this remarkable document which has ever since been the creed of the Roman Church, Pius IV. has, on his own sole authority, added to the Nicene Creed a series of articles, containing all the peculiarities of modern Romanism, and has pronounced them part of the true and Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved. Nor is it less observable, that, in this new creed, which was to settle the faith of Christendom, the Pontiff has, by an unaccountable want of foresight, sanctioned an appeal and a scrutiny before a superior tribunal, and given rise to inter-

Pius IV. A.D. 1559.

minable controversies, and in point of fact has sealed beforehand the condemnation of his Church, by obliging the Clergy to pledge themselves never to receive and interpret the Scripture except according to the *unanimous sense* of the Fathers—*nisi juxta unanimem consensum patrum.* Pius IV. died December, 1565.

Pius V. A.D. 1566.

Michael Ghisleri, Cardinal Alexandrino, was chosen his successor. He was a Dominican friar, of mean extraction, and, as Pius V., he attempted to govern the Christian world by the principles of the Inquisition, of which he had been commissary-general at Rome. The objects of his unceasing exertions were to enforce a formal submission to the Council of Trent, to maintain all the pretended rights and privileges of his see, and, by the extirpation of heretics, to recover what had been lost. In the prosecution of this last point he spared no expense,[1] and scrupled not to recur to tumults and treacheries disgraceful and injurious to his cause. His erection of Florence into a Grand Duchy exasperated the Emperor Maximilian, whilst the ill-timed injustice of his decree to exempt ecclesiastics from civil taxes gave great offence in Venice, France, and Spain. In 1570, perceiving that without some desperate effort England must be irrecoverably lost, he published a Bull to dethrone Elizabeth and absolve her subjects from their allegiance, forbidding Roman Catholics to attend the English service, and by means of secret and disguised emissaries, promoting the creation of those sects and divisions which have ever since impeded the progress of the principles of the English Reformation. In 1572 he died, and the sanction of Papal authority was in due time conferred on his extravagance and cruelty. Pope Clement X. beatified him in 1672, and Clement XI. canonized him in 1712.

Gregory XIII. A.D. 1572.

Hugo Buoncompagno was elected through the influence of Cardinal Granvella, the Viceroy of Naples, and adopted the title of Gregory XIII. Although personally a man of milder character than his predecessor, he demonstrated the nature of the maxims which still governed the Church of Rome by his open approval of the massacre of the Protestants in France (August 22, 1572), a medal being struck at Rome to commemorate the event, and afterwards by his share in the conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth, Queen of England. His attempt to exempt ecclesiastics from all civil jurisdiction excited considerable discontent in France, whilst the Cardinals were no less displeased by his excessive liberality to his natural son Jacob. To this Pope we are indebted for the reformation of the Calendar. His edition of

[1] Aurea scuta sexcenta millia et quinquaginta in Hæreticos tantum, præter thesauros, quos in Turcas exhausit, consumpsit. Aug. Oldomini, *S. J. in Vit. Pii V. apud Ciaconium Vit. Pont.*, tom. iii., p. 1005, Rom. 1677.

the *Corpus Juris Canonici* is the most important of his literary works. He died on the 10th of April, 1585.

Sixtus V. A. D. 1585.

His successor, Sixtus V., was one of those extraordinary men whose memoirs seem to resemble romance rather than real history. Felix Peretti, Cardinal di Montalto, was born in 1521. His parents were so poor that they were obliged to hire him to a farmer, who employed him in taking care of his hogs. One day a Franciscan friar who had lost his way asked Felix to direct him; in return the boy persuaded the friar to take him along with him, and procure him admission into his convent. He assumed the habit of the order, September 25, 1521, the same day that Clement VII. died. His uncommon abilities soon procured him advancement, notwithstanding the natural violence of his temper. In 1565 Pius IV. sent him to Spain as chaplain to his legate, Cardinal Compagnon (afterwards Gregory XIII.); Pius V. appointed him general of the Franciscan order, and soon after created him Cardinal. He is said to have been the person employed by Pius V. to draw up the Bull of Excommunication against Queen Elizabeth, and to revise the Bull *in Cœna Domini*, by which, amongst other matters, ecclesiastics are exempted from taxation and civil jurisdiction. After having for several years pursued a system of the most extraordinary dissimulation, not only subduing the impetuosity of his temper, but even assuming all the appearances of decrepitude and old age, he was in the most surprising manner exalted to the Papacy by a coalition of parties, each of whom he contrived to deceive. Before his coronation he threw off the disguise which he had so long maintained, and during the five years of his Pontificate, the inflexible severity of his justice, the unceasing providence of his administration, and the grandeur of his buildings, among which is the Vatican Library, placed him in the very first rank among the Princes of Europe. His name is also immortalized by the publication of the Septuagint (1587), and also an edition of the Latin Vulgate (1590). The erudite Pope menaced with terrible anathemas any one who should approve of any other edition; yet it was so inaccurate that his successor, Urban VIII., tried to suppress it. Gregory XIV. prepared a new edition, which was issued by Clement VIII. Between the editions of Sixtus and Clement, there are 2,000 variations, and each was put forward under the sanction of infallible authority.—See James's *Bellum Papale.* Sixtus V. died the 27th of August, 1590, not without violent suspicion of having been poisoned by the Spaniards and Jesuits, by whom he was detested.

A.D. 1590–91.

Urban VIII. Gregory XIV. Innocent IX.

The three succeeding Popes all died in little more than a year, Urban VIII., Gregory XIV., and Innocent IX.

A.D. 1592. Clement VIII.

Hypolito Aldobrandini, elected by the violence of the minority in the conclave, assumed the name of Clement VIII. He was

distinguished by a blind zeal against the Protestants. His edition of the Vulgate was published in November, 1592.

During this reign the reversion of the Duchy of Ferrara to the Holy See, on the death of Alphonsus II., added to the wealth and dominions of the Popes.

Clement VIII. died March 5, 1603.

Character of these Popes.

Brief as this summary has necessarily been, it will suffice to show in what a state of profligate disorder the Roman court was at the commencement of this century, how seriously its supremacy was shaken by the progress of the Reformation, and notwithstanding the increased attention to the education of the Clergy, which the war of controversy and the voice of public opinion forced upon the Church, how little its spiritual condition was improved by that event, or rather, how much, and in how many particulars, it was injured by its own ruinous and infatuated opposition to all real improvement in doctrine, discipline, or morals. The whole character of the Popes from the period of the Reformation is summed up in selfish ambition — bent on building up the tottering supremacy. To this one end were directed the Inquisition, the order of Jesuits, the missions, the prohibitory and expurgatory Indexes, the deposing and excommunicating Bulls, and, above all, the Council of Trent. This last, indeed, was the most effectual of all the instruments of Roman usurpation. By contriving matters so that his legates should preside, and that nothing should be concluded until it had been submitted to the Pope, by packing the Council with a majority of his creatures, by influence, bribery, and intimidation, by delays and prorogations, in fine, by reserving to the Pope himself all reformation of the Roman court, the sole power of interpreting the decrees of the Council, and all the former rights or pretended rights of the Apostolic See, by all these artifices the only object which the Popes ever had in suffering a Council to be called, was effectually gained. Real reformation of any sort was postponed *sine die.* The doctrines which contradicted the novelties of Romanism were condemned without the Protestants having been heard in their defence; questions of real difficulty, and, in some cases, fundamental to the Papal pretensions, were either left wholly undecided, or determined with such ambiguity of meaning as to give rise to interminable controversy, whilst every superstition or quiddity which the Popes wished to patronize, or wanted power to discountenance, was added to the creed and called part and parcel of the Catholic faith, to be received without hesitation by all the Churches throughout the world.

Meantime when we examine the internal history of the Papacy, the efforts of the Popes to aggrandize their own families, and the intrigues attending the election in the conclave, are alone sufficient to prove how utterly secular the character of the Pontiffs was.

The political construction of the Roman court, however, received some considerable improvement in the course of this century. The number of Cardinals was limited by Sixtus V., and fifteen congregations (or standing committees) of Cardinals appointed, amongst whom the whole administration of the Papal government, temporal and spiritual, was distributed.

Progress of Christianity

Whatever private enmity against revelation may have existed among the philosophers of Italy, France, and Germany, Christianity was not publicly persecuted in this century. On the contrary, whilst the reformed (if we except the English colonists in America towards the end of the century), had as yet but little opportunity of diffusing the light of the gospel beyond the limits of Europe, the Roman Catholic missionaries in the East, and the Spaniards and the Portuguese in North and South America, made considerable advance in propagating the profession of that form of Christianity to which they themselves adhered. In too many instances the means employed for this purpose demonstrated that the real object in view was to enlarge the dominions of the Roman Pontiff, and repair the loss of so many of his European subjects. In America it is undeniable that the most barbarous torments and the most cruel and unjust laws were used rather to exterminate the natives than to convert them; whilst in Asia the Jesuits, in no country forgetful of the interests of their own sect, found the inquisition, with arms and penal laws, more powerful to convince the Indians than argument and preaching. Among the Jesuits (who, although occupying the first rank amongst the Roman missionaries, were not without imitators among the Franciscans, Dominicans, and others) the first place is due to Francis Xavier, the apostle of the Indies. Born in 1506, of a respectable family in the south of France, he met, as we have already said, Ignatius Loyola in Paris, and was persuaded by him to join his infant society. In 1540 he was sent from Portugal to the East Indies, as Papal legate and missionary. Having laboured among the Portuguese and Indians for some years, and laid the foundation of the Roman Church in *Japan*, he died in 1552, in the course of a journey undertaken in order to commence a mission to China. In 1582 Ricci, an Italian Jesuit, was sent into *China*, and, with his companions, laboured among the Chinese during the remainder of the century.

The Roman Church.

In the year 1555 thirteen Jesuits were sent by the Pope and the King of Portugal to *Abyssinia*, with some expectation of inducing the Church in that country to acknowledge the Papal supremacy. This hope, however, was almost wholly lost before the end of the century. In 1562 Roderic, a Jesuit, was sent by Pius IV. to preach to the *Copts* or Egyptians, in other words, to persuade the Patriarch of Alexandria to acknowledge the supremacy of the See of Rome; but he failed in the attempt. Near the

close of the century, indeed, the Jesuits contrived to get up a sort of embassy to Clement VIII. from the Patriarch of Alexandria, probably for the purpose of indirectly influencing the Abyssinians; but neither of these Churches became attached to the Romish communion. There were also very considerable anticipations of spreading the dominion of Rome among the *Armenians*, but these too were disappointed. The Nestorians, or Chaldean Christians, having quarrelled in 1551 about the election of a patriarch, one of the two candidates obtained consecration from Julius III., and from that period the Nestorians were divided into two contending Churches, one of which is subject to the Roman Pontiff. Those on the coast of India, having been cruelly persecuted by the Portuguese, were towards the end of the century compelled by the severities of the Archbishop of Goa and the Jesuits to receive the Romish ritual and submit to the Pope. But a more conciliating mode of carrying on missions was ultimately adopted. The peculiar opinions and customs of these ancient Churches were tolerated, provided converts yielded a real subjection to the authority of the Chair of St. Peter, and a professed acquiescence in the doctrines of Rome. Yet even this plan was not as successful as its contrivers had anticipated.

Mendicant Orders.

The Mendicant Orders having lost much of their reputation and consequent utility, the Popes found a new and powerful auxiliary in the Order of the Jesuits, which was founded in 1540 by Paul III., at the instigation of Ignatius Loyola, an illiterate soldier, and afterwards a religious enthusiast. But we have briefly sketched his life on a previous page. This order, holding an intermediate place between the Monks and the secular Clergy, and resembling rather the constitution of the canons regular, is governed by a general of absolute power, and subject only to the Pope. The Jesuits may be divided into four classes: the *professed*, who live in the houses of the professed, and, in addition to the three monastic vows, are bound by the oath of their profession to go wherever they may be sent by the Pope, and, in fact, are what is meant by Jesuits in the strict use of the term; the second class, who are more properly associates, are composed of *Scholastics*, who are employed in their colleges; and *Novices*, who reside in the houses of the novices. Both the novices and scholastics have very large possessions, and must, when necessary, afford assistance to the professed. The whole society is like a regular army governed by one man, under the most constant and exact inspection, and bound to implicit obedience, secrecy, and fidelity to the order.

The vast services which the Jesuits rendered to the Roman See, and the share which their system of casuistry gained for them in the direction of the consciences of Roman Catholic sovereigns, procured for the order wealth and reputation, but at

the same time raised up so many enemies, lay and clerical, that within about fifty years from the real development of the spirit of the society, they had been expelled as traitors and parricides from France (1594), Venice (1606), Poland (1607), and Bohemia (1618). The Jesuits have been always distinguished by their enmity to the episcopal order. The bishops of different countries, particularly of France and Spain, long laboured, and particularly in the Council of Trent, to procure a restoration of the ancient doctrine of the independent power of bishops, and of the divine and apostolical institution of their order; but this doctrine was successfully resisted by the Popes, who will have the Bishop of Rome to be the only bishop immediately by Divine appointment and apostolical accession, and all other bishops to derive their authority from him, by the grace of the Apostolic See, as his vicars, legates, and ministers.

New Orders.

The morals of the Romish Clergy, both secular and regular, were necessarily reduced by the operation of the Reformation to a stricter conformity, at least externally, with the canons of the Church, especially where they were brought in any great degree under the notice of Protestants. Some of the monastic rules also were reformed, and many divisions and sub-divisions of the various orders took place. Thus the *Capuchins*, in 1523, sprung from the Observant Franciscans. In 1532 arose, from the Franciscans also, those who in France are called *Recollets*, in Italy *Reformati*, in Spain *Discalced*, or Barefooted. A reformation of the Carmelites produced in 1580 the division of the order into the *Calced* (who wear shoes), and the *Discalced* or Barefooted, who profess to observe a stricter rule. The separation was completed and a general appointed to each order by Clement VIII. in 1593.

Besides these reformed orders this century gave birth to others, which, like the Jesuits, where wholly new. The *Theatines*, founded in 1524 by Paul IV., when Bishop of Theate, in Naples; the regular Clerks of St. Paul (Milan), confirmed by Paul III. in 1538. The regular Clerks of St. Majoli (1540). The Fathers of the Christian doctrine in France and Italy (1597), which were chiefly engaged in education; the Fathers of the Oratory, founded by St. Philip Neri, in Florence, and approved by Gregory XIII. in 1577. This last order has produced, among other learned men, Baronius, Raynald, and Laderchius, the annalists of the Church.

State of theology.

The majority of commentators on the Holy Scripture in this century adopted a mode of interpretation by which the language of Scripture was forced to bear such a meaning as would suit the opinions received at Rome. By some, the system of fourfold interpretation was pursued, and ingenuity taxed to extract out of each passage the *literal*, the *allegorical*, the *tropological*, and the

anagogical senses of the words. This extraordinary method of interpretation has not been confined to the Romish Church. Some persons laboured solely to ascertain the literal signification. Amongst these the most eminent are Erasmus and Cardinal Cajetan, both of them able and accomplished scholars. But the grammatical interpretation of Holy Scripture is never likely to be very popular in a Church which has no other ground for its errors and assumptions than the figurative and spiritual system of exposition.

Theological Controversies.

The doctrinal and practical theology of the Church of Rome at this period may be divided into three classes—*the Scholastics*, who, by their connection with the Jesuits, regained in the schools the ascendency which appeared to have been endangered by the Reformation; *the Dogmatics*, who, from the necessity which now compelled them to cultivate biblical literature and antiquity, conducted their controversial and moral discussions on the authority of Scripture and the judgment of the Fathers; and *the Mystics*, who lost nearly all their influence after the Reformation, and were suffered to pursue their own system unmolested, provided they abstain from invectives against the decrees or the corruptions of the Church, the uselessness of external devotion, and the metaphysics of the schools.

Among the controversies to which the Council of Trent has given birth, the first place is due to the question touching the reception of its decrees, which in different countries has been very far from uniform. The French, although tacitly admitting appeals to its doctrinal decrees, have constantly and formally rejected its canons of discipline and ecclesiastical law, as contrary to the civil authority and to the liberty of their Church. In Spain and its dependencies, it was at last received with a clause saving the rights of the Spanish crown. The Emperor Ferdinand I. received it in his hereditary dominions, on Pius IV. granting to his subjects the use of the cup in the Lord's Supper. On the same condition it was received by the Bavarians. It has never been received by the Diet of the German empire, nor (as it is said) by the Hungarian Church. Poland, Italy, and Portugal have received it entire, and without exceptions. It is needless to speak of England or Ireland, the Roman Catholic clergy in the British empire being merely emissaries and missionaries of the Pope sent over after the Reformation to recover his usurped dominion; and, therefore, their submission cannot be in any sense the representative submission of the unreformed Catholics in these countries. Among the multitude of quarrels and controversies which were and are carried on, notwithstanding the boasted unity of the Church, and which a living infallible head possesses neither the power nor the will to terminate, we must not forget the contests between the Franciscans and

Dominicans, the Scotists and the Thomists, the Bishops and the Roman court, the Churches of France and Belgium, and the assertors of Papal supremacy, and the Jesuits and the monastic orders, particularly the Benedictine and Dominican. The main controversies in the Roman Church have been originated and maintained by the determination of the Jesuits to uphold the power of the Roman See. These controversies may be reduced to the six following heads:—1. Concerning the limits of the Papal power. 2. Concerning the extent and rights of the Church. 3. Concerning divine grace, original sin, and the divine decrees. 4. Concerning various questions of discipline and morals. 5. Concerning the administration of the sacraments, particularly the Lord's supper and penance; including the doctrines of the "*opus operatum*," and frequent communion. 6. Concerning the sort of religious instruction to be given to the laity. Of these controversies, only the third, concerning divine grace and predestination, was publicly carried on in this century. It originated in the zeal with which Michael Baius defended the tenets of St. Augustine, and attacked the doctrines which had long been received in the schools. The Franciscans and Jesuits induced Pius V. (1567), and Gregory XIII. (1580), to condemn twenty-six propositions extracted from his works; a condemnation, however, which the Jansenists, amongst others, deny to possess authority, or to have been received by the Church. The dispute continued after his death, and was only composed by the interposition of Sixtus V. (1588), who forbade the public or private discussion of the contested points, leaving each party to hold their own opinions.

Shortly after broke out a fresh controversy on the subject of predestination, occasioned by the attempts of Lewis Molina, a Spanish Jesuit, to find a new mode of explaining the difficulty, and of effecting a sort of reconciliation between the disciples of St. Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, the Semi-Pelagians, and others. He employed the phrase *scientia media* to distinguish some phases of the Divine foreknowledge from what the schoolmen had called *scientia visionis* and *scientia simplicis intelligentiæ*. The Dominicans took up arms in defence of Thomas Aquinas; and the dispute between them and the Jesuits, which Clement VIII., after an unsuccessful attempt to silence the combatants, was compelled to refer to a committee[1] in Rome (1598), was carried on to the end of the century.

Oriental Church.

The efforts of the Romish missionaries to bring the Eastern Church under the jurisdiction of the Pope met with far less success than they have represented in their exaggerated statements. Those who were induced to submit, and who persevered

[1] This committee, or congregation, called "*Congregatio de auxiliis gratiæ divinæ*," was composed of a Cardinal, three Bishops, and seven divines of different orders.

in their allegiance, were preserved, partly by being made stipendiaries of Rome, and partly by the toleration of their peculiar rites and doctrines. The Grand Duke of Muscovy, Basilides, in order to promote the success of his war against the Poles, opened a negotiation with Gregory XIII. (1580), for the pretended purpose of effecting the submission of the Russians to the Papacy, which failed, notwithstanding the labours of Possevin, who succeeded better in his arguments with the Russians in Poland. Meantime, the Russians obtained from the Patriarch of Constantinople an independent Patriarch for their Church (1589), under certain conditions, which, in the following century, the four Patriarchs of the East agreed to relinquish. In the year 1559, the Patriarch of Constantinople sent to Wittemburg to obtain information regarding the Reformation, and Melancthon sent him a copy of the Augsburg Confession, accompanied by a letter. But neither these documents, nor the subsequent efforts of the Lutheran divines (1574), were able to induce the Greeks to abandon the opinions and practices which separated them from the reformers as much as from the Roman Church.

History of the Reformation.

The immediate occasion of that wonderful revolution, which has obtained the name of the Reformation, was the scandal occasioned by the profligate conduct of Tetzel, a Dominican friar, the agent employed in Saxony to sell the indulgences granted by Leo X. for the purpose of raising money to meet his extravagant expenditure. The impudence of Tetzel is thus described by an eye-witness. Mecum or Myconius, then a Franciscan monk at Annaberg, in his history of the Reformation says, "He gained by his preaching in Germany an immense sum of money, all of which he sent to Rome; and especially at the new mining works at St. Annaberg, where I, Frederick Mecum, heard him for two years, a large sum was collected. It is incredible what this ignorant and impudent monk gave out. He said that if a Christian had slept with his mother, and placed the sum of money in the Pope's indulgence chest, the Pope had power in heaven and earth to forgive the sin, and if he forgave it, God must do so also. Item—If they contributed readily, and bought grace and indulgence, all the hills of St. Annaberg would become pure massive silver. Item—so soon as the coin rang in the chest, the soul for whom the money was paid would go straightway to heaven. The indulgence was so highly prized, that when the commissary entered a city, the bull was borne on a satin or gold-embroidered cushion, and all the priests and monks, the town council, schoolmaster, scholars, men, women, maidens, and children, went out to meet him with banners and tapers, with songs, and procession. Then all the bells were rung, all the organs played; he was conducted into the church, a red cross was erected in the midst of the church, and the Pope's banner dis-

played; in short, God himself could not have been welcomed and entertained with greater honour.

"It is incredible what this ignorant monk gave out in speaking and preaching. He gave sealed letters stating that even the sins which a man might wish to do hereafter were forgiven. The Pope had more power than all the apostles, all the angels and saints, even than the Virgin Mary herself. For these were all subject to Christ, but the Pope was equal to Christ. After his ascension into heaven, Christ had nothing more to do with the government of the Church till the last day, but had entrusted all to the Pope as His Vicar and vicegerent."

Luther's Propositions.

In 1517 (October 1) Martin Luther published ninety-five propositions, in which he ventured pretty plainly to censure the Pope himself for suffering his agents to mislead and deceive the people. The following are some of his propositions:—

1. "When our master and Lord, Jesus Christ, says, Repent, he desires that the entire life of believers on this earth should be one constant and continual repentance.

2. "That saying cannot be understood as applying to the sacrament of penance (that is to say, to confession and satisfaction), as administered by the priest.

3. "Nevertheless, the Lord means not here to speak of inward repentance only: inward repentance is nought, if it be not followed outwardly by all sorts of mortifications of the flesh.

4. "Repentance and sorrow, that is to say, true repentance, last as long as a man is displeased with himself, that is, until he passes out of this life into life everlasting.

5. "The Pope neither can remit, nor does he wish to remit, any penalty but what he has imposed of his good pleasure, or in conformity with the canons, that is to say, with the papal ordinances.

6. "The Pope cannot remit any condemnation, but can only declare and confirm the remission of it made by God himself; unless it be in cases appertaining to him. Should he do otherwise the condemnation remains entirely the same.

27. "Those men preach human follies, who pretend that the moment that money chinks in the strong box the soul soars out of purgatory.

28. "This is certain, that as soon as the money chinks, avarice and covetousness arrive, increase, and multiply. But the succours and prayers of the Church depend solely on the will and good pleasure of God.

35. "Those men teach anti-Christian doctrines, who pretend that in order to deliver a soul from purgatory, or to purchase an indulgence, there is no need for either grief or repentance.

36 "Every Christian who feels true repentance for his sins, has complete remission of penalty and fault, without requiring any indulgence to that effect.

40. "True repentance and sorrow seek and love punishment; but the gentleness of the indulgence looses from punishment and causes people to conceive hatred against it.

43. "Christians must be taught that he who gives to the poor, and lends to the necessitous, does better than he who purchases an indulgence.

44. "For the work of charity makes charity increase and makes man more pious; whereas the indulgence makes him no better, but only more self-confident, and more secure from dread of punishment.

45. "Christians must be taught that he who sees his neighbour in want, and notwithstanding his doing so, buys an indulgence, does not purchase an indulgence from the Pope, but brings on himself the anger of God.

50. "Christians must be taught that were the Pope aware of the exactions of the preachers of indulgences, he would rather have the metropolitan Church of St. Peter burnt to ashes than see it built with the fleece, flesh, and bones of his sheep.

51. "Christians should be taught that the Pope, as in duty bound, would give away his own money to the poor folks who are now despoiled of their last mite by the preachers of indulgences, were he even to sell the metropolitan Church of St. Peter for that purpose.

53. "Those are enemies of the Pope and of Jesus Christ, who for the sake of the preaching of indulgences, forbid the preaching of the Word of God.

62. "The true and precious treasure of the Church is the holy gospel of the glory and the grace of God.

65. "The treasures of the gospel are the nets in which the rich, who are now living at their ease, used in former times to be caught.

71. "Cursed be he that speaks against the Pope's indulgence.

72. "But blessed be he that speaks against the foolish and imprudent words of the preachers of indulgences.

76. "The Pope's indulgence cannot take away the smallest daily sin, in so far as regards the guilt incurred and the offence done.

86. "Why, say they, does not the Pope build the metropolitan Church of St. Peter with his own money rather than with that of poor Christians; he whose fortune exceeds that of the richest Crœsus?

92. "May we, therefore, be disembarrassed of all preachers that say to the Church of Christ: Peace! peace! when there is no peace.

94. "Christians should be exhorted sedulously to follow Christ as their chief, through crosses, death, and hell.

95. "For much better that they should through many tribu-

lations enter the kingdom of heaven, than obtain a carnal security from the consolations of a false peace."

Opponents of the Reformation.

Had it not been for the pride and incompetency of Leo, this controversy, which in fact aimed no higher than to discuss the limits of a prerogative acknowledged by both parties, might have been quickly terminated. But the Dominicans took the part of Tetzel, and Leo, when at last he was roused by the Emperor Maximilian to take cognizance of the dispute, acted with the indiscretion and injustice of a partizan. With strange want of tact or prudence he committed the decision to another Dominican, Cardinal Cajetan, whose haughty and unwise treatment compelled Luther to appeal "*a Pontifice male informato ad melius informandum.*" With no less folly Leo soon after published an edict requiring the belief of his power to forgive sins. Luther appealed to a General Council. The new Legate (Charles von Militz), however, by his temper and discretion, prevailed on Luther to write a submissive letter to the Pope, and to promise silence on the condition that his enemies should observe a similar forbearance. But the flame was quickly rekindled by the Dominicans, who, at the instigation of Eckius, induced Leo (1520) to issue his first Bull against Luther's tenets, in which he commanded him, on pain of excommunication, to revoke his positions, and to submit to the Pope within sixty days. Luther anticipated the excommunication by renouncing the Papal authority. He publicly committed to the flames the Bull of Leo, and the canon law of the Pope. A few days after appeared the Bull of excommunication. Meantime the Reformation was daily gaining new friends and advocates in various parts of Europe. In Wittemburg Luther was joined by Melancthon; whilst in Switzerland Zwingle had imitated his example, and successfully opposed the sale of indulgences at Zurich. Nor was the progress of the Reformation retarded either by the influence of Leo X. in the councils of the new Emperor (Charles V.), or by the decree of the Diet of Worms (1621), by which Luther and his adherents were declared enemies of the German Empire. The friendly imprisonment of Luther in Wartburg gave tangible proof of the sincerity of the friendship of Frederick of Saxony; and although the rashness of Carolostadt had almost involved the Reformers in very serious difficulties, the return of Luther restored tranquillity, whilst the labours of his retirement, his translations and his commentaries, gave a new and increased impetus to the circulation of religious knowledge. The Princes of Germany also were still willing to aid in resisting the Papal power. They replied to the legation of Adrian VI. by an enumeration of their complaints of the abuses of the Roman court (*Centum Gravamina*, 1522), and by demanding a free Council in Germany.

Lingard's admissions.

Even Dr. Lingard the Catholic historian makes the following

admissions:—"1. There existed in Germany a very prevalent feeling of disaffection to the See of Rome. The violent contests between the Popes and the Emperors in former times had left a germ of discontent which required but little aid to shoot into open hostility: and the minds of men had of late years been embittered by frequent but useless complaints of the expedients devised by the Papal court to fill its treasury at the expense of the natives.

"2. The chief of the German Princes were at the same time secular Princes, and as they had been promoted more on account of their birth than of their merit, they frequently seem to merge their spiritual in their temporal character. Hence they neglected the episcopal function: the Clergy, almost free from restraints, became illiterate and immoral: and the people ceasing to respect those whom they could not esteem, inveighed against the riches of the Church, complained of the severity with which the clerical dues were exacted in the spiritual courts, and loudly called for the removal of many real or imaginary grievances, which arose from the demands of the Popes, and the exercise of the episcopal jurisdiction, and which for years had been the subject of consultations, of remonstrances, and even of menaces. These attempts had indeed failed, but the success of Luther revived the hopes of the discontented, and thousands ranged themselves under the banner of the innovator, without any idea of trenching on the ancient faith, and led solely by the hope of reforming abuses.

"3. The recent invention of printing, by multiplying the copies of books and the numbers of readers, had given a new and extraordinary impulse to the powers and passions of men, who began to conceive that their ancestors had been kept not only in intellectual but also in civil thraldom. Works descriptive of their rights, were circulated and read with avidity: the oppression exercised by their rulers, and the redress of their grievances, became the ordinary topics of conversation: and the inferior nobles in each state laboured to emancipate themselves from the control of their Princes, and to establish their dependence on the Empire alone. All Germany was in a ferment: and Luther converted the general feeling to his own purpose with admirable address. *They* contended for civil; *he* for religious liberty. Both had a similar object in view; both ought to support each other."

Sacramental disputes and agrarian insurrection.

Nor could the influence of the Emperor obtain a more favourable answer to the expostulations of Clement VII. (1524). More serious difficulties, however, were caused by the controversy between Luther and Melancthon on the one side, and Carolostadt and Œcolampadius on the other, concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This dispute broke out in 1524, and notwithstanding the efforts of the Landgrave of Hesse (1529) to compose their differences, it ultimately produced the division of the Protestants into the Lutherans and the Reformed. Besides this

unfortunate dispute, the Lutherans were in considerable danger of being implicated in the disgrace of the agrarian insurrection, which broke out in various parts of Germany in 1525. At first this was almost wholly a civil disturbance; but, from the time that Munzer became its leader, it assumed a religious character of the wildest and most fanatical description. Munzer had been a preacher among the Reformed. Luther published books against these enthusiasts. The insurrection was at last put down with the loss of more than one hundred thousand lives, and Munzer himself was taken and executed. During these disturbances, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, died, and was succeeded by his brother John, who renounced the Papal authority, and, with the aid of Luther and Melancthon (1527), established the Lutheran Church in his dominions. This example was soon followed by such of the other Princes and Republics of Germany as had rejected the dominion of the Pope. The rest of the German Princes who had been, by the prudence of Frederick, induced to forget minor differences in the common struggle for the liberties of the Church and Empire, as soon as the Reformers went to the length of erecting a new and separate Church, determined to maintain their adherence to the Romish communion, and even entertained serious designs of putting down the Reformation by force of arms. But Charles V. was too much occupied with the affairs of Spain and Italy, and too much displeased with Clement VII., to interfere just at that time; and the Diet of Spires, by petitioning the Emperor to allow each Prince to regulate the religious affairs of his own state until a free Council should be convoked, gave advantages to the progress of the Reformation, which Luther and his friends failed not to improve. This state of affairs, however, lasted no longer than the quarrel between the Emperor and the Pope. The Diet of Spires assembled in spring, 1529. The liberties obtained by the former Diet were revoked, and all changes prohibited until a General Council should be assembled. The Reformed Princes finding all entreaties unavailing, and assured that a really free Council would never be gathered by the Pope, *protested* against the decree of the Diet (April 19, 1529), and appealed to the Emperor and the future Council. From this *Protest* has been derived the name of Protestant.

Articles of Torgau.

Meantime, Charles V., having failed in persuading the Pope to call a Council, determined not to make war on the Reformers without a fuller examination of their cause. Luther, therefore, at the instance of the Elector of Saxony, drew up the articles of Torgau (1529). On this basis Melancthon composed the Confession of Augsburg, which, at the Diet of Augsburg (1530) was delivered to the Emperor, subscribed by John Elector of Saxony, by four Princes, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Duke of Luneburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Prince of Anhalt, and by

two Imperial cities, Nuremburg and Reutlingen. This confession was comprised in twenty-eight articles, twenty of which contained the faith of the Lutherans, and eight the abuses on account of which they had separated from the Romish communion. At the same time, the Reformed, or Zwinglians, delivered in a separate confession called the confession of the four cities (*Confessio Tetrapolitana*), because presented by the Imperial cities of Strasburg, Constance, Lindau, and Memmingen, which was drawn up by Martin Bucer, and differed from the Augsburg Confession chiefly in the doctrine of the Eucharist. This remained for some years as the formulary of these four cities, until, in self-defence they joined the Lutherans, and subscribed the Confession of Augsburg. Zwingle also presented a private confession of his peculiar tenets. To these confessions answers were drawn up by the Romish party, and read before the Diet in presence of the Protestants. The Emperor, however, refused to give them copies of these confutations, forbade them to carry on the controversy, and commanded them to submit to the Pope. Melancthon, indeed, drew up the Apology for the Confession of Augsburg, which was an answer to the confutation, as far as the Lutherans had heard it or retained it in their memory. But Charles refused to receive it. This Apology was published in 1531, received among the symbolical books of the Lutherans, and translated into German by Justus Jonas.

League of Smalcald.

As the Emperor was resolved not to grant toleration, and unwilling to proceed to actual violence, several consultations were held to endeavour to effect a compromise. But nothing was done. A new and severe decree was issued by the Emperor. The Protestant Princes met at Smalcald (Dec. 22, 1530), and at Frankfort (March, 1531), to form a league for six years for their union and mutual protection. They drew up an Apology, and sent it to the Kings of France and England. But as the Princes refused to assist Charles V. in the Turkish war, or to acknowledge the election of his brother Ferdinand, he was glad, on the condition of their yielding compliance in these particulars, to grant them toleration, until a Council or a Diet should determine the questions in debate. Neither Clement VII., however, nor his successor, Paul III., would appoint any place out of Italy for the meeting of the promised Council. In 1541 a new conference, held at Worms, by the Emperor's desire, between Melancthon and Eckius, terminated with as little benefit as its predecessors. At last, in 1542, the Pope offered to hold the Council at Trent, and notwithstanding the opposition of the Protestants, the Emperor assented, and in a secret treaty with the Pope agreed to make war on the opposers of the Council. Accordingly, the first decree having been passed at Trent (1546) and rejected by the Protestants at Ratisbon, their leaders were

proscribed, and an army was assembled to take the field against them. The results of this war, in which the forces of the Protestants were broken up and two of their leaders made prisoners, would have proved still more fatal, had not the jealousy of Paul III., fearful alike of the Council and of the Emperor, induced him to dissolve the Council on pretence of a pestilence at Trent, before it had received the extorted submission of the Protestants. The Emperor published the Interim, to have force until the Council should re-assemble. In this document, though the externals of Romanism were retained, the Papal authority was limited, the marriage of the Clergy and the communion in both kinds were tolerated, and doctrines were explained in a conciliatory spirit. But it was added that such permissions should remain in force only until a General Council should terminate all religious differences. Most of the Protestant princes submitted. Those who refused were compelled by force to withdraw their opposition. Melancthon, induced by his fear of the Emperor and his desire to please his sovereign, Maurice of Saxony, decided that, so far as things indifferent (*adiaphora*) were concerned, the Interim might safely be received. This decision gave rise to the *Adiaphoristic* Controversy in the Lutheran Church. But neither the Pope nor the Emperor had the sagacity to take advantage of the perilous condition to which these various circumstances had reduced the cause of the Reformation.

Internal condition of Lutheranism

The imposition of the Interim entirely destroyed the harmony which had hitherto prevailed among the Lutherans; and the Adiaphoristic controversy divided their body into two hostile parties, the one composed of the friends of Melancthon, and the other led by the violent but learned Flacius. These differences, concurring with the rivalry of the two branches of the Saxon family, led to the establishment of the University of Jena, which was set up in opposition to that of Wittenberg, in 1548, to be a school of pure Lutheranism. After the Peace of Passau, which the Elector Maurice extorted from Charles V. in 1552, the Protestants of Germany were no longer in danger of persecution, and they had ample leisure for domestic warfare. The influence of Melancthon visibly declined, even before his death (1560); the moderate opinions of some of his friends and successors, not less than the want of vigour which distinguished his own conduct, brought his school into disrepute in a zealous and earnest age, and strengthened the party of his enemies. Major was accused of a deflection from the doctrines of Luther, for maintaining that "good works were necessary for salvation" (1553); and Strigelius had to encounter the most violent opposition from the Flacian party, for maintaining that "man has some remaining strength to co-operate with divine grace" (1559). These, which are called the *Majoristic* and *Synergistic* controversies, greatly agitated the

Lutheran body; and its tranquillity was still further disturbed by the disposition manifested by some learned Saxons, disciples of Melancthon, to approximate to the peculiar doctrines of the reformed.

The distracted state of things produced by these and other minor controversies, inspired some of the leading German divines with a desire of adopting a specific formulary, better calculated than the Confession of Augsburg and its Apology, which had been already received as symbolical, to secure uniformity of opinion on the disputed questions, and to make known to the world the articles of the Lutheran faith. In this feeling originated the celebrated *Form of Concord*, which was composed in 1577, and which, after much opposition, was gradually received in most parts of Protestant Germany as the faith of the Evangelical Church.

Form of Concord.

CHAPTER VII.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THOSE causes which had brought about the Reformation in Germany were as operative in Switzerland as in any other country. Here, especially, were the same clerical vices, the same rapacity, the same impostures; here too was the same sickness of heart occasioned by the refusal of the Church to purify itself from any one of the dark stains which so much disfigured it. These corruptions had now passed the bounds permitted to human errors, and though the first efforts of man's impatience against them might be ineffectual, Providence had decreed their destruction, and ultimate success was sure to be the result. If Wycliffe, and Huss, and Jerome of Prague failed in producing a general Reformation, Luther and Zwingle did not. The three former left to the two latter many a noble doctrine, and a still nobler example. But all were taught, all were led by the same spirit. Had Wycliffe never existed, Luther would have arisen; had Luther never been born, Zwingle would have uncovered the light of the gospel; had neither been destined to enlighten mankind, some other instrument of equal efficacy would have been devised by Providence for the same end. There is no proof that Luther derived any of his tenets from the English reformer; and assuredly Zwingle began to preach the pure doctrines of the gospel before he knew that the Saxon reformer had entered on the path divinely appointed to both. On this fact sufficient stress has not been laid. It abundantly refutes the ignorant assertion of the Romanists, that to Martin Luther alone the Reformation must be ascribed. In the time of the Saxon and Helvetian preachers, there were champions enough whom Heaven was preparing for the contest. God did not confide to one arm the vindication of his cause; he raised many for the purpose; though in this, as in every other struggle, two or three of the combatants obtained a more glorious, a more enduring fame than the rest. If in the ranks of Luther fought Carlostadt and Melancthon, in those of Zwingle were Capito, Heller, Œcolampadius, Oswald Myconius, Leo Juda, Farel, Calvin, and a host besides. The two heroes did but direct the spirit which was abroad; they could no more have created that spirit than they could have created a new world.

The Reformation in Switzerland.

A.D. 1516-1564

Ulric Zwingle came into the world seven weeks after Martin Luther, namely on New-Year's-Day, 1484. He was a native of

A.D. 1484-1497 Zwingle, his birth and infancy.

the Toggenberg mountains. He first saw the light in an ancient cottage near the village of Wildhaus, situated on the confines of Appenzell and the valley of the Toggenberg. His father was the amman or bailiff of the village, and was much respected for his integrity of life. He was a shepherd, and his sons (there were seven besides Ulric) were intended for the same innocent and useful pursuit. And it was one of greater enjoyment than we suppose. When May arrived, the bailiff, accompanied by his sons, began to drive his flocks towards the higher grounds. The highest elevation was generally attained about the end of July. Then began the descent, which was generally accomplished in about three months. For the accommodation of the shepherds during the season, rude chalets, or huts, were erected; but all were not absent at the same time; frequently the care of the flocks was alternately undertaken, and, while one party watched on the mountains, the other remained in the village. Nor were the long winter evenings without enjoyment. Conversation, traditionary tales, and ancient songs were the chief. In these humble scenes, and from these traditions, Ulric acquired that feeling of patriotism which distinguished him throughout life. He heard how freedom had been won; he saw how dearly it was prized; and, as he was by nature endowed with great sensitiveness, he was probably more influenced by the feeling than most of his countrymen. His thirst for information was conspicuous at an early age; he devoured the Scriptural stories and the holy legends which were repeated to him; and his disposition was so promising that old Zwingle resolved to send him to Schweitz. Fortunately Ulric had two uncles, both ecclesiastics, who were able to procure him all the advantages of education. The one was Dean of Wesen; the other was, or soon became, Abbot of Fishingen in the Thurgau. To the Dean, old Zwingle led his son, and the uncle well supplied the duties of a father. So much pleased was he with Ulric's progress, that he sent him to Bâle, where he might enjoy superior means of education. At the school of St. Theodore Ulric distinguished himself as he had done at Wesen. His biographers tell us that he soon learned all that his master could teach him: if so, we should except his matriculation at the University of that city; but he was removed to Berne for the advantage of such classical discipline as the well known Lupulus could impart. From this fact we may infer that he was not yet ripe for collegiate studies.

He studies at Bâle,

Zwingle reached Berne in 1497, and there won, as he had everywhere done, the affection of his master. His assiduity, his success, added to the excellence of his disposition, could not fail to make him beloved. In that city he had opportunities enough of beholding the corruption which disgraced the Romish Clergy. The Dominicans were there, as everywhere else, the rivals, consequently

And at Berne A.D. 1497-1500

the enemies, of the Franciscans. Both were equally knavish; neither hesitated to invent the most blasphemous falsehoods—to forge the most abominable impostures—if the interests of the order were to be advanced, or those of the rival one destroyed. In this contest the disciples of St. Dominic obtained the superiority by a stratagem which, as it is characteristic of the times, and illustrative of the necessity for a reformation, we may record. Jetzer, a young enthusiast, applied to the holy fathers for admission into the Order. But where was his money? The Church has never been partial to *poor* converts, and monkery still less. The gates to superior holiness were indignantly shut against him. But his pious ardour was not to be thus quenched. He collected from his friends about sixty florins, which, with some silk stuffs, he offered to the community, and was admitted as a lay brother. He was weak-minded, and just such an instrument as the Order wanted for its purposes. The very first night he was so much disturbed that he fled the following morning to the monastery of the Carthusians; but the Carthusians did not want a penniless convert, and sent him back again. The next night, which was the festival of St. Matthias, was not destined to be more tranquil. The novice, while asleep in his cell, was awakened by deep sighs. By his bedside he beheld a phantom clad in white, which informed him that it was a soul from the fires of purgatory. "I can do nothing for thee," observed the novice; "but I hope God may!" "Thou canst, and thou must!" rejoined the phantom, which, laying hold of his throat, gave him a squeeze somewhat rough for a ghost. "How?" "Scourge thyself until the blood flows! Do this for a whole week in the Chapel of St. John!" The novice consulted his Confessor, who strongly advised him to receive the discipline, and he obeyed. The intelligence flew through the city that a soul had applied to the Dominicans for its deliverance: the Franciscans had soon no audience; everybody hastened to behold the prostrate novice in the Church of St. John. The phantom had predicted its return at the expiration of the week, and return it did, accompanied by two evil spirits which tormented it without intermission. This time it declared that Duns Scotus, the glory of the Franciscans, was in the same woful predicament as itself. Here was sad news for the rival Order, and joyful encouragement for "the poor followers of St. Dominic." This was not all. It had been predicted that the Virgin herself should appear in another week, and appear she did, with three tears of Jesus, three drops of his blood, a crucifix, and a letter for Pope Julius II.! The novice—an apt name!—who had been so highly honoured, was to be honoured still more. The Franciscans all avowed that their great patriarch had, in imitation of our Saviour, received five wounds, of which the stigmata had been seen by hundreds. Had not learned doctors, nay, even Popes and saints, vouched for

Gross knavery of the Dominicans.

the miracle? and was not the Catholic world commanded to believe it? This glory of the Friars Minor had given sad umbrage to the Friars Preachers, who resolved no longer to sit down under so manifest a disadvantage. To prove that the very meanest of the Black Order was equal to the highest of the Grey, Our Lady made five holes in the hands, feet, and side of this Jetzer; the wounds were tenderly and delicately dressed by her own hands; a sleeping potion was frequently administered to the dupe; herbs of some efficacy were given him; during his fits the people were introduced to behold this new Christ, who lay stretched out just as if he were suffering the same passion; the multitude praised God, and the Dominicans with great vehemence shouted from their pulpits the extraordinary favour of Heaven towards their Order. That Jetzer was intended for the honour of canonization there can be no doubt; and probably he would soon have been made fit to receive it by his summary removal to the realms above, had not the imposture by being too boldly pursued ended in detection. One night, when honoured by another visit from the Virgin, the brother thought that her voice marvellously resembled that of his confessor; he gave utterance to the suspicion, and she immediately vanished. In a short time she again appeared
Its detection. to upbraid him with his incredulity. The voice was no longer that of the confessor, but of the prior; and Jetzer, enraged at the imposture of which he had been the victim, rushed towards the figure with a knife in his hand, but it threw a pewter dish at his head and disappeared. In consternation at this discovery, the friars who were in the secret endeavoured to remove the man by poison. He detected this new plot, escaped from the monastery, and revealed the knavery. If it had happened in a rural district, it might have remained undiscovered; but the Dominicans had too many enemies in Berne, and the magistrates themselves were too anxious for an inquiry to allow the affair to slumber. An appeal was made to the Pope, who nominated his legate, with the Bishops of Lausanne and Sion, to take cognizance of the affair. The charges were fully proved; the prior, the sub-prior, the precentor, and the procurator—the only persons who seem to have had any knowledge of the villany—were delivered over to the secular arm; and by order of the magistracy were burnt to death in the great square of the city, in presence of thirty thousand people.

A.D.1500-1507 The hypocrisy of these friars may be conceived when we observe that before this exposure they were near making a convert of the Toggenberg student. They admired his talents, and, foreseeing that he would be an ornament to any community, were anxious to secure him. In this design they would probably have succeeded but for his father, who sent him to study philosophy at Vienna. In 1502 he returned to Wildhaus, for the humble society of which he was now too refined. Flocks and mountains

and pastoral songs had lost all charms for him; and he hastened to the University of Bâle to study scholastic theology prior to his admission into holy orders. But for that branch of academical learning he had little relish; and we cannot be much surprised that he cultivated music with more success. He certainly speaks of scholasticism with more contempt than it deserves; with more than he would have spoken had he been much acquainted with its principles. Amidst a heap of rubbish there are some fine gems, and gems that will amply repay the trouble expended in the search. In 1506 he was ordained to the cure of Glaris by the Bishop of Constance; and he entered on the duties of the ministry with as much desire of usefulness as most ecclesiastics of his age. But, though he had laid a tolerable literary foundation, he was by no means a scholar. He had, indeed, what many clergymen of the times had not,—a desire for knowledge; but where could it be obtained? He had no money for the purchase of books; yet without them he must remain undistinguished from the throng. His perplexity became known to the celebrated Shinner, the Cardinal of Sion, whose influence at the Papal court was then all powerful. A pension of fifty florins from the Papal treasury enabled him to follow the bent of his inclinations.

He is ordained rector of Glaris.

Yet with this unexpected advantage, Zwingle did not for some years make the progress which we should have expected from his ardour. His mind was not yet disciplined; his heart was not yet sobered; and probably he was too fond of music to pass much time in the severe logic of the schools. For some years he gave no evidence of what it would hereafter be. The only affair in which he much distinguished himself was in attempting to dissuade his countrymen from joining any of the powers who were contending for Lombardy. In this view he wrote the *Labyrinth*, a poem which may be admired for its pedantry rather than its genius. It had little effect on the mountaineers, who two years afterwards (1512) rose at the bidding of Shinner, the Cardinal of Sion, to defend the Church. So many of his flock were in the army, that he was compelled,—perhaps not very unwillingly, for he was always of a martial disposition,—to accompany them throughout the campaign. What he saw of Italian principles on this occasion did not inspire him with much reverence for the Church. That country has in a peculiar manner justified the saying that the Roman Catholics have a Church without a religion. The chaplain was an acute observer; though somewhat lax in his notions of clerical duty, he was disgusted with what he saw. Perhaps, too, he began to have some doubts whether the Vulgate, the only version he understood, or was allowed to use, was the purest source of Divine truth. We know that he now began the study of Greek (1513), and that he had a high admiration for the gospel in that language. "In order," he wrote to a friend, "that

A.D.1507-1514 Is present during the campaign of Italy.

Begins the study of Greek.

I may draw the doctrine of Christ from the true fountain, I will apply to Greek; and so closely will I apply that God only shall make me desist. And this I will do, not for human glory, but for the love of Divine truth!" An inquiring mind like his could not avoid perceiving the strange liberties which had been taken with the text by Roman Catholic divines—whether through ignorance or design, or *both* (the most probable conjecture), is of little consequence. It is indeed difficult to conceive how any man can diligently peruse the New Testament, yet continue in the Romish Church; and this difficulty is felt by the Romanists, who in all their colleges and schools discountenanced the study of Greek, and almost prohibited that of the Greek Testament. The great misfortune of Zwingle was that he had no judicious commentator to assist him in giving a right interpretation to the darker passages. Left to his own judgment, and little acquainted with Roman, Greek, and Hebrew antiquities, he could not fail to be often erroneous; and from his impetuosity he was frequently rash. But if he erred in doctrine, he did not in matters of greater moment; combining prayer with the perusal of Scripture, and subjecting his mind to the authority of inspiration, he felt his heart softened and improved. While perusing the Greek Testament he saw, for the first time, that revelation has a language which the pure in heart only can understand; and which to the rest of mankind is incomprehensible.

A. D. 1514. Visits Erasmus at Bâle: reformers in that city.

A mind so inquisitive as Zwingle's must necessarily look up to Erasmus with respect. He bought his works as they issued from the press; and the free strictures of so renowned a writer on the literature and religion of the day led his mind to deeper reflection. When, in 1514, the great Dutchman visited Bâle, Zwingle, like most other scholars, hastened to greet him. It is no slight praise to this son of the mountains that he soon won the attachment, even the admiration, of the sage. In this visit, too, he became intimate with Oswald Myconius, master of St. Theodoric's school, a man younger than himself, yet penetrated by the same ardour for literature and religion. There too he met with Œcolampadius, the preacher of Bâle, whose eloquence, and still more, whose doctrine were the theme of admiration. This celebrated Franconian seems to have been the first ecclesiastic that preached the gospel in its purity, that rejected the useless, however ingenious, subtleties of the schoolmen, and endeavoured to rouse within his hearers a devotional feeling. Thomas Wittembach, indeed, had some years before entered on the same path; but he was rather the precursor of the gospel than its actual messenger; and had not the depth, the fervour, or the unction of the Franconian. The vigorous mind of Erasmus, so admirably disciplined in all human learning, loved the discourses of Œcolampadius. "In the Scriptures," observed that prince of

scholars, who was disgusted with the syllogistic pedantry and the ingenious puerilities of the theology in vogue, "we should seek for one thing only—Jesus Christ!" Such an observation proves that Erasmus himself was not far from "the way of the truth;" but his inherent timidity, joined to the excesses of opinion into which many of the early reformers rushed, prevented him from becoming a reformer himself,—from discharging the duties which Providence had enjoined him. This visit to Bâle, this connection with Erasmus, with Œcolampadius, and with others who had long deplored the darkness of the times, had a most beneficial effect on Zwingle. His heart was touched, his zeal was quickened.

A.D.1514,1515. Zwingle again in Lombardy.

In 1514 Zwingle was again compelled to accompany his countrymen to the bloody plains of Lombardy. How loudly he condemned the warfare, his writings, his sermons, bear witness. But surely he was not called to grasp the sword, which he wielded with so much energy at the fatal battle of Marignano. Perhaps he did not find it easy to shake off the martial spirit which influenced all the mountaineers; perhaps, as the Pope was at the head of the League, he thought the war somewhat sanctified. However this may be, there was between his exhortations and his actions a strange inconsistency. But the campaign in other respects was of use to him. He examined the Ambrosian ritual, compared it with the Roman, and discovered some discrepancies that furnished him with matter of reflection. On his return he had the mortification to see the French influence again predominant, to behold his flock seduced by the offers of Francis I. None of the confederate cantons was more warlike than Glaris, none more greedy of honours and of spoil. He raised his voice, as he had always done, against the war, and with as little success. Determined no longer to tolerate an abuse which he could not remedy; above all, eager to escape from the necessity of again visiting Italy, he exchanged his cure for that of Our Lady of the Hermits at Einsiedlen. *There* he would have less duty, and consequently more time for study; there he could imbue the numerous pilgrims with better notions of the Christian faith. In vain did his flock of Glaris endeavour to divert him from his purpose: when they found him inflexible, they insisted on his retaining the title of their pastor, and a portion of the income, in the hope that he might be induced to return to it at some future period. "I go," he observed, "swayed neither by ambition nor the love of gain, but driven away by the intrigues of the French."

Removes to the convent of Einsiedlen

A.D. 1516. Legend of St. Meinhard.

The new sphere to which Zwingle was called, was a memorable one. In the ninth century, St. Meinhard, a German monk, penetrated into this region for the purpose of acquiring new merit by ascetic devotion. On an eminence between the two cities of Waldstetten and Zurich, he built his cell, and there fixed up his abode. But neither his virtues nor his isolated situation

could defend him against the lawless banditti of the country, who were yet pagan in their habits, perhaps in their creed. They murdered him in his hermitage, which long afterwards was shunned with superstitious fear by the peasantry. So holy a man was not to have lived in vain. Wonders were wrought in the blood-stained cell; and in about a century after his death, a monastery and chapel were raised over the spot. The place which had been consecrated by the blood of a sainted martyr required no additional rite; or if it did, that rite was performed by celestial powers. Tradition assures us, that when the Bishop was about to enter on the ceremony, a voice from heaven told him that the place had been already consecrated by the Deity himself, in company with the Mother of God, and a host of angels. To this legend time lent greater sanctity. Leo VIII. forbade the faithful to doubt it; and multitudes of pilgrims continually resorted to the hallowed spot, especially on the annual return of the festival. Not Delphos in ancient, or Loretto in modern times, could exceed in reputation the hallowed monastery of Einsiedlen.

A.D.1516,1717. Boldness of Zwingle in the midst of Papal superstition.

The Abbot of the place was Conrad of Reichberg, a good specimen of the ecclesiastical nobles at this period. Generous, frank, despotic, he excelled in the sports of the field; and he probably loved the memory of Nimrod as much as he reverenced that of Our Lady. Defying the power of Rome when it encroached on his privileges, and holding theological disputations to be not merely useless but pernicious, he believed the name and substance of religion to consist in praying for mercy. The procurator of the monastery, the Baron Theobald de Geroldsech, was a very different person. Mild, devout, fond of learning, he delighted in the society of the pious and the learned; and that he might enjoy the benefit, he prevailed on some to establish themselves at Einsiedlen. He it was who had drawn Zwingle to that place, and the latter repaid the obligation by acquainting his friend with the true spirit of the Scriptures. But the greatest benefit was derived by Zwingle himself from this change of scene. His residence at Bâle, and Berne, and Glaris, had not been favourable to reflection. Amidst the tranquil shades of Einsiedlen, where he had leisure and books, he could read and meditate; and, while he thus improved himself, he was laying a sure foundation for the improvement of others. Reflection accompanied by prayer is that which man chiefly requires to become wiser and better: without them learning is of little use. As Zwingle advanced in both he became bolder. He saw with pity the multitude of pilgrims who, on the festival of the angelic consecration, flocked to this spot, and he resolved in that stronghold of superstition to speak out. From the pulpit he told them that there was no superior degree of sanctity at Einsiedlen; that God is everywhere, and may with equal effect be worshipped everywhere; that penance was nothing

without a change of heart; that offerings to the Virgin were vain; that even prayer was useless unless it arose from the desire of inward purity. There was, he boldly asserted, but one mediator, Jesus Christ; and that trust in any other was inconsistent with salvation. His discourses had a deep effect; if they astounded many, they benefited more; and the pilgrims, thus taught to distrust their long cherished opinions, returned to their homes with the resolution of imparting to others the new light which they had received. Many of those who heard the sermons, immediately after their arrival, returned without visiting the hallowed shrine, and consequently without depositing the smallest offering. Yet his income, no less than the greater part of the monastic revenues, depended on these annual gifts. How he could be so long tolerated in such a place, may create surprise. It should, however, be remembered, that the Papacy had not yet received its death-blow from Luther; that there was an universal feeling of security; that many ecclesiastics of the times bewailed the corruptions of the Church, and loudly demanded their removal; that the zeal of the Swiss reformer was tempered with much discretion; and that the men whose opinions most differed from his own, treated him with respect. Even in presence of the Papal legates, Shinner and Pulci, he did not hide his sentiments. The latter, hoping to silence him by benefits, procured his nomination as acolyte of the Pope, a certain step to future honours. But over him bribery had no more influence than a contrary conduct over the monk of Wittenberg.

A.D. 1518. Removes to Zurich.

In a few months after the commencement of the sale of indulgences in Saxony, an Italian monk carried the same infamous traffic into Switzerland. The blasphemous language of Tetzel was fully equalled by that of Samson. Uri was soon plundered; Schweitz was next invaded, but owing, we are told, to the vehement preaching of Zwingle, this latter canton suffered little from the invader. It is certain that he did oppose the traffic with signal success, and touched a chord which vibrated in the hearts of thousands. His fame spread through Switzerland, and this very year led to his removal from Einsiedlen to Zurich. His friend Oswald Myconius, formerly of Bâle, was now over the school of that city. A vacancy occurring in the office of preacher to the College of Canons in that cathedral,—a College founded by Charlemagne,—Oswald determined to procure the nomination of Zwingle. The attainment of this object was one of difficulty. His opinions had procured him as many enemies as friends; and those who were neither, watched his progress with suspicion. But with some his love of learning, with others his eloquence, with more his honest boldness, prevailed, and he was elected. This was a most important event. At Einsiedlen he might have preached for years without exercising much influence beyond the narrow sphere

in which he lived. At Zurich, the chief city of Helvetia, its political centre, the resort of natives and foreigners, his doctrines would be better understood, and more widely diffused. By his friends this event was ascribed to Divine Providence; by his enemies, to the influence of Satan. Before his departure, he procured the nomination of his friend Leo Juda to the vacant cure of Einsiedlen.

A.D. 1519. His honest boldness is greater than before.

Man, it is tritely said, is the creature of circumstances, and the saying is no less true. Every mind is biassed by them; Zwingle's was peculiarly so. At Bâle he had been thrown into the society of men who regarded religion as something better than a lifeless tissue of ceremonies. At Berne the vices of the Clergy, and still more their ignorance, had convinced him they were not the pastors of Christ. At Einsiedlen he had seen enough of the avidity with which the Romish Church availed itself of the most blasphemous superstitions to extort money. At Zurich he was not to find greater purity, or greater disinterestedness. The first charge which he received from the Chapter, was to enforce on the faithful the due payment of all ecclesiastical alms, not from the pulpit merely, but in the confessional. He was to see that those dues were *increased;* in no instance was he to remit the smallest. He was to be assiduous in his attendance on the sick-beds of those who had anything to give, and to urge on the dying the necessity of masses for the repose of their souls. In his administration of the sacraments, he was always to prefer the rich to the poor: *his* time was too valuable, in other words, the interests of the Chapter were too important, to allow of his services to be gratuitous. The Roman Catholic Church is not the Church of the poor; to the rich only, who bequeath large sums for masses, does it soon open the gates of heaven. Not one word of admonition did Zwingle hear as to the discharge of his *spiritual* duties. These, indeed, his employers would have been well contented for him to perform by proxy, so that he attended to others of greater moment. With this unblushing avarice he was disgusted, but he concealed the sentiment, and began to preach in his former manner. Rejecting the schoolmen, and even the fathers, he confined himself to Scripture alone, which he expounded so clearly, so forcibly, so originally, as to delight the majority of his hearers. Nor was he less ardent in his denunciation of vice: against luxury, intemperance, pride, idleness, rapacity, injustice to the poor, and mercenary warfare he inveighed in the strongest terms. "In the pulpit," says one who knew him, "he spared no one, whither Emperor, Pope, King, Duke, or Lord; nay, he spared not the Confederated Government." Here was a true minister of the gospel, as fearless as he was honest. Nor was his preaching vain. Thousands, including the most learned men in the city, began to relish his doctrines. He was in an

especial manner the favourite of the poor. Why? Because he did not despise them; because he associated with them as if they were really born to the same hopes of immortality; because he invited them to his board, and was not ashamed to be seen with them in the public market-place. In all this he was a contrast with the priests of his day.

A.D. 1519. His success in opposing the sale of indulgences.

The success of Zwingle's preaching was evident when Samson approached the city of Zurich. The monk had entered Switzerland poor as its humblest peasant; eight months of successful traffic had laden several mules with gold; and he promised himself a richer spoil at this famous source of wealth. Judge of his astonishment, when he was not allowed to open his bales of spiritual merchandise; when the Council of State commanded him to quit the territories of Zurich! This decision was chiefly owing to the reasoning of the reformer, who assailed the doctrine of indulgences as robbing men of their money, and ruining their souls. "No man," he boldly preached, "can forgive sin, none but Christ, who is very God and very man. Whatever indulgence you buy, you are not absolved. They who sell for money the remission of sins, are companions of Simon Magus, the friends of Balaam, the ambassadors of the devil!" The zeal with which he inveighed against this and other abuses hurt his health, and to recruit it he went to the waters of Pfeffers. While there, however, he heard that the great plague was at Zurich, lamentably thinning the flock. Though feeble, he instantly returned to his post, and was incessant in applying to the sick the consolations of religion. He soon caught the infection, which seized on him so fatally, that no hope was entertained of his recovery. Great was the anguish of the wise and good, not only in Zurich, but wherever the reformation was prized. It pleased Providence, however, to reserve him for future usefulness, and he was accordingly restored. This visitation softened his heart; it enabled him not merely to see but to feel the nothingness of this life. "The gospel," says the last historian of the Reformation,[1] "which he had heretofore embraced as a doctrine, now became a great reality. He rose from the dark borders of the tomb with a new heart, his zeal became more ardent, his life more holy, his preaching more free, more Christian, more persuasive. This was the epoch of his complete emancipation; henceforward he devoted himself entirely to God." So did many others who had embraced the doctrines; and some whom circumstances called from Zurich to other parts of Switzerland, scattered the Divine fruit more widely. Among these was Myconius, who was elected to the rectorship of the collegiate school of Lucerne, and whose efforts in the good cause entitle him to the gratitude of posterity. If the separation of two such

[1] Merle d'Aubigné, vol. ii., p. 434.

friends was painful to both, it was serviceable to religion. Lucerne, the most warlike perhaps of the cantons, soon benefited by the instructions, by the example, of the schoolmaster. Bâle, which Zwingle visited, and at which he preached with great power, heard the truth with humility. And it did more, it sent missionaries of that truth into other districts.

A.D. 1520-1522 Influence of his discourses over the people, even the magistracy of Zurich.

At Zurich the popularity of the reformer increased every day. The cathedral, spacious as it was, was unable to contain all his hearers. There were not merely the citizens, but the deputies from the other cantons, the members of the general diets which were annually held in that city, and the merchants from all parts, who flocked to hear the eloquent preacher. They did not hear in vain; many became wiser and better; and on their return to their native valleys diffused the light which they had received. We may estimate the progress which he made from one important fact, that in 1520 the Municipal Council ordered the priests and monks of the city to preach in future from Holy Scripture only. This bold interference of the civil with the ecclesiastical authority, this novel assumption by the magistracy of a control over matters of faith and discipline, created, as it well might, an extraordinary sensation in the public mind. It was rightly ascribed to the sermons of Zwingle, who had long been distrusted, and who was now hated by the Clergy. Plots were laid for his destruction, but they were baffled. The cause of the Reformation, however, was not to flourish in Switzerland, any more than in other regions, until it had been sprinkled with the blood of martyrs. At Schaffhausen, an old man, Gaster by name, embraced the truth, and preached with vehemence against the superstitions of the times. But he was compelled to flee for his life; the woods were long his habitation; and one night bloodhounds, accompanied by men still more fierce, pursued him and caught him. He was dragged back to the city; and persisting in his new opinions was beheaded. In Lucerne, Myconius, who had removed to the school of that city, was commanded not to explain the Scriptures to his pupils, and was more than once in danger of his life. Zwingle himself was now (1522) to taste of persecution. Urged by the more zealous of his communion, the Bishop of Constance sent three commissioners to procure from the local government the condemnation of the new doctrines and the punishment of their advocates. First, there was a meeting of the Clergy, which, however, contained so many secret adherents of the Reformation, that it led to no result. Next was one of the little Council, which formed the administrative portion of the government, and the members of which were generally favourable to the ancient Church. By this tribunal he would certainly have been condemned had not a few of the members, in the view of saving him, removed the affair by appeal to the Council of Two Hundred. In the assembly

he defended his opinions with so much force, that the members, unable or unwilling to decide in the matter, suspended the proceedings until the Papal pleasure should be known on one point,—a mere pretext to gain time. Other attempts to silence him being equally ineffectual, the Bishop appealed to the Helvetic Diet, in the hope that the members would persuade or compel Zurich to remain within the Romish communion. But though favourable, in the majority of at least five to one, to that communion, the members dared not adopt any decisive measures; they menaced, but did not punish. The great Council of Zurich temporized; but, seeing that the General Diet took no effectual measure to crush the rising faith, it confirmed its former decree, viz., that preachers must confine themselves to the Holy Scriptures. In another decree it evinced its tendency towards the Reformation, in enjoining Zwingle to preach to the nuns of Oetenbach, who had hitherto been directed by the Dominicans, and who were yet ignorant of the doctrines which agitated the minds of men. Thus the whole of the city might be considered as his parish: he was, indeed, the curé or rector of that city; and he was not merely permitted but enjoined to preach wherever he liked. One circumstance doubtless favoured his efforts,—he had not formally left the Church of Rome; he still celebrated mass; he still administered the other sacraments. He had evidently not formed his opinions on some of the points which he afterwards defended. This is no disparagement to him; truth is always progressive. Of this fact a good illustration was exhibited by the Cordelier Lambert, who having preached at Avignon many of the pure doctrines of the gospel as early as Luther, or even Zwingle, still retained the invocation of saints,—a dogma which above most others we should have expected a reformer to despise. This man being compelled to leave Avignon passed through Zurich, and was allowed to preach in the church of Our Lady. In his sermon he defended that unreasonable and unscriptural dogma, until he was loudly interrupted by Zwingle:—"Brother, thou art wrong!" The man, who was conscientious, challenged the curate, and they soon afterwards met in the hall of the canons. During four hours Zwingle assailed the tenet: when Lambert, unable to reply, proclaimed his conversion in that point also, and declared that he would never again pray to anything created.

A.D. 1522. Progress of the gospel.

The progress made by the new doctrines in other parts of Switzerland,—in Appenzell, the Grisons, and Berne,—began at length to alarm the Romanists. Again was the Helvetic Diet invoked to arrest the heresy, and it ordered all who preached against the established faith to be expelled or punished. In some places, where the zeal of the local magistracy was fervent, the order was obeyed: in others it was quietly disregarded. Thus Myconius was expelled from Lucerne: but Zwingle, whose friends

were numerous, was suffered to remain. Not that he did not experience much hostility from the monks and friars, and most of the canons: he knew that his destruction was resolved; he believed it might any day arrive; but his courage was equal to the occasion; and he not only persevered, but was the means of causing others to persevere in the pure faith. Yet it must not be concealed that for more than one of his opinions he was deservedly censured. That which declared that there is no order of priesthood recognized by the gospel; that any lay man, nay, any lay woman, may administer the sacraments with as much efficacy as the Bishop himself, was the most displeasing to the established Church. Most readers are aware that this dogma had been proclaimed by Wycliffe, and subsequently by Huss, and from one or the other had Zwingle derived it. Another of his opinions, that ecclesiastics might and ought to marry, has been a matter of greater dispute. At this distance of time some may lament that Luther and Zwingle, and other reformers, did not refrain from taking this step *themselves*,—a step which allowed their enemies at least a pretence to assail the purity alike of their motives and doctrines. As Romish ecclesiastics, they had taken the vow of chastity. To their converts, to the students intended for the priestly office, they might have taught the duty of marriage; but the example, as some think, should not have been given by them. Both, when too late, repented of their precipitation. So fearful was Zwingle of provoking the sarcasms of his enemies, so internally dissatisfied was he with the bold novelty, that for some time he kept his marriage secret.

Some of the new opinions censurable.

The marriage of the early reformers.

But the greatest crime of Zwingle in the eyes of the cantons was the zeal with which he denounced mercenary war. "You will not," he observed, "eat animal flesh on days of abstinence; but every day in the year you are ready to sell human flesh to the best customer." Hence the magistracy and the Church, the Councils and the people, were against him. But so numerous were his friends in Zurich, that he was protected against the interested or bigoted members of the Confederation. The persecution was now directed against Zurich itself. At the request of several cantons, the Bishops of Bâle and Lausanne, no less than of Constance, remonstrated with the Council; and when remonstrances were ineffectual, threats were employed. These were not openly defied; but they were not dreaded, and they had no effect. Besides, the boldness with which Zwingle taught that sacerdotal vows might be evaded, and all ecclesiastics conscientiously marry, caused many priests, many friars, to embrace the Reformation. At St. Gall, Mulhausen, Bâle, and Schaffhausen, the seeds of truth were sown, and promised soon to yield a fair harvest: but Berne, the second of the Helvetic cities, and perhaps the first in power, was the city that, next to Zurich, distinguished itself by

A.D.1523,1524 Zwingle against mercenary war.

Attempts at persecution.

its zeal. In Berne the Reformation commenced with the nuns of the royal convent of Konigsfeld, all of noble birth. As the emissaries of the Reformation were not inactive,—as they distributed the writings of their teachers wherever they could,—the ladies of that establishment were enabled to peruse the boldest works of Luther. Many of them had, in spite of themselves, been devoted to the profession, and many more had long repented the step. No truth is more certain than that to both sexes monastic vows have been, and still are, administered at too early an age. At eighteen and at twenty-eight few, probably, are the nuns who regard their vocation with the same eyes. Those of St. Clair began to look upon the world as a happier region than the cloister. One of them, Margaret de Watteville, wrote to congratulate Zwingle on the progress which "the truth" had made in Zurich, and to express a hope that it would be equally successful in the other cantons. Their next step was a bolder one, to demand from the Council of Two Hundred at Berne permission for such as chose to leave the cloister. That Council, like the one at Zurich, had just decreed that the ministers of the gospel should preach from the gospel alone, and leave Aquinas and Scotus to the moths and worms. Still this demand of the nuns of St. Clair was not one that, for some time, they dared openly to receive. They were afraid of the Roman Catholic cantons; they were afraid of the Pope; they were afraid of the Romanists within the walls of Berne. To divert the petitioners from this design, they commanded Hoffman, provincial of the Cordeliers, to visit the convent. But ladies, whether in the cloister or in the world, when they have once resolved on a step, are not easily diverted from it. The reasonings, the expostulations, the menaces of the very reverend provincial had no effect. He and the Abbess, a person in years, and therefore attached to the conventual rule, also invoked the aid of the Two Hundred. That body adopted what it doubtless considered a temporary compromise; it decreed that the nuns should be released from the more burdensome obligations of the rule, such as sleeping on hard straw pallets, rising to early matins, and fasting. But these concessions did not satisfy them; they still clamoured for "their Christian liberty." Again was one in authority sent to expostulate with them; as well might he have spoken to the winds. They asserted that not being subjects of the Pope, but of the republic, they had a right to be delivered from the captivity in which the former had held them; that their happiness here and hereafter depended on the success of their petition. Again the Council assembled (June 1524), and after some deliberation decreed that the ladies might leave the cloister, provided that the consent of some kinsman, or in defect of him, of some friend, were obtained to the step. They were to renounce all claim to the possessions of the house; but each might demand

In Berne the Reformation commences with some nuns, who return to the world.

the restitution of what she had brought to it. At the same time a regulation was made that no lady under seventeen should in future enter on the novitiate; that none under twenty should pronounce the irrevocable vow; and that the convent gates should be closed upon them for ever. Two of the nuns who thus hastened to Berne were soon married with great pomp in the cathedral of that city, to the utter surprise of the spectators who hitherto adhered to the ancient Church.

A.D. 1524. The Reformation completely established at Zurich.

While these events were passing at Berne, Zwingle prevailed on the magistracy of Zurich entirely to throw off the yoke of Rome. Invocation of saints and prayers for the dead having been abolished, Mass was next assailed; and after repeated conferences it was decreed that this idolatrous practice should no longer be tolerated. Zurich, therefore, was the first city of Helvetia,—the first, we may add, of Europe, that became completely Protestant. Whether the edict was immediately, and throughout the canton, carried into effect, may be doubted. Two years afterwards we have reason to infer that Mass was celebrated, whether in evasion or in defiance of the law, we know not; but this fact does not invalidate the merit due to these courageous defenders of the truth.

A.D. 1524-1527 Progress of the Reformation.

It was not to be expected that the cantons purely Roman Catholic should regard these proceedings at Zurich and Berne with approbation. And there were other causes which indisposed them to the Reformation. Besides the repugnance which both cities now began to entertain towards mercenary warfare, the insurrection of the Anabaptists in Germany, and even in territories subject to the cantons, inspired them with alarm. To arrest the progress of the new doctrines, they had recourse to persecution. Within their own territories they might lawfully do this; but when they endeavoured to do so in the common bailiwick, viz., in the domains which had been subdued by the united arms of the cantons, and which were governed by them in common, they violated the spirit of the constitution. To avert the storm which already appeared in the horizon, a colloquy was held at Baden. If Bâle, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, Mulhausen, and above all Berne, contained many disciples of the Reformation, it might be doubted whether they yet outnumbered the orthodox. None had hitherto declared for the Reformation; Mass was still celebrated even by the reformers. Good effects were therefore anticipated from this friendly "colloquy." It was attended by deputies from twelve of the cantons, Zurich alone, which had come to a final decision, refusing to sanction it; and during eighteen days the controversy was maintained. As usual, both sides claimed the victory; and, as usual, dispute only exasperated the hostile feeling. Five of the purely Roman Catholic States, viz., Uri, Schweitz, Underwald, Lucerne, and Zug, published severe

Colloquy of Baden.

edicts against such of their subjects as embraced the new doctrines. Their next object was to keep Berne within the bosom of the Church. Many were the deputations sent to that city, but, though they were respectfully received, they had no effect. In great anger the five cantons with the Vallais entered into a league ostensibly for the defence of their common religion, but in reality for the persecution of the reformers,—a truth evident enough from their admitting the bigoted King of Hungary, Ferdinand of Austria, into the league. Their efforts, however, could not arrest the progress of the human mind. In the Grisons no less than in St. Gall and Schaffhausen, in Glaris no less than Appenzell, in the Thurgau and the Rheinthal no less than Bâle and Mulhausen, the new doctrines began to spread; and Berne continued steadily yet slowly to advance in the same path. In 1527, she nominated bailiffs to superintend the revenues of the monastic houses within her jurisdiction. To the nation in general this might appear a measure of precaution during the controversies which agitated every town, every church, every convent, and almost every family; but to the careful observer it was evidently the forerunner of a complete reformation. As such it was denounced by the more zealous of the Roman Catholics; but the Two Hundred persevered with a calmness which showed that they were acting from conscience; that, though determined on their course, they would not, by unreflecting precipitation, injure its success.

Berne gradually inclines to it.

Towards the close of 1527 they appointed a conference between the champions of the two communions, avowedly for the purpose of embracing the side to which victory should incline, but in reality, whatever the result, to declare their adhesion to the new doctrines. This was apparent from the very first condition imposed on the disputants, that none of them should defend his cause by proofs or illustrations which were not immediately derived from Holy Scripture. It was condemning the Roman Catholics beforehand, since it held for nothing the Papal authority and that of tradition. For this reason none of the bishops or dignitaries in that communion would enter the lists; but their place was supplied by a few theologians of equal talent and greater zeal. The discussions continued nineteen days, to the manifest advantage of the reformed cause. Zwingle above all distinguished himself, though some of his party did not quite approve his doctrine in regard to the Lord's Supper. At the conclusion, Berne did as Zurich had done: by an edict it abolished the Roman Catholic religion throughout its jurisdiction: it would have no more Masses, no more invocation of the saints; the images were commanded to be destroyed; the authority of the four nearest bishops was for ever ended; ecclesiastics were declared at liberty to marry; all who chose might leave the cloister; such as chose

A.D. 1528. And, like Zurich, abolishes Romanism.

to remain were equally at liberty to do so, but no more novices were to be admitted; the use of flesh meat was allowed at all times; but drunkenness was severely prohibited, and the taverns were to be closed at nine o'clock every evening. To perpetuate a revolution which they considered so glorious, they caused it with the year and the day to be engraven in letters of gold on a public column. At the same time, the magistrates, the members of the two Councils, and the leading people, entered into an engagement never to join in foreign war, never to fight for Emperor or Pope, and never to receive pensions from any power. The latter determination was not always kept: when the fervour of the occasion had departed, many were disposed to war; but from that day Berne has been Protestant. Not that the revolution was effected without difficulty. In the rural districts especially, there was sometimes resistance; the articles of the edict (thirteen in number) were frequently evaded; and even in the city, many preferring the rights of conscience to their country, voluntarily expatriated themselves.

A.D. 1528. Intolerance of the early reformers.

The intolerance which followed this revolution both in Zurich and Berne, is a painful spectacle to the philosophic Christian. The men who had most loudly and most justly called for liberty of conscience, no sooner obtained it than they refused to grant it to others: not satisfied with dissenting from the Romish communion, they became its everlasting enemies; they would not allow of its exercise in a single instance. Well would it have been for generations then unborn had the now dominant party consented to recognize that most indisputable of rights, the right of worshipping God according to the dictates of individual consciences. Europe would, in this case, have been spared the bloody reactions that in the next generation began to disgrace the name of Christianity. But human nature is everywhere the same: the oppressed of one day becomes the oppressor of the next.

A.D 1528-1529 The cantons begin to quarrel on account of religion. Berne and Zurich join in arms.

These events naturally drew the Roman Catholic cantons into a closer league with one another. To counteract it, Zurich and Berne, forgetting their ancient rivalry in the urgency of common danger, entered into an alliance for the defence of their religion, and obtained from St. Gall, Bienne, Mulhausen, and Constance, promises of succour in case of need. The rest of the cantons were for the moment neuter,—some, like Glaris, rendered so by the balance of parties. Friburg, however, showed a tendency to join the five cantons; and though the storm might be averted for a time by the interests of the confederation, it must, as every one foresaw, come at last. A quarrel occasioned by religion between Berne and Underwald rendered it imminent. The zeal of the former in the cause of the Reformation was not, as we have already observed, agreeable to all her dependencies. Hasli, for instance, opposed it, as much, perhaps, through the persuasions

of Underwald, as from dislike to the novelty. Berne resented this proceeding of the ancient canton, which she would soon have punished, had not the other Roman Catholic States espoused the side of the weaker. To avert a civil war, five of the cantons, which from their subjects being divided on the score of religion were called neutral, sent their deputies to Berne. These were Glaris, Bâle, Soleure, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell. Joined by those of Berne and Zurich, they called on the five cantons to renounce the alliance with Ferdinand of Austria, an alliance which they justly denounced as contrary to the principles of the confederation. The call was refused. The following year, other overtures for a reconciliation were made by the neutral cantons with as little effect. The people of Zurich insisted that the inhabitants of the common bailiwicks, the territories, as we have before observed, conquered by all the cantons, and governed by each in succession, should enjoy freedom of conscience; but as they were notoriously inclined to the reformed faith, the Romish cantons would not agree to it. Another incident added to the discontent of the Reformers: the people of Schweitz burned to death one of their ministers, a native of Zurich, through the hatred which they bore to that city, and to Zwingle, its religious dictator. To defend their co-religionists, the people of Zurich armed, declared war against the five cantons, and in different bodies marched into Thurgau and towards Einsiedlen. In conformity with "the Treaty of Christian Citizenship" the Bernese obeyed the demand for aid; and the other cities in which the reformed faith predominated, were not unmindful of the common danger. In short, above twenty-four thousand men took the field; but a civil war was suspended by the interference of the neuter cantons, which persuaded both parties to accept certain articles of pacification. The basis was that each canton should be at liberty to regulate its own religious no less than temporal concerns, without the interference of any neighbour. This principle was too just to be denied; but the consequence from it, that neither party should force a religion on the subjects of the other, was, though fully recognized by both, not likely to be observed. In regard to the common bailiwicks, the principle was also recognized, that the majority in each district should have the right to declare their religion the dominant one. It was further agreed that there should be no ill-will between the cantons on account of religion, and that the alliance between the Catholic cantons and King Ferdinand should be dissolved. Well would it have been for Switzerland had these wise conditions been as faithfully observed as they were readily sanctioned; but where interests were so conflicting, subjects of dispute must in the nature of things be perpetual. Indeed, open hostilities, however impeded by circumstances, could not be otherwise than inevitable, where each

League.

A rupture averted by a compromise.

party thought the duty of bringing the other to the same opinions —the only way of salvation—to be of imperative obligation.

A.D. 1529-1531 New disputes.

The death of the Abbot of St. Gall, a monastery under the protection of both Roman Catholic and Protestant cantons, led to new disputes. At the instance of Lucerne and Schweitz, the monks elected a bigoted Romanist, Kilian Rauffin, to the vacant dignity. Zurich and Glaris, intent on the destruction of the office, and on the conversion of the inhabitants subject to the community, informed the new Abbot that they would not acknowledge him unless he could prove, from Holy Scripture alone, the divine origin of the monastic life. This intimation, as strange as it was intolerant and contrary to existing treaties, amazed Kilian, who retired with his monks, his treasures, and his archives to Bregentz, in the Austrian States beyond the Rhine, and there fixed his seat. The Roman Catholics were naturally indignant; but their refusal to pay the expenses of the last Diet of pacification no less offended the two Protestant cantons. Berne, in revenge, prohibited all commercial intercourse with the five cantons. On the one side, the Roman Catholics of Thurgau, of Rheinthal, and of Soleure, were eager to persecute their Protestant fellow-subjects, whom from more than one place they expelled. On the other, the dissensions of the Zurichers and the Lutherans on the subject of the Lord's Supper,—the former contending that the expression of our Saviour, "This is my body," is entirely figurative, meaning, "This is the sign of my body;" and the latter that the meaning is purely literal, that the body of Christ is verily present in the sacrament,—weakened the influence of the Reformation. It enabled the Romanists to say, "So long as you dispute on this and other subjects which you acknowledge to be articles of faith,—so long as you condemn each other with greater fury than we condemn either of you,—so long as you doom each other to everlasting torments, hope not to make converts of *us!*" Then came the excesses of the Anabaptists,—excesses which the histories of the empire and of the Low Countries amply describe —to increase the triumph of the old religionists. In the latter this feeling yielded to indignation, when they saw the progress of the gospel in places which had hitherto been Catholic,—in Morat, Lausanne, and Neufchatel,—a progress owing to the missionary zeal of the Bernese, in defiance of existing treaties. The hatred between both parties was increased by two acts of the exiled Abbot of St. Gall. In the one he renounced all dependence on Zurich and Glaris; in the other he called on Lucerne and Schweitz, of which he was equally a co-burgher, to send him the succour stipulated by former treaties. The Zurichers insisted on the secularization of the abbey; the Roman Catholic States opposed it; and recriminations on both sides followed. The death of Kilian by drowning did not end the strife; another Abbot was elected;

Abbot of St. Gall.

and the two Protestant cantons, Zurich and Glaris, not satisfied with condemning the election, sold the episcopal residence to the city of St. Gall,—a city more than half reformed. They next permitted the people of Toggenberg to redeem themselves by purchase from all future dependence on the Abbots. As these arbitrary acts were adopted against the protest of Schweitz and Lucerne, the former, in accordance with the federative constitution, commenced an action against Glaris, and Lucerne against Zurich. Zug, Uri, and Underwald embraced the cause of their brethren, and all the five cantons armed. The Diet of Baden, however, early in 1531, tried to restore peace; but its authority was disputed by the Protestant cantons, which would no longer submit the affairs of religion to a plurality of suffrages, since the majority of the thirteen States were still of the ancient Church. Another circumstance proved that the laws of the confederation were to be observed no longer than suited the views of the States. The Grisons, unexpectedly assailed by a Milanese adventurer, implored the aid of the cantons. It was readily supplied by the reformers, but denied by the Catholics. Why? Because, first, the Grisons were at that time making considerable progress in the Reformation; and because the five cantons would not weaken their force at a crisis like the present, when war with their Protestant neighbours could not long be averted.

A.D. 1531. Hostilities break out between the two religious parties.

These causes of mutual offence were sufficiently numerous, and no less aggravating; but they were soon embittered by others. The people of Zurich, like those of Berne, interdicted all commerce with the five cantons,—a blow the more sensible as that city had always been the great corn market of the forest States. This measure, which must inevitably lead to war, had been disapproved by Zwingle; but even Zwingle, great as was the empire which he exercised over the popular mind, could not allay the stormy passions that so many events had roused. Another pretension of the reformers, extreme as it was, had more of his approbation,—that which called on the Roman Catholic cantons to permit, within their jurisdictions, the free use of the Scriptures. It seemed indeed as if war was the only object of both parties; and in the autumn of 1531 it was declared, notwithstanding the efforts of the neutral States to avert it. But Berne, for reasons which are not very clear, took no part in the first hostilities. That she condemned the precipitation of the Zurichers, is certain; still the Treaty of Christian Citizenship rendered her aid obligatory; but perhaps the suddenness with which the Roman Catholics marched into Thurgau, frustrated her intentions. However this be, the two armies met near Cappel, about three leagues from Zurich, and after a short struggle the reformers were signally vanquished. About two thousand of the Zurichers, or their dependents, were left dead on the field. Among them were twenty-six councillors

The reformers defeated at Cappel.

of state, and fifteen ministers of the reformed religion. Zurich had obtained little honour when she stood alone against the cantons; at Cappel she obtained less. The truth is, that the discipline of her troops by no means corresponded with their military ardour.

A.D. 1531. Death, character, and opinions of Zwingle.

But what renders the battle of Cappel for ever memorable in the annals of Helvetia, is the fact that Zwingle himself was among the slain. He had fought for his countrymen in Italy; he had, he believed, a holier cause to defend on this occasion; and he wielded his arms with good effect. Seeing the battle against his flock, and knowing the peculiar detestation in which he was held by the enemy, he lay, severely wounded, on his face, in the view of escaping recognition. One of the hostile soldiers turned him over, and expressed a suspicion that he was the celebrated preacher: he answered not, but again lay on his face, when another soldier, who had heard his name mentioned, deprived him of life. The worst brutalities were exercised on his corpse. Thus fell one of the most extraordinary men of Switzerland and of Europe. To his talents, his learning, all men bore witness; even his virtues were not denied by the more liberal of his opponents; while his own party represented him as a saint and martyr. In truth he was both; and had he belonged to the Romish instead of the Reformed Church, canonization would have been his lot. The revolution which he effected in Helvetia entitles him to the gratitude of mankind. Ignorance he replaced by learning; the cold, heartless theology of the schools by evangelical fervour; licentiousness by severe morality. In comparison with what they had been, Zurich and Berne became the abodes of virtue. That he was sometimes rash, is, however, admitted by his admirers. In his end, too, there seems retributive justice; he who appealed to the sword perished by it. If Zwingle had little respect for many ordinances of the Church, he had still less for the hierarchy. He rejected the episcopal order, and consequently the apostolical succession. Indeed, he would not admit the necessity of a priesthood. According to his notions of Christian polity, every man is bound to instruct his fellows; and a mechanic, if well informed, may do so with as much right as the reverend clerk. Still he did not deny the usefulness of a Christian ministry. Men educated for the state, and recommended both for their learning and piety, were more likely to be the instruments of good than men absorbed in the secular pursuits of life. In his view, then, the true Church, in the strict acceptation of the word, consisted indiscriminately of the faithful, without any of the distinctions which mankind had previously been taught to uphold; as members, the woman and the child were on the same level with the minister, invested with the same authority, no less than the same grace.

The disaster at Cappel did not drive the people of Zurich from the field. On the contrary, it forced them to adopt more energetic

means of defence. They collected new troops, and called on their allies to assist them. The call was heard: Berne, St. Gall, Schaffhausen, Soleure, Bâle, the Toggenberg, and Thurgau, sent reinforcements, which were further increased by arrivals from Lausanne, Neufchatel, and even Geneva. The whole amounted to twenty thousand; and the field was again taken with renewed hopes of success. But the reformers, who seem to have been entire strangers to discipline, and who perhaps expected that heaven would fight for them, were again defeated, and as before by an enemy inferior in number. The failure at Zuggerberg was not less disastrous, or less severe, than that of Cappel. The results were still more so. Glaris, which had been the constant friend of Zurich, made a separate peace. The people of Toggenberg followed the example. Ten thousand Grisons, who were advancing to the aid of the Protestants, hastily returned. Everywhere the standard of the reformers was deserted by many of its defenders. But on the other hand the Roman Catholic States were tired of the war, or rather of the expense attending it; and peace was made (November, 1531) on conditions more favourable than could have been expected. Both parties agreed to tolerate each other in the exercise of their religion; in the common bailiwicks to make no distinction of creed; and to dissolve all leagues at variance with the principles of the confederation. Hence the Treaty of Christian Citizenship fell to the ground. The expense of the two wars was to be borne by the Zurichers,—a sensible proof of their humiliation. Berne, which had taken the field, was by this peace left to support the weight of the war. But though the troops of this republic were probably in a higher state of discipline, the same causes must have deprived the chiefs of all reasonable hopes of success. In it, as in the other States, many —perhaps a moiety—of the people were still secretly attached to the faith of their fathers; and fears were justly entertained that, in the event of a conflict, no reliance could be placed in them. After an inglorious campaign, therefore, Berne was glad to make peace on the same condition as Zurich.

A.D. 1531. The reformers again defeated.

Peace.

The consequences of these disasters were more humiliating than the disasters themselves. In the common bailiwicks the reformed religion was nearly extirpated,—a manifest violation of the treaty; but in Helvetia this result was too common to excite surprise. In addition, heavy contributions were levied on the inhabitants, who were deprived of many rights which they had previously enjoyed. The monastery of Einsiedlen was restored to its ancient splendour; the city of St. Gall, which had purchased the buildings of the Abbot, was compelled to surrender the treaty, and to pay him a large sum by way of indemnification; the privileges which the people of Toggenberg had purchased were revoked, and the money was not returned; and by a sentence of the Diet Zurich

A.D. 1532. Disastrous effects of the war to the reformers.

was no longer to have a voice in the protectorship of the abbey. Even Glaris, which had taken no active share in the war, suffered; in several of its districts the Mass-book was restored, the Bible banished; and, notwithstanding the number of the reformed, another century elapsed before that canton was recognized as Protestant. Such, indeed, had been the success of the Roman Catholics, that they were completely dominant everywhere but in the two republics of Berne and Zurich. That success, as every one perceived, was founded on *union;* to extend and fortify that union was the object of the five cantons; and two cantons more, Friburg and Soleure, which were now become entirely Popish, were added to it. A portion of Glaris and of Appenzell, with the whole of the Vallais, also acceded. That such a league was contrary alike to the Helvetic constitution, and to recent treaties, was evident; and its tendency was to create another league on the opposite side. Zurich forgave Berne for the tardy and reluctant aid which she had brought into the field; and the latter pardoned the impetuosity of the former. From this moment both republics agreed to live in a close connection.

Admirable moral effects of the Reformation.

The greatest evil we are told resulting from the Swiss Reformation, was the destruction of the national unity. Henceforth the two parties would not cordially act with each other; and if one proposed a measure it was almost sure to be rejected by the other. But whoever has examined the condition of the cantons prior to the sixteenth century, must have perceived that there was as little unity, as little common policy, as at any subsequent period. Then, as afterwards, the cantons were rivals of one another; one city was jealous of another; the aristocratic suspected the democratic; the rural hated the municipal cantons. One effect of the Reformation was doubtless to aggravate the ill feeling already subsisting among these rival parties; but that feeling did not exhibit itself in open hostility more than it had done before. But were this objection stronger than it is, it would detract little from the merits of the Reformation. Its first and greatest was the increased purity of morals. No longer was an idle and licentious priesthood to be seen, preaching one thing and doing another. The dissolution of the monastic establishments, in their corrupt state at that period, was in itself a good; but when we add that the funds which had supported them were now appropriated to hospitals and colleges, the advantages of the change will be better understood. Asylums for the poor and the sick, places of education for high and low, were surely blessings when contrasted with cloistered ignorance, and, what is worse, cloistered vice. The establishment of permanent consistories in lieu of the old ecclesiastical tribunals, was also a benefit. The latter, owing to their frequent interruptions, to the distance of the superior officers, and to the laxity of the proceedings—for how could men notoriously

criminal themselves severely punish the same crimes in others?—had ceased to be of the slightest use. But the former, consisting of many members whose eyes were on everybody, and whose characters were blameless, soon exercised an effectual and most salutary control over public morals. Indeed, they carried much too far their zeal for morals, and visited with severity offences which deserved merely a reprimand. In this point the inquisitive reader must have observed a wide disparity between Roman Catholics and Protestants. The former regard good works in the light of a compensation for sin: these are pompously displayed in the doctrines of that Church, are exposed in every code of penance, and urged in the confessional; yet the conduct of the Roman Catholics in most European countries is grossly immoral. On the other hand, Protestants who reject good works as essential to justification, practise them with undeviating modesty. Strange, that he who believes good works to be all in all should neglect them, while he who holds them as nothing, should so conscientiously observe them! Thus, the Romanists believe that almsgiving, or works of charity, will atone for sin; yet hospitals owe their establishment to Protestant zeal. The orthodox Italian suffers his poor countryman to die for want of the necessaries of life; the heretical Englishman builds a house in every parish not only for the sick and the aged, but for the unfortunate. Reformed Switzerland has done more for the necessities of man than the whole of Roman Catholic Germany; reformed England has done more than the whole of the Roman Catholic world. The colleges, the schools, the hospitals, the houses of refuge in Zurich and Berne, contrast nobly with the old monastic institutions of those cantons,—institutions which, if good in their origin, had for centuries been not only useless but pernicious. Such are the advantages of the Reformation,—active charity from man to man, information in lieu of long-established ignorance, purity of morals instead of licentiousness, and therefore a happier social community. That change, we may add, has been most useful to the Romanists themselves; it has rendered them outwardly decent in comparison with what they were; it has given zeal to their clergy, and a certain decorum to their laity; it has forced them to do *something* for learning, and thus to admit *some* degree of light on the gross, barbaric, palpable darkness of their community. Contrasts.

But if the progress of the Reformation was thus checked in the north of Switzerland it was soon to be triumphant in the West, viz., in Geneva and Lausanne. In both cities, and especially the former, the religious part of the subject is so united with the political as to be inseparable.

The first appearance of the reformed doctrines in Geneva may be referred to the year 1528. Situated as that city was in the vicinity of Protestant Berne, and on the great road from Germany A.D. 1528.

The Reformation in Geneva; its early struggles and sure progress.

to the south of France, it could not fail to be visited by many of the new persuasion. The worldly conduct of the Bishop, the ignorance, and in too many cases immorality, of his Clergy, gave virtue to the seeds thus scattered in the earth. One of the Church dignitaries soon encouraged the progress of inquiry,—Bonnivard, Prior of St. Victor. By degrees the number of the reformers increased in number and boldness, so far as openly to condemn some of the Romish peculiarities. The alliance with Berne, as may be easily conceived, gave additional vigour to the movement: missionaries from that city were not remiss in preaching the doctrines of the Reformation; and their authority was supported by the magistracy of that republic. But, on the other hand, Friburg, which was no less attached to the ancient Church, employed entreaties, remonstrances, and even threats, to keep her allies within its bosom. Hence the city was split into two parties, unequal indeed in point of strength, but actuated by the wish to do each other the greatest possible mischief. For two years the gospel made no great progress; the Company of the Spoon was at the gates, and the voice of religious animosity was drowned in the common danger. But as the position of the Duke of Savoy became daily more embarrassed, and the necessity of a perpetual alliance with Berne more obvious, the dissidents became so numerous as to alarm the Bishop. That prelate turned to the Duke his kinsman, to the Pope, to the empire, and above all to the Roman Catholic cantons for aid. The Duke and Friburg promised it. Bonnivard was betrayed into his hands, and cast into a dungeon. The members of the council, too, were either Roman Catholics, or under the influence of Friburg; and the Canons of the cathedral began to declaim in no measured terms against the new doctrines. But new missionaries arrived to maintain them. Among these were Farel and Saunier, natives of Dauphiny, whom the Council of Berne sent under its own protection to accelerate the progress of the truth. More enthusiastic, more vehement, than any of their predecessors, they inveighed with boldness against the superstitions of the Romish Church, and their success was unusually rapid. But in the same degree they provoked a spirit of opposition; and in 1532 were expelled by the other party from the city. This event checked for a time the outward progress of the new doctrines; but they spread in secret, and the proselytes only waited for an opportunity of renewing the assault. Before the middle of 1533 above a moiety of the population was reformed; but the advantage was counterbalanced by the fact, that most of the considerable inhabitants, all the magistrates, and most members of the council, still adhered to the Romish Church. Hence the parties were becoming so nearly equal that nobody could foretell the result. Sometimes they came to blows in the very streets, notwithstanding the

efforts of the magistrates and Bishops to arrest the disorder. As the members of the council attached to the Reformation daily increased, and as some of the magistrates joined the reformers, more influence was thrown into the scale. To counterbalance it, the other party invoked the interference of the Friburgers; while the Zwinglians requested that of the Bernese. To the Bishop the crisis appeared so alarming that he precipitately left the city, which he was destined no more to see. He had scarcely left the walls when the Great, and some members of the Little Council declared that he had, by desertion, forfeited his rights, that Geneva was therefore no more dependent on him than on the Duke.

A.D.1533-1534 Internal dissensions.

This retreat of the Prince Bishop was the signal for new disorders. By leaguing himself more closely with the Duke, and by interesting the Friburgers more deeply in his cause, he hoped to repress the new doctrines. In the latter he had zealous allies. They sent a deputation to the two councils, requiring them and the chief inhabitants to swear that they would never forsake the ancient communion. But on the other hand the Bernese threatened that if they did they would not only abandon them but exact the arrears of pay for military services performed. The animosity of the latter was increased by the arrival of a Sorbonne doctor named Furbitty, whom the Roman Catholic party had sent to combat the new heresy. This missionary was more violent than Farel or Saunier had been. He compared the heretics of the day to the men who had cast lots for our Saviour's garments. To end this warfare, the Great Council decreed that both parties should henceforth preach from Holy Scripture alone: *it* had no mention of Vaudois or Germans; it therefore could furnish neither party with the weapons of offence. But the Bernese were not satisfied; they declared that they had been insulted, and they commanded the Council immediately to arrest and try the rash missionary. On the other hand, the Friburgers demanded the same proceeding against Farel, who had returned to the city; and in the event of non-compliance used the same menaces. Internally there was no less animosity. The Vicar-General of the Bishop commanded that all the French and German versions of Scripture should be seized and burnt: the other party that they should be exclusively used, and that no doctrine unless sanctioned by them should be allowed to be preached. The Council was in great alarm; but as more was to be hoped and more to be feared from Berne, Furbitty was arrested, brought to a conference with Farel, declared vanquished, condemned to retract, and to give satisfaction to that republic. With this sentence he refused to comply, and he remained in prison two years, when, through the interference of his sovereign, Francis I., he was liberated. In the next proceeding the Bernese prevailed over the Friburg influence: by public edict the gospel was allowed

The Reformation proceeds.

to be openly preached, and Farel, from the pulpit of the Cordeliers, denounced the ancient idolatry with more zeal than before.

A. D. 1534. Friburg in anger renounces the alliance of Geneva. Consequently Berne is at liberty to push the new doctrines more effectually.

Incensed at this favourable change in the crisis of the Reformation, the Friburgers did what they had long threatened,—they for ever renounced their alliance with Geneva.

This step was no less favourable to the Reformation than the flight of the Bishop. Berne was now the only neighbouring canton that could protect the infant republic: Berne, therefore, must be propitiated. Images of the saints were broken, and altars were levelled with the ground. These violent proceedings had their inevitable effect; they exasperated the Roman Catholic party, the heads of which were drawn into closer communication with the Bishop and the Duke. Many exiles, many of the Company of the Spoon, many Roman Catholic nobles of the neighbouring districts, and mercenary soldiers of the same faith, were to be admitted into the city, and the ancient regime restored. The plot was discovered; the authors of it, the Bishop and the Duke, were denounced to the Helvetic Diet; and angry remonstrances were addressed to both. These, however, had no effect, and both pursued their hostilities. By the one they were excommunicated as obstinate heretics, and the sentence was confirmed by the Pope. By the other, provisions and merchandise for the city were often intercepted, and it was therefore subject to frequent privations. It complained to Berne, and Berne to the rest of the cantons in Diet assembled. That these hostilities towards a State in alliance with a member of the confederation were in violation of Helvetic law, all admitted; but political were held inferior to religious feelings, and no step was taken by the Diet to vindicate its rights. The Genevans, left to themselves, armed and repelled force by force. At first, the advantage was against them; but by constant practice they became good soldiers, and more animated than ever by the hope of independence. In the same degree they became attached to the Reformation, which promised them civil, no less than religious liberty. That important change was now favoured by other circumstances. The Vicar-General, despairing of bringing the people back to the bosom of the Church, fled to a monastery; while many of the Clergy hastened to join their Bishop at Gex. Urged by Berne, the populace accused the dilatory progress of the Great Council; and forced, or we should rather say persuaded, that body to issue a decree prohibiting the celebration of Mass "until further orders." Those orders never arrived; on the contrary, a decree was soon promulgated that "Papistical idolatry was for ever abolished." To this final blow the Council was led by two circumstances. Francis wished to be regarded as the protector of the new State; he would send troops to defend it against the Bishop, the Duke, and all the force of Popish Europe. The protection of the re-

Popery abolished by the Council: the Reformation for ever established at Geneva.

formed doctrines by a man who was at that moment shedding the blood of the preachers, was a strange proposal, and by many it was indignantly denounced; it would, however, have been accepted, had not Berne, alarmed at the prospect of so powerful a neighbour, begun to show more kindness to the citizens, and not to press for the money due for the preceding armaments. From this moment the Reformation was dominant at Geneva; and the efforts of the Roman Catholics to regain their ascendency, or at least toleration, were the expiring efforts of a faction.

A.D. 1536. Internal advantages produced by liberty and the Reformation at Geneva.

Every reader knows that for two centuries at least immediately prior to the Reformation, the corruption of the Christian world, especially of its ministers, was unrivalled. There was little discipline, little religion; and a series of unmeaning and at the best, useless ceremonies were believed to constitute the sum and substance of duty. Geneva was not less corrupted than Zurich or Berne; and in imitation of both she began to enforce public decency, to inculcate public morals, and to render offences which had previously been subject to the ecclesiastical tribunals alone amenable to the civil magistracy. Out of the confiscated property of the Church, hospitals and schools were endowed. In the exultation of their escape from the yoke of Rome and of the Duke; in the first enjoyment of their twofold liberty, the senate and people engraved on a tablet of brass in the municipal hall, an inscription commemorative of the period when "the tyranny of the Roman Antichrist was abolished, no less than his superstitions;" when "the holy religion of Christ was restored to its purity;" when "through the special grace of God the Church was reformed, and all enemies repulsed." With this new-born liberty arose the spirit of industry; other useful arts were introduced; idleness, the result of innumerable festivals, yielded to constant activity; and when the more pressing wants of life were satisfied, the schools, the college, and the academy, produced men who, both in literature and science, obtained a reputation fully European. In every respect, therefore, this revolution was a good; and well are the citizens of that period entitled to the gratitude of their own posterity, and to the admiration of the world.

A.D. 1535-1536 Lausanne, forsaken by its Bishop, becomes subject to Berne.

Lausanne was next to be admitted into the reformed communion. While the Prince Bishop was generally the ally of Savoy, his subjects were no less connected with Berne and Friburg. As in the case of Geneva, there was more rivalry between the two Princes for the temporal jurisdiction, or rather for certain seignorial rights. The citizens, whose privileges had been augmented by successive treaties with both, cared little for either, since those privileges were sure to be defended by their allies. The immorality of the Chapter, and the uniformly worldly policy of the prelate, rendered them averse from the domination of ecclesiastics. On the other hand, the Bishop sighed for the

restoration of his ancient authority. From the two cantons he could expect no aid; but the Duke of Savoy might be induced to afford it. A strict alliance was formed between them; and he took part in the war against Berne. Four thousand troops sent by the Duke to effect the abolition of the municipal privileges, were instantly dispersed. The citizens, as a natural consequence, drew closer the bonds of their alliance with Berne, which they assisted with their disposable force. His position therefore was a critical one; on the one hand his own subjects, on the other the Bernese, were in arms against him. Feeling that he was unsafe in Lausanne, Sebastian de Montfaucon secretly fled. This step had results no less fatal to his interest than the flight of the Genevan prelate; it was declared to be a desertion of his post, and it led the people to admit the Bernese troops within their walls. His temporalities were seized; the four parishes of the Vaud which had always depended on him were soon made to submit, and in a few weeks all his domains were in the hands of Berne. This republic fighting for herself more than for liberty or for religion, incorporated the whole of the conquered district with herself. The conditions which she granted to her new subjects varied according to the circumstances attending their submission. The towns which had voluntarily received her troops were preserved in their actual liberties, and if Roman Catholic, even in the exercise of their religion; but they were compelled to tolerate the free worship of the reformers. Those which had resisted were deprived of their charters, to be restored only according to their own good behaviour, and at the pleasure of the victors. Lausanne was the most favoured. Her ancient privileges were confirmed; in addition she obtained the high, the middle, and the low jurisdiction, and a considerable share of the Church plunder. The rights arrogated by the conquerors were those purely sovereign,—that of receiving appeals from the supreme tribunal; that of pardoning; that of coining money; and that of regulating and controlling the military establishment. Besides these advantages, they obtained the Bishop's palace, his cathedral, and a portion of his revenues. With these revenues they founded an academy in 1537, a college in 1540, and granted pensions to poor scholars. Thus was the authority of the Prince Bishop abolished, and his revenues secularized, in this important city. In one respect, however, he was more fortunate than his brother of Geneva; the great city of Friburg, to which he now retired, was faithful to him; and if his revenues were not enough for princely splendour, they were enough for comfort. But the Bishop of Geneva, who fixed his See at Annecy, was compelled to rest satisfied with a splendour sadly shorn, and an income still more wofully diminished.

Results in Lausanne.

On the expulsion of the Bishop, the citizens of Lausanne were

led by Berne to embrace the Reformation. After a disputation at which the Roman Catholic priests refused to be present (indeed their ignorance was such that they did not understand the doctrines of their own Church), the exercise of the old worship was abolished. It was the same in the rural districts, and indeed in the whole of the Pays de Vaud subject to Berne. Mass was abolished; the altars were removed; the images of saints thrown to the ground; the crosses demolished. Ministers with salaries succeeded to priests with tithes, nor was there any opposition except at Lutry, one of the four parishes hitherto subject to the Bishop; and there it was of no effect. A public edict defined the articles of faith which the people were to profess, and the discipline thenceforward to be enforced. As in other districts which had embraced the Reformation, schools were founded; ignorance gradually yielded to knowledge, outward decency succeeded to notorious scandal; and a rigid purity of manners to almost universal licentiousness.

A. D. 1536. Embraces the Reformation

We have dwelt on the proceedings of Zwingle, the first reformer of Switzerland, and it will be naturally expected that in a sketch of the Swiss Reformation we should say something of one much more illustrious,—one who, next to Luther, enjoys the widest European reputation, and who, next to Luther, too, has done most for its progress. We allude to *John Calvin*, the reformer of Geneva.

A native of Noyou, and the son of a humble cooper, this man seemed unlikely to exercise the boundless influence over his species that futurity reserved for him. By chance, or the dispensation of Providence, he was noticed by the Abbot of St. Eloi at Noyou, who afforded him the rudiments of education in the school of the monastery, and while yet a child procured him a small benefice in the cathedral. Before he had attained his twentieth year, he had several of these benefices, and even enjoyed the title and the income of a rector, though he was not even in minor orders. This was an abuse which, with many hundreds besides, the Reformation was eventually to extirpate. Placed above want or even dependence, he now repaired to the University of Paris, where he found some students secretly imbued with the doctrines of Luther. Among them was Olivetan, born like himself at Noyou, and his senior in learning no less than in age. Circumstances led him to study the law, first at Orleans, then at Bourges. His ardour for knowledge also induced him to cultivate Greek, then a rare acquisition. But theology must have occupied much of his attention, for he continually advanced in his new opinions. On his return to Paris in 1532, he resigned his benefices, which indeed he could not conscientiously retain. Though he held his opinions in secrecy, he was suspected to have had some share in the composition of the lecture which the rector of the University delivered in the following year,—a lecture per-

A.D. 1509-1536 Birth, education, and exile of John Calvin.

vaded by the reformed spirit. He was therefore persecuted, and compelled to seek an asylum in Saintonge, where he began, we are told, to collect materials for his great work of the Christian Institution. His literature was certainly considerable; at Paris he had published a Commentary on two books of Seneca; and his diligence was almost unrivalled. We next find him at the court of the celebrated Margaret, Queen of Navarre, who was suspected of some inclination towards the Reformation, and who was certainly fond of the society of literary men. But she was at least equally attached to pursuits of a different kind; and the laxity of her manners, if not of her principles, must have rendered her little of a favourite with this moral student. In 1534, viz., in about a year after his hasty departure from Paris, we see him at Bâle, for France could no longer protect him. In this city he proceeded with his great work. His object was to show that the opinions of the men daily immolated in France were not of the character usually assigned to them; that the reformers of that kingdom were not Anabaptists; that their tenets, political, civil, and religious, entitled them to respect rather than condemnation. It was certainly a laudable object; but surely he was not the representative of the French Protestants. His tenets were not those of Luther, or of Zwingle: he went farther than both, and consequently departed more widely from the Romish communion. On free-will, good works, and above all, imputed righteousness, he advanced propositions, which, though conformable in many respects with those of the Wittenberg reformer, were in other respects opposed to them. If these were subjects too abstruse for most of the people, the vehemence with which he opposed the hierarchy was intelligible enough. Not satisfied with assailing the Papal primacy, he denied the authority of priests, of bishops, and general councils. The sacraments he reduced to Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and he did not consider even them of indispensable obligation. The Mass he utterly reprobated as impious; the worship of saints as unmitigated idolatry. This work first appeared at Bâle, towards the close of 1535, though it bears the date of 1536. The subsequent editions he greatly amplified, and greatly improved, until it contained the sum and substance of the opinions entertained by that portion of the reformed world of which he was the acknowledged head.[1] The preface, addressed to "the Most Christian Monarch," Francis I., draws an eloquent and a forcible picture of the sufferings endured by the reformers of France, and called for their cessation. But the appeal had no effect. Francis, a true hypocrite, whose reputation is far above his deserts, while "the dear friend" and "faithful ally" of the Swiss Protestants,

The Institutes.

[1] The best edition published in the author's lifetime is by Robert Stephen, Geneva, 1559.

was the bloody persecutor of the same body in his own kingdom. That he cared for neither religion is generally asserted, and is possibly true enough; but this fact only deepens the infamy which, in the eyes of posterity, must rest upon his memory. Sincerity is no excuse for persecution, but to persecute without it is the part only of a demon.

A.D. 1536. He fixes himself at Geneva, from which, however, he is exiled.

The doctrines which Calvin had so recently embraced, he was anxious to impart to others, by preaching no less than by writing. He had done so in France; he did so while on a visit to the Duchess of Ferrara. But the ancient superstition was not to be bearded in Italy any more than in any other country; he was compelled to flee; again he visited Paris to see what progress had been made in the organization of the new Church; but seeing no security, he returned towards Bâle by way of Geneva. On reaching the city, he found that the Reformation had been just established; that Farel, one of its most powerful instruments, had need of fellow-labourers; and by the urgent entreaty of that reformer, was persuaded to remain. He could not have chosen a better place. At Geneva the French language was spoken; it formed a link of communication between the Protestants of France and those of Germany; its political situation seemed to promise its continued liberty and independence. Altogether it was just such a place as a sagacious missionary would have selected for the evangelizing of France; just such a place as an ardent republican would have chosen for his residence. Both Church and State had yet to be organized, and he felt that he was equal to both undertakings. For some years, however, if he had the ambition, he had not the power, to become a legislator. In September, 1536, he began his theological lectures and his instructions, as professor in that faculty; but preaching he abandoned to Farel, who had probably greater talents for it,—who had certainly more eloquence, more vehemence, and greater influence over the people. In conjunction with his fellow-labourer, he distinguished himself by his zeal for the reformation of manners, and for the attainment of a larger measure of reform than any other country had yet witnessed. He would have no festivals except Sunday; and no baptismal fonts, which he regarded as relics of superstition; while he admitted only common leavened bread for the Lord's Supper. These innovations were not approved by the rest of Protestant Switzerland; a complaint was made by the Synod of Lausanne to the magistrates of Geneva, and the latter enjoined Calvin and Farel to comply with the custom of their brethren. They refused, and in April, 1538, were banished from the city. Calvin repaired to Berne, which he persuaded to intercede in his behalf with the municipality of Geneva; but the party opposed to him was too strong, and the sentence of his exile was confirmed.

A.D. 1538. He repairs to Strasburg. His opinions on the Lord's Supper.

From Berne Calvin repaired to Strasburg, where Bucer was then labouring in the cause of the Reformation, and where he was received with much respect. As professor of theology, he supported his former reputation; but he now began to preach also in his native language in a church set apart for the French emigrants, and by this means he acquired an empire over the mind of the uneducated, equal to that which his writings had obtained over the more learned portion of the reformed world. Yet, whatever might be the honour in which he was held at Strasburg, his heart was turned to Geneva; and from time to time he addressed to the faithful of that city exhortations intended to preserve them from the contagion of superstition on the one hand, and of heresy on the other. But his opinions were not always uniform: he modified or entirely changed them at different periods of his life. Thus, in regard to his *Traité de la Sainte Cène,* which he published in 1540, he abandoned his former sentiment, which had been that of Luther, and he did not adopt that of Zwingle. Luther had taught that the words of our Saviour are to be literally received, and that consequently his body and blood are truly and substantially present in the sacrament. Carlostad had contended for the figurative meaning of the words; that the sacrament was but a sign, a commemoration of the Last Supper. The interpretation of the latter reformer was adopted by the whole of Switzerland, by Strasburg, and by many German cities. Zwingle had embraced it with ardour, and had stigmatized the other doctrine as essentially Popish. Calvin now adopted an intermediate opinion,—that while the body of Christ is in heaven, and cannot be substantially present on earth, it may yet be communicated to the faithful, not spiritually but really, just as the sun transmits a portion of its essence from the sphere which it never forsakes. The sacrament, therefore, was *both* a figure and a reality. The doctrine obtained attention for a while, but in a few years he declared his adherence to that of Zwingle,—to the simple figure.

A.D. 1542-1560 He is recalled to Geneva; his boundless influence and melancholy intolerance.

The fame of Calvin increased so much, that in 1541 the decree of banishment was revoked, and he was solicited to return. He did not at first show much desire to do so, but when a solemn embassy was sent to the municipality of Strasburg for that purpose, he no longer hesitated. His return was a triumph. One of his first objects was to erect a new church, to organize a system of ecclesiastical discipline; and it was completely attained. His flock he subjected to a new tribunal, consisting partly of ministers, partly of laymen, who were "to watch over the preservation of sound doctrine, and the practice of good manners." Never was tribunal more despotic than this. Its notice extended to the simplest affairs of life; no person was too high for its censures; and though it inflicted no bodily punishments, no fines, it laid

before the council the names of such as neglected its reprimands, or committed offences which demanded a severer penalty. At the head of this ecclesiastical police was the reformer, whose empire was thenceforth unbounded. If any one preached doctrines, or even uttered sentiments, inconsistent with those contained in *The Christian Institution*, he was silenced, or he was imprisoned, or he was banished. If any one, in act or word, offended public decency or private morals, he could not escape the notice of the consistory, or punishment by the council. The magistrates, like the ministers, bowed to the reformer's will; and the severity of their judgments prove the ascendancy which he had obtained over them. One man—he too a magistrate—was deprived of his dignity, and imprisoned two years, because "his life was irregular," and because "he was in alliance with the enemies of Calvin." Another citizen was beheaded, because "he had written impious letters and licentious verses," and because "he had endeavoured to subvert the ecclesiastical ordinances." Servetus, as everybody knows, was executed for assailing the mystery of the Trinity, though the book was neither written nor printed at Geneva.[1] Bolsec was tried because, on the subject of predestination, he entertained opinions differing from those of Calvin; and Gentilis was condemned to death because he had knowingly incurred the guilt of heresy. But the latter had no wish to be a martyr; he recanted, and was only fined. What must have been the influence of the man who could thus dispose of liberty, substance, and even life? The Pope himself was not more despotic; the Spanish Inquisition was not more powerful. By a great number of the citizens, especially of the young, the ecclesiastical ordinances were hated as much as they were feared; and they were opposed or resisted until the dreadful severity of the punishments silenced even the boldest complainant. These murmurs had therefore one of the effects designed; they produced much outward decency of conduct, but, in a degree nearly equal, they created hypocrisy. When austerities inconsistent with the rational enjoyments of life are exacted, they must have that result.

A.D. 1542-1564 His indefatigable ardour as a legislator, preacher, writer, &c.

These occupations did not engross the whole time of Calvin, one of the most indefatigable men that the world has ever produced. As a legislator, he must not be forgotten. He improved the legal code; and he made some changes in the judicial administration. In this task he was aided by Colladon, the celebrated jurisconsult, whom he had known at Bourges. He was the patron of letters, which he encouraged by the most effectual means. He established printing presses, opened many shops for the sale of books, and rendered Geneva the literary metropolis, the great

[1] See Life of Servetus at end of this chapter.

book mart of Europe. The regulations which he introduced into the schools and colleges were excellently adapted for the purpose. As a writer, he was voluminous. His correspondence with so many eminent men in foreign countries would seem to have demanded the labour of a life, yet every year he published some important work, controversial or doctrinal. The number in MSS. is greater than that which has been published. This is particularly the case with his Sermons, near three thousand of which are said to be in the libraries of Switzerland. Of his works, the most considerable are his Commentaries on the Scriptures, which appeared in successive portions, in Latin and French, and which in the aggregate are a great monument of acuteness, of industry, of thought. Yet with all these literary pursuits, he delivered three lectures every week in theology, preached five times, attended every meeting of the consistory, was consulted in every political affair of moment. It would be scarcely believed that throughout life this extraordinary man, who produced so much, was subject to disease, and that he died (1564) at the early age of fifty-five.

A.D. 1564. His character and the influence of his opinions.

Calvin was generally impatient of the least contradiction to his will. Of this fault he was aware; he lamented it on several occasions; and in a letter to Bucer he acknowledged that "the ferocious beast was too much for him." But with all the moral defects which many have ascribed to him, he was a good man. He acted from the best motives; he lived and died poor; he would solicit places and pensions for others, not for himself; his sobriety was extreme; his manner of life so frugal as to be a model which the reformers ought to have followed. He did not, like most of them, break his ecclesiastical vows, for he had never taken any, and the wife whom he chose had never been a nun; she was a humble though respectable widow; and on her death (1549), after a union of ten years, he would not remarry. In his intellectual character, he is equally deserving of praise. "Luther," says Bossuet, "had something more original, more lively; Calvin, inferior in point of genius, was probably a more diligent student. Luther triumphed by his conversation, by his preaching; Calvin by the pen, which was more correct, the style more subdued, more connected. Each excelled in the use of his native language, each was extraordinary for his vehemence. Luther, impelled by his impetuous disposition, which never knew moderation, raised himself above all other men so outrageously as to resemble a madman; the praises which Calvin bestowed on himself were the honest dictates of his heart, and arose in spite of the moderation that he had resolved to observe. The genius of Calvin was less fitted than that of Luther to set a whole people in motion; but when the excitement had passed away, it was more fitted for permanent empire." But the personal qualities of Calvin interest us only

in so far as they assist us to account for the influence which he exercised alike over his own times and posterity. He soon became the acknowledged head of that vast section of the religious world which had separated from the communion of the Wittenberg reformer. Before him, Œcolampadius, and Bucer, and Zwingle, and Farel, and a host besides, are shorn of their splendour. His followers gloried in bearing his name; and his spiritual empire was soon recognized, not by Switzerland, and Germany, and France only, but by Holland, Scotland, and in part by England.

Proportion between Romanists and Protestants in all the cantons.

To assist the reader in understanding the religious condition of Switzerland at the period of Calvin's death, we may observe by way of recapitulation,—1. That of the cantons, Berne, Zurich, Bâle, and Schaffhausen, were wholly Protestant. 2. That in Appenzell and Glaris the two communions were mixed together, though the ancient one was predominant. 3. That the rest were essentially Roman Catholic. 4. That in the subject bailiwicks, Morat and Granson were Protestant; the Thurgau, the Rheinthal, Sargans, Baden, and two or three insignificant districts, had a mixed population, while the rest were Roman Catholics. 5. That of the allies or confederates, Bienne, Mulhausen, the city of St. Gall, Neufchatel, Geneva, and most of the bishopric of Bâle, were Protestants; the Toggenberg and the Grisons mixed; the rest Roman Catholic. The number of States, therefore, which adhered to the ancient communion were, compared with the Protestant, as four to five; and even if the mixed were added, as two to three. But if the estimate were formed on the basis of population in the States, the result would be much more favourable for the reformers, as out of every five inhabitants two at least were of that communion. This proportion at the present day is much greater. According to recent computations, near two-thirds of Switzerland are Protestant.

Progress of reformed opinions in France.

France had already been affected by the spirit which so powerfully excited Germany and Switzerland. The writings of Luther and the other reformers, both Swiss and German, soon found their way into that country; and though the public mind was not in a state to bring about a religious revolution, not only individuals, but large masses of the community, eagerly imbibed the new opinions. Those who propagated the reformed doctrines generally symbolized in their views with the Swiss divines, though, before they received the insulting appellation of Huguenots, they were frequently described as Lutherans. They were persecuted by Francis I. and Henry II.; but they gradually formed a powerful body. The conference of Poissy, in 1561, at which Beza appeared as the principal disputant on the side of the reformers, was so far from effecting the objects which were expected from it by the court, that it tended to display and con-

solidate the Reformed party. Politicians swelled their ranks, and fomented among them a spirit of resistance which did little honour to the cause of religion; and the history of the Reformation in France during this century, is little else than the history of civil war. The various factions, the League and its opponents, laid the country waste for many years. Henry IV., who, as king of Navarre, had been the champion of the Huguenots, at length conformed on ascending the throne of France. After so many years of wasteful war and civil distraction, the financial difficulties of the country were so great, that Henry was persuaded to convoke at Rouen an assembly of "*Notables*," consisting of persons named by himself from every class of his subjects. To them he referred the question of his revenues. After a winter spent in very languid discussion, they recommended a scheme, which failed signally upon trial. Henry passed the winter amidst the dissipation of Paris, and had apparently forgotten the war, when he suddenly learnt that the important town of Amiens had been taken by the Spaniards. He immediately laid siege to it, and by great exertions was enabled to reduce it by the end of September, notwithstanding the efforts of the Archduke to relieve it. The Protestants not only withheld their assistance upon this occasion, but renewed their applications so significantly, that the King found it necessary to address himself in earnest to their affairs. After the taking of Amiens, he was put in possession of Brittany by the Duke of Mercœur, and being now in a condition to treat with Spain, and anxious to secure repose for his country, he entered into negotiations, and concluded peace at Vervins, by which he recovered all the places in France which Spain had seized during the war. In this treaty his faithful allies, England and the United Provinces, were not comprehended, although he had bound himself not to make peace without them.

Assembly of Notables.

A.D. 1597. Amiens taken by the Spaniards. March 11. Retaken by the King. Sept. Conduct of the Huguenots. Reduction of Brittany. A.D. 1598. May 2. Peace of Vervins.

A little before the peace of Vervins, the position of religious parties was adjusted by the Edict of Nantes. This measure gave permanent effect to the provisional arrangements contained in various treaties which were concluded between 1561, and the Edict of Poitiers in 1577. It re-established the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in all parts of the kingdom; it granted liberty of conscience to the Protestants, and provided that they should not be compelled to take part in any religious ceremony repugnant to their creed. The public exercise of their religion was permitted in all the towns where it had continued during the two preceding years, and in some other places where it had been conceded by former treaties, though subsequently interrupted. In the rural districts, the higher class of proprietors were allowed a free performance of the worship for themselves and their families, and whomsoever they chose to admit; persons of inferior condition were restricted to family worship. In certain places the exercise

Edict of Nantes.

of the new religion was forbidden, in pursuance of conventions made with the various chiefs of the league on their submission. The Protestants were bound to pay tithes, and to abstain from any irreverence towards any of the ceremonies of the Church. Their poor were to be admitted to the benefit of hospitals and other public charities, and Protestants were declared eligible to all civil offices. To form a tribunal for enforcing the execution of these enactments, a chamber was added to each of the Parliaments, called the Chamber of the Edict. It was to be composed equally of Protestants and Roman Catholics. By secret articles the King granted to the Protestants certain places of surety for eight years, along with a considerable sum for the support of their garrisons. This edict was registered by the Parliament by the King's express command, after a very long and obstinate resistance.

Success of the Reformation in other countries.

The progress of the opinions of the Reformation in Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia, cannot be pursued in such a sketch as the present. They made, however, considerable progress in all these countries. In Italy and Spain they were soon suppressed by the energy of the Inquisition. But in the Netherlands they prevailed so widely that the attempts of Philip II. to suppress them greatly contributed, with his designs upon the civil rights of his Belgic subjects, to produce the long contest in which the Seven United Provinces succeeded in vindicating their independence from the power of Spain.

In Scotland.

The Reformed opinions, as they were taught by the school of Geneva, were received with avidity in Scotland; where the struggle to maintain them against the adherents of the ancient system forms the main object in the history of that country for nearly thirty years.

The principles of the Reformation had been introduced into Scotland by Patrick Hamilton, who was speedily apprehended and martyred. Other reformers shared this brave man's fate. The Bishops were alarmed and resorted to all methods of savage severity. Cardinal Beaton especially was resolved on extirpating the rising and spreading heresy. The King had married a princess of the House of Guise, and her great influence over her husband induced him to support the Romish Clergy with all the weight of the royal prerogative. But the nobility were partial to the reformers, and thus became a counterpoise to the court. The influence of Henry VIII. in England was not lost upon the northern kingdom. After the death of James, the Earl of Arran became Regent, and faction prevailed, the Queen Dowager and the Cardinal intriguing against their wily rival. But the Reformation was still spreading though persecution waxed more violent. George Wishart was burned at St. Andrews, but his fate only gave power and publication to his principles. Beaton was at

length assassinated, and the country thrown into confusion. The conspirators took possession of the castle of St. Andrews, and applied to Henry for aid, which he vouchsafed to render. But the garrison was at length taken, and its inmates (John Knox among them) were sent as prisoners of war to France. Knox soon after returned to Scotland, and his preaching so roused the people, that the Protestants daily increased in numbers and boldness; and for self-defence they formed themselves into a union, by the subscription of a solemn bond. The paper ran as follows:—

Union of the Protestants.

"We, perceiving how Satan in his members, the Antichrists of our time, cruelly doth rage, seeking to overthrow and destroy the gospel of Christ and his congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master's cause, even unto death, being certain of the victory in him. The which our duty being well considered, we do promise before the majesty of God and his congregation, and we, by his grace, shall, with all diligence, continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the blessed Word of God and his congregation, and shall labour at our possibility to have faithful ministers, purely and truly to minister Christ's gospel and sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, at our whole power, and waring of our lives against Satan and all wicked power, that does intend tyranny and trouble against the foresaid congregation. Unto the which holy Word and congregation we do join us; and also do renounce and forsake the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious abominations and idolatry thereof; and, moreover, shall declare ourselves, manifestly, enemies thereto, by this our faithful promise before God, testified to his congregation by our subscription at these presents."

The noblemen who signed the document and who figure so largely in the Scottish history of the time were called Lords of the Congregation. That they were not prone to extremes may be seen in the two following resolutions:—

"1. It is thought expedient, that in all parishes of this realm, the Common Prayer be read weekly on Sunday, and on other festival days in the Churches, with the lessons of the Old and New Testament, conform to the order of the Book of Common Prayer; and if the curates of the parishes be qualified, that they be caused to read the same: and if they be not, or if they refuse, that the most qualified of the parish use and read them. 2. It is thought necessary that doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scriptures be had and used privately in quiet houses, without great conventions of people, till God move the Prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers."

The Regent was obliged to temporize, and at this period and for

several years the civil and ecclesiastical history of Scotland is one. The Regent having secured the Clergy, threw off all disguise, uttered fulminations against the Protestants, the populace were roused and committed many excesses, and on either side preparations were made for an appeal to arms. Political freedom grew up along with ecclesiastical emancipation. We need not detail the various military manœuvres on both sides, nor need we chronicle the various political manifestoes, proclamations, and correspondence. The Lords of the Congregation were by a series of defeats reduced almost to despair, when Queen Elizabeth of England resolved to assist them. An English army entered Scotland, and the result was in the end, a treaty in which there was no express stipulation for the maintenance of the Protestant faith. The question of religion was referred to a parliament which met in 1560. From each of the estates a committee was chosen, who were usually styled Lords of the Articles, and who had great influence. A Confession of Faith was framed, presented to those lords, submitted to parliament, and at once adopted, and the First Book of Discipline was soon after composed. In the meantime the widowed Mary arrived in Scotland in August, 1561, and the history of the Reformation is for many years a portion of her sad and chequered biography. During the Queen's imprisonment, and in July, 1567, the General Assembly met at Edinburgh, and passed certain resolutions, which were at once assented to by the Lords. They were the following:—

Meeting of General Assembly.

"1. That the acts made in the parliament held at Edinburgh on the 24th of August, 1560, touching religion and abolishing of the Pope's authority, should be extracted from the registers, and have the force of public laws; and that the said parliament, in so far as it concerned religion, should be defended as a lawful parliament, and be ratified in the first parliament which should be held within the realm. 2. That till a final arrangement should be made for restoring the patrimony of the Church, the act of assignation of the thirds of benefices, for the support of the ministry, should be put in execution. 3. That in the first lawful parliament which should be held, or sooner, if an opportunity should occur, the Church of Christ within this kingdom should be put in possession of the patrimony of the Church. 4. That none should be permitted to hold situations in colleges, or to undertake the public or private instruction of youth, unless found qualified, and in all other respects approved by the superintendents and visitors of the Church. 5. That all kings and princes that shall at any time hereafter reign in Scotland, shall, before being crowned, solemnly swear that they will maintain and preserve the true religion of Christ, presently professed within this kingdom. 6. That the nobility, barons, and others subscribing to these articles, shall faithfully promise to root out

idolatry, especially the blasphemous Mass, without exception of place or person, and also shall remove all idolaters and others not admitted to the preaching of the Word, from bearing any function in the Church which may be a hindrance to the ministry in any way, and in their places appoint superintendents, ministers, and other needful members of the Church."

Other acts were passed under the regency of Murray, and the Reformation was fully established in Scotland.

Church of England.

The tyranny of the Romish usurpation, and the gross abuses in the ecclesiastical system, had prepared so violent a reaction, that there is much in the history of the Reformation to pain the thoughtful student. But in no Church was the work of improvement effected in a way so satisfactory as in England. In the inscrutable counsels of Providence the ungovernable temper and wayward passions of Henry VIII. first led to an assertion of the independence of the Anglican Church. But there had been years of quiet preparation. The corruptions of Rome were notorious, and the people had been acquiring religious knowledge by the diffusion of the Scriptures in their mother tongue. Henry had been styled by his Holiness, Defender of the Faith, and yet he was to overthrow the Papacy. He had been nearly twenty years married to Katherine before he felt any scruples as to the lawfulness of marrying a brother's widow. The dispute was at length settled to the King's liking. Wolsey fell, and Cranmer rose. The abbeys were dissolved, and church property was seized. In 1536, no less than 376 smaller abbeys were put down and their estates transferred to the King. The land was convulsed from one end to the other, but the strong will of the King prevailed. During the life of that prince the progress towards emancipation from Popish corruption and superstition was slow and imperfect; in fact the following six articles were passed, and under them many suffered:—1. The doctrine of transubstantiation was established by law; 2. The communion in both kinds excluded; 3. The marriage of priests forbidden; 4. Vows of celibacy declared obligatory; 5. Private masses for souls in purgatory upheld; and 6. Auricular confession pronounced expedient, and necessary to be retained. The penalties annexed to the breach of these decrees being, for the first, to be burnt as a heretic; for the others, to be hanged as a felon; and in all cases to forfeit lands and goods to the King as a traitor. Cranmer strove against those enactments, but in vain, and himself narrowly escaped. In 1536 ten articles were enacted by convocation, which yet allowed many Popish customs, and justified many Popish tenets. In the following year the whole Bible was translated into English, published, and eagerly read. The Thirty-nine Articles were confirmed by royal authority in 1562. During the reign of Edward, (1547—1553) a different policy prevailed, and Cranmer was allowed to work out his views

of Reformation. The reign of Mary (1553—1558) brought back the supremacy of Romanism, and lighted up a cruel persecution against the reformers, many of the most distinguished of whom perished, Cranmer among the number, as well as the Puritans Rogers and Hooper. But the cruelty of the Romish party only disgusted the nation against their cause, and Elizabeth restored liberty to the Church, and sanctioned its final Reformation. In the changes which were effected, the Church retained its primitive constitution and the succession of its ministers, and faithfully preserved its precious deposit of Catholic truth. In Parker it had an active and able primate. His successor, Grindall (1575—1583), proved unequal to his situation, and the opinions of those who had derived their views of doctrine and discipline from the foreign reformers spread through the land. Whitgift, however, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1583 to 1693, was their active opponent, and under his primacy the Church advanced in learning and Catholic views, in spite of the intrigues of the Papists and the radical and resolute agitations of the Puritans.

Anabaptists.

Of the many heretical sects which arose during the progress of the Reformation, by far the most celebrated were the Anabaptists and the Socinians. The former, which originated at Zwichau in Saxony, in 1521, and had for a season their head-quarters in Münster, after having disgusted all Europe by their extravagances and excesses, settled down, towards the end of the century, into the quiet and mystical Mennonites of Holland. The other, having absorbed the other sects which denied our Lord's divinity, became numerous and powerful in Poland and Transylvania.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

In pursuing the plan hitherto adopted in this department of the work, by inserting a brief notice of the Ecclesiastical Writers of the century, it has now become most convenient to class them according to their respective communions.

ROMANISTS.

John Reuchlin, or Capnio.
Jacques Almain.
Desiderius Erasmus.
Joannes Ludovicus Vives.
Thomas de Vio, or Cajetan.
John Fisher.
John Eckius.
François Vatablus.
Jacobus Sadoletus.
Alphonsus de Castro.
Reginald Pole.
Stephen Gardiner.
Dominic Soto.
Melchior Canus.
George Cassander.
George Wicelius.
Claude D'Espence.
Bartholomew Carranza.
Cornelius Jansen.
Laurentius Surius.
Stanislaus Hosius.
Nicholas Saunders.
Alphonsus Salmeron.
Franciscus Turrianus.
John Maldonatus.
William Allen.
Robert Persons.
Michael Baius.
Peter Canisius.
Benedict Arrias-Montanus.

JOHN REUCHLIN

(Capnio) is justly regarded as one of the most conspicuous of the scholars who prepared the way for the Reformation. He was intimately acquainted with Greek, and was one of the first modern scholars who distinguished himself by his knowledge of Hebrew. Besides several grammatical works, he wrote a Commentary on the Seven Penitential Psalms, and some other theological pieces. His quarrel with the divines of Cologne gave occasion to the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, one of the most brilliant and successful of satires, which by rendering the established system ridiculous, contributed not a little to the triumph of the new opinions. He died at Tubingen in 1522, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

JACQUES ALMAIN

was the great ornament of the University of Paris in the first years of the sixteenth century. He wrote several works of scholastic theology, and in his writings on the ecclesiastical and temporal powers, asserted the principles which have been usually maintained by the divines of the Gallican Church. He was a man of great acuteness and industry, and died at an early age in 1515.

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS,

an illegitimate son of Gerard, a citizen of Tergou, was born at Rotterdam 28th October, 1467. His paternal name he changed into Désiré, "*amiable*," and afterwards prolonged into Desiderius Erasmus—the first a Latin, and the second a Greek appellation, both with the same meaning as the Dutch Gerard. He usually signed himself Erasmus Roterodamus. He received his first education at Daventer, where the future Pope Adrian VI. was his schoolfellow. But Erasmus was only thirteen years of age when both his parents died, and the three guardians to whose care the orphan was left, squandered his property, and to gain the whole of his patrimony, as well as to conceal their villany, forced him into a monastery at Balduc, in Brabant. Thence he was taken to another religious house near Delft, and he assumed the vows at Stein in 1486, having entered among the regular canons. Luckily for the young scholar he was not buried in a convent, as his Latin scholarship gained him the notice of Henry a Bergues, Bishop of Cambray, who kept him for a time as his private secretary, and then sent him to Paris to prosecute his studies. In the French capital the young literary Dutchman was in abject poverty, teaching a few pupils for hire; nay, for years he wandered about the Continent and in England, subsisting on the precarious bounty of admirers. He visited this country for the first time in 1497, at the invitation of Lord Mountjoy, and won the esteem

of its most illustrious men, such as Sir Thomas More, Dean Colet, Linacre, Grocyn, and others, and published his *Moriæ Enconium, —Praise of Folly.* In 1506, he travelled into Italy, took a doctor's degree at Turin, obtained from Pope Julian II. a final release from his monastic vows, and joyfully put on the black tunic of the seculars. He spent some time in Bologna, and resided for a short season at Venice with the renowned printer Aldus Manutius, and published his *Adagia.* At the invitation of Henry VIII., in 1510, he revisited England, and taught in Cambridge as a lecturer on Greek, and as Lady Margaret professor of theology. But his itinerations were not over, for in 1514 he returned to the Continent; and at the archducal request of him who was afterwards Charles V., he repaired as counsellor to Brabant. After several changes he removed to Basel in 1521, the scene of his highest literary labours, in conjunction with the printer Froben. In 1529, when the Reformation triumphed in Basel, the timid satirist of monks and Popish ceremonies took refuge in Freiburg; but in 1535 he returned. His health was now declining; gout and gravel had for some years severely tormented him; his feeble frame was seized with dysentery, and he died at Basel on the 12th July, 1536.—The literary toils of Erasmus were incessant. Besides his invaluable labours in connection with the revival of learning, his most popular efforts were his satirical assaults on the monastic orders, in his famous *Colloquies,* and other productions. But his great work was the publication of the Greek Testament, out of various manuscripts, in 1516, folio, accompanied with a new Latin translation. The Testament was reprinted in 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535. In the first year mentioned he also published the works of Jerome. He composed likewise a series of paraphrases on the New Testament, many of which display an admirable talent for exegesis. In his various prefaces and dedications, he nobly, eloquently, and repeatedly vindicated the open circulation of the inspired volume in the vernacular languages of Europe. These publications raised up hosts of enemies to him, who called him heresiarch and forger, and he shrunk from suffering on account of Protestant truth and freedom. With Luther, whom he at first eulogized, he maintained a bitter and protracted controversy about the "Freedom of the Will." That his writings largely contributed to the success of the Reformation there is not a doubt, though himself wanted the faith and courage to be a thorough reformer. His scholarship was extensive and elegant, his industry was unceasing, his Latinity is generally pure, his wit was ever sparkling in pleasant variety, his company was a scene of refined enjoyment, his fund of anecdote was inexhaustible, and the love of literature was the passion of his nature. Latin was more familiar to him than his mother tongue. Among his works, not

already referred to, are his learned dissertation, *De recta Latini Græcique Sermonis pronuntiatione*, his "Letters," full of interesting information; his treatise, *De Copia Verborum et Rerum*, in which he insists on diversity of illustration and style; his *Ciceronianus*, in which he heartily ridicules such pedants as would not use a Latin term unless it had the sanction of the great Roman orator; his *Christian Soldier's Manual;* and his *Ecclesiastes*, or the Art of Preaching, published not long before his death. The best edition of his collected works is in eleven volumes folio, Leyden, 1703-6. The first edition, in nine volumes, Basel, 1540, was condemned to the flames by Pope Paul IV.

JOHN LEWIS VIVES,

a native of Valentia in Spain, was one of the most accomplished scholars of his time. While a professor at Louvain, having dedicated his celebrated edition of St. Austin, *De Civitate Dei*, to Henry VIII., he was invited into England by that prince, and was for some time tutor to the Princess Mary: but disapproving of the King's divorce, he was sent back to the Continent. His works were principally upon literary subjects; but, like his friend Erasmus, he also wrote upon theology in a spirit which was little agreeable to the zealots of his church. He died in 1537. His collected works were published at Basel in 1555, in two volumes folio.

THOMAS DE VIO,

Cardinal Cajetan, so called from his birthplace, Gaeta, in Latin Cajeta, was born in 1469. At the age of twenty-nine he published a noted book in defence of the Papal prerogative as to the calling of General Councils, and was in consequence raised successively to the bishopric of Gaeta and the archbishopric of Pisa. In 1515 he was created Cardinal. As the Papal Legate, he met Luther at Augsburg, and was signally outwitted by the reformer. Cajetan relied on philosophy and Peter Lombard, but Luther appealed to the Bible and St. Paul. The Cardinal's last years were spent in writing learned commentaries on the scholastic philosophy, and on many books of Scripture. He died in 1534.

JOHN FISHER,

Bishop of Rochester, who, after having long and deservedly enjoyed the favour of Henry VIII., was beheaded in 1535, for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, was one of the most learned and able writers who, in the early period of the Reformation, wrote against Luther and Œcolampadius in defence of the doctrines of the Church of Rome.

JOHN ECK, OR ECKIUS,

professor of divinity at Ingolstadt, though a learned and ready

divine, is solely indebted for his reputation to the circumstance of his having been the early and persevering antagonist of Luther.

FRANCOIS VATABLE, (VATABLUS),

was a native of Picardy, and died professor of Hebrew at Paris in 1545. He was the first Hebraist of his time. He taught with great success, but published nothing. His scholars, however, after his death, collected the notes which they had made of his lectures, and they were published by Robert Stephens as *Notes on the Old Testament.* Though these notes were condemned by the Faculty of Theology of Paris, who looked with consternation on the progress of Hebrew studies, they have been greatly valued, and were reprinted in Spain.

JAMES SADOLETUS,

Secretary to Leo X., was one of the most estimable of the elegant scholars who adorned the Papal court in the early part of the sixteenth century. His eminent services to several successive Pontiffs gained him the purple; but his works, some of which are upon theological subjects, are rather remarkable for the elegance of their Latinity, than for their intrinsic merit.

ALFONSO DE CASTRO,

a learned Franciscan, born at Zamora in Spain, is chiefly known as the author of an elaborate work, *Contra Hæreses.* He also wrote a Commentary on the Minor Prophets, and Homilies. He died in 1558, just as he had been appointed by Philip II. Archbishop of Compostella.

REGINALD POLE,

who was the son of the Duke of Suffolk, and by his mother nearly connected with the royal family of England, was one of the most eloquent and accomplished of the defenders of the Papal power in this century. His letters, however, contain marks of considerable disingenuousness. The hostility of Henry VIII. gained him the purple in 1536. The greatest part of his life from this time was spent in Italy. He was one of the Papal Legates at the Council of Trent in 1545; and, on one occasion, he is said to have had it in his power to obtain the tiara. After the accession of Mary, he came to England as the Pope's Legate in 1554, and in the following year was made Archbishop of Canterbury. He died a few hours after the Queen, Nov. 17, 1558.

STEPHEN GARDINER,

Bishop of Winchester, who played so conspicuous a part in the civil and ecclesiastical history of England in the middle of this century, was a learned theologian, and wrote with considerable ability in defence of the Romish view of the Eucharist.

DOMINIC SOTO,

a native of Segovia, was a friar of the order of St. Dominic. He distinguished himself at the Council of Trent, where he powerfully supported the more serious and earnest party. His writings are chiefly on subjects of School Divinity; and he has obtained the reputation of having been one of the most profound scholastic theologians of his time. He died in 1560, at the age of sixty-six.

MELCHIOR CANUS,

or Cano, also a Dominican, and employed at Trent, was one of the most learned and eloquent Spaniards of his age. His work on Common Places, *Loci Theologici*, was a happy attempt to substitute a better method for that of the elder schoolmen.

GEORGE CASSANDER,

who was born in the neighbourhood of Bruges, has obtained celebrity by a course very different to that which was pursued by most of the theologians of his time. After having taught literature in the Netherlands, he devoted himself entirely to the study of theology, and set himself to discover the means of reconciling the parties whose differences were distracting Christendom. His famous work, entitled *De Articulis Religionis inter Catholicos et Protestantes controversis Consultatio*, published in 1564, was written in consequence of an application which had been made to him by the Emperor Ferdinand. It is a learned and ingenious attempt to reduce the amount of the differences between the Romanists and the Lutherans by explanations and concessions, and breathes the most amiable spirit of moderation and piety. Cassander was admirably skilled in liturgical learning, and was the first who wrote with competent information on that important branch of the Christian antiquities. He died in 1566.

GEORGE WICELIUS,

(Witzel), also distinguished himself by his attempts to reconcile the contending parties by endeavouring to reform the abuses which prevailed on the one side, and to moderate the violence which was too conspicuous on the other. But his *Via Regia, sive de controversis religionis capitibus conciliandis sententia*, published about the same time as the *Consultatio* of Cassander, produced little effect. Such attempts at conciliation generally serve only to introduce new topics of controversy; and two changes of party had been quite sufficient to deprive this author of all moral influence. He died in communion with Rome, in 1573.

CLAUDE D'ESPENCE,

or Espencæus, was one of the greatest ornaments of the University of Paris in this century. His great learning and sound judgment gave him great influence, and he had a considerable share in

directing the affairs of the Gallican Church. It is greatly to be regretted that his views were often counteracted by politicians and zealots. Paul IV. was so struck with his merits when he was taken to Rome by the Cardinal of Lorraine, in 1555, that he was upon the point of making him a Cardinal. It is not surprising, however, that he never reached that dignity; for the liberality of his opinions, and the moderation of his conduct, gave his enemies abundant occasion of suspecting him of disaffection to the doctrines of his Church. They secured him, however, what is of much greater value in the eyes of posterity, the praise of a great historian.—*Thuan.*, lib. 1.

BARTHOLOMEW CARRANZA,

a Spanish Dominican, was present at the Council of Trent in 1546, and accompanied Philip II. into England, where he became confessor to Queen Mary, and took part in restoring Popery in Oxford. In 1557 he was made Archbishop of Toledo, and assisted Charles V. in his last moments. Circumstances which occurred on this occasion, as it is supposed, brought him into suspicion with the Inquisition. He was arrested at the instance of that tribunal, and remained in confinement till 1576, when he was virtually acquitted at Rome, and abjured the tenets which had been charged against him. But he did not long survive this severe treatment; he died in the same year. His *Summa Conciliorum* was long a popular work. His *Catechism* was censured by the Spanish Inquisition, though the Congregation which drew up the *Tridentine Index* could find in it nothing heretical.

CORNELIUS JANSEN,

or Jansenius, the first Bishop of Ghent, who died in 1576, was one of the best commentators on Scripture who had yet appeared in the Church of Rome. His *Harmony of the Gospels* was particularly valued. He must not be confounded with the celebrated Bishop of Ypres of the same name, who belongs to the following century.

LAURENTIUS SURIUS

was a laborious German Carthusian, whose Latin translations, edition of the *Councils*, and collection of the *Lives of the Saints*, greatly contributed to the advancement and diffusion of ecclesiastical learning. He died in 1578, in his fifty-sixth year.

STANISLAUS HOSIUS,

a native of Cracow, was much employed by the Popes and Princes of his time in political business. He was made a Cardinal by Pius IV. in 1561, and presided as one of the Papal Legates in the last sessions of the Council of Trent. He was an able and

ready controversialist, and his works, which are all of a polemical nature, display considerable dexterity and learning. He died at Rome, at an advanced age, in 1579.

NICHOLAS SAUNDERS

was born in the county of Surrey, went from Winchester to New College, and lectured on canon law at Oxford in the reign of Mary. Upon the accession of Elizabeth he fled to the Continent. He accompanied Cardinal Hosius to the Council of Trent; was for a time professor of divinity at Louvain; discharged several important missions in furtherance of the objects of his party, and perished, about 1580, in Ireland, whither he had gone as an agent of Spain, to excite rebellion against the Queen's government. He was a voluminous writer, of considerable learning; but his works are disfigured by the worst virulence of the age, and inculcate the most lofty and dangerous principles of Popery.

ALFONSO SALMERON,

a native of Toledo, studied at Alcala, and was one of the early companions of Loyola. He was a voluminous writer, of towering ultramontane principles, and was actively engaged at Trent, and in various countries of Europe, in promoting the interests of his Society and the Papacy.

FRANCIS TURRIANUS,

(Della Torre), was also a Spaniard and a Jesuit. He was present at the Council of Trent, and was the first of the Society who warmly devoted himself to the cultivation of ecclesiastical history. He translated a prodigious number of Greek theological works into Latin, and wrote against the Centuriators. He died at a very advanced age, in 1584.

JOHN MALDONADO,

(Maldonatus), a Spaniard, having studied at Salamanca, entered the Society of Jesus in 1562. He taught for many years at Paris with great applause, but at last embroiled himself in a violent dispute with the Theological Faculty of that University, by calling in question the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin. His works, which were not published till after his death, consist chiefly of Commentaries on Holy Scripture, which have been much esteemed in his own communion and elsewhere. He was a man of a vigorous and independent mind, far superior to most of his order in this century. He died in 1583.

WILLIAM ALLEN

was born in Lancashire, and became a fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, in 1550. During the reign of Mary he obtained prefer-

ment in the University, and a canonry of York. But upon the accession of Elizabeth he quitted England, and became the most active and conspicuous opponent of the English Reformation. It was he who set on foot the seminary at Douay, and other similar establishments; and his exertions were so highly appreciated by his party, that in 1587 he was made a Cardinal, and two years afterwards, Archbishop of Malines. He was a learned and able polemic, and few of his contemporaries wrote better English. His treasonable practices have justly called down the loud censures of his countrymen; "but," says A. Wood (*Athen. Oxon.*), "let writers say what they please, certain it is, that he was an active man, and of great piety and high prudence; that he was religious and zealous in his profession, restless till he had performed what he had undertaken; that he was very affable, gentle, and winning; and that his personage was handsome and proper, which, with an innate gravity, commanded respect from those that came near, or had to do with him." He died at Rome in 1594, aged sixty-three.

ROBERT PERSONS,

or Parsons, who after having resigned his fellowship at Ballio College, Oxford, went to Rome, and became a Jesuit, was one of the most active writers of his party against the Church of England. He was a learned, though a most violent and acrimonious writer, and after he had entered the Society, employed himself in incessant attempts to disturb the government of his lawful sovereign. He was born near Bridgewater in 1546, and died at Rome in 1597.

MICHAEL BAIUS,

a doctor of Louvain, has obtained celebrity from having been the first in modern times to revive in the Church of Rome the controversies respecting grace and predestination. He taught in his University the doctrines of St. Augustine, in opposition to the prevailing opinions of the schools. The Franciscans warmly opposed him, and procured Bulls from Pius V. (A.D. 1567) and Gregory XIII. (A.D. 1578) condemning his opinions. Baius submitted to the Holy See. But this dispute awakened a controversy of which his Church still feels the consequences. He was a learned and pious man, and the course of the transactions against him led him into opinions respecting the authority of the Pope which made him in a still more remarkable degree the forerunner of the Jansenists. His works were collected and published at Cologne in 1696 (4to), by the celebrated Benedictine, Gerberon, with an apparatus of all the pieces relating to his history.

PETER CANISIUS,

a native of Nimeguen, was one of the most active of the early

Jesuits, and their first provincial in Germany. By the publication (A.D. 1554) of his *Summa Doctrinæ Christianæ* (which was the first Romish catechism) and its abridgment, he contributed a great service to the Romish cause.

BENEDICT ARRIAS-MONTANUS

stands at the head of the biblical scholars of Spain. His revision of the literal version of Pagninus, and the Antwerp Polyglott, of which he was the editor, have secured him a more permanent reputation than any other Orientalist of this century. He published, besides the works already mentioned, Commentaries on several books of Scripture, and translations. He died at Seville, at the age of seventy-one, in 1598.

LUTHERANS.

MARTIN LUTHER.
PHILIP MELANCHTHON.
JOHN BUGENHAGIUS.
JOHN BRENTIUS.
ANDREW OSIANDER.
MATTHIAS FLACIUS ILLYRICUS.
GEORGE MAJOR.
VICTORIN STRIGEL.
MARTIN BUCER.
ANDREW GERHARD HYPERIUS.
MARTIN CHEMNITZ.
DAVID CHYTRÆUS.
JAMES ANDREÆ.

MARTIN LUTHER,

the great German reformer, was born at Eisleben, 10th November, 1483. As he was born on St. Martin's Eve, and baptized the next day, he received his Christian name of Martin. His father, who was a poor miner, left Eisleben for Mansfeld when the infant Martin was scarcely six months old. Here the hardy labourer so prospered, as to have at length two blast-furnaces of his own, and to be thus enabled, by a benignant Providence, to give his son a good education. After getting such tuition as the place of parental residence could afford, Martin was sent at the age of fourteen to school at Magdeburg, where his poverty forced him, with other boys, to traverse the neighbouring villages and to sing hymns as a means of procuring a supply of victuals. Removing next year to Isenach, he was pressed by similar difficulties, and compelled to a similar means of relief, till a benevolent family took him under their roof. His father was anxious that his son should study law, and Martin entered the University of Erfurt in 1501. The fashionable scholastic philosophy occupied him here for a series of years, and "the whole university admired his genius." During the second year of his studies at Erfurt, being a laborious reader, and in the habit of ransacking the college library and devouring its volumes, he found a copy of the Latin Bible, a book he had never seen before, and which, on his reading it, stirred up strange and rapturous sensations within him. Not long afterwards his severe studies produced an alarming illness,

which brought him face to face with death, and created serious and permanent religious impressions, which were so deepened by the death of a very intimate friend and fellow-student by a stroke of lightning, that he at once resolved to become a monk, and leaving all his property behind him but a Virgil and Plautus, and giving his astonished friends a hearty farewell banquet, he entered the monastery of the hermits of St. Augustine. Here the ambitious scholar soon felt the crushing despotism of those monkish brothers, for he was forced to do the most menial and disgusting offices, and the master of arts was made a servant of all work—sweeper, porter, and beggar, for the lazy drones who buzzed in the convent. Still, he did not neglect his studies, and he strove earnestly all the while to obtain that spiritual peace and sanctity which he had imagined must be easily found in a religious establishment. Alas! he watched, fasted, prayed, read, and did penance on himself in vain. His melancholy could not be relieved by such ghostly mechanism. His was not a mind to be cheated into quiet by monastic routine, or degraded and hushed by morbid asceticism. But the conversations of Staupitz, his vicar-general, at length led the young Augustinian to feel the freedom and peace of the gospel, and he was ordained to the priesthood, and celebrated his first mass, in his twenty-fourth year. By the influence of Staupitz, Luther was, in 1508, called by Frederick, Elector of Saxony, to be a professor of philosophy in the University of Wittemberg. Here in a short time he taught also biblical theology, and obtained more internal serenity, and a deeper view of the Divine plan of redemption. He began to preach too with that vigour, impetuosity, and eloquence which soon attracted immense crowds. About 1510 he was sent to Rome on ecclesiastical business, and his mind received a terrible shock by what he witnessed of the idleness, profanity, and sensuality of the Romish Clergy and laity, and the grief and indignation he experienced during this visit to the city of the Pope, caused the veil to fall from his eyes. On returning from the Italian metropolis, he was, in 1512, made doctor of divinity, and he continued to preach boldly, attacking the scholastic philosophy, and basing his arguments more and more on the Holy Scriptures. The court of Rome, to supply its luxuries, and aid in building St. Peter's, had commissioned indulgences to be sold in Germany. The traffic was carried on with the utmost effrontery, and under a regular tariff, and Tetzel was a fit instrument for the nefarious commerce in the souls of men. Some of the people of Wittemberg, who had confessed to Luther, refused to abandon their sins, and pleaded the indulgences which they had bought. The spirit of Luther was fired—the spark was laid to the train which ended in so mighty an explosion. He preached and remonstrated, and on the 31st October, 1517, nailed to the door of the castle church his

ninety-five theses, and sent a copy of them to the Archbishop of Magdeburg. The consequent discussions with Tetzel at Wittemberg, and his debates upon the same subject at Heidelberg, only increased and deepened the agitation, and added to Luther's popularity. By and by he was summoned to appear and answer at Augsburg before the Papal Legate, Cardinal Cajetan. At the several interviews he stood firm and resolved, and the friar Martin returned in triumph to his cell and his lecture-room. The excitement was now so prodigious that the courteous Elector wished him to leave the city—the idea of a capital penalty for him was loudly talked of, and the unquailing Luther at last appealed from the Pope to a General Council. But Militz, another legate, was appointed, and at a meeting which took place at Altenburg in 1519, Luther was so far cajoled as to write an humble and apologetic letter to Leo. The letter was unheeded—the reformer became more and more alive to the errors of the Church—the disputation with Eckius still forced him onwards, and being too honest to conceal his convictions, he took advantage of the press, and his works found a wondrous and immediate circulation. Rome being seriously alarmed, and Leo at length issued a bull of excommunication, which Luther publicly and contemptuously burnt before an immense assembly at Wittemberg. The German mind was thoroughly roused, and prepared to throw off the yoke of Rome. Luther's separation from Rome was now complete. Leo urged the new Emperor, Charles V., to apprehend and punish the turbulent and daring heretic, but by the influence of the Elector of Saxony the reformer's cause was tried at Worms. On his way to Worms, Spalatin, apprehensive for his safety, despatched a messenger to forewarn and dissuade him from continuing his journey, but the magnanimous champion replied, "Go tell your master, that though there were as many devils in Worms as tiles upon the house-tops, I will enter it." On the 16th of April he reached this city, attired in his friar's cowl; multitudes met him, and he entered it attended by 2,000 persons. Before his 204 august judges, the Emperor and his nobility, his courage did not fail, for clearly and fully did he vindicate his past procedure, and he steadily appealed to the authority of Scripture. The result was, that Charles issued a rescript "against the evil fiend in human form," "the fool," and "the blasphemer," and put him under the ban of the empire. Luther had already left the town, pursuing the road that took him to Mora, that he might see his aged grandmother. He resumed his journey the next day, but as he passed through the depths of the Thuringian forest he was roughly seized by five horsemen, and carried to the castle of Wartburg, and a whole year he lay there in solitude, while his friends mourned his absence or death. But his powerful patrons had in this way provided for his safety. This period of

forced retirement was not mis-spent, and though he had to wrestle with morbid and nervous sensations, produced by his confinement and sedentary life, he translated the New Testament into German, which was published in 1522. Leaving his Patmos, and returning to Wittemberg, his undaunted energy carried all before it, the Reformation was ushered in, and in 1524 Luther abandoned the monastic dress—the last symbol of his connection with Rome. He crushed his fanatical opponents, who did more injury to his cause than his papal adversaries, gallantly entered the lists with Henry VIII. of England, and fought stoutly with Erasmus on the freedom of the will. In 1525, he was married by Pomeranus, to Catherine von Bora, who had left her convent about two years before, and "his dear and lovely Ketha" proved a kind and affectionate wife to him. The labours of Luther were at this period incessant, for the care of all the churches was upon him, and many of the states of Germany embraced his doctrines. From 1517 to 1526, every year saw him publish a book or books against some form of Papal error. The Anabaptists were a sad thorn in his side, and by their wretched excesses brought great scandal upon his works. The translation of the Bible occupied a large portion of his time, for it was the mainstay of the Reformation; and commentaries on almost all the books of the Bible proceeded from his unwearied pen. Councils were in those days reckoned a grand specific for healing ecclesiastical discord, and there were not a few in the life of Luther: Worms in 1521, Nuremberg in 1522-23, when the German Princes presented a list of "a hundred grievances;" another at the same place in the following year, at which the members resolved to work out as far as possible the decisions of that of Worms, and that of Augsburg in 1525, adjourned to Spires in 1526, at which a General Council was demanded. Another diet was convoked to meet in February, 1529, and the imperial and Popish party having the mastery, decreed to suppress the Reformation by force. Against this bloody decree the deputies solemnly *protested*, and the reforming band received from this circumstance the appropriate name of *Protestants*. Luther and Zwingle now quarrelled about the nature of the Lord's Supper, and maintained a worse than idle contest, nay, met personally for disputation at Marburg. The diet of Augsburg met in 1530, the confession prepared by Melanchthon was submitted to it, and Protestantism, in spite of all obstacles, was firmly established among the German nations. Amid many interruptions and incessant labours, Luther continued at Wittemberg during his remaining years. In his sixty-second year his health began to give way—the strong man was bowed down. After an altercation with the lawyers about clandestine marriages and certain female fashions in dress, he indignantly left Wittemberg for Eisleben in the month of January, 1546.

The river Issel being swollen, he was five days upon the road. On the 17th of February he complained of oppressive pain in his chest. Momentary relief from it was soon obtained; but he was again attacked in the night, and after brief but earnest religious exercises, and thrice repeating the inspired words, "Into thy hands I commit my spirit—God of truth thou hast redeemed me," he expired between two and three o'clock in the morning. His disease is supposed to have been *angina pectoris*, but some say, cancer in the stomach. On the 19th his body was laid in a leaden coffin and carried into the church ere it was removed for burial, and on the 22d the hearse arrived at Wittemberg, where the whole city stood around the gates in deepest sorrow and lamentation. Luther was buried in the Schloss-kirche, and many a traveller has read the simple inscription that still stands over his tomb.—No one will deny that Luther was one of the mighty. He had an earnest and honest nature — a stranger alike to cowardice and dissimulation. Whatever he did, he did with his might. That he sometimes spoke roughly and wrote harshly, no one knew better than himself.—"I was born," said he, "to fight with devils and storms, and hence it is that my writings are so boisterous and stormy." It required a leonine temperament to do the work of Martin Luther. Yet he was a man of a loving and generous heart—playful and happy with his wife and family or friends. He liked hilarity, and his great mind rejoiced to unbend. Intellect and passion were alike powerful within him, for with all his clearness of reason and conscientious decision, he was often swayed by impulse. In those moments he uttered or wrote those expressions that have so often the semblance of inconsistent paradoxes. So much was he formed to lead opinion that he could not easily bear contradiction. His labour was incredible, as his remaining works attest. Luther had great natural capabilities for music, and he had sedulously studied its theory. He wrote very many hymns and set them to music. In 1523 he published his first hymn with music in a single sheet; the next year he wrote seventeen with a similar accompaniment, and in other subsequent years his muse was not idle. Forty-two original tunes were composed by himself and his associates. But amidst all his literary labours, his translation of the Scriptures stands pre-eminent. Fully aware of the difficult and responsible task, he craved assistance in every form, and from every available quarter. When the Hebrew terms belonging to botany and zoology perplexed him, he consulted the physician Sturciad, and he also obtained useful information from his friend Spalatin, who not only instructed him in natural history, but sent him specimens from the superb collection of gems which belonged to the Elector of Saxony. Nay, he even employed butchers to dissect animals in his presence, that he might be able to discriminate and render

accurately the various sacrificial terms of the Levitical code. But especially did he summon erudite and skilful professors of theology to his aid. They met from time to time, each having prepared himself for the interview by a thorough elaboration of the literary materials belonging to his department of investigation. At those repeated and prolonged consultations, Luther invariably presided, and he had always spread out before him his own manuscript, the ink of which was scarcely dry, the Hebrew Bible, and the Latin Vulgate. On his one hand sat Melanchthon, with the Greek Scriptures before him, and on his other was placed Casper Cruciger, with his notes made from the Chaldee Targums. Bugenhagen, usually called Pomeranus, from the country of his birth, was also by their side, ready with his suggestions from the rabbinical writings and the old Greek versions. These scholars did their work with marvellous precision and fidelity, for they sometimes returned fourteen successive days to the reconsideration of a doubtful clause or word.—In short, Martin Luther was one of the few men whom Providence occasionally endows, prepares, and raises up for gigantic enterprise. He lived to see his work of religious emancipation immovably rooted among the German nations—the work of one man and one age. He sowed the seed in tears, but he saw the harvest gathered with joy. Luther was a man of a compact physical frame, with broad shoulders, a large and massive brow, and a firm set mouth. His works have been often reprinted. The best edition of his correspondence is that of De Wette, Berlin, 1825-28, 5 vols. 8vo. His *Table Talk*, all of which is not authentic, is one of the foundations of his *Memoires* by Michelet, Paris, 1837. A good edition of his works was published at Halle, in 24 volumes, 1737-53, and another edition in 12mo, is in course of publication at Erlangen. The whole is to occupy 60 volumes. There are many separate lives of the reformer, among which may be enumerated those of Pfizer, Meurer, Jürgen, König, Weydmann, and Wildenhahn.

PHILIP MELANCHTHON

was born at Bretheim, in the lower Palatinate, in 1497. His father was an armourer, and his original German name was Schwartzerd, which, in imitation of Reuchlin and other learned men, he Grecized into Melanchthon, or as he used, especially in his latter days, to spell it, Melanthon. Both names denote "black earth." After having studied at Pfortzheim for two years, Philip removed to Heidelberg, where he became bachelor of arts; and on being refused a mastership, on account of his youth, he repaired to Tübingen, where he became a lecturer. In 1518 he received the high encomium of Erasmus, and at the instigation of Luther and Reuchlin, he was the same year invited

by Frederick, Elector of Saxony, to fill the chair of Greek in the recently founded University of Wittemberg. At this seat of learning he was at once under the mighty spirit and influence of his intrepid colleague Luther. His agency in the great Reformation has been overshadowed by that of Luther, but he was ever active and industrious in his own humble and unostentatious mode. In 1519 he accompanied Luther to Leipzig, in order to dispute with Eckius, and in 1521 he published his famous *Loci Communes*, a treatise which in his own lifetime went through sixty editions. In 1520 he married the daughter of one of the burgomasters of Wittemberg, and by her had two sons and two daughters. During the progress of the Reformation he visited many cities, and was active in patronizing seminaries of learning. Nor was his pen idle in the cause; and though his compositions had not the overwhelming torrent of Luther's rhetoric, yet their quiet, elegant, and self-possessed tone were not the less useful in aiding the emancipation and progress of Germany. He was as earnest as Luther to free theology from scholastic subtleties. There is no doubt that many of the plans carried out by the reformers were the result of Melanchthon's wise suggestions. His Greek scholarship was also of continued and inestimable advantage to Luther in his work of translating the Bible. His own commentaries also show how his erudition qualified him to be a lucid, accurate, and elegant expositor. In 1530 Melanchthon was appointed to draw up the general confession which was presented to the Emperor at Augsburg, and he also wrote the apology for it. He was invited to dispute with the Sorbonne in 1535, but refused this invitation, as well as a similar and subsequent one from England. After Luther's death, Melanchthon was often sadly perplexed and harassed. The famous measure of the Interim did not find him disinclined to look upon it with a kindly eye. Men of bolder character rallied him on his irresoluteness, and pointed to his failures at Worms, Ratisbon, and Bonn. His orthodoxy was suspected, and he was blamed for the approximation of his views on the Lord's Supper to those of the Swiss reformers. These rough and unceremonious assaults often plunged him into grief. Melanchthon died at Wittemberg, 19th April, 1568, aged sixty-three. The amiability, gentleness, and benignant purity of Melanchthon; his zeal, learning, and ingenuity, have placed him next to Luther as an agent in the work of the Reformation. He sometimes fretted at Luther's overbearing vehemence, but he venerated its grounds; and Luther, though he might doubt the propriety of Philip's procedure in some cases, and stigmatize it as mere expediency, was won by his gentle demeanour and unquestioned sincerity. These qualities, like the "still small voice," often commended the new doctrine where the whirlwind and thunder had only produced terror and revulsion.

Melanchthon wrote on many topics besides theology, such as commentaries on various Greek and Latin classics, and some historical and philosophical treatises. His works were published at Wittemberg in 4 vols. folio, in 1562 and subsequent years, and were reprinted several times. There had been a previous edition printed at Basel in 1541. A new edition has been in course of preparation and publication for many years under the editorial care of Bretschneider and Bindseil. The general title is *Corpus Reformatorum*, and eighteen quarto volumes have already appeared.

JOHN BUGENHAGEN,

(Bugenhagius), a native of Pomerania, whence often called Pomeranus, was one of Luther's most intimate friends, and an active promoter of the Reformation. In 1537 he was invited to Denmark by Christian III., and was employed in that country till 1542 in establishing Lutheranism. He died at Wittemberg, where he was pastor, in 1558, aged seventy-three. His works were chiefly commentaries. Luther, with his characteristic ardour, said of his Commentaries on the Psalms, published in 1524, that Bugenhagius was the first true interpreter of that book of the Bible.

JOHN BRENTZ,

(Brentius), was the chief instrument in effecting the Reformation in Wirtemburg. He suffered much on account of rejecting the Interim, but was afterwards restored to his employments. He died at the age of seventy-one, in 1570. He was a learned man and an able preacher, and was one of the most voluminous of the Lutheran commentators. His Commentaries fill seven of the eight volumes of his works in folio.

ANDREW OSIANDER,

(Hosemann), was born in Franconia in 1498. He early imbibed the principles of Luther, and as pastor at Nuremberg greatly promoted the success of the Reformation. In 1549, having been driven from Nuremberg by the Interim, which he opposed with the utmost violence, he was made professor of divinity at Konigsberg; and in the discharge of his new office gave occasion to a warm controversy, by maintaining a novel and not very intelligible view of the nature of justification. His conduct in the transactions which followed was almost incredibly extravagant. He died in the midst of the disturbances which his obstinacy occasioned, in 1552. He was, however, a man of great learning, and was the author of the first Protestant *Harmony of the Gospels.*

MATTHIAS FLACIUS,

(Francowitz), born in 1520, in Istria, part of the ancient Illyricum, whence he is commonly called *Illyricus*, is one of the most

prominent persons in the history of Lutheranism. He was patronized by Melanchthon, by whose influence he became professor of Hebrew at Wittemberg; but upon the promulgation of the Interim he took refuge in Magdeburg, and from that city denouncing the opinions held by Melanchthon and his friends concerning *things indifferent*, began the *Adiaphoristic* controversy. He also took an active part in the controversy with Major, and especially in that with Strigelius. In was in his public disputation with the latter, in 1560, that he broached the monstrous tenet, that "original sin is the substance of human nature." And such was his obstinacy that, in spite of the remonstrances of his friends, he constantly refused to retract this strange proposition, which had unluckily fallen from him in the heat of controversy. His violence caused him to be dismissed from Jena, though it was the chief seat of the violent party, in 1561; and the rest of his life was unsettled and miserable. He died in 1575. He was, however, a man of great talents and learning. Besides his occasional writings, he wrote several works of permanent value. His *Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ* (Basil, 1567, fol.) is justly regarded as the best work on the interpretation of Scripture which appeared in the century; and he ably applied his hermeneutical principles in his *Novum Testamentum cum Glossâ Compendiariâ* (Francof. 1570, fol.) He is moreover entitled to be regarded as the father of Protestant Church history, as having been the author of the *Catalogus Testium* (Basil, 1556, 8vo), and the projector of the *Magdeburg Centuries.*

GEORGE MAJOR

was born at Nuremberg in 1502, and was educated at Wittemberg under Luther and Melanchthon. He made great proficiency in theology and literature, and became one of the most learned and accomplished of the Protestant divines. By conforming to the Interim he became an object of suspicion to the strict Lutherans; and having, a few years afterwards (A.D. 1553), maintained that "good works are necessary to salvation," he was accused by Amsdorf and Flacius Illyricus of rejecting the Lutheran doctrine of justification. This controversy, which is known as the *Majoristic*, lasted for several years. Major defended himself with great moderation, but suffered much from the violent conduct of his opponents. He died in 1574.

VICTORIN STRIGEL,

(Strigelius), was one of the professors at Jena when, by maintaining that "man since the fall is not destitute of strength to co-operate with Divine grace," he gave occasion to the *Synergistic* controversy (A.D. 1559). He was, in consequence, treated with great severity by the Flacian party, and in 1562 took refuge at

Leipsic. Here he taught till 1567, when he was silenced on a suspicion of Calvinism. He then lectured in the University of Heidelberg till his death in 1569. His exegetical and dogmatical works have considerable merit.

MARTIN BUCER

was born in 1491 at Schelestadt in Alsace. His early life was spent among the Dominicans, who sent him to Heidelberg to pursue his education, and there he had a dispute with Luther on free-will. In 1521 he became a convert to the Reformation. At Strasburg he was both a pastor and teacher of theology for many years. At the Diet of Augsburg he incurred such suspicion and danger by opposing the Interim, that he welcomed an invitation from Cranmer to come and reside in England. He taught theology at Cambridge with no little acceptance, and died there in February, 1550. Under the intolerant and fanatical reign of Mary, his ashes were dug up and burnt. His works are numerous, and some of his Commentaries are still held in repute. Cardinal Contarini said of him,—"That he was able to contend alone with all the doctors of the Romish Church."

ANDREW GERHARD HYPERIUS,

so called from the city of Ypres, where he was born in 1511, though a professor in the Lutheran University of Marburg (from 1542 to 1567), held Zwinglian notions of the Eucharist. His works on the study of theology, especially *De Theologo, seu de ratione studii Theologici, Librii IV.*, are considered the most complete and able which appeared on the subject during this century.

MARTIN CHEMNITZ,

(Chemnitius), was born in the Margravate of Brandenburg in 1522; he was a pupil of Melanchthon, and at Brunswick, where he was superintendent, maintained the honour of the school founded by that great man. His *Loci Theologici* is regarded as the best book of systematic divinity which proceeded from the Lutherans during this period; and his *Examen Concilii Tridentii* is one of the best works which has ever been written against the decrees of Trent. He began a *Harmony of the Gospels*, and was the author of other works. He died in 1586.

DAVID CHYTRÆUS.

(Kochhafe), was another distinguished pupil of Melanchthon. He was born in 1530, and died in 1600, and devoted an active life to the service of the Evangelical Church. He not only wrote a considerable number of exegetical and dogmatical works, but successfully cultivated philological and historical literature.

JAMES ANDREÆ

was an active promoter of Lutheranism in Wirtemburg. His name is chiefly connected with the celebrated *Form of Concord*, which he composed in conjunction with Chemnitz and Selnecker, who were ultimately joined by Chytræus, A. Musculus, and Koerner. Its object was to settle the controversies which had distracted the Lutheran body respecting the Eucharist, justification, good works, and the doctrines of grace, and to check the disposition which some divines of the Confession of Augsburg had shown to approximate to the opinions of the reformed, by strictly defining the Lutheran doctrines. At first, however, it met with great opposition, and rather increased the spirit of controversy. Andreæ died 1590, at the age of sixty-one.

REFORMED.

Ulric Zwinglius.	Jerome Zanchius.
John Œcolampadius.	John Calvin.
Henry Bullinger.	John Knox.
Conrad Pellican.	Andrew Melville.
Peter Martyr.	Theodore Beza.

ULRIC ZWINGLI, OR ZUINGLIUS,

the great Swiss reformer, was born at Wildhausen in the canton of St. Gall, in 1484. His early education was carried on at Basel, and afterwards at Berne. The Dominican monks in this place, attracted by his talents and rising reputation, sought to entrap him into their Order, but his father, in order to remove him from the scene of temptation, sent him off to Vienna. In 1502, and being eighteen years of age, the young scholar returned home, and soon repaired again to Basel and took his degree as Master of Arts. Under the teaching of Wittenbach, who had been acting along with the famous Reuchlin, his mind received the first germs of free inquiry—those seminal truths, which, in his quick and genial mind, soon ripened into harvest. He preached his first sermon in 1506, and was chosen pastor of Glaris. Here he remained ten years, and during that period he mingled in the strife of arms against the French. The young pastor, at the same time, devoted himself to the study of Greek and Hebrew, gradually made the Scriptures his sole and supreme rule of authority, and publicly expounded the Gospels and the Epistles. In 1516 he had been chosen preacher to the Abbey of Einsidlen, a famed spot of Popish pilgrimage and superstition, and the year following he removed to a similar position in the Cathedral of Zurich. The effect of his honest preaching of the gospel soon became apparent in the city and country, and his general character and opinions produced a deep and universal sensation. While this state of transition was so marked, the crisis was hastened, in

1518, by the arrival of Samson, the seller of indulgences. The traffic in these "Roman wares" roused the indignation of Zwingle, and led to a keen exposure and a successful resistance. Luther's writings were, at the same time, largely circulated at the recommendation of the reformer. The plague broke out, and, during its continuance, though weak himself from exhaustion, he assiduously tended the sick and dying. His zealous labours grew in number and results, the simplicity of the gospel was more distinctly apprehended by him; but the friends of the Popedom were enraged, and Zwingle was tried, in January, 1523, on a charge of heresy. Rome gained nothing by the trial. Zwingle presented sixty-seven propositions, and defended them from Scripture. The reformer gathered courage with growing difficulties, and, in 1524, the Council of Zurich remodelled the public worship according to the views and wishes of Zwingle. Pictures, statues, and relics were removed from the churches, and mass was abolished. Opposition to the reformed doctrines was meanwhile gathering in the other cantons. The question arose, whether each canton was free to choose its own form of religion, or whether the confederation should interfere; Zurich contended for its individual liberty and independence, but was opposed by the Waldstettes, or the primitive democratic cantons of Schwytz, Unterwald, Urzug, and Lucerne. The triumph of the Reformation at Berne and other places threw those forest cantons into wilder commotion, and, in consonance with their views of their federal polity, they took up arms for Rome. Zurich, encouraged by Zwingle, called out its troops and put itself into a posture of defence. Efforts were made to maintain peace, but it was of no long duration, and after various diplomatic negotiations, hostilities finally commenced. Zurich had also lost somewhat of its earlier evangelical purity, while the neighbouring states were conspiring for its ruin. In the awful emergency, when the public mind was alarmed by a series of omens and prodigies, the reformer maintained tranquillity. The war began. Zurich was cowardly, dilatory, and far from being prepared, but the horn of the enemy echoed among their hills, and the devoted Zwingle mounted his caparisoned horse, took farewell of his wife and children, and went forth as a patriot and warrior to share in the common danger. The Zurichers marched to meet the Waldstettes, but were defeated at Cappel with great slaughter, 11th October, 1531. Zwingle was found, after the battle, lying on his back and his eyes upturned to heaven, with his helmet on his head, and his battle-axe in his hand. He had been struck near the commencement of the engagement, and then as he fell and reeled, he was several times pierced with a lance. He was living when discovered in the evening; but the infuriated fanatics soon despatched him. Next day his dead body was barbarously quartered and burnt. Thus

perished this hero-martyr. The contests of Zwingle and Luther on the nature of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper are well known, but the Swiss proved himself freer from early prejudice and traditional teaching than his great German antagonist. It is needless to discuss the relative merits of the two illustrious reformers, their position and sphere of influence being so very different. The fame of Luther has overtopped that of Zwingle, yet the Swiss divine had perhaps more caution and sagacity, and certainly more learning and refinement than the Saxon. He was also earlier alive to the errors of Rome, and though he died a young man, yet in his narrower circle of action he carried out the Reformation farther than Luther did. The works of Zwingle were published in four folios, Tiguri, 1581; and in eight octavos, edited by Schuler and Schultess, Zurich, 1828-1842.

JOHN ŒCOLAMPADIUS,

(Hausschein), was born at Weinsperg in Suabia in 1482. He received a liberal education, and after having imbibed the new opinions was in 1522 made professor of divinity at Basil. Here he mainly contributed to introduce the Reformation, which was fully established at Basil, under his direction, in 1529. He was the chief support of Zwingle, in defending his views of the Eucharist against the Lutherans, and did not long survive his eminent friend, dying in the same year, 1531. He was a learned and amiable man. His knowledge of Hebrew, and his intimate acquaintance with the writings of the Fathers, greatly contributed to give a literary character to the Reformation.

HENRY BULLINGER

was born at Bremgarten in 1504, studied logic and scholastic philosophy at Cologne, was gradually weaned from Popery, then became the confidant of Zwinglius at Zurich, and at length was appointed to succeed him by the suffrages of the senate and the ecclesiastical synod. For more than forty years he presided over the church in Zurich with singular prudence and success. He was a bulwark and an apostle of the Reformation, and he displayed great hospitality to the refugees from England under the persecution of Queen Mary. His works are not very numerous, nor are they of present value. Died September 17, 1575.

CONRAD PELLICANUS,

(Kürschner), was born in Alsace in 1478, and at an early age became a Franciscan. From his childhood he felt a strong desire to acquire a knowledge of Hebrew. He derived some help from Reuchlin, but owed more to intercourse with a Jew, and his own indefatigable industry. He became one of the most distinguished Hebraists of his time, and was the first to write a

Hebrew Grammar, which was printed at Basel in 1503. Having embraced the reformed opinions, he became in 1526 professor of Hebrew at Zurich, where he taught with great applause till his death (1556). He translated much from the Hebrew and Chaldee, and wrote Commentaries on nearly all the books of the Bible.

PETER MARTYR

was a native of Florence, born in 1500, who at an early age entered the Order of Canons Regular of St. Augustine. He acquired great reputation as a preacher, and obtained high rank in his Order; but having imbibed the principles of the reformers, he was obliged to quit Italy in 1542. He found refuge at Zurich, and soon afterwards taught theology at Strasburg. In 1547 Archbishop Cranmer invited him to England, and established him in the divinity chair at Oxford; but the changes which took place upon the death of Edward VI. compelled him to return to the continent. Finding the opinions of the reformed, to whom he had attached himself, to be unacceptable at Strasburg, he accepted an invitation to Zurich (1556), where he taught till his death, in 1562. He was a man of great learning and moderation, who, by his writings and prudent conduct, was of great service to the cause of the Reformation. His exegetical works display an intimate acquaintance with the original languages of Holy Scripture.

JEROME ZANCHIUS,

(Zanchi), also an Italian, of the Order of Canons Regular, derived the reformed doctrines from Peter Martyr. After leaving Italy, in 1550, and teaching for some years at Strasburg and Chiavenna, he was in 1588 made professor of divinity at Heidelberg, and died at an advanced age, in 1590. He was greatly valued by his party, and wrote exegetical and dogmatical works which fill three folio volumes.

JOHN CALVIN,

(Jean Cauvin), was born at Noyou, in Picardy, 10th July, 1509. Law and theology were combined in his earliest studies. He received, when he was but twelve years old, a benefice in the cathedral of his native town, and, at the age of seventeen, there was added to this previous gift the pastoral cure of Monteville. At his father's request he pursued legal studies at Orleans and Bourges. His mind, however, had been gradually opening to the errors of Popery; and, in the place last named, he openly avowed himself a disciple of the Reformation. In 1532 he proceeded to Paris, but, having provoked the Sorbonne by his zeal for the new doctrines, he was obliged, with his friend Cop, to quit the city in haste. Under the anticipated patronage of the Queen of Navarre, he returned to the French capital in 1534, but the

fate of his previous visit again pursued him, and he retired to Basel, then travelled into Italy, visited the Duchess of Ferrara, soon came back, and arrived, 1536, as if by accident at Geneva—the city with which his name is now immortally identified. His early labours and stern discipline did not at first suit the Genevese, and he was banished along with Farel. The reformer halted at Berne for a time, and then removed to Strasburg, in one of the churches of which town he laboured as pastor with all his characteristic activity and decision, and not without marked success. In 1541 he returned to Geneva—or rather was recalled—and from that period till his death, his labours were unremitting in the pulpit and from the press. As a citizen, as a pastor, as an ecclesiastical ruler and reformer, and as a correspondent and counsellor of foreign churches, he was instant "in season and out of season." The literary work which he executed is almost incredible, especially when we consider the weak and emaciated constitution in which his indomitable spirit was lodged. Frequent headaches and frequent fastings to relieve those spasms,—nocturnal study with a dim lamp suspended from the canopy of his humble bed—watchful anxiety, and domestic bereavement—contributed to shorten his life, and on the 27th of May, 1564, he died at the age of fifty-five. He had previously summoned the syndics of Geneva to his deathbed, and solemnly adjured them to persevere in their adherence to the pure gospel of Christ. The works of Calvin comprise Commentaries on nearly the whole of the Bible—in all of which, with varying success, the mind of the sacred writers is simply and forcibly expounded, without the parade of erudition, but with a clear perception and logical analysis of the process of inspired thought and argument. His *Institutes*, published at the early age of twenty-four, are a remarkable monument of precocious ability, and not only speedily gained for its author a European renown, but contributed in no ordinary degree to strengthen, fortify, and extend, the Protestant Reformation. The Latinity of the long dedication to the King of France is remarkable for its elegance and purity. His numerous tracts against Popery have wit as well as wisdom in them—especially the one called the *Inventory of Sacred Relics.* His voluminous correspondence has been partly published, but a very large collection of letters remain in MSS. in the library of Geneva. The industry of M. Bonnet has, during the last two years, discovered many others, and collected them with a view to speedy publication. Of the system of theology named Calvinism, espoused so extensively in France, Britain, and America, this is not the place to speak. The merits of Calvin have been acknowledged by men of very opposite sentiments—as even by Simon and Bayle. No one now will justify Calvin's share in the burning of Servetus. The other reformers, even the gentle Melanchthon, vindicated the

sad tragedy. It will not suffice to say that Calvin was drawn into the measure, or that the fate of Servetus was in accordance with the law of the State, and therefore beyond the control of the reformer. Calvin distinctly understood his own part in the business, and felt that compassion was to yield to conscience. The only apology for him is, that Calvin was not, in the matter of religious liberty, before his age. He was no exception to the general rule. Cranmer sent Joan of Kent to the stake, and himself in a few years followed. Five Genevan disciples of Calvin were burnt in France about the same time that Servetus was committed to the flames in Geneva. John Knox and Peter Dens use the very same argument and imagery for the capital punishment of heretics. Nay, Servetus himself admitted the legal theory under which he suffered; for in his work called *Restitutio*, published a few months before his own death, he says expressly that the crime of blasphemy is worthy of death—"simpliciter"—"without dispute." Similar doctrines are propounded in old books of Scottish theology, by Samuel Rutherford, and in *The Hind Let Loose.* It took a long time to teach Protestants that man is responsible to God alone for his belief, and that liberty of conscience is a universal birthright.

JOHN KNOX

was born at Gifford in East Lothian in 1505. In his boyhood he attended the Grammar School of Haddington, and in the year 1522 he was sent by his father to the University of Glasgow, and the name of Johannes Knox stands among the *incorporati* of that year. His preceptor was Mair, or Major, at that time professor of philosophy and theology, who removed in the following year to St. Andrews, whither Knox seems to have followed him, and where he taught the current philosophy. Before his twenty-fifth year Knox was ordained to the priesthood. But his examination of Popish theology as usually taught did not satisfy him, and from the writings of Jerome and Augustine he turned to the study of the Scriptures themselves. By degrees he renounced scholastic theology as useless and unsound; and about the year 1535, his mind began that decided process of scrutiny and repudiation which ended in his withdrawal from St. Andrews, and the vengeful arm of Cardinal Beaton, and in his formal avowal of Protestantism about the year 1542. He soon found an asylum at Langniddrie, in the house of Hugh Douglas, to whose sons he acted for a short time as tutor. The principles of the Reformation had now been spreading for some time—the stake had been consuming its victims—the murder of Cardinal Beaton had produced an immense excitement, the conspirators still held the Castle of St. Andrews, and as it was reckoned a place of safety, Knox and his pupils took refuge in it at Easter, in the year 1547.

Here he taught and exhorted, and being called to the ministry, exercised the functions of a Christian pastor, and solemnly dispensed for the first time in public in Scotland the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, after the primitive and Protestant mode. But in the month of June, a French fleet came to the assistance of the Regent Arran, invested the castle, and forced it to capitulate. Knox and some others were transported to Rouen, confined on board the galleys, and loaded with chains. After a severe and unhealthy imprisonment of nineteen months, he was liberated in February, 1549, and repaired to England, was at once recommended to the English Council, and sent by Cranmer to preach in Berwick. For two years he continued there, labouring with characteristic ardour, exposing the delusions of Popery with no unsparing hand, and gaining hosts of converts to the cause of the Reformation. Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, cited him to Newcastle, and the undaunted Knox delivered a public vindication in presence of the Bishop and the learned priests of his cathedral, and so increased his fame, that the Privy Council in London appointed him one of King Edward's chaplains, with a salary of £40 a-year. He was consulted also about some changes in the Book of Common Prayer, and general form of service for the English Church. His plain speech in the north of England made him many enemies, so that he was summoned to appear at London, where he had already declined a living, and commanded to vindicate himself; and he was there in full enjoyment of the royal patronage, when King Edward died, 6th July, 1553. After the accession of Mary he left the capital, preached in various parts of the country, and was married at Berwick to Marjory Bowes, a young lady to whom he had been long and warmly attached. Finding himself in increasing jeopardy, he left the kingdom and landed at Dieppe, on the 20th January, 1554; set out the next month and travelled through France to Switzerland, was cordially received by the leading divines of the Helvetic churches, returned to Dieppe in order to gain information from his native land; went back to Geneva and won the friendship of Calvin; was again at Dieppe to learn still more of his family, and the cause of truth in Scotland; took charge for a brief time of a disturbed church at Frankfort, revisited Geneva, and recrossed the channel in 1555. After visiting his wife at Berwick, he preached in Edinburgh and various parts of the country, patronized by many of the nobility and gentry; dispensed the Lord's Supper in Ayrshire, the region of the Scottish Lollards; was in consequence of his zealous labours ordered to sist himself before a convention of the Clergy, in the church of the Blackfriars at Edinburgh, but the summons was set aside, and the "diet deserted." Being about this time chosen pastor of the English congregation at Geneva, he with his family departed for Switzerland, and remained in Geneva for the two

following years. The English version, usually called the Geneva Bible, was made at this time by the English exiles, and here, too, Knox blew *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women.* A series of changes favourable to the Reformation had in the meanwhile been taking place in Scotland, the Protestants had greatly multipled, the prospect of coming persecution had banded them together, and Knox, on their invitation, landed at Leith, 2d May, 1559. No sooner was it known to the terrified priesthood that the ardent reformer had returned, than he was proclaimed an outlaw. Joining with his brethren, he repaired to Perth, and preached zealously against idolatry, while the chicanery of the Queen Regent, and the accidental folly of a priest so enraged the mob, that they pulled down several religious houses and churches, overthrew the altars, and defaced the pictures and images. This tumult, the origin of which has been often misrepresented, Knox distinctly ascribes to the "rascal multitude." The Queen Regent mustered her host to quell these riots; and the Protestant leaders, aware of her ultimate design, raised an army in self-defence, but a treaty prevented any hostile engagement. The "Lords of the Congregation" were now alarmed into activity. Knox went down to St. Andrews, and soon, as the effect of his instructions, the Popish worship was peacefully abolished, and the Church stripped at once of all idolatrous symbols. This example was quickly, but not as peacefully followed in many other parts of the kingdom; and so there perished many valuable works of art, which had been degraded by their application to superstitious purposes. When his party had obtained temporary possession of Edinburgh, Knox was chosen minister of the city, but he retired with the Protestant forces on the approach of the Regent, made an extensive tour, and preached in many of the larger towns. After being formally ordained at Edinburgh, in 1560, he pursued with ceaseless zeal the work of Reformation; a Confession had been already drawn up, a Book of Discipline was added, and the organization of the Church was so far matured, that the first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was held at Edinburgh, on the 21st December, 1560. No sooner had Queen Mary arrived in Scotland, than she had a long interview with the stern reformer, after a sermon which had offended her. This was followed by several meetings, but to no purpose. Knox's sermons at this time were bold, defiant, and mighty—his tongue was a match for Mary's sceptre. He was accused of high treason, but acquitted, in spite of all the malignant influence of Queen and court. After being about three years a widower, he married in March, 1564, Margaret, daughter of Lord Ochiltree, and connected with the royal blood of Scotland. His dispute with the Abbot of Crossraguel about this period is familiar to most readers. The

reformer persevered amidst growing difficulties—the marriage of the Queen with Darnley, and its melancholy consequences—the attempt to restore Popery—the assassination of Rizzio—his own virtual banishment, and the Queen's refusal of permission for him to return to Edinburgh. Darnley was murdered—Mary wedded Bothwell—soon resigned in favour of her son, appointed the Earl of Murray Regent during his minority, and fled to England—the good Regent was assassinated, but Knox still kept his post at Edinburgh. Yet the Regent's death, and his own multifarious anxieties and labours during these critical times preyed upon his constitution, and in October, 1570, he was struck with apoplexy. In the course of a few weeks he was able to preach again, but not with his wonted vigour. In the meantime the Queen's party gained strength by the weakness of Lennox, the abilities of Maitland, and the defection of Kirkaldy of Grange; and when the civil war broke out Knox retired to St. Andrews, still carrying on by tongue, pen, and counsel, the great work to which his life had been devoted. During a cessation of arms he returned to Edinburgh, and shone out in his pristine style when, on hearing of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, he denounced in glowing terms Charles IX. of France. Sickness, however, soon seized his emaciated frame, and after a very brief period of increasing debility, he died 24th November, 1572. Two days afterwards his body was interred in the churchyard of St. Giles. The funeral was attended by an immense concourse of weeping and afflicted people, as well as of the resident nobility, and the Regent Morton pronounced over him the well known eulogium, "There lies he who never feared the face of man." Knox was of small stature, and by no means of a robust constitution. His character has been portrayed very differently by various writers. Indiscriminate eulogy would be here as much out of place as sweeping censure would be unjust. The reformer was cast upon an age of violence and change, and he needed a correspondent energy. Elegance and delicacy of language were not common at the period, and would have been crushed in the tumult. Knox spoke and wrote his honest thoughts in transparent terms, in terse and homely simplicity, and with far less of uncouthness and solecism than might be imagined. He was obliged to appear not like a scholar in the graceful folds of an academic toga, but as a warrior clad in mail, and armed at all points for self-defence and aggression. It must have been a mighty mind that could leave its impress on an entire nation, and on succeeding ages. He was inflexible in maintaining what he felt to be right, and intrepid in defending it. His life was menaced several times, but he moved not from the path of duty. The genial affections of home, friendship, and kindred, often stirred his heart amidst all his sternness and decision. In short, he resembled the hills of his native country,

which with their tall and splintered precipices, their shaggy sides, and wild sublimity of aspect, yet often conceal in their bosom green valleys, clear streams, and luxuriant pastures.

ANDREW MELVILLE

was the youngest of nine sons of Richard Melville of Baldovy, near Montrose, and was born on the 1st August, 1545. When only two years old he lost his father, who was killed at the battle of Pinkie, but his eldest brother took an affectionate charge of him. Placed first at the Grammar School of Montrose, where he made great progress, especially in Latin, he entered St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, in 1559, in his fourteenth year. Having finished the usual course of study, he left the University in 1564, with a distinguished reputation, departed to the continent, attended for two years the University of Paris, and was then appointed a regent in the College of St. Marceon, when he was only twenty-one years of age. Leaving the place after a siege, he travelled to Switzerland in a state of great fatigue and destitution, and on arriving at Geneva, obtained the chair of humanity in its Academy. On his return to Scotland in July, 1574, he was immediately chosen Principal of Glasgow College by the General Assembly. His zeal, assiduity, and skill in this high position, were of vast profit to the dilapidated seminary. In 1580, he was translated to the principality of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, where his labours were very abundant in the reform of academic training and discipline. But his attention was also, and chiefly, devoted to ecclesiastical affairs, and he heartily and vigorously prosecuted his convictions. On the subject of Church government his views were strictly Presbyterian, and the establishment of this form of ecclesiastical administration in Scotland was mainly owing to his exertions and influence. Being Moderator of the General Assembly, which met at St. Andrews in 1582, he proceeded with an act of discipline in defiance of a royal message to desist. Preaching at the next meeting of Assembly, he inveighed severely against the tyrannous measures of the court, and against those who had brought into the country the "bludie gullie" of absolute power. This fearless charge led to a citation before the Privy Council for high treason, and though the crime was not proved, he was sentenced to imprisonment. Apprehensive that his life was really in danger, he set out for London, and did not return to the north till the faction of Arran had been dismissed. At length he took his former place in St. Andrews, and continued in hearty warfare for the liberties of the Church. For his share in the trial of Adamson, the King dismissed him from the principality, and charged him to confine himself beyond the Water of Tay. The suspension, however, was only brief. On the arrival of James with his Queen from Denmark, Melville pro-

nounced, and afterwards published, a Latin poem of high merit, named *Stephaniskion*. In 1590 Melville was elected rector of the University. In 1594 he was again Moderator of the General Assembly. There was evidently after this time a strong desire on the part of the King to make the Kirk a mere tool of political power, or to restore Episcopacy. Melville strenuously resisted every such attempt, whether made in an open or clandestine form. A tumult in Edinburgh was taken advantage of, its ministers were severely dealt with, and by and by Melville was prohibited from attending Church courts, and soon after confined within the precincts of his College. After King James's accession to the throne of England, Melville was summoned to London, with several of his brethren, and severely catechized and reprimanded by the royal pedant. Melville enraged the King by some verses he happened to write on the furniture of the royal altar, was found guilty of *scandalum magnatum*, finally imprisoned in the Tower, and deprived of his principality. At length, after four years' confinement, he was liberated, principally at the request of the Duke of Bouillon, who wished him to occupy a chair in the University of Sedan. Melville arrived there in 1611, entered on his work with zeal, boldly refuted the Arminianism of one of his colleagues, and in his seventy-fourth year wrote a beautiful Epithalamium on occasion of the marriage of a daughter of the ducal house. Episcopal government had now been restored in Scotland; but the old man was still such an object of terror that he was not recalled from exile. In 1620 his health, which had been seriously impaired during his incarceration in the Tower, failed him, and he died at Sedan in 1622, at the age of seventy-seven. Melville's Latin poems, such as his *Carmen Mosis*, and those mentioned already in this article, are classical productions of a high order. He was a scholar and divine also of no common attainments. He was active, cheerful, bold, candid, and devout, and his impetuosity often arose to sublimity, when he appeared in excited vindication of his Church and country. Dr. M'Crie concludes his two interesting volumes of Melville's Life with the declaration:—"I know of no individual, after her reformer, from whom Scotland has received greater benefits, and to whom she owes a deeper debt of gratitude and respect, than Andrew Melville."

THEODORE BEZA, OR DE BEZE,

was born of noble parents at Vezelai in 1519. His studies were begun at Orleans under Wolmar, a German, to whom may be traced his pupil's attainments in Greek. Here he studied law, and having at the age of twenty obtained a diploma, he spent the next nine years in Paris; living in the midst of such enjoyments as an ample fortune can at all times secure in the gay capital of France. Here he published his *Juvenilia*, a collection of poems,

many of which are just in character and gallantry, what might have been anticipated in the circumstances. His own conscience, his secret marriage, and a severe illness, combined in solemnizing his mind, so that at length he fled to Geneva, and publicly avowed his attachment to the Protestant Reformation. In a very short time he became professor of Greek at Lausanne, and after ten years' labour there he returned to Geneva. From the period of his return to Geneva in 1559 to his death there, October 13, 1605, Beza was identified with the Swiss Reformation. He was the first rector of the New Academy established there, and he succeeded Calvin in the chair of theology in 1564. After the great reformer's death, Beza occupied the first place of influence and responsibility, not only in the church of Geneva, but in the neighbouring cantons and in France. In 1571 he was Moderator of the great Protestant Assembly at Rochelle, by which the French Confession was emitted. Beza revisited France about 1560, and was introduced to, and favourably noticed by Catharine de Medici and the Cardinal Lorrain, and he occasionally preached in the suburbs of Paris. He was also on the battle-field with the great Condé in 1563. The Greek scholarship of Beza was consummate, and one of his early works at Lausanne was his famous translation of the New Testament into Latin, printed by Robert Stephens at Paris in 1557. In 1556 he published his first edition of the Greek New Testament, making use of a MS., containing the four Gospels and Acts, which usually goes by his name, and which in 1581 he gave to the University of Cambridge. This edition, which is almost the same as that of R. Stephens, was four times reprinted by him, and the last edition of 1598 was taken as the basis of the authorized English version of the New Testament. Beza wrote many other treatises, especially on the power of the magistrate in matters of religion. But it is as an editor, translator, and commentator in connection with the New Testament, that all subsequent scholars hold Beza in high esteem, not only for his own lofty acquirements, but also for the impulse which he gave by his example and his publications to biblical studies.

LÆLIUS SOCINUS,

(Sozzini), was born at Sienna, in 1525; he left Italy in 1547, and travelled in Switzerland and Germany, where he became acquainted with the leading reformed divines, and applied himself to theological speculations and the study of Hebrew. He had embraced anti-trinitarian notions probably before he left Italy, and throughout his life secretly propagated them among his acquaintance; but though he did not escape suspicion, he carefully concealed his opinions from the public, and continued till his death (1562)

in communion with the reformed. His real opinions were only freely expressed in his MSS., which fell into the hands of his nephew.

FAUSTUS SOCINUS,

(born at Sienna, in 1539), who was the real founder of Socinianism. He had early imbibed the opinions of his uncle, and after having resided in various places in France, Switzerland, and Italy, in 1579 settled in Poland, where he died in 1604. Though a considerable anti-trinitarian party already existed in that country, it was Faustus Socinus who gave their tenets a systematic character, and who deserves to be regarded as the patriarch of the sect. His writings exhibit acuteness and subtlety, and set forth his errors in their most plausible and least objectionable form.

MICHAEL SERVETUS, OR SERVEDE,

was born at Villa Nuova in Arragon, A.D. 1509. From his birthplace he assumed the cognomen of Villanovanus; and the surname Reves, which he put on the title-page of his books, appears to be a quaint transposition of the first two syllables of Servetus. His father was a lawyer, and wishing his son to study for his own profession, sent him for that purpose to Toulouse. But literature and theology occupied his attention and engrossed his leisure. On returning to Spain he attached himself to Quintana, confessor to the Emperor Charles V., and accompanied him first into Italy and then to Germany. In the year 1550 he took up his residence at Basle, and often conferred with Œcolampadius on matters of theology. His mind now began to evolve its peculiar speculations, all in antagonism to the current beliefs. In 1531 appeared his first work at Hagenau, *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, in which the notion of a Trinity was not only discussed, but caricatured. The Emperor ordered the book to be suppressed, and the year following Servetus published apologetic dialogues, condemning the juvenility of the work, but still maintaining the same doctrines. In 1533 he went to France, studied at Paris, afterwards removed to Orleans, and resided for two years as corrector of the press at Lyons, busying himself with the study of medicine. In 1537 he revisited Paris, and took the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Medicine. Leaving Paris, after an accusation by the Sorbonne, he settled ultimately at Vienne, and for a series of years practised medicine. He had been a considerable time composing a book on theology, and under the title of *Christianismi Restitutio*, it appeared at Vienne in 1553, but without author's name or date. The book produced a great sensation—suspicion, in consequence of some Genevan correspondence with a French refugee called De Trie, fell at length on Servetus, and he was imprisoned by the inquisitors. During the process he contrived

to escape and fled at once to Geneva, where he lay in concealment for a month, waiting an opportunity to set out for Naples. After his flight from Vienne he was burned there in effigy, having been previously condemned as an outlaw, and he would have been burned in person, if he had not so opportunely made his escape. As he was about to leave Geneva for Zurich he was discovered, and at the suggestion of Calvin he was at once apprehended, on the 13th August, 1553. The accuser of the Spaniard was Nicolas de la Fontaine, a Frenchman, but Calvin himself framed the eight-and-thirty articles of charge, as we learn from one of his own letters. At the first hearing of the case Servetus made explanations, and at the second hearing Calvin himself attended. In the meantime the Council of Geneva wrote to Vienne, with information that Servetus was in custody, and resolved, as the trial went on, to send communications to several of the cantons. The Council of Vienne demanded back the prisoner, but with tears in his eyes he entreated the Genevan syndics to retain him, and sist him before their own tribunal. The Genevan magistrates stood upon prerogative, or the burning of Servetus would have happened at Popish Vienne, and the Protestant syndics were proud to rival a Catholic city in severity of penalty. His prosecution was now given to the Attorney-General, and the charge of sedition was specially pressed against the accused; for politics superseded theology in the discussion. Servetus replied at some length, and in his subsequent petition one of his principal endeavours is to clear himself from the charge of being a disturber of society. Calvin and he were confronted—they had maintained a correspondence some months previous, and Servetus actually craved an indictment to be preferred against the reformer. Calvin, in the meantime, had quarrelled with the Council in a case of discipline; the Libertine or anti-Calvinist party were growing in power, and Servetus hoped apparently to turn the tables on his principal antagonist. The opinion of the churches in Switzerland had now been asked, and they unanimously condemned Servetus, though they differed as to the amount of punishment which should be inflicted on him. Toward the end of the protracted investigation the influence of Calvin was little felt, and on the 26th of October, the unhappy Servetus was doomed to the stake the following day. Calvin interfered for a more lenient form of punishment, but his request was not granted. Servetus was greatly affected when he heard his sentence, though he gradually resumed his composure. Farell attended him, but seems to have made no impression upon his mind. The next day the sentence was carried into effect in all its cruel barbarity. The sufferer, during the half hour of his consciousness amidst the flames cried repeatedly—"Jesus, thou Son of the Eternal God, have mercy on me."

This execution of Servetus has acquired an adventitious eminence from its circumstances. Had he been burned at Vienne, the deed would have been known only as one of the thousands inflicted by Papal mandate. But the scene of the martyrdom in the Protestant republic of Geneva, and the theological notoriety of Calvin, have given it an extraordinary and a polemical celebrity. Much has been said and written about it: it has barbed many a declamation: and the harsh and vindictive spirit of Calvin has been often reprobated. But the fact is, that only in the year 1842, were the original records of the trial discovered and employed in the account. M. De La Valayre in 1842 made good use of those documents, and so did Rilliet in 1844, in his *Relation du Procès Criminal Intenté à Genève en* 1553 *Contre Michel Servet*, &c.

The result throws a better and more faithful light on the whole transaction. It is proved that while Calvin approved of the punishment of death according to the theory then commonly entertained, yet that he had little or no direct influence with the Council during the latter portion of the trial. (See CALVIN). The union between religion and politics in the government of Geneva, led its rulers to believe themselves invested with the power of punishing heresy as a sin against God and a crime against the state. Nay, at the very same period Berthelier, a citizen, had been excluded from the Church by Calvin, but the Council declared him capable of receiving the communion. In 1547 Gruet, a leader of the Libertine party, had been beheaded for sedition, though religious opinion formed a special charge against him. In the document which contains the sentence against Servetus, assaults on Calvin and the Genevan ministers are not mentioned at all. Servetus himself held the same theoretic views, and in his indictment against Calvin, he puts the alternative—"Till the cause be decided for his death or mine." So that had he obtained supremacy in Geneva, he would not have scrupled to burn Calvin. What a miserable misconception of human right and Divine enactment! And it was certainly a sad and inconsistent thing for reformers to deny to others the toleration which they had claimed and gained for themselves. The career of Servetus was peculiar. Born in the land of the *Auto-da-Fé*, he was sent out of it to study, his father being afraid that his son's free speculations and pugnacious propensity would place him within the grasp of the inquisition; and yet he perished neither in Spain nor France. Coleridge has said, that "if any poor fanatic ever thrust himself into the flames, that man was Servetus." We cannot use these words in all their latitude; yet, certainly Servetus, with all his acknowledged talents and gifts, was ambitious and arrogant, was, in short, what Mosheim calls a "semifanatic." But surely such a character did not merit so

awful a penalty, and we may read in the flames of Servetus that man is responsible to God alone for his belief, that truth does not suffer by toleration, for fire is not able to extirpate what argument cannot overthrow. A passage is found in the *Restitutio* of Servetus, which has been understood by some as anticipating by seventy years Harvey's famous discovery of the circulation of the blood. While we admit the boldness and eloquence of Servetus, his rare acquirements and restless industry, we are compelled to add that the equivocations made by him on his trial, both at Vienne and Geneva, do not place his moral character in the same favourable light.

ANGLICANS.

THOMAS CRANMER.	JOHN WHITGIFT.
NICHOLAS RIDLEY.	THOMAS CARTWRIGHT.
WILLIAM TYNDALE.	RICHARD HOOKER.
JOHN JEWELL.	JOHN RAINOLDS.
MATTHEW PARKER.	

THOMAS CRANMER

was born at Aslacton in the county of Nottingham on the 2d July, 1489. He entered Jesus College in 1503, became a fellow in 1510-11, and a doctor of divinity in 1523. His opinions on the first marriage of Henry VIII. with his brother's widow introduced him to the King. The favourite's multifarious efforts were in vain to procure a divorce from the Papal authorities, but as a reward for his services, though he had been twice married, he was raised by royal favour to the see of Canterbury. On 23d May, 1533, the Archbishop declared the King's marriage to be null and void, and five days afterwards he married Henry to Anne Boleyn. Cranmer now became occupied with more meritorious work, the translation of the Bible, and the great work of the English Reformation. At Henry's death, he was one of the Council of Regency to Edward VI., and a liturgy, homilies, and articles were composed under royal patronage. When the young monarch died, and Mary at length ascended the throne, Cranmer, who had been drawn into the plot on behalf of the Lady Jane, was summoned before the Council, then committed to the Tower, and finally sent to the prison of Bocardo at Oxford. He was at length, by Pope Paul IV., declared guilty of heresy, &c. On the 20th of March, the night before his martyrdom, he was entrapped into a written recantation. On the next day in St. Mary's church, he solemnly declared "that his hand had offended in writing contrary to his heart." "My hand," said he, "shall first be punished, for if I may come to the fire, it shall first be burned." When he was brought to the stake, erected opposite Baliol College, he fulfilled this resolution with a marvellous and unexpected intrepidity, still crying, "This unworthy hand!" But there was a sad infirmity in

Cranmer's nature, and his great faults were an apparent vacillation and a want of decision and firmness. Yet he was honoured to do a great work in his time. "He was at once," says Macaulay, "a divine and a courtier," and the attempted combination of the two characters created those inconsistencies which soiled the purity of his life, and detracted from the merit of his actions.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY

was born in Northumberland, and distinguished himself at Cambridge by his proficiency in theological studies. He was made Bishop of Rochester by Henry VIII., and in the time of Edward VI. Bishop of London. He was one of the most active and influential, and by far the most learned of those who took part in the first Reformation of the Church of England, and suffered martyrdom October 16, 1555.

WILLIAM TYNDALE, OR TINDALE,

the venerable martyr and translator, was born in the hundred of Berkeley, either at Stinchcomb, or North Nibley, Gloucestershire, about the year 1484. At an early period he was sent to Oxford, where he took his degree, and also gave instructions in Magdalen Hall. But he left Oxford for Cambridge, where it is believed that he took a degree. In 1522 Tyndale is next found as tutor in the house of Sir John Welch of Little Sodbury, not far from Bristol, where he preached in the villages and towns on Sabbath, and often disputed with neighbouring abbots and other Roman ecclesiastics. Here too, he translated the *Enchiridion Militis* of Erasmus, as a present to his host and his lady. His free opinions and discussions soon got him into troublous examinations before the Popish dignitaries, but no penalty was inflicted on him. He took the hint, however, left the county, and came to London, his mind being now fully occupied with the idea of translating the Scriptures. He soon found, as he himself quaintly says, "that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, nay, no place to do it in all England." In London he sometimes preached at St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, while Alderman Humphrey Monmouth took him under his protection, and gave him an annuity of ten pounds a-year, to enable him to live abroad, for which ten pounds he was in return to pray for the souls of the alderman's father and mother. Tyndale on leaving England went first to Hamburg. It is often said that from Hamburg he proceeded to Wittemberg, where he met Luther, who had now thrown off the last vestige of Popish thraldom, and that there he completed his translation of the New Testament. The statement is apparently not correct, for during 1524 he seems to have remained at Hamburg, and in 1525 he appears to have been first at Cologne and then at Worms. At

Cologne Tyndale seems to have commenced to print his first edition in 4to, but after ten sheets were printed the work was interrupted, and the translator and his coadjutors betook themselves to the Lutheran city of Worms, where the quarto was finished, and an octavo edition issued from the press. The prologue to the quarto has been republished under the name of *A Pathway to the Scriptures.* The translator's name was attached to neither of the two editions, and he assigns a reason for this omission in his *Wicked Mammon*, published in 1527. Copies of these versions early found their way into England. In 1526 Tunstall, Bishop of London, fulminated his prohibition of them, and two years afterwards a number of copies were collected, nay, some were purchased by the bishop in Antwerp, and burnt at St. Paul's Cross. Warham and Wolsey were also dreadfully enraged, and Sir Thomas More was employed to denounce Tyndale, but his genius was foiled in the attempt, and Tyndale won a precious victory over the learned chancellor. Two editions were then printed at Antwerp, and found their way to England in vessels laden with grain. Endeavours were made to seize Tyndale and punish all who assisted him, but he removed to Marburg in Hesse in 1528, and published there a book of great value—*The Obedience of a Christian Man.* The result of all the English opposition was, that, as Foxe expresses it, "copies of the New Testament came thick and threefold into England." We find Tyndale again at Antwerp in 1529, during which year a fifth edition was printed; the four books of Moses were also translated, printed each at a separate press, and put into circulation. The enemies of the translator endeavoured to decoy him into England, but he was too wary to be so easily entrapped, for he well knew what displeasure Henry VIII. felt at his tract, called *The Practice of Prelates*, and what penalty the royal indignation would speedily inflict. After the martyrdom of Frith, Tyndale set himself to revise and correct the version of the New Testament, and it was soon thrown off, with this remark in the preface, "which I have looked over again with all diligence, and compared with the Greek, and have weded out of it many fautes." But his enemies in England, whose power had been shaken by the copious circulation of the English New Testament, were the more enraged against him, and conspired to seize him on the continent, in the name of the Emperor. An Englishman, named Philips, betrayed him, and acting under such information, the authorities at Brussels seized him, in the house of Pointz his friend, and conveyed him to Vilvorde, twenty-three miles from Antwerp. Pointz, who had with difficulty escaped himself, made every effort for him, but in vain. The neighbouring University of Louvain thirsted for his blood. Tyndale was speedily condemned, and on Friday, the 6th October, 1536, in virtue of a recent Augsburg decree, he was

led out to the scene of execution. On being fastened to the stake, he cried in loud and earnest prayer, "Lord, open the eyes of the King of England," and then was first strangled and afterwards burnt.

His ashes flew,
No marble tells us whither.

The merits of Tyndale must ever be recognized and honoured by all who enjoy the English Bible—for the authorized version of the New Testament has his for its basis. He made good his early boast, that ploughboys should have the Word of God. His friends all speak of his great simplicity of heart, and commend his abstemious habits, his zeal, and his industry; while even the imperial procurator who prosecuted him styles him *homo doctus pius et bonus*. The works of Tyndale and Frith were collected and published in three vols. 8vo, London, 1831.

JOHN JEWELL,

correctly described by A. Wood as "one of the greatest lights that the reformed Church of England hath produced," was born in Devonshire, in 1522. He imbibed Protestant opinions at Oxford, and became so conspicuous a defender of the Reformation, that he was obliged to leave England during the reign of Mary. He returned upon her death, and in 1559 was made Bishop of Salisbury. In 1560 he preached his famous sermon at Paul's Cross on 1 Cor. xi. 23, "in which he showed himself the first who made a public challenge to all the Roman Catholics in the world to produce but one clear and evident testimony out of any father or famous writer, who flourished within five hundred years after Christ, for any one of the many articles which the Romanists at this day maintain against the Church of England; and upon any good report of any such one allegation to yield up the bucklers, and reconcile himself to Rome." This, and his admirable *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* (1562), produced his celebrated controversy with Hardyng, in which he proved himself one of the most learned and able divines of his time. His other polemical writings and his expository works also enjoyed great reputation. He died in 1571.

MATTHEW PARKER

was born at Norwich in 1504, and educated at Benet College, Cambridge. He was made Archbishop of Canterbury upon the accession of Elizabeth, and presided over the re-establishment of the Reformation with firmness and dignity. He died in 1575. His *Antiquitates Britannicæ* was his principal original work, but the national literature is greatly indebted to him for publishing the works of several of our early historians.

JOHN WHITGIFT

was born at Great Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, and was educated at Cambridge. After having held high preferment in his University, and filled the see of Worcester (1577), he was in 1583 made Archbishop of Canterbury. In this high office he exhibited great energy of character, and by labouring to remove the irregularities which had crept in during the time of his predecessor Grindall, was of great service to the Church. He ably defended our ecclesiastical polity against the attacks of Cartwright, and died in 1603.

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT

became a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1563, and was for a time Margaret Professor in that University. He was a man of learning, but he owes his place in the ecclesiastical history of England to his zealous hostility to the constitution of the National Church. He was the first who gave a substantial form to Puritanism. He died in 1603.

RICHARD HOOKER

was born at Exeter in 1554, and was educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He was appointed Master of the Temple in 1585, and in the discharge of the duties of that office his celebrated *Discourse of Justification* brought him into collision with the Puritans. His controversy with Travers led to the composition of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, one of the noblest monuments ever raised by learning and genius in the English language, which has placed its *judicious* author in the very first rank of modern worthies. He died in 1600. An admirable edition of his works has been published by the Rev. J. Keeble, in two vols. octavo, 1841.

JOHN RAINOLDS

was born in Devonshire in 1549, and, after having held other preferments, died President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1607. According to A. Wood, "he was most prodigiously seen in all kind of learning, and had turned over all writers, profane, ecclesiastical, and divine; all the Councils, Fathers, and historians of the Church. He was also most excellent in all tongues, of a sharp and nimble wit, of mature judgment, indefatigable industry, exceeding therein Origen, surnamed *Adamantius*, and so well seen in all arts and sciences, as if he had spent his whole time in each of them." (*Athen. Oxon*). His writings are chiefly against the Romanists. He was beyond all question the most learned divine who can be claimed by the Puritans. He died in 1607.

Besides these, there were many other writers who during this century obtained considerable celebrity. Among the Romanists

we may mention Chlictovæus, Cochlæus, Pighius, Contarini, Catharinus, De Victoria, Vega, Andrada, Sixtus Genensis, Toletus, Sà, and Genebrard.

Among the Lutherans we may add the names of Justus Jonas, Regius, Camerarius, Westphal, Amsdorf, Wigand, Fagius, and Hunnius.

To the reformed belong Farel, Viret, Bibliander, Musculus, Ursinus, and Hospinian.

And among the English divines we may mention the names of Latimer, Cox, Sandys, Fox, Humfreys, Whittaker, Nowell, and Perkins.

CHAPTER VIII.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, FROM A.D. 1600 TO A.D. 1648.

A.D. 1600-1648 General remarks.

THE period of Church history upon which we now enter, and which extends to the peace of Westphalia in 1648, is marked by several striking peculiarities. The great parties into which Christendom was now permanently divided, having severally assumed a definite and intelligible position, come into direct collision; and contend in a last effort, not only for the truth of their respective opinions, but for existence. Religion is the great moving principle of the times. We nowhere meet with indifference or neutrality; we scarcely anywhere find a recognition of the principles of toleration. Everywhere there is a fierce and unwearied religious antagonism. Politics and literature, and the other objects which usually exercise the greatest influence upon the human mind, are themselves subordinate to the mighty subject which for the time engrosses the passions and energies of the civilized world. The Romanists have recovered from the consternation into which they had been thrown by the first onset of liberal opinions; the Protestants have exchanged the undisciplined ardour of enthusiasm for system and method. The potentates of the world are marshalled against each other under their banners, and the stirring scene presents the last act of the deeply interesting drama of the Reformation.

The great religious parties.

But before we resume our progress in the history, let us glance at the prospect which presents itself to the eye of the student at the commencement of the seventeenth century. The preceding eighty years had indeed effected a wondrous change in the condition of the Church. The great religious revolution had shaken the fabric of many ages to its very centre, and had laid no small proportion of it in ruins. England, Scotland, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, a great part of Switzerland, and the northern half of Germany, had entirely shaken off the fetters of Rome. In Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia, the Protestant opinions were extensively prevalent. In France they were supported by a large and powerful body. But on the other hand, they had been already suppressed, or were soon to be suppressed, in Spain, Italy, the Austrian Netherlands, and Southern Germany; and in the countries whose governments retained their allegiance to the Papacy, the reformers had constantly to contend with greater difficulties. The old establishments, wherever they escaped the first shock, were found to be too strong for their enemies. Even where the

executive did not actually persecute, the new opinions, when they had lost the charm of novelty, were unable to make head against the influence of the priesthood. Wherever the Romish system was able to resist the first onset of the reformers, as it was in France, in Poland, and in the countries subject to the House of Austria, it eventually enjoyed a signal triumph.

Such was the relative position of the two great parties; their internal condition had been greatly modified since the commencement of the struggle. The natural operation of time, and the course of events, had done much on both sides, but on that of the Romanists the most considerable changes had been the results of the Council of Trent. The student who looks with Christian feelings on this celebrated assembly, and compares what it did with what it might have done, finds it a most painful subject of contemplation. An opportunity had presented itself for a real and authoritative Reformation of the Church; it was not only entirely lost, but perverted by the intrigues of selfish men to the establishment of error and the perpetuation of schism. Many notions and practices, which, though long common, had never received the direct sanction of ecclesiastical authority, were then first recognized as Articles of Faith. And as they were established by a tribunal which claimed to be infallible, and from which there could be no appeal, there was henceforth a hopeless separation between the great bodies which divided the Christian world. But greatly as we regret that the Tridentine Synod should thus have raised a permanent barrier against the union of Christendom, we must confess that its bold assertion of the Romish doctrines was, as a matter of human policy, a most fortunate course for the Papacy. If counsels of mildness had prevailed, and measures of conciliation been adopted, the Church of Rome could scarcely have held out against the spirit of the times. It was the men who stood out for the bold and uncompromising course who saved her. If she had once yielded to the popular feeling, she must have been hurried onwards, and would, in all probability, soon have undergone the process of reformation. We deeply regret that this was not the case: but we cannot but admire the policy of those who saw what must be the inevitable consequences of concession, and who in spite of the unpopularity of their opposition, by a consistent resistance to all reform, were enabled to preserve their system.

Results of the Council of Trent.

The strictly defined system with which they had been furnished at Trent, was, upon the whole, favourable to the Romish theologians. They might sometimes feel encumbered by the restraints it threw upon them, but it gave them force and vigour. They henceforth knew what they had to do. They soon became habituated to the difficulties of the warfare. They learned to conceal and fortify the weak points of their defence. And in their

substantial agreement, and in the imposing names of Catholicity and Union, they enjoyed an immense advantage over their opponents. The improvements in Church discipline, too, which the Council had effected, though greatly less than were needed, tended to remove some of the abuses which were most calculated to scandalize the vulgar; and the literary works[1] which it had suggested, and which were gradually executed under the direction of the Pontiffs, gratified a learned age, and gave stability to the Romish cause.

Various moral causes were now beginning to co-operate in favour of Rome. The energy of resistance had succeeded to the weakness of surprise. A conservative reaction had followed the popular triumph; and the Romanists had acquired more moral courage, and entertained brighter hopes, than they had done since the commencement of the conflict. Nor had the misfortunes of the preceding period been suffered in vain. Their losses had taught them prudence. Their Church had not relaxed her demands, but *that* was a pledge of future success,—she had, however, learned to enforce them more cautiously. She had marked the causes of the success of her opponents: nay, in many instances she had begun to turn their own weapons against them; and she soon reaped the fruits of her sagacity. The active causes of the success of the Reformation, had been the progress of learning, and the zeal and diligence of those who disseminated the new opinions. From the middle of the sixteenth century the Church of Rome boldly employed these very means against them. The Council of Trent was especially solicitous on the subject of education. Schools, seminaries, universities, and all the machinery of instruction were set to work against the Protestants. And henceforth so little did sloth and apathy mark the character of the Romish priesthood, that they became, whenever they were in contact with Protestants, the most stirring members of the community. The

[1] In its last session (*Sessio* xxv. *in contin.* § *de Indice Librorum*) it transferred to the Pope the care of superintending an Index of prohibited books, a Catechism, and new editions of the Missal and the Breviary. This decree was gradually put in execution. The Index was published in 1564. The Catechism, which had been carefully composed by divines and scholars appointed by the Pontiff, appeared in 1566. The new edition of the Breviary, which had been entrusted by Pius V. to the divines who had prepared the Catechism, was published in 1568; and the Missal followed in 1572. Besides these works, others were shortly afterwards published of a more critical nature. An authorized edition of the Canon Law appeared in 1508; and the Roman Martyrology, of which the celebrated Baronius was the editor, in 1586. The attempt which was made to rectify and ascertain the Vulgate version of the Holy Scriptures was the last and most memorable of this series of literary labours, so important to the Romish Church. The edition published with the sanction of Sixtus V. in 1590, was soon found to be incorrect and unsatisfactory. Gregory XIV. appointed a commission to amend it. And in 1593, Clement VIII. directed the publication of another authorized edition. The unseemly discrepancy of the infallible critics was humorously exposed by our learned countryman, Dr. James, in his *Bellum Papale*, and has ever since afforded a constant topic for Protestant raillery.

character of the secular clergy generally improved. And the Jesuits were seen everywhere, always enterprising and politic, advancing the interests of their Church, and plotting against her enemies.

It is not necessary in this place to enter into a separate examination of the condition of the various reformed communions. They all present the same general features. A considerable change had already passed upon them since their first separation from Rome. They had now begun to acquire the staidness and sobriety of established communities; and had exchanged the ardent and aggressive spirit by which they had been originally distinguished for a gravity and dignity more becoming their present circumstances. After having warmly contended among themselves, and with one another, they had severally adopted a recognized system. The confessions and articles which exhibited their views of doctrine and discipline, formed their standards of orthodoxy, and the works of some celebrated divines became the text-books of a race of Protestant schoolmen.

Death of Clement VIII. A.D. 1605. Leo XI. Paul V.

At the commencement of the seventeenth century, Clement VIII. still filled the Papal See. Upon his death, in 1605, Leo XI. (Alessandro Ottaviano de Medici) reigned from the 1st to the 27th of April; and Camillo Borghese was elected as his successor on the 16th of May, and assumed the name of Paul V.

The character of this Pontiff was soon exhibited by a remarkable transaction, which may be considered as the expiring struggle of the exorbitant power of the Papacy. The Venetian Senate had some time before forbidden to build new hospitals or monasteries, or to establish any new order or society in the States of the republic, without their permission; and had renewed a decree which had been made in 1536, forbidding their subjects, without permission, to dispose of any real property in favour of the Clergy. They had also, about the same time, imprisoned certain ecclesiastics accused of capital crimes, and claimed the right of taking cognizance of their offences. Paul had no sooner assumed the tiara, than he determined to resist what he regarded as encroachments upon the immunities of the Church. He demanded the revocation of the obnoxious decrees and the release of the prisoners. As the Senate refused compliance, he issued a monitory, requiring submission under pain of ecclesiastical censures. And when the Senate, by the advice of their lawyers and divines, still refused to accede to his demands, he published another brief (April 17, 1606), in which, in case of their still persisting in their disobedience, he excommunicated the Doge and the Senate, and laid the States of the republic under an interdict.

The time had been when such a step would have been enough to reduce the refractory spirit of the haughty aristocracy; but

that time existed no longer. On the contrary, the precipitate violence of the Pope only served to raise the opposition of the Venetian government. They prohibited the publication of the Papal Bull, which, by the advice of their divines and canonists, they declared to be "null, unjust, and contrary to all the rules of equity and reason:" they forbade their Clergy to observe the interdict; and when the Jesuits, the Capuchins, and some smaller orders, refused to act in disobedience to the Pope, they were instantly ordered to leave the States of the republic; and the Jesuits, on account of their intrigues against the public tranquillity, were soon after banished for ever.

Rome and the secular powers.

The decisive measures thus taken by the contending parties attracted the attention of all Europe; and the dispute soon became the subject of a violent controversy. The one side contended for the immunities of the Church and the authority of the Holy See, and the other vindicated the rights of civil rulers, and defined the respective claims of the spiritual and temporal powers. On the side of Rome, the historian Baronius, and the great controversialist Bellarmine, were the most conspicuous writers; on the side of the Venetians was one of the greatest ornaments of his age, their illustrious countryman, Paul Sarpi. The arguments of this eminent and enlightened writer were more acceptable to the age than the obsolete notions of his antagonists. He was the soul of the resistance[1] which was resolutely opposed to the Papal claims. And so decidedly was public opinion in favour of the Venetians, that the Pope was obliged to abandon his absurd intention of pressing his demands by force of arms, and was at last glad to escape the risk of a permanent schism by accepting the mediation of Henry IV. After a long negotiation, Cardinal de Joyeuse, the ambassador of that Prince, in the April of 1607, effected a pacification, which secured to the Venetians the honour and advantages of their firmness, and inflicted upon Paul the mortification of a public defeat.

No other transaction of importance distinguished the Pontificate of Paul V. He encouraged the study of the Oriental languages, embellished Rome, and enriched the Vatican library. But his endeavours to prevent the submission of the English Romanists to their sovereign, and his approbation of the regicide principles of the celebrated book of the Jesuit Suarez, served to increase the suspicions which were generally entertained of the dangerous policy of the court of Rome. He died on the 28th of January, 1621.

[1] The original authorities for these transactions are the senator Morosini (Mauroceni, *Hist. Venet*, lib. xvii.), the works of Fra Paolo himself, and his biographer Fulgenzio, and Thuanus, lib. cxxxvii. The *Vie Abrégée de Fra-Paolo*, which Courayer prefixed to his translation of the History of the Council of Trent of the illustrious Servite, is an able sketch. Schröckh (*Kirchengeschichte*, Th. iii. S. 346, fg.) appears to have followed Le Bret, (*Staatsgeschichte von Venedig*).

Gregory XV. A.D. 1621.

Alessandro Ludovisio succeeded under the name of Gregory XV. His short reign was marked by no event of great public interest, though by several which were important to the internal condition and future prospects of the Papacy. He regulated by a Bull the manner of the Papal elections; erected the congregation *de Fide Catholicâ Propagandâ* to superintend the Romish missions among heathen and heretical nations; and added the books of the Hiedelberg library, part of the spoils of the unfortunate Elector Palatine, to the collection of the Vatican. He died July 8, 1623.

Urban VIII. A.D. 1623.

Urban VIII. (Maffei Barberini), a man of learning and elegant accomplishments, mounted the Papal throne on the 6th of August. His reign is conspicuous in the history of the Roman Pontiffs. Though he affected to act with the impartiality becoming his station, he evidently inclined to the interests of France, and looked with so much jealousy upon the House of Austria, that he scarcely took any part in the Thirty Years' War, which might have been expected to be so interesting to the court of Rome. He made a vain attempt to dispossess the Duke of Parma of the Duchy of Castro; but was more fortunate in adding to the Ecclesiastical States the Duchy of Urbino, which, upon the death of the last Duke in 1631, he claimed as a fief of the Holy See. His relations with foreign states were eventful and complicated. He had disputes with the Venetians and Cardinal Richelieu, the powerful minister of France; and, to avoid giving offence to Spain, refused to acknowledge the independence of Portugal under the House of Braganza (1640). It was Urban VIII. who published in its latest form the Bull *in Cœna Domini*, the most celebrated Papal instrument of modern times. In this famous Bull, which was read annually at Rome on Holy Thursday, the Pope excommunicated all heretics, who are carefully enumerated; all who harboured, favoured, and protected them, or who read, retained, or printed heretical and unlicensed books; all separatists and schismatics; all who should appeal from the Pope to a future General Council; all pirates and corsairs who infested the dominions of Rome; all who should impose taxes upon the spirituality without permission of the Apostolic See; all who forged or falsified Papal instruments, and all who in any way offended against the rights of the Holy See, or the immunities of the Church. The claims[1] asserted in this piece were now almost universally disallowed, and its very extravagance rendered it innocuous; but its formal republication, in 1627, served to show that a century of misfortunes had effected no change in the arrogant spirit of the Papacy.

[1] The clauses which condemned those who harboured heretics, and taxed the clergy, brought most of the Roman Catholic Princes under the censures of the Church.

Urban was a munificent patron of learning. He founded the celebrated College de Propagandâ Fide (A.D. 1627) for the education of missionaries, which from him has been called the Urban College (*Collegium Urbani*); and authorized an improved edition of the Breviary. He was inferior, however, to none of his predecessors in his violence against the Protestants, and has justly incurred great censure for conniving at the misconduct of various members of his family in the public administration. He died July 29, 1644.

His successor, the aged Cardinal Panfili, who assumed the name of Innocent X., disgraced his station by his scandalous connection with Olimpia Maldachini, his brother's widow, a crafty and ambitious woman, who employed her influence over the Pope to the gratification of an insatiable avarice. He succeeded in obtaining the duchy of Castro. But his inglorious contest with the Barberini, the relatives of the late Pope, who had dilapidated the patrimony of the Church by enormous peculation, only exposed the profligacy of the court of Rome; and he gave just cause of scandal, and almost produced a schism, by pursuing the same course as his predecessors with regard to the affairs of Portugal. The bishoprics of the Portuguese dominions had nearly all become vacant since that kingdom had recovered its independence in 1640; but the Pope, in spite of all solicitations and remonstrances, positively refused to confirm the appointments which were made by the new government, and the Church of Portugal was for many years almost without bishops. The obstinacy of Rome would have driven it to an assertion of its independence, but for the powerful influence of the Inquisition. The violent opposition of Innocent to the peace of Westphalia, which confirmed the independence of Holland, and the religious and civil rights of Protestant Germany, was an impotent, though a most characteristic display of the principles of Rome. Innocent X. A.D. 1644.

Such were the heads of the Romish Church, and such the principal transactions in which they were engaged, during the former half of the seventeenth century. The part they took in some other circumstances more intimately connected with the state of religion in this section of the Christian world, will be noticed as we proceed. But what we have already noticed forces upon us the reflection, that the Papal power was still in a state of decay; and that even in an age peculiarly distinguished by religious earnestness, the maxims which had now been universally adopted by politicians, and the principles which had become the common property of the European mind, had already proved fatal to the gigantic despotism which had formerly trampled upon the rights of Church and state.

From the middle of the preceding century the Church of Rome had been actively engaged in propagating Christianity

A.D.1600-1648 Romish missions.

among the heathen. The missions which had already been commenced were for the most part still pursued, and others were undertaken or renewed, in the period now before us. The efforts of the Jesuits in China, Japan, India, and South America, met with considerable success. Their converts were more numerous, and their influence greater than that of the other orders which were engaged in missionary labours. For the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Capuchins, who were their principal rivals, though they were not inferior to the Society in zeal and devotion, were greatly their inferiors in worldly wisdom and address; and were generally more disposed to pique themselves on their uncompromising and homely boldness, than to avail themselves of the subtile arts of intrigue and insinuation. The success of the Jesuits, indeed, has been ascribed, not only by Protestants, but by members of their own Church, to the employment of practices the most equivocal and unjustifiable. In their interesting mission in Paraguay they became the civil rulers. But it was their proceedings in China and India which gave the greatest scandal. In China, where their great talents and mathematical knowledge gained them great consideration with the government, Ricci and his successors allowed their converts to observe the national ceremonies, which the other missionaries denounced as idolatrous; and Roberto Nobili, the founder (1606—1656) of their celebrated mission at Madura, actually assumed the character of a Brahmin, and sought to introduce the doctrines of the gospel by frauds and dissimulation strangely at variance with Christian simplicity. As might naturally have been expected, however, the differences which arose among the missionaries respecting the course to be pursued in dealing with the heathen, greatly impeded their success:[1] and the congregations which were actually collected were in many instances too much the creations of human policy, and too dependent upon the influence of individuals, to have a permanent existence.

Congregation and College de Propagandâ Fide.

The missionary efforts of the Church of Rome received a powerful impulse from the erection of the Congregation *de Fide Catholicâ Propagandâ*, and the Urban College. These celebrated establishments gave more unity and method to its foreign operations; and the great wealth which was soon placed at their disposal by the liberality of the Popes and opulent individuals, enabled them to act with efficiency and vigour. The missions which were carried on under their direction were not confined to the conversion of the heathen. They were not less actively engaged in attempts to procure the submission of the Eastern

[1] The disunion of the missionaries co-operated with the national jealousy of the Dutch and Portuguese in exciting the terrible persecution which extirpated Christianity in Japan (1615—1639).

Churches, and the reconciliation of the Protestants. With these objects their agents visited the East, and the northern countries of Europe, working upon the weakness and ignorance of the Greeks and other Oriental Christians, promoting the disunion of the reformed bodies, and taking advantage of the usual intellectual infirmities of the learned and the great. These efforts were by no means altogether unsuccessful. The events which occurred in the Greek Church, and the reconciliation of such men as Lucas Holstenius, Lambecius, and others not less eminent, amply attested the activity of Rome.

Latinizing Orientals.

Though little progress was made in bringing the Eastern Churches to submission to the claims of Rome, the attempts which were made to effect that result were favourable to the cultivation of an important branch of theological literature. A race of scholars arose who made it their business to examine the differences which prevailed between the ancient Christian bodies on the principal points of doctrine and practice. The learned Greeks, Peter Arcudius and Leo Allatius, and the Maronite, Abraham Echellensis, pursued these investigations under the direct sanction of Rome; and the works of such scholars as Goar, Morin, and Galani, composed with much the same object, contributed not a little to extend an acquaintance with the condition and learning of the Oriental Christians. Though their labours did not produce the object for which they were primarily intended, they led to discoveries which greatly affected the controversy with the Protestants, and had a most beneficial effect upon the cultivation of ecclesiastical antiquities and history.

The Jesuits.

Of the religious orders the Jesuits were by far the most conspicuous and influential. The success of this wonderful society had fulfilled the fondest hopes of its projectors. It had eclipsed all the older institutions, and had obtained a degree of power and influence absolutely astonishing. Its members were to be found, not only in every country of Europe, but of the known world. Many courts were under their direction. Their schools were the first literary establishments for the education of the higher classes; their divines determined the character of the popular theology; and their leading writers, such as Bellarmine, Sirmond, and Petau, were among the first scholars of the time. But they did not bear their honours meekly. Their arrogance and intriguing spirit raised them enemies in the world: and their low theology and dangerous casuistry rendered them objects of suspicion and dislike to the most pious members of their Church. We shall presently have to notice the origin of the long controversy which led to their downfall.

Benedictines.

Most of the older orders had also to boast of their learned men; and many of them gained greater efficiency, and removed much scandal, by recurring to the principles of their founders. The

most famous of these reforms were those which were effected among the Benedictines. The *Congregation of St. Maur*, especially, which was erected in 1621, and which rapidly extended in France, by devoting itself to literary labours, soon obtained high distinction, and during this period was preparing itself for what it was to do for religion and learning during the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Congregation of the Oratory in France.

A new order, which was also destined to obtain high distinction in literature, arose during this period. The *Priests of the Oratory in France* owed their foundation to Pierre de Berulle, an accomplished ecclesiastic of Paris, in 1613. Their constitutions obliged them to no vows; but while they remained connected with the order, they engaged to perform with the utmost strictness the duties of the priesthood, and to devote themselves to the instruction of young men designed for the sacerdotal office, and to the cultivation of professional studies. They were, from their very foundation, the constant opponents of the Jesuits.

Priests of the Mission.

The *Priests of the Mission* were established by the pious Vincent de Paul, and their order received the Papal sanction in 1632. They acted as home missionaries, and gained great credit, principally in France, by their zeal in preaching up the duty of general confession, and by their attempts to improve the moral education of the Clergy.

François de Sales.

Among the other religious orders which were founded in this period, it will be sufficient to notice that of the *Nuns of the Annunciation of the Virgin*, which owed its origin to the celebrated François de Sales, Bishop of Geneva, who gained great reputation for his sanctity, and had such success in reconciling the Protestant subjects of his sovereign, the Duke of Savoy, to the Church of Rome, that he even attempted the conversion of Beza.

State of theology.

Though every branch of theological literature was now warmly cultivated by the Romish scholars, the true interpretation of Holy Scripture made little more progress in the Church of Rome than in the preceding century. The divines who pursued the scholastic method enjoyed the greatest popularity. The writers who obtained the widest reputation, such as Suarez, Vasquez, Gregory of Valentia, Becan, and Tanner, taught theology in commentaries on the schoolmen; and it was not till the very end of this period that the learned Petavius, by the publication of his great work, the *Theologica Dogmata*, achieved the triumph of the Dogmatic over the Scholastic theology. The only mystical writer of any great repute among the Romanists was François de Sales. In the meantime casuistry was almost entirely in the hands of the Jesuits. They generally adopted the very lowest principles. Eager to obtain influence with the noble and wealthy, they brought down Christian morals to the standard of the world, and their principal ethical writers made the very name of *Jesuit* a by-word for a slippery moralist.

Controversies in the Church of Rome.

The case of Michael Baius, in the preceding century, had first exposed the differences which prevailed in the Romish Church respecting the doctrines of grace. The celebrated book of the Jesuit Molina (*Liberi arbitrii cum Gratiæ donis, Divina præscientia, providentia, prædestinatione et reprobatione, Concordia*), which was published at Libson in 1588, gave occasion to a more important controversy. This writer, in his attempts to reconcile the opinions of St. Austin with the notions which usually prevailed in the schools, had evidently fallen into the errors of the Semi-pelagians. His views were generally approved by his society; but they were so loudly denounced by the Dominicans that Clement VIII. found it necessary to refer the matters in dispute to a commission of cardinals, bishops, and divines, which, from the nature of the subject submitted to their examination, namely, the help which man requires for salvation, has been called the Congregation *de Auxiliis*. Before this congregation the Dominicans and the Jesuits warmly defended the views which they respectively entertained upon this difficult subject. There was no unanimity among the judges: and Clement at last took the matter into his own hands, and was, it is said, upon the point of deciding against the Jesuits, when he was removed by death in 1605. Paul V. entertained the same views as his predecessor, and is even said to have prepared a Bull, in which he confirmed the plain sense of the doctrine of St. Austin, and condemned the opinions of Molina and the Jesuits. But just as the labours of the Congregation seemed ready to bear their fruit, they were abruptly terminated. The zeal which the Jesuits had shown in the cause of the Pope against the Venetians, probably saved them from the blow which was about to be inflicted. Paul pronounced no authoritative decision of the disputed questions, and contented himself with imposing silence on the contending parties: a command which was very imperfectly observed.

Congregation de Auxiliis.

Jansenius.

But this was only a prelude to a more general conflict. The publication of the posthumous work of Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, in 1640, led to a renewal of the controversy. This celebrated book, the title of which was *Augustinus, seu doctrina S. Augustini de Humanæ naturæ sanitate, ægritudine, medicina, adversus Pelagianos et Massilienses*, was a copious exposition of the doctrine of St. Augustine respecting the condition of man, and the assistance he needs for his recovery; and an attempt to identify the opinions of Molina and the Society on the doctrines of grace with those of the Pelagians and other ancient heretics. It produced an immense sensation: it was loudly denounced by the Jesuits, it was warmly defended by the friends of the deceased author, and was soon brought before the Pope. In 1641, Urban VIII. caused it to be prohibited by the Inquisition; and in the following year, under the influence of the Jesuits, he published a Bull

(*In eminenti*), in which he prohibited it himself, as published in violation of the injunction of Paul V., and as containing propositions which had been condemned by his predecessors. This Bull, however, met with violent opposition, and only served to inflame the controversy. In France, the writings of the celebrated Jean du Verger de Havranne, better known as the Abbé de St. Cyran, had prepared the public mind for resistance to the Papal decision. In his able works against the Jesuits, written under the name of *Petrus Aurelius*, he had combated their dangerous notions against the rights of bishops, and had exposed many of their faults and errors. Though he died before he could take any active part in the controversy occasioned by the publication of the work of his friend Jansenius, he was known to have regarded it with the warmest approbation, and was even suspected of having had a share in its composition. He left behind him, however, a disciple who was not slow in undertaking the defence of the deceased prelate. The still more celebrated Antoine Arnauld, in 1644, published his *Apologie de Jansenius et de la Doctrine de St. Augustin, expliquée dans son livre intitulè Augustinus.* This was the signal for the Jansenist controversy;

Abbé de St. Cyran.

Greek Church.

Cyrillus Lucaris.

The affairs of the Greek Church during this period possess an interest which belongs to them at no other time subsequently to the fall of the Eastern Empire. The dull uniformity which usually obtains in the succession of the patriarchs of Constantinople, is suddenly interrupted by the eventful history of Cyrillus Lucaris. This remarkable man was a native of Candia, and as a subject of Venice received his education at Padua. He afterwards travelled in various parts of Europe, and at Geneva imbibed an inclination for the doctrines of the Reformation, which greatly affected his future life. Upon returning to the Levant he enjoyed the confidence of Meletius Piga, another illustrious Greek, who was Patriarch of Alexandria. After having been employed for some time among those of his communion in Poland in endeavours to counteract the intrigues of the Romanists, he was, in 1602, elected Patriarch of Alexandria. While he held this office he corresponded with King James I., Archbishop Abbot, and various reformed divines, and warmly opposed the tendency which was manifested by some of his co-religionists to symbolize with the Church of Rome. In 1621 he was made Patriarch of Constantinople; and from that time his life was a constant struggle[1] with the Jesuits and other Romish ecclesiastics who had found their way into the Levant, and the Latinizing part of his own Clergy.

[1] The history of Cyrillus Lucaris may be found in Smith's *Greek Church;* and Aymon, *Monumens Authentiques de la Religion des Grecs.* The Romish view of the transactions in which he was concerned is given by Leo Allatius *de Eccles. Perpet. Consensione*, col. 1069, and Simon, *Histoire Critique des Dogmes des Chrétiens Orientaux.*

These active enemies, who were supported by the French embassy, repeatedly procured his deposition. They were especially irritated against him by the publication of his Confession of Faith, in which he adopted many of the reformed opinions, and by the part he took in procuring a translation of the New Testament into modern Greek. Their intrigues procured his death in 1638. His immediate successor, Cyril of Berhœa, was a friend of Rome. And Parthenius, who followed him in the same year, was opposed to innovation. The Greeks at large showed no disposition to symbolize with the Protestants. In 1643 their ecclesiastical rulers publicly adopted the Confession of Faith (Ὀρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς), which Petrus Mogilas, Metropolitan of Kiev, had originally drawn up for the use of the Russian Church, which asserted in the form of a popular catechism the various peculiarities which distinguished the Greeks from the other Christian bodies. Oriental Confession.

The other communities of the East afford little which deserves to be recorded by the ecclesiastical historian. The Russians, now subject to a Patriarch of their own, had little intercourse with foreigners. The heretical communions of Asia and Africa, which were subject to the Turks, were sunk in ignorance, and harassed by Mohammedan oppression. And the Abyssinians obstinately resisted the efforts of the Popish missionaries to induce them to abandon their Jacobite errors, and acknowledge the authority of the Roman See.

We now naturally turn to our own ecclesiastical history, inasmuch as the Churches of the British Islands were the only ones which separated from Rome and retained at the same time the original constitution of the Church. In the final Reformation of the Church of England, under Elizabeth, some extremes which had been admitted in the time of Edward had been avoided, and the good work had been carried on in a spirit of wisdom and moderation. Real abuses only were publicly condemned; Catholic practices were retained and defended. The interference of Providence in preserving to us what was so precious is the more remarkable, as most of the leading divines symbolized in many private opinions with the reformed of Geneva. But the men who had imbibed the opinions of the foreign reformers did not all sympathize with the Christian and magnanimous views of the eminent persons who conducted the Anglican Reformation. A party which went the whole length of Calvin's opinions gradually became more numerous and prominent; and at the commencement of the period now before us, we find it in open opposition to the Church. The Puritans, who had been treated with severity in the last years of Elizabeth, entertained hopes of favour from her successor, who had been brought up under the Presbyterian discipline in Scotland. But upon his acceding to the throne of Anglican Church.

England in 1603, James at once showed himself favourable to Episcopal government; and in the conference between the Bishops and the Puritan divines, which he caused to be held before him at Hampton Court (1604), he declared his determination to uphold the Established Order, and to resist the unreasonable demands of the innovators. The only point in which he complied with their wishes was to take measures for obtaining a new English translation of the Scriptures—a noble work which was completed by the joint labours of the first scholars of his dominions in 1611. Bancroft, who was appointed successor of Whitgift in the See of Canterbury in 1604, carried out the designs of his sovereign, and laboured to suppress the Puritan party. Abbot, however, who was made Archbishop in 1610, was a man of a different spirit. He was a doctrinal Calvinist, and entertained himself too much ultra-Protestant feeling to pursue with any cordiality the course which was now absolutely necessary to secure the Church against their encroachments. He exhibited no firmness—he acted as a man who was not sure of the justice of his own cause. His laxity served to encourage and strengthen the party. And when Laud succeeded to the primacy in 1633, the vigour with which he acted came too late; and his severities, which it is not easy to justify, served rather to irritate than reclaim the enemies of the Church. In the meantime the union between the Puritans and the persons who were opposed to the arbitrary measures of the government became continually closer. At the opening of the Long Parliament (1641), they were prepared to make common cause against the civil and ecclesiastical rulers. As the contest between the King and the House of Commons proceeded, it assumed very much the character of religious strife; and after the war had actually commenced, Charles's refusal to give up the Church placed an effectual barrier in the way of peace. Sectarian animosity magnified the charges against Laud into treason, and brought the aged prelate to the scaffold. Wherever the Parliamentarians prevailed, the Church was proscribed, and a motley crew of sectaries exulted at its ruin; and the year 1648, at which we close this period, witnessed the murder of the sovereign, and the temporary overthrow of the Church of England.

Anglican theology.

This extraordinary catastrophe occurred at a time when human foresight might have expected for the Church a far different fortune. Never since the Reformation had she exhibited more abundantly the elements of perpetuity. Her relations with the State had become ascertained and recognized; she was supported by the crown and the aristocracy, and was dear to the great body of the nation; and her Clergy had never been more distinguished for their regularity, parts, and learning. During the period before us she had been gradually abandoning the scholasticism of

Protestanism for a more noble and edifying theology. In the examination of the ancient Christian writers, which had been happily substituted for the study of modern systems, her divines had learned her true character and position, and had brought her theology into harmony with her constitution. They vindicated the importance of Apostolical Order, restored the true doctrine of the sacraments, and spoke in the received language of the Catholic Church. Many excellent men, who had been educated somewhat earlier, still sometimes expressed themselves in a way that savoured of Geneva; but the Anglican theology had now developed itself, and appears with more or less precision and distinctness in the writings of Bilson, Andrews, Laud, Hall, Bramhall, Taylor, Thorndike, Jackson, Hammond, and others of inferior name.

The Lutherans.

We return to the continent, and first naturally take up the history of Lutheranism. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Evangelical Church enjoyed external tranquillity. Though the animosity of the various religious parties which divided Germany occasionally produced local collisions, there was no interruption of the general peace till the breaking out of the Thirty Years' War. In the controversies with the Romanists and the reformed, the Lutheran Clergy found abundant opportunities for the exercise of their zeal and learning. They no longer made converts. The current had now set in the other direction. For though the Protestants of Hungary and other parts of the Austrian dominions at the beginning of this period obtained more favourable conditions from their sovereign, it was evident that Lutheranism had lost its elasticity, and that henceforth it would have enough to do to maintain its position. In the meantime its theology was becoming more scholastic and definite. The *Loci Communes* of Melanchthon which had hitherto been the common text-book, but which had for some time been regarded with suspicion, was abandoned as dangerous. Leonhard Hutter was appointed by the Elector of Saxony to draw up a safer work for the instruction of young divines. He published his *Compendium Locorum Theologicorum* in 1610; and his *Loci Communes Theologici*, a more extensive work on systematic theology, in 1619. About the same time the great work of the learned and pious John Gerhard, which was written between 1610 and 1622, exhibited the Lutheran system in ten quarto volumes. These completely superseded the work of Melanchthon. Other divines also composed systematic works. Theology was from time to time treated in a more scholastic method. The Lutheran doctors, in their frequent conflicts with the Romanists, learned to use the language of Aristotle and the schools. They valued themselves upon the adherence to the orthodoxy of their Church, and not only proscribed with bitterness

the corruptions of the Papists, and the errors of the reformed, but pursued with the greatest animosity all who deviated in the slightest degree from the received opinions among themselves. Not only did they denounce such men as Huber, whose zeal against the Calvinists had led him into novelties, and Rathmann, whose speculations had brought him into fanatical errors, and the various classes of mystics, but even the pious John Arndt, whose book on True Christianity has secured for him the veneration of posterity, was treated with extreme severity by some of the most famous professors of his time in consequence of his attempts to revive spiritual religion.

Syncretistic controversy.

The controversy, however, which obtained most attention, and which had the most important results in the Lutheran body, was that which is known as the Calixtine, or Syncretistic. George Calixtus was beyond all comparison the most learned and accomplished German theologian of his age. He was born in the duchy of Sleswick in 1586, and was educated at the University of Helmstadt. He early devoted himself to the study of the Fathers and ecclesiastical history, examined the state of the Roman Catholic Universities, visited London and Paris, and in 1613 became a professor at Helmstadt. Helmstadt had now received the Form of Concord, and its doctors were obliged to bind themselves by oath to labour to heal the divisions of Christendom; it was consequently regarded with jealousy by the strict Lutherans. The course pursued by Calixtus increased their suspicions. He ventured to point out the value of tradition, and the respect due to the consent of Catholic antiquity; to deny that the Pope was antichrist, and to deprecate the violence with which the common herd of Protestant controversialists spoke of the peculiar tenets of the Romish Church. He was accordingly denounced as a Romanist, though his writings against Romanism were among the most powerful which had appeared in Germany. As he expressed himself on other points unfavourable to the commonly received theology, he was accused of Pelagianism and even of Socinianism. Like many other acute and independent thinkers he appears to have been not altogether free from the love of paradox, but there seems no ground to question his orthodoxy; and it would probably never have been disputed but for the unpopularity of his attempts to unite or pacify the Christian world.[1] Buscher, a divine of Hanover, attacked him as early as 1639, in a book entitled *Crypto-Papismus Novæ Theologiæ*

[1] Istam, quam meditabatur, dissentientium Christianorum concordiam quo persuaderet, duo virum egregium suscipere oportebat, quæ ipso etiam, cui serviebant, consilio deteriora videbantur. Primum: Fundamenta religionis Christianæ, id est, prima illa ejus elementa et principia, unde reliquæ omnes veritates manant, in omnibus tribus Christianorum familiis salvas et incolumes esse. Hæc autem fundamenta antiqua illa formula, quæ Symbolum Apostolicum vulgo nominatur, contineri autumabat. Alterum: Quæ constanti et perpetuo veterum doctorum Christianorum,

Helmstadiensis. But the part he took in the celebrated conference of Thorn, which was held under the auspices of the King of Poland, Wladislas VI., in 1645, when he publicly appeared in company with reformed divines, produced a general explosion. His desire of uniting the various religious parties was denounced as heresy (Syncretism), and gave rise to a controversy which continued for many years after his death (1656).

External condition of Lutheranism.

The jealousy with which the more violent Lutherans regarded every approximation to the reformed, had been increased by some untoward events which had occurred in the early part of the century. In 1604 Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse, had publicly adopted the Calvinistic system, and had established it in his states. And in 1614 John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, had also declared himself in favour of the reformed opinions on most of the disputed points, though he took no pains to change the faith of his subjects. The misunderstandings which prevailed between the two bodies greatly endangered their common safety. Matthias Hoe, the Saxon court preacher, did not scruple to recommend his master to take part with the Emperor against the Elector Palatine upon the breaking out of the Thirty Years' War, on the ground that it was better to be at peace with the Romanists than with the reformed. The troubles which desolated Germany, and but for the interference of foreign powers would in all probability have extinguished Protestantism, were protracted by the jealousies of the Protestant divines. The course of that great conflict, and the celebrated treaty by which it was concluded, have been already described. It is remarkable that the conditions of the peace of Westphalia, which were indeed sufficiently humiliating as procured by foreign influence, and as leaving the Protestants of the Austrian States at the mercy of their intolerant masters, were most unsatisfactory to the zealous Lutherans, because they placed the reformed on the same footing as themselves in their relations to the Empire.

In spite of the intrigues of the Jesuits, and the increasing popularity of the opinions of the reformed, the Scandinavian kingdoms remained faithful to Lutheranism; but their ecclesiastical history during this period presents no object which deserves particular notice.

Sweden and Denmark.

The reformed shared the advantages of the general peace, which at the beginning of this century was enjoyed by the other com-

qui primis quinque sæculis ornamento fuerunt, consensu et auctoritate nituntur, ea æque vera et certa esse putanda, atque illa, quæ in divinis libris scripta leguntur. Horum illud universum, quod mente volvebat, consilium fulcit: hoc ad instituta quædam et dogmata Pontificia, quæ a nobis valde improbantur, excusanda et ad stabiliendam inter dissentientes Christianos concordiam valet. Moshemii, *Instit. Hist. Eccles., Sæc.* xvii., sec. ii., par. ii., cap. i., § xxiii., p. 829, Edit. Helmstad, 1764. The opinions of Calixtus are stated by Henke, *Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche*, Th. iv., S. 250, ff.; and Schröckh, *Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation*, Th. v., S. 688, ff., who refer to the authorities for the Syncretistic controversy.

munions which had separated from Rome. Geneva had been rendered by its illustrious teachers the chief school of the party. But the Palatinate and several cities in Germany, the Seven United Provinces, which had now virtually secured their independence, a large and powerful body in France, and half the cantons of Switzerland, professed substantially the same opinions and observed the same discipline, alike denouncing the errors of Romanism, and the imperfections of the Lutheran and Anglican reformations. The writings of Calvin, which from time to time gained greater influence, gave uniformity of opinion to the body composed of these somewhat discordant materials; and at the commencement of the period now before us, all their earlier differences had given way to the authority of that great man. But discord was not absent long. The republican institutions of most of the states in which the opinions of the reformed prevailed, and with which only they could in fact well enter in combination, concurred with the daring spirit which had distinguished their schools in encouraging an independence which was little disposed long to listen to the voice of authoritative teaching; and a controversy soon arose which has ever since divided the reformed Churches.

Arminius.

James Arminius, who in 1603 was made professor of divinity at Leyden, had some time before become an object of suspicion in the Dutch Church, from his calling in question the truth of the Calvinistic theory of predestination, and expressing liberal opinions on other points of theology. His colleague, Francis Gomar, lost no time in complaining of his novel views. Arminius defended himself with ingenuity and caution, but it was evident that he rejected the opinions which had hitherto been generally received by the reformed; and he was loudly denounced by his opponents as maintaining a system which revived the errors of the ancient Pelagians.

The Remonstrants.

Arminius died in 1609, before any steps could be taken for the settlement of these disputes. But his party was already numerous and active. Uytenbogart and Episcopius were not inferior as divines to their master. In 1610 they addressed to the States of Holland a remonstrance in reply to the charges made against them by their enemies, in which they declared their belief:—1. That the Divine decrees are not absolute, but conditional; 2. That Christ died for all men, though believers only actually enjoy the benefits which he procured; 3. That to obtain salvation man stands in need of Divine grace; 4. But that grace is not irresistible; 5. And that it may be lost even by believers. This celebrated piece procured them the name of Remonstrants; while the Gomarists, who replied to it, were called Anti-Remonstrants. Oldenbarneveldt and Grotius, the leaders of the republican party, undertook the defence of the Arminian divines. But the steps

which they took in their favour only accelerated the ruin of their clients and of themselves. These eminent statesmen were obnoxious to the Stadtholder, Prince Maurice, to whose ambitious views they were warmly opposed. Their connection with the Arminians exposed the latter to the hostility of that powerful nobleman, who was thus led to regard them as dangerous persons, and to extend his countenance to the leaders of the opposite party, whom he found more inclined to support his measures. The Synod of Dort was accordingly assembled in 1618 by the authority of the general government, under circumstances sufficiently indicative of what was to follow. That celebrated assembly, which was attended by delegates from Great Britain, Geneva, Switzerland, Hesse, Bremen, and the Palatinate, declared the Calvinistic doctrine of absolute decrees to be the faith of the reformed, and took severe measures against those by whom they were disputed. The Remonstrants were banished from the United Provinces. But upon the death of Maurice, in 1625, they were allowed to return. The tolerant policy henceforth adopted by the States-General allowed them the opportunity to develop their theology; and it soon realized the worst suspicions of their enemies. Episcopius taught a most dangerous latitudinarianism, and in another generation they scarcely differed from the Socinians.

Synod of Dort.

Though the strict doctrines of Calvin were thus adopted at Dort, it has been well remarked, that the moment of their triumph was also the commencement of their decline. In an age of religious earnestness they naturally prevailed in an open conflict with the ill-concealed Pelagianism of the Arminians. But they did not resist the more formidable attacks of more serious and cautious divines. They first lost their influence in France. The opinion of Piscator, who denied the imputation of our Lord's active obedience, which had been at first condemned in that country, was at last received as orthodox. John Cameron, and his celebrated disciple, Moses Amyrault, professors at Saumur, ventured to teach that the Saviour died for all men. Though Amyrault was denounced by Rivet and Spanheim, and was obliged to explain and modify his opinions, he was supported by Blondel and others of not inferior name. And even before the close of the period before us, a taste for a more moderate theology than that of Geneva is sufficiently visible in the reformed Church.

Decline of Calvinism.

Its external condition may be described as prosperous through the whole of this period. It retained the acquisitions it had made from Lutheranism, and for a time seemed to have obtained possession of Britain. Though several distinguished persons quitted its communion for that of Rome, and the Romanists were constantly more directly assuming the offensive in the great controversy, it suffered as yet only from literary hostilities. In

External condition of the reformed.

Germany its members obtained privileges which they had never enjoyed before by the peace of Westphalia; and though in France they had been deprived of independent political power by the vigorous Richelieu, they still enjoyed, under shelter of the Edict of Nantes, an ample toleration.

Socinians.

The Socinians, who in the beginning of the seventeenth century were in the height of their prosperity in Poland and Transylvania, made some efforts to diffuse their opinions in the western parts of Europe. But the imprudent zeal of the students of Racow in 1638 drew down upon them a severe persecution. The Polish Diet decreed the dissolution of that celebrated academy and the other Socinian establishments, and deprived the sect of a legal toleration.

English sects.

Of the numerous sects which came into existence or notoriety during the troubles which distracted Britain, the most celebrated were the Independents and the Quakers. The former[1] of these, who were descended from the Brownists of the preceding period, were the most active enemies of the Church and monarchy; the latter,[2] who derived their origin from George Fox in 1647, sometimes displayed the wildest fanaticism. The history of both during the former half of the seventeenth century affords much which cannot be written without appearing to be a libel on their more respectable descendants.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE FORMER PART OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

ROMANISTS.

ROBERT BELLARMINE.
CÆSAR BARONIUS.
JACQUES-DAVID DU PERRON.
ANTONY POSSEVINE.
JAMES GRETSER.
WILLIAM ESTIUS.
MARTIN BECAN.
JACQUES SIRMOND.
EDMOND RICHER.
PAUL SARPI.
CORNELIUS A LAPIDE.
DENYS PETAU.
JOHN STEPHEN MENOCHIUS.

ROBERT BELLARMINE,

one of the most distinguished theologians of the age, and the greatest ornament of the Society of Jesus, after having taught Hebrew and theology at Louvaine, was called to Rome by Gregory XIII. in 1576. He was much employed by the Popes, and in 1598 was rewarded with the purple. He died in 1621, universally regarded as the most able defender of the Romish

[1] Neale, *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii., pp. 41—92. Edit. 1822.
[2] Ibid, vol. iv., p. 29.

doctrines, and esteemed for his piety and virtues. Besides his *Controversies*, his great work, he wrote a Commentary on the Psalms, an Account of the Ecclesiastical Writers, some tracts on the quarrel of Paul V. with the Venetians, a Reply to King James I., and several other pieces.

CÆSAR BARONIUS

was led by his friend Philip of Neri, the founder of the Congregation of the Oratory, to the study of ecclesiastical history. After having for some years lectured on the subject to his brethren of that congregation, of which he was the second superior, he published in 1586 his *Notes* on the Roman Martyrology, and in 1588 began the publication of his great work, the *Ecclesiastical Annals*. His object in composing it was to furnish an antidote to that of the Magdeburg Centuriators: and its polemical tone greatly diminishes its value. It formed the business of the rest of his life. The twelfth volume, the last which he completed, was published in 1607. He was made a cardinal in 1596, and died in his sixty-ninth year, in 1607.

JACQUES-DAVID DU PERRON

was brought up in the reformed communion, but after having reconciled himself to the Church of Rome greatly exerted himself in inducing others to follow his example. The part he had in the reconciliation of Henri IV. obtained him the purple, and the archiepiscopal see of Sens. He was a man of great talents and learning. His principal work is that upon the Eucharist. But his controversial writings (in three folios) are not all of equal merit. Even writers of his own communion have complained of his want of good faith: and his devotion to the See of Rome made him an enemy to the liberties of the Gallican Church. He died in 1618.

ANTONY POSSEVINE,

a Jesuit, born at Mantua, was employed by the court of Rome in many important transactions towards the end of the sixteenth and in the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. He was a subtle controversialist, and his *Apparatus Sacer*, and some of his other works, contributed to diffuse a taste for ecclesiastical history. He died in 1611.

JAMES GRETSER,

a German Jesuit, one of the most active controversialists of his time, was professor of theology at Ingolstadt. He was a learned but disingenuous and credulous writer, and conducted the controversies which he carried on with the Protestants with the utmost bitterness and animosity. He died in 1625. A complete edition

of his works was published at Ratisbon (1734-41) in seventeen volumes folio.

WILLIAM ESTIUS,

a native of Holland, taught at Douay, where he became Chancellor of the University, and died in 1613. He obtained great reputation as a divine and commentator. His Commentary on the Master of the Sentences has been highly valued; and his Commentaries on Scripture, especially those on St. Paul's Epistles, are regarded as among the best which have been written by the members of the Romish Church. A new edition in seven volumes octavo was published at Mayence in 1845.

MARTIN BECAN,

a native of Brabant, having become a Jesuit, taught in various universities of Germany, and obtained great reputation as a scholastic divine. His works, which are numerous, maintain in their most monstrous form the detestable doctrines of the ultramontane theology. He died in 1624.

JACQUES SIRMOND

was one of the most learned of the Jesuits. He was born at Riom, in Auvergne, in 1559, and after having been for sixteen years secretary to Aquaviva, the General of the Society, returned to France, and was made confessor to Louis XIII. He lived to a great age, and died in 1651. He was chiefly employed upon editions of the mediæval writers, and in this branch of learning was superior to any of his contemporaries; his merits in this department, however, were entirely eclipsed by the labours of the scholars of the following period.

EDMOND RICHER,

the reformer of the University of Paris, which had suffered so greatly from the civil wars of France, has obtained a name in Church history for his writings and sufferings in the cause of the liberties of the Gallican Church. His celebrated tract *de Ecclesiastica et Politica Potestate*, which was published in 1611, was the boldest attack upon the Papal power which had in modern times proceeded from a member of the Romish communion. It drew upon him the most cruel hatred of the ultramontane party, who were not to be satisfied till they had forcibly extorted from him a recantation. He died in consequence of his sufferings in 1631. His posthumous works, *Historia Conciliorum Generalium* and *Defence of Gerson*, were written to maintain the same views.

PAUL SARPI,

whose share in the contest between Paul V. and the Venetians is so well known, was one of the most distinguished writers of this

period. Besides several pieces in that controversy, he wrote a *Treatise on Benefices*, another on the *Right of Asylum*, and a *History of the Inquisition at Venice;* all of which exhibited his moderate views of the ecclesiastical power. But his great work was his *History of the Council of Trent*, which has given him a place among the great masters of historical composition. He died in his seventy-first year, in 1623.

CORNELIUS A LAPIDE,

(Van Stein), was one of the most celebrated Jesuit commentators of this period. He taught at Liege and Rome, and died in the latter city in 1637. His Commentaries on Holy Scripture, which have enjoyed great reputation in his Church, have been collected in eleven volumes folio, and are still consulted by the expositor.

DIONYSIUS PETAVIUS,

(Petau), was born at Orleans in 1595. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1605, and greatly distinguished himself by his learning. Besides editing St. Epiphanius, Synesius, and Nicephorus Patriarcha, he wrote an important work on chronology (*De Doctrina Temporum*), and his *Dogmata Theologica* was the most valuable work on historical theology which had yet been written. Though in many parts tainted with the worst spirit of Roman scepticism, it was a noble undertaking, not more remarkable for the elegance of its Latinity than for its vast erudition. He died in 1652.

JOHN STEPHEN MENOCHIUS,

a native of Pavia, also a Jesuit, obtained great distinction as a commentator. He taught in the colleges of his Society in different parts of Italy, and died in 1656. His *Brevis Expositio Sensus Litteralis totius Scripturæ*, in two volumes folio, has gained him the character of having been one of the most judicious commentators of his communion. He wrote also upon Scripture Antiquities.

ANGLICANS.

LANCELOT ANDREWS.
JOSEPH HALL.
WILLIAM LAUD.
RICHARD MONTAGUE.
THOMAS JACKSON.
WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH.
JOHN HALES.

LANCELOT ANDREWS.

"The most eminent divine of our nation in his time," was successively Bishop of Chichester, Ely, and Winchester, and died in 1626. He was equally eminent for his piety and his learning, and by his works and personal influence did more than any other

individual towards bringing the divines of the Church of England from the study of modern systems to the theology of the ancient Church.

JOSEPH HALL

was educated in the University of Cambridge, was one of the British divines who assisted at the Synod of Dort, and was successively Bishop of Exeter and Norwich. He died at an advanced age in 1656, after having been compelled to drink the cup of bitterness at the hands of the Puritans. Though inclined to the Calvinistic theology, he wrote ably in defence of the Anglican Church, and was a prelate of admirable piety and learning.

WILLIAM LAUD

has obtained a kind of reputation which seldom falls to the lot of churchmen; but his fame in history has served to deprive him of the honours which are fairly due to him in the records of literature. His *Conference* with Fisher the Jesuit (1623) is one of the most learned and able polemical pieces in the English language, and is a most powerful refutation of Romanism upon the principles of the Church of England. He was born at Reading, 1573, appointed chaplain to James I. in 1611, made prime minister in 1628, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, and beheaded on the 10th of January, 1645.

RICHARD MONTAGUE,

Bishop of Chichester in 1628, and of Norwich in 1638, was one of the great revivers of primitive theology in the English Church. He was almost the first of the Anglican writers who have distinguished themselves by their works on ecclesiastical antiquity. He died in 1641.

THOMAS JACKSON,

"The ornament of the University in his time" (*Athen. Oxon.*), was made, by the interest of Laud, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Dean of Peterborough. He deserves to be regarded as one of the most acute and learned of the Anglican divines. His *Comments on the Creed* and other works were collected in three volumes folio in 1672. He died in 1640.

WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH,

one of the most acute and ingenious writers of his own or any other time, obtained great reputation by his celebrated work, *The Religion of Protestants.* Its principles, however, are dangerous, and are certainly not those of the Church of England. He died in the service of the King, during the great rebellion in 1644.

JOHN HALES

is usually distinguished as "the admirable," on account of his extraordinary parts and learning. But his *Golden Remains* scarcely justify the high reputation which he enjoyed among his contemporaries, and there is reason to fear that his influence in society was employed in propagating latitudinarian opinions. He lost his preferments upon the ruin of the royal cause, and died in 1656.

LUTHERANS.

LEONHARD HUTTER.	GEORGE CALIXTUS.
JOHN GERHARD.	JOHN VALENTINE ANDREÆ.
JOHN ARNDT.	

LEONHARD HUTTER,

professor at Wittemberg, who has been called, from the influence which he exercised upon his co-religionists, the second Luther, was one of the warmest defenders of Lutheranism against the reformed. When the Elector of Brandenburg was upon the point of quitting the evangelical Church in 1614, he remonstrated with him in a piece entitled *Calvinista Aulico politicus*. He had before that denounced Calvin's principles of Scriptural interpretation in his *Calvinus Judaizans* (1604). His works on systematic theology have been already noticed. He died in 1616.

JOHN GERHARD,

professor of divinity at Jena, distinguished himself not only by his learned exposition of the Lutheran theology (*Loci Theologici*), but by several edifying works which he wrote with the view of promoting spiritual religion. He died in 1637.

JOHN ARNDT,

who was born in 1555 and died in 1611, was author of the most edifying book which appeared in Germany during this period (*True Christianity*), and in his preaching exhibited a remarkable contrast to the dry scholastic manner which was now general among the Lutheran Clergy. The mysticism, however, of his celebrated work exposed him to misrepresentation and persecution.

GEORGE CALIXTUS

wrote a great number of works on various subjects of theology and ecclesiastical history, which ultimately had no inconsiderable influence on the condition of those branches of knowledge. Among other works he published an excellent *Harmony of the Gospels*. But his learning and talents were chiefly employed in attempts to allay the hostility which prevailed between the different parties which divided Christendom.

JOHN VALENTINE ANDREÆ,

a divine of Wirtemberg, obtained great reputation by his preaching, and by the satirical writings in which he exposed the faults and vices which prevailed in the evangelical Church. He was a disciple of Arndt, and appears to have been a sincere and earnest man; but his connection with the secret societies of his time has involved his character and principles in some obscurity. He died in 1654.

REFORMED.

Abraham Schultet.	Francis Gomar.
James Arminius.	Simon Episcopius.
Hugh Grotius.	David Blondel.

ABRAHAM SCHULTET

was born in Silesia in 1566. After having resided in Poland and in various places in Germany, he became professor of divinity at Heidelberg in 1618. In that character he assisted at the Synod of Dort, where he took part with the Contra-Remonstrants. Upon the ruin of his master, the Elector Palatine, whom he is said to have urged to accept the crown of Bohemia, he was obliged to leave Heidelberg. He died at Embden in 1625, universally regarded as one of the most learned of the reformed writers of his time.

JAMES ARMINIUS,

(Van Harmine), was born at Oudewater, South Holland, in 1560. After studying at Leyden he went to Geneva, and enjoyed the prelections of Beza. His mind seems to have had a strong love of innovation, with an early itching to oppose established forms of thought and belief, and he became a romantic supporter of the philosophy of Peter Ramus. At the age of twenty-six he was ordained minister of one of the churches in Amsterdam, and preached with great acceptance. His views soon became unsettled, and he was entangled in controversy. In 1603 he succeeded Junius in the chair of theology at Leyden. Next session he attacked the doctrine of predestination, and based it upon foreknowledge of faith and merit. Gomar became his resolute antagonist. The warfare waxed hotter and hotter, and the States-General interfered, but to no purpose. Arminius died in 1609. The candour and honesty of Arminius are unimpeached, and his ability is undoubted, but the system which now bears his name was elaborated after his death by Episcopius and Limborch, several of its distinctive tenets not being held by its name-father.

HUGO GROTIUS,

(Van Groot). This great man, who was born at Delft in 1583, exercised no less influence upon theology than the other branches

of learning. The part which he took in the Arminian controversy has been already noticed. His Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures are marked by acuteness and erudition; his *Defensio Fidei Catholicæ de Satisfactione Christi* is an able defence of the doctrine of the atonement, though not on all points satisfactory; and his book *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ* is still one of the best vindications of Christianity. All these works, however, are characterized by low views. His theology was subsequently much raised by the study of the Fathers. He carried his pacific feelings towards the Church of Rome to an extent in which he has been accompanied by few Protestants in his *Notes* on the *Consultatio* of Cassander in 1642. He died in 1645.

FRANCIS GOMAR

was born at Bruges in 1563, and after having studied in various universities was made professor of divinity at Leyden in 1594. He carried to their full length the doctrines of Calvin, and boldly taught what has been called Supralapsarianism. His differences with Arminius have been already noticed. He was actively engaged throughout the Arminian controversy, and died professor at Groningen in 1641. He was a man of learning, particularly celebrated for his knowledge of Hebrew; but bold, defiant, and uncompromising in his character.

SIMON EPISCOPIUS,

whose surname in his own tongue was Bisschop, was born at Amsterdam in 1583. Sent to the University of Leyden in 1600, his inquisitive and ardent mind soon involved him in the raging controversies of the time. Ordained a pastor at Bleswyck in 1610, he was in a very short time chosen to be the advocate of the Arminian party, at a conference which was held at the Hague, and was at length raised to the chair of theology at Leyden, on the deposition of Vorstius. At the Synod of Dort he was the accredited champion of the Remonstrants, or Arminians. The victorious Calvinist, or Gomarist party, disgraced their cause by inflicting civil pains and penalties on their opponents. Episcopius was deposed and banished. The exile spent a short time in France, then returning to Holland he became pastor of the church of the Remonstrants at Rotterdam, and removed finally to the rectorship of the Arminian gymnasium at Amsterdam, where he died in 1643. Episcopius was the divine of the Arminian party; reducing to a system the scattered views and unadjusted conceptions of his master Arminius. His writings display no common shrewdness, versatility, and eloquence; the product of an adventurous and active spirit, that had a special relish in questioning ancient dogmas and unsettling common belief. His power lay, however, more in assault than defence; he could sap and mine

with fully more dexterity than he could erect a new and symmetrical edifice. His life was written by Limborch, a relative, and his theological works were collected by Curcellaeus and Poellenberg, in two folios, and published at Amsterdam 1650-65, and reprinted at London 1678.

DAVID BLONDEL,

born at Châlons in Champagne, was among the first of the French Protestants who turned the attention of the reformed to the critical study of ecclesiastical history. He was one of the most learned defenders of the Presbyterian model of church government; and ably pursued the historical argument against the Romanists. He died in 1655.

Besides the writers who have been noticed, all the religious parties can, during this period, boast of many other illustrious names.

Among the Romanists we may particularize Feuardent, Serrarius, Rosweide, Morin, Menard, L'Albaspine, Arcudius, Pineda, Lessius, Arriaga, Malvenda, and Spondanus.

Among the Anglicans, Davenant, Prideaux, Forbes, and Gataker.

Among the Lutherans, Hunnius, Leyser, L. Osiander, Thummius, Menzer, Balduin, and Hulseman.

Among the Reformed, Pareus, Drusius, Trigland, Diodati, Voetius, Vossius, Piscator, Cameron, Capel, Rivet, and Spanheim.

During the same period also flourished the celebrated Socinians, Volkelius, Crellius, Ruarus, and Schlictingius.

CHAPTER IX.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, FROM A.D. 1648 TO A.D. 1700.

General remarks.

THE long struggle which had followed the Reformation had fairly exhausted the energy of the combatants. The Thirty Years' War and the civil contest in Britain were the last violent efforts in the conflict. Protestantism was now so deeply rooted that it could not be destroyed, and it was henceforth recognized as an element in the European system. Religion, which from the middle of the sixteenth century had been the prime mover in the affairs of Europe, gradually became less prominent in the transactions of the world. Secular politics and literature from time to time gained greater hold upon the public mind; and though religion still occupied a conspicuous place, the affairs of the Church obviously exercised less influence upon the general course of events. The relative positions of the great religious parties had now become permanent. The changes which were from this time effected were rather the results of individual caprice, or the calculations of worldly policy, than the manifestations of any deep-seated and wide-spread religious feeling. The civil power had triumphed over the Church by the aid of secular interests and secular literature; and though for its own ends it still treated the ecclesiastical authorities with respect, it was already plain that a different scale preponderated, and that the Church had been displaced from the position which it had so long held in the social system.

But though the power of the Church had been abridged, and her ministers brought into subjection to the State, during the period upon which we have now entered she enjoyed a season of apparent prosperity. If chains were laid upon her, they were of gold. Her learned men, and never were her learned men more numerous, were encouraged and rewarded. The aid which she rendered to the State was paid for in respect and substantial service. Learning was the merit required in ecclesiastics; and the emulation which was excited by their now having to vie with the other professions, gave new energy to their exertions. As yet the mass of the people regarded holy things with reverence; and though some in the higher classes and a few men of letters began to affect contempt for religious matters, and even to entertain and express anti-Christian opinions, the infection had not spread far; and those who were known to hold principles unfavourable to revealed religion were generally regarded with suspicion and dislike.

Death of Innocent X. A.D. 1605.

At the period at which we resume the history, Innocent X. still occupied the Papal chair. Upon his death, which took place in 1655 (January 7), Fabio Chigi, who had acquired great reputation as his nuncio in Germany, was elected as his successor (April 7). But Alexander VII., such was the name he assumed, did not realize the high expectations which had been formed of his character. The elegant scholar and able negotiator proved a feeble prince. His pompous reception of Christina, Queen of Sweden, from whose conversion he expected great advantages to accrue to the Romish cause, showed a childish love of display. He soon fell completely under the influence of his family; he allowed the continuance of the unhappy state of the Church in Portugal; and by an injudicious interference aggravated the bitterness of the Jansenist controversy. His misunderstanding with France deserves particular notice, as it affords a remarkable proof of the decline of the Papal power.

Alexander VII.

The Duc de Créqui, the ambassador of Louis XIV. at the court of Rome, had by his arrogance become an object of hatred to the Romans, and especially to the Pope's relations. He encouraged the disorders of his domestics, and such was the irritation excited by their conduct that, in an affray (August 20, 1662), between the people of his household and the Papal guards, his house was besieged, and shots fired upon the carriage of his lady. He immediately quitted Rome, and the news of the affair no sooner reached Paris than the Pope's nuncio was dismissed from France. The King demanded satisfaction, and immediately proceeded to enforce his claim by force; he took possession of Avignon, and prepared to send an army to besiege Rome. In this emergency the Pope applied for aid to the other Roman Catholic Princes; but none could be induced to listen to his call, and he was consequently obliged to make an unconditional submission. He was compelled to send Cardinal Chigi, his nephew, to Paris to apologize for the outrage; his brother, Mario Chigi, who was suspected of having incited the offenders, was required to declare upon his honour that he had taken no share in its perpetration; and a public monument recording the injury and its reparation was erected at Rome. Upon these and other conditions in favour of the Dukes of Parma and Modena, the King consented to restore Avignon, and resume his former relations with the court of Rome.

Clement IX. A.D. 1667.

Clement IX. (Giulio Rospigliosi), who succeeded Alexander in 1667 (June 20), was a respectable Pontiff, and his short reign was distinguished by an attempt to allay the Jansenist controversy, which has been called the Peace of Clement IX., and by a reconciliation with Portugal.

Clement X. A.D. 1670.

Clement X. (Gian-Battista Emilio Altieri), an old man of eighty years of age at the time of his election (April 29, 1670), worthily

imitated the conduct of his predecessor. He governed with mildness, and was untainted by selfishness and nepotism, the common vices of his station.

His successor is conspicuous among the Pontiffs of the seventeenth century. Benedetto Odeschalchi, who ascended the Papal throne September 21, 1676, and assumed the name of Innocent XI., was a man of talents, energy, and virtue. In an active life he had gained universal respect for his conscientious and disinterested conduct; and he declared to the Cardinals before his election, that if he were elected he should make it his business to revive the ancient discipline of the Church. His conduct as Pontiff did not belie the public expectation. His habits were simple and unostentatious; he was careful to avoid all suspicion of nepotism; he was cautious in ascertaining the qualifications of those whom he appointed to bishoprics; and he reformed his court and administration. The Jansenists he treated with favour; he condemned the dangerous ethics of the Jesuits; and commanded preachers not to fill their sermons with fables, nor to make an ostentatious show of learning, but to preach Christ crucified, and to exhort their hearers to repentance. At an earlier period a Pontiff of such a character might have been formidable to the secular power, and even in the latter part of the seventeenth century, when all the feelings of the times were against him, he showed that much might be done by consistency and perseverance. He had to contend with a powerful and haughty foe. Louis XIV., who acknowledged no rights which were opposed to his will, had determined (1673) to force all the Churches of his kingdom to submit to the *Régale*, a branch of their prerogative under which the Kings of France claimed to administer the revenues and present to the benefices of vacant sees. Hitherto this claim had been disputed in several dioceses, but on the present occasion two prelates only ventured to dispute the judgments of the secular tribunals and the will of the Sovereign. Pavillon, Bishop of Alet, and Caulet, Bishop of Pamiers, both excellent men, who had already distinguished themselves in the cause of Jansenism, regarded the royal pretensions as a violation of the liberties of the Church, and firmly refused submission. Pavillon died before the quarrel became serious, but Caulet persevered in his opposition till his death in 1680. His revenues were sequestered, but the Pope warmly took part in his favour. Irritated by this interference, Louis convened the celebrated Assembly of the French Clergy of 1681 and 1682. It consisted of thirty-five Bishops and as many deputies of the inferior Clergy, who unanimously allowed the King's pretensions, by extending the *Régale* to all dioceses in which it had not hitherto been received, and published the four propositions so famous in the history of the Gallican Church. They asserted,—1. That the power of the Popes extends

Innocent XI A.D. 1676.

Assembly of the French Clergy.

only to spiritual matters; that Kings and sovereign Princes are subordinate to no ecclesiastical authority; and that the doctrine that they may be deposed by the spirituality, and their subjects released from their allegiance, is contrary to the Word of God, the opinions of the Fathers, and the practice of the saints. 2. That the authority of the Popes in spiritual things is to be acknowledged with the limitations laid down by the Council of Constance, which declared it to be inferior to that of General Councils. 3. That the authority of the Apostolic See can be lawfully exercised in France only in conformity with the laws, usages, and ordinances of the Gallican Church. And 4. That the decisions of the Popes in matters of faith are valid only when they have been approved by the Church. The Pope, to show his disapprobation of these celebrated articles, refused to confirm the appointment of all members of the Clergy of the second order who had taken part in the Assembly, to vacant bishoprics. But the parliaments and the universities registered them in all their extent, and a royal edict forbade that they should be called in question. A violent controversy was carried on between the Gallican and the ultramontane divines; but the Pontiff and the King alike remained inflexible, and at the death of the former in 1689, the difference was still unadjusted.[1]

Right of asylum.

Another subject of dispute embittered the misunderstanding. The right of affording asylum, which was exercised by ambassadors in the quarters in which they resided at Rome, had the effect of filling the city with disorder and murder, and Innocent determined to effect its abolition. The Emperor and other Princes yielded to the force of his representations, and consented to give up a privilege which only tended to prevent the execution of justice. Louis alone withheld his consent. And when the Pope ventured to withdraw the obnoxious privilege without his permission, he had the mortification of seeing Avignon and the Venaissin again occupied by the French, and of being insulted in his capital by the representative of that haughty monarch, whose policy led him to embrace every opportunity of humbling the Holy See.

Innocent XI. died on the 19th of April, 1689, with such a character for sanctity that attempts were made in the early part of the following century to procure his canonization, which were defeated only by the influence of the Jesuits. He was succeeded by Alexander VIII. (Piero Ottoboni,) a man of a very different character. He had already attained the age of seventy-nine, and he made it his chief business to gorge his relations with preferment. As he was, however, more favourable to France than his predecessor, Louis XIV. consented to relinquish the right of

Alexander VIII. A.D. 1689.

[1] *Hist. de Bossuet par (le Cardinal) de Bausset*, tom. ii., p. 160, *et seq.*

asylum and restore the French dominions of the Church. But Alexander was not less jealous than Innocent of the encroachments which were made on the Papal power, and in 1690 fulminated a Bull against the four propositions of the French Clergy. He died February 1, 1691.

Innocent XII. (Antonio Pignatelli), who was elected on the 12th of July in the same year, laboured to remedy the misconduct of his predecessor. By an important Bull he endeavoured to guard against the danger of nepotism in future Pontiffs. His administration was wise and vigorous; and in his own conduct he afforded a model of the piety which is admired in his Church. He had the satisfaction of terminating the misunderstanding with France on terms highly honourable to the Papacy. The dioceses which had become vacant in that country since the commencement of the dispute now amounted to nine and twenty; and the bishops who had been named by the King, but could not exercise episcopal functions till they had obtained the Pope's confirmation, were at length permitted to make their peace with Rome. They severally wrote to the Pope, expressing their deep sorrow at what had been done in the Assembly of 1682, and declaring that they would not receive what had been there decided to the prejudice of the rights of the Church. The Pope upon this submission granted them their Bulls, and with certain qualifications consented to the extension of the *Régale*. His pontificate afforded nothing else deserving of especial notice. The arrogant conduct of the imperial ambassador at Rome may however be noticed as a proof that the assumptions of France had tended to lower the character of the Roman court, and to show that it might now be insulted without danger. Innocent XII. died highly esteemed by Roman Catholic Europe on the 27th of September in the last year of the century. Innocent XII. A.D. 1691.

It is sufficiently obvious, even from this brief review of the succession of sovereign Pontiffs during the latter half of the seventeenth century, that the condition of the Papacy had undergone a very considerable change. It was no longer an absolute, but a very limited monarchy. In France it was publicly held by the laity, and by the leading men among the Clergy, that its power was strictly bounded by the received laws of the Church. And even in the countries where the ultramontane theory still prevailed, it was effectually restrained by the regard which it was every day more necessary to pay to public opinion. The court of Rome indeed still maintained its most extravagant pretensions; but though the Papal See has rarely been occupied during an interval of similar extent by a greater number of exemplary and able men, it was impossible to stop the current which had now set in so strongly against the power of the Church.

The principal missionary efforts of the Church of Rome were

Romish missions.

still made by the Jesuits, who zealously carried on their labours among the heathen. In China, Father Schall, who had succeeded Ricci in the direction of the mission in that great empire, was highly successful. An Empress was baptized, and two successive Emperors favoured the missionaries. Upon the death of Chuntschi, indeed, they had, during the minority of his son, to undergo a serious persecution, in which Schall was imprisoned (1664), and the other missionaries were confined to Canton. But when Kang-hi assumed the reins of government they recovered their influence. Ferdinand Verbiest gained the confidence of that intelligent Prince by his mathematical learning; and during his long reign, which was protracted beyond the end of the century, though they had frequently to encounter violent opposition from the Mandarins, they enjoyed the protection of the Emperor. They made many converts, some of whom were persons of rank, and built several churches, one of which at Pekin was a very handsome structure. Towards the end of the century, however, the exultation which the Society felt at their success in this quarter, was diminished by the controversy respecting the lawfulness of the national ceremonies in the use of which they had indulged their converts. They still maintained their ground in India. Their mission at Madura was continued, and they established others in the farther Peninsula. That in Tonquin, which had at first met with great discouragement, in the period before us was highly prosperous; whole villages are said to have been converted; but the Jesuits behaved with the arrogance which usually disgraced them in prosperity, and anxious to enjoy the exclusive direction of the converts, they incited them to refuse to acknowledge the vicars apostolical who were sent to exercise episcopal functions among them by the Holy See. In Siam, under the auspices of Constantius, a Greek who had become the chief minister of the King of that country, they laboured for a time with great success. Louis XIV. was induced by their representations to send two embassies to the Siamese monarch in 1685 and 1688. But they were unable to effect his conversion; and a revolution which was brought about soon after by his partiality to foreigners, deprived them of their protectors. The Jesuits also still laboured in Paraguay and other parts of America; and the Capuchins carried on a mission, though with indifferent success, in Congo and the adjacent countries on the northern coast of Africa.

Conversions.

The agents of Rome, especially the Jesuits, were not less active in Protestant countries, but in this field their labours were by no means equally successful. Though they could not, however, regain lost kingdoms, they recovered many eminent individuals. Besides several divines and men of letters,[1] Ernest, Landgrav-

[1] Henke, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche*, Th. iv., S. 287.

of Hesse-Rheinfels (1652), John Frederic, Duke of Brunswick (1651), Christian Augustus, Count Palatine (1665), and the Duke of York, afterwards the unfortunate James II. of England, yielded to the arguments of the Romish controversialists. In 1555, Christina, the celebrated Queen of Sweden, the daughter and heiress of Gustavus Adolphus, the illustrious defender of Protestantism, and in 1697 Frederic Augustus, Elector of Saxony, the successor of the first Protestant Princess, also embraced the Roman Catholic faith.[1] But the conversion of the two latter reflected little credit on the communion to which they deserted. Christina, who seems to have looked upon all forms of religion with indifference, was only anxious to secure a residence in Italy, whither she was attracted by her love of art. And it was notorious that the profligate Elector changed his religion merely to qualify himself to solicit the crown of Poland. None of these conversions, however, had any considerable effect in strengthening the one side or weakening the other. The mass of the people, in the countries which had received the Reformation, still retained their hereditary horror of Popery. Conformity with the established system was brought about upon a larger scale more by the arts and violence of several Roman Catholic governments, than by the controversial skill of the priesthood. But the persecutions of the Protestants will be noticed more suitably in another part of this chapter.

The Jesuits still occupied the most prominent position among the religious orders. In the middle of the seventeenth century that wonderful Society reached its point of culmination. Henceforth it eclipsed every other community in the Romish Church. Spread through the whole Christian world; everywhere taking an important part in public affairs, in Romish countries openly, and secretly in Protestant States, their history is almost the history of Church and State. Nothing of moment occurred in which they were not active; and they were rarely concerned in anything from which they did not derive advantage. The extent of their power and influence from the beginning of this period is the more remarkable, as their opponents were now decidedly their superiors in genius and learning. Never was a greater blow inflicted in literary warfare, than that which they received from the admirable pen of Pascal. The *Lettres Provinciales*, that great model of satire and eloquence, held them up to the contempt and detestation of mankind, and made their name a by-word. It utterly destroyed their credit with that part of the world which directly feels the influence of literature. But their power had now taken deep root; they knew how to make themselves useful; their educational establishments gave

The Jesuits.

[1] Henke, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche*, Th. iv., S. 24.

them a hold upon society which was not easily loosened. They were content to be hated, provided they were feared. None could despise their vengeance. They succeeded in crushing the Jansenists, accomplished and popular as they were; and they were not to be offended with impunity even by the Head of the Church. The insults offered by Louis XIV. to Innocent XI. have been traced to the influence which they possessed over that Prince by means of Father La Chaise, the royal confessor. Though the intelligent members of their Church had begun generally to regard them with jealousy and aversion, "the great vulgar and the small," alike indolent and superstitious, were always ready instruments in the hands of shrewd and practical men who acted together in a perfect organization; and their actual power was still unimpaired at the end of the seventeenth century.

Other religious orders.

The other religious orders enjoyed a much less share of public attention, though some of them now came forward in a character in which they had scarcely appeared since the Reformation. Some of the greatest efforts of learning during this period were made by members of the regular Clergy. The Benedictines of St. Maur took a leading part in the improvement of ecclesiastical literature. The Oratorians of France were honourably distinguished as a literary body. Several Dominicans and Franciscans were also the authors of learned works. But the monastic system was obviously in a state of rapid decline. It had no harmony with the times. The world now cared not for monks unless they happened to be men of letters. No new order deserving of particular mention in such a sketch as this was established. It is sufficient to mention the names of the Bartholomites and the Piarists. And the attempt to revive the ancient monastic discipline, which was made (1665) by Jean Bouthillier de Rancé, the celebrated Abbé de la Trappe, though admired as a proof of the sincerity of that illustrious penitent, had not the effect of giving new life to institutions which were already generally regarded with indifference or contempt.

State of theology.

The condition of theology was now undergoing a rapid change in the Church of Rome. The scholastic method was in very different quarters almost simultaneously abandoned, and the doctrines of religion were now generally taught in a more elegant and edifying form. Various causes arising from the progress of society contributed to produce this result. The triumph of the new philosophy over that which had hitherto ruled in the universities; the formation of a new secular literature; the more general taste for every branch of art, rendered such a change inevitable. It may first be traced in a more critical study of ecclesiastical history and antiquities, and in the greater attention which was paid to the study of Holy Scripture and the early Christian writers.

The Benedictines of St. Maur and other students of Church history put that branch of literature upon an entirely new footing; and the zeal which the Jansenists and the Fathers of the Oratory showed for the study of the Scriptures, greatly contributed to introduce a more enlightened acquaintance with the principles of the gospel. Fables and superstitions hitherto unquestioned gave way before intelligent criticism. Opinions which had appeared bold even in Protestants, were now openly maintained by monks and Sorbonnists. The change, indeed, was not general. Spain, Italy, and Roman Catholic Germany remained fast bound in their ancient fetters. It was the Gallican Church which during this period almost exclusively enjoyed the benefit of the movement. Its boasted liberties, which were supported so vigorously by the strong government of Louis XIV., were favourable to free inquiry. It was in close contact with an intelligent body of Protestants. The controversies which were carried on within it with so much animation, tended to disclose forgotten truths and to give employment to a spirit of research. Long before the end of the century the schoolmen had in France given place to the Scriptures and the Fathers; theology was generally taught in a way more calculated to convince the understanding and affect the heart; and the dry and subtile casuistry of the preceding period had been replaced by a more wholesome moral system.

Messieurs de Port-Royal.

The Church of France was indebted for much of what was best in this change to the illustrious men who are usually described by a name derived from their connection with the convents of Port-Royal. By the influence of the Abbé de St. Cyran several distinguished persons of different professions had been induced to retire from the world, and devote themselves to a life of devotion and mortification in imitation of the ascetics of the ancient Church. In the neighbourhood of the convent of Port-Royal des Champs, at a short distance from Paris, these celebrated recluses spent their time in the exercises of devotion, in the study of the Scriptures and other religious books, and in literary and manual labours. While connected with this society, Arnauld and Nicole composed their controversial works against the reformed, Pascal exposed the dangerous principles of the Jesuits, De Sacy translated and commented on the Scriptures, Le Maitre and Arnauld d'Andilli translated from the ancient Christian writers, and Tillemont compiled his admirable work on Ecclesiastical History. Their piety and learning gained them high reputation; and the influence and consideration which they thus acquired, was still further extended by means of the works which, in conjunction with Lancelot and others more or less connected with the same society, they composed on grammar, science, and general literature. The history of these eminent men forms a

prominent object in this portion of Church history. Impressed with a deep feeling of the extent of man's weakness and depravity, and the importance of Divine grace, they warmly embraced the views of St. Austin, which had been almost banished from the Church of Rome by the later Schoolmen and the Jesuits. Their connection with the Abbé de St. Cyran had still further led them to undertake the defence of the work of Jansenius; and they vigorously conducted the most important controversy which has ever been carried on within their Church.

Jansenism.

In the year 1644, Arnauld, who was now the acknowledged leader of his party, published his *Apology* for Jansenius, and the subject was every day becoming more important. The Bull of Urban VIII. was so far from producing peace, that it gave occasion to the fiercest discord. The doctors of the Sorbonne and of Louvain refused to receive it, till they were assured whether it was intended to condemn the doctrine of St. Austin, or the book of Jansenius. Habert, the divine, who had first denounced the *Augustinus*, extracted from it eight propositions on which he craved judgment at Rome as scandalous and heretical. Certain of these with some modifications were brought before the Sorbonne. 1. That there are many of God's commands which are impossible to be obeyed even by believers. 2. That the influence of Divine grace is irresistible. 3. That for human actions to be meritorious, man need not be free from necessity, but only from external constraint. 4. That the heresy of the Semi-Pelagians consisted in teaching that human nature has power to reject or receive preventing grace. And 5. That it is a Semi-Pelagian error to maintain that Christ died for all men. These, with two others on the subject of penance, were after much violent altercation condemned by the Sorbonne (1650). And this sentence, after having been subscribed by eighty-five Bishops who were present in the Assembly of the Clergy, was sent to the Pope with a request that he would cause the objectionable propositions to be examined, and would pronounce upon them the judgment of the Holy See. Under the influence of the Jesuits, Innocent departed from the cautious policy of his predecessors, and in a Bull published in May, 1653, declared the first four heretical, and the fifth rash and impious. This injudicious interference created fresh difficulties. Arnauld and his friends asserted that the obnoxious propositions were not maintained in the *Augustinus* (which was not cited in the Papal instrument) in the sense in which they were condemned by the Pope. Their opponents applied to Rome for a decision on this point, and in 1656 procured from Alexander VII. a Bull, in which he expressly declared that the five propositions were contained in the work of Jansenius, and that they had been condemned in the sense in which that writer had maintained them. The monstrous assumption of a claim to infallibility as to

Five propositions.

Bull of Innocent X.

Bull of Alexander VII.

matters of fact, which was involved in this decision, though it was ably exposed by the Jansenists, was nevertheless admitted by the dominant party in France. The Assembly of the Clergy in 1657 drew up a formulary which all spiritual persons were called upon to subscribe, to the effect that they received the two Papal Bulls, and heartily condemned the doctrine of the five propositions, which was not the doctrine of St. Austin, but had been falsely imputed to him by Jansenius. Arnauld, who had been excluded from the Sorbonne in 1654 on account of his conduct with reference to the Bull of Innocent X., warmly denounced this document; the nuns of Port-Royal, to whom it was most vexatiously tendered, refused to subscribe it; and when a similar formulary had been procured from Rome in 1665, four bishops were among the number of those who declined subscription. A commission was appointed to try the refractory prelates; but the death of Alexander in 1667 opened a way for an accommodation. Many influential men of all ranks and professions, and an illustrious lady, the Duchess de Longueville, exerted their influence in favour of the Jansenists. Nineteen bishops wrote to the Pope on behalf of their accused brethren, and many others privately favoured their cause. By this powerful influence Clement IX. was induced, in spite of the efforts of the Jesuits, to make an alteration in the formulary which had been imposed by his predecessor, and was content to exact a sincere[1] instead of an unconditional assent to the obnoxious document. This satisfied the Jansenists, who have entitled the tranquillity which it procured them for eight years (1668–1676) the Peace of Clement IX., and even the Peace of the Church After this short interval Louis XIV. renewed the persecution, and upon the death of his protectress, Madame de Longueville, Arnauld was obliged to retire from France. The controversy afforded little else which requires particular notice, till the end of the century. A peculiar turn was given to it by the writings of Quesnel, who after the death of Arnauld (1694) became the leader of the party, but this was the fitting place to point out the effects which these disputes produced in France.

Formulary of the Clergy.

Formulary of Alexander VII.

Peace of Clement IX.

During this period the opinions of various mystics engaged the attention of the doctors of the Church of Rome. The book of Michael Molinos, a Spaniard, entitled *Manuductio Spiritualis*, after having been at first received with considerable applause, was in 1685, at the instigation of the French ambassador, condemned at Rome, and the author treated with great severity. The doctrines known under the name of Quietism, from their tendency to discourage penance and outward devotion, and to substitute an indolent contemplation for the active duties of religion, were pro-

Mystics.

Quietism.

[1] The word *sincèrement* was substituted for *purement et simplement.*

pagated in France by the celebrated Madame Guyon, and led to a misunderstanding between two of the greatest men of the age. The austere and practical Bossuet denounced them with great severity, while they were regarded with a considerable degree of favour by the mild and amiable Fénélon. The latter even adopted some of her opinions in a work of his own. By the influence of Bossuet this book was condemned at Rome, and Fénélon with characteristic modesty at once expressed his acquiescence in the justice of the sentence which had been pronounced against him.

Gallican liberties.

The controversy respecting the Gallican liberties was several times revived during the reign of Louis XIV. The French divines, now supported by their sovereign, gradually developed the principles of their predecessors, and bounded the power of the Papal monarchy and the exorbitant claims of the Church. De Marca, Launoi, Maimbourg, Noël Alexandre, Bossuet, Du Pin, and Baillet, vindicated the privileges of national Churches.

The controversies, however, which had a tendency to strengthen and elevate the mind and improve the state of theology, were during this period almost confined to France, the Netherlands, and some few superior spirits in Italy. Spain and Popish Germany had no sympathy with the scholars who were interested with rational disputes. The disputed doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin was in consequence of the intrigues of their sovereigns at last decided by Alexander VII. (1661) against the Dominicans, by whom it had been so long impugned, though with an express permission to that order to maintain their ancient tenet: and their divines were interested only in attempts to extend the worship of Mary.

Eastern Churches.

The condition of the Eastern Churches was in no way improved. They still suffered from oppression and ignorance. The attempts of Cyril Lucaris to assimilate the doctrines of the Greek Church to those of the reformed had only tended to produce a decided movement in the opposite direction. The doctrine of Transubstantiation, which had hitherto been only indistinctly entertained and taught by the Greek divines, was now publicly received among them as an article of faith. Arnauld and Nicole, while engaged upon their celebrated work, *La Perpétuité de la Foi de l'Eglise Catholique touchant l'Eucharistie,* exerted themselves to procure testimonials of the Greek Clergy in support of their position, that Transubstantiation was believed by the Oriental Christians; and Nointel, the French ambassador at Constantinople, was instructed by his government to lend his assistance in furtherance of this object. Numerous testimonials were accordingly obtained, sometimes, according to our learned countrymen Smith and Covel, who were well acquainted with the Levant, under circumstances little creditable to the Romish agents; and Dositheus, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, whose co-operation was con-

sidered the more valuable as he had himself written against the Latins, held a Synod at Jerusalem (1672), which declared Transubstantiation to be the faith of the Greek Church, and condemned as the peculiar doctrines of the Western Reformers. As some Greeks, however, continued to maintain the opinions of Cyril, Callinicus, Patriarch of Constantinople, caused them to be again condemned in a Synod holden in that city in 1691, which vindicated the use of the word μετουσίωσις, and expressly asserted the doctrine which it is used to describe.[1]

Synod of Jerusalem.

Synod of Constantinople.

The commencement of the period now before us presents us with the Church of England in the lowest depths of affliction. She is prostrate before her enemies; her prelates in exile or obscurity; her Clergy of all ranks ejected from their benefices, or silenced; her services proscribed. While toleration was granted to the most monstrous growth of recent fanaticism, Prelacy was classed with Popery and Socinianism, and the public reading of the Liturgy was punished as a crime. Under these circumstances the principles which had excited opposition to the Church had the opportunity of developing themselves without restraint, and they soon produced a state of things most painful to contemplate. Even Presbyterianism was looked upon as an infringement upon Christian liberty. The preaching soldiery of Cromwell, and the rapacious spoilers, were little disposed to terminate a state of disorder so much in accordance with their tastes and interest, and no settlement of religion was effected during the usurpation. The feeble machinery which had been erected by the sects, at once gave way before the spirit which brought about the restoration. The Clergy, borne on the wave which swept away the disorders of twenty years, shared in the excitement of the counter-revolution, and their conduct toward their vanquished enemies exhibited no slight traces of harshness and resentment. By the Act of Uniformity (1662) the Church was put upon its ancient footing, and the Presbyterian and Independent ministers were suddenly ejected from the benefices which they occupied during the troubles. During the reign of Charles II. the non-conformists, who were objects of suspicion to the friends of monarchy and the Church, were harassed by vexatious laws, or at best enjoyed but an imperfect toleration. But though the ancient ecclesiastical institutions were restored to the land, the moral state of England was far from satisfactory. The fanaticism of the Puritans produced a natural reaction. The example of a profligate court was followed but too servilely by the nation. The public morals became shamefully relaxed. A lighter literature was cultivated; and the rich and sound theology of the

Anglican Church.

[1] Schröchk, *Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation*, Th. ix., S. 97; the volume written by Tzschirner.

preceding generation gradually gave place to the teaching of a very inferior school. Some great patristic divines, such as Pearson, Gunning, Cosin, and others of not inferior name, for a time took a leading part in ecclesiastical affairs, and worthily maintained the true principles of the Anglican Church. But a new school, which arose out of the unsettled principles which prevailed during the rebellion, at length became conspicuous, and was soon found to be more in harmony with the spirit of the age. The latitudinarians prided themselves on their contempt for scholastic language; they affected to represent Christianity as a reasonable system, to take little notice of its mysteries, and to call attention chiefly to its pure morality. While they remained perfectly orthodox in profession, they tacitly suppressed the peculiar doctrines of the gospel. They expressed the greatest tenderness for the Protestant sects, but were loud in their hostility to Popery. And in good truth the members of the Church of England of all parties had, during the reigns of the two last Stuarts, sufficient cause to look upon Romanism with suspicion and alarm. The Papists had exerted themselves to foment the religious dissensions which prevailed during the troubles, that serious men, disgusted with the extravagances of fanaticism, might be drawn the more easily into their infallible Church. After the restoration they availed themselves of their influence with the court. Charles II. never ventured till his last moments to avow his adherence to his mother's creed; but the Duke of York, as early as the year 1669, was known to have embraced the Romish faith, and both brothers took every opportunity of favouring Roman Catholics. The conduct of the latter when he ascended the throne brought matters to a crisis. The alarm of his Protestant subjects soon became excessive. The King's intentions in favour of Romanism were obvious; his illegal measures were flagrant violations of the constitution; the great body of the people was roused to resistance, and he was driven from the throne. The revolution had the effect of placing the direction of ecclesiastical affairs in the hands of the latitudinarians, who had always been intimately connected with the party which was mainly instrumental in effecting that great measure. Episcopacy was abolished in the Kirk of Scotland; the Toleration Act gave ample liberty to the Protestant sects throughout the empire. The refusal of Archbishop Sancroft and the leading divines, who held what were now called High Church principles, to take the oath of allegiance to the new government, in this time of excitement brought Catholic opinions into suspicion with the nation. The divines who favoured the new school of theology, and entertained more liberal views in politics, were placed in the high places of the Church. From the period of the revolution the scholars who cultivated the higher ecclesiastical learning rapidly became less

Designs of Popery.

numerous. The controversy with the Deists tended in no small degree to lower the tone of the Anglican divinity. The dissolution of principle which had been going on ever since the grand rebellion, was beginning to act upon the Church of England, and though such men as Bull, Beveridge, and Cave survived the end of the century, she was rapidly approaching the period of her greatest barrenness.

The Lutherans.

Lutheranism retained the limits which had been recognized by the Treaty of Munster, and in the States in which it was the prevailing form of religion was no more disturbed. Notwithstanding the defection of Queen Christina, the kingdoms of the North remained firm in their profession. And the conversion of so many other Princes to the Romish faith scarcely affected its condition in Germany. But the Lutherans of Poland, and especially those of Hungary, were exposed during this period to harassing persecutions from their rulers. Northern Germany always remained the stronghold of this communion. Jena and Wittemberg continued to be regarded as the seats of its orthodox theology. The symbolical books had secured a firm dominion, and every attempt to question their decisions, or to moot any point which had been settled by the scholastic writers, whose works had been received as authoritative, was denounced as heresy. The Syncretistic controversy, the origin of which has been already noticed, was carried on with great violence for many years after the death of Calixtus. The charitable and moderate opinions of that great man were generally condemned. Friedrich Ulrich Calixtus, his son, and several able disciples, warmly vindicated his memory, and maintained the same pacific views; but Calovius and his associates, who pursued the controversy with no common bitterness, though they cannot be denied the praise of sincerity and consistency, were regarded as the champions of Lutheran orthodoxy. The dry scholasticism which almost universally prevailed was little favourable to practical religion. Christianity was addressed entirely to the intellect. Everything like feeling gave place to a dull formalism. The public morality was reduced to a wretched condition, and the Clergy themselves commonly indulged in practices of very questionable propriety.

The rise of Pietism.

In the meantime a very remarkable man was being prepared for a career which was to be attended by the most memorable consequences for the Evangelical Church. Philip Jacob Spener, one of the most distinguished names in modern ecclesiastical history, became impressed with a deep sense of the degraded state of religion in his native land, and commenced an attempt to revive it. This eminent man had been prepared for the part he was to act by early piety, a liberal education, and foreign travel, and from 1666 exercised the pastoral office at Frankfort-on-the-Maine.

Spener.

In 1670 he set on foot the celebrated meetings, called *collegia*

pietatis, for the improvement of his flock in Christian knowledge, and the cultivation of their religious feelings; and in 1675 published an edition of Arndt's *True Christianity*, with an original preface, in which he exposed the sins and vices of the times, and pointed out the way in which they might be reformed. This piece, which he afterwards enlarged and published in a separate form, under the title of *Pia Desideria*, produced an immense sensation. As court preacher at Dresden, whither he was called in 1686, Spener exercised extensive influence. The public mind was ripe for the labours of a reformer, and in every part of Protestant Germany there abounded men who, disgusted with the barrenness of the prevailing system, eagerly adopted more practical and animating views. The reflections which he cast upon the Clergy, and the unguarded terms in which he undervalued verbal orthodoxy as compared with practical holiness, provoked great opposition. Some students at Leipsic, who had embraced his opinions, and devoted themselves to the study of Scripture instead of the usual course of dogmatics, were in 1689 branded as *Pietists*, and this term of reproach was henceforth employed as the title of his party. His honest freedom having rendered him obnoxious to the Elector of Saxony, in 1691 he quitted Dresden, and accepted a call to Berlin. The clamour against him increased, but his friends became proportionably active and zealous. The celebrated jurist Christian Thomasius, who made it the business of his life to decry the scholastic Lutheranism, lent his powerful co-operation to the Pietists, and the University of Halle, which was erected at his suggestion in 1691, afforded a refuge for such of them as were persecuted elsewhere. In 1695 the divines of Wittemberg publicly denounced two hundred and sixty-four errors which they professed to have discovered in the writings of Spener; a list which contains several mystical and fanatical opinions which have since borne the most melancholy fruits, though many of the positions which appeared most erroneous to these accusers were in fact important truths. Spener and his friends were always ready to defend their opinions, and voluminous indeed was the Pietistic controversy. The first effects of their labours were most salutary. An extensive revival of practical religion sufficiently attested their activity and zeal.

The Pietists, however, never formed a schism, but, with the exception of a few violent fanatics more or less connected with them, always remained in the Lutheran body. The moral reformation which they effected was not more remarkable than the improvement which they accomplished in preaching and the interpretation of Scripture; and they contributed not a little with such men as Rechenberg and Ittigius, who had now successfully engaged in the cultivation of ecclesiastical history, to achieve the triumph of historical over scholastic theology.

The history of no communion during the latter half of the seventeenth century is more eventful than that of the Reformed. In Holland, Geneva, and those of the Swiss cantons and the German States, in which it was established, its external condition remained much the same. But it was gradually undergoing a great internal change. The strict doctrines of Calvin had begun to yield to a more moderate theology. The *Formula Consensus*, which was adopted in Switzerland in 1675 in order to exclude from the Reformed Churches in that country all divines who were not sound in the faith of Geneva, was violently opposed, and at last abandoned or explained away in several of the principal cities. Arminian opinions were from time to time received with great favour; and though they all remained Calvinistic in theory, many of the Reformed Churches had before the end of the century tacitly adopted a different system. The Reformed.

The change had begun in France. The Reformed divines in that country had never heartily approved the decrees of Dort, and, as we have already had occasion to observe, some of the leading Calvinistic tenets had been questioned among them before the middle of the seventeenth century. Surrounded by people of another faith, it had been their interest to exhibit an example of liberality; and protected in the exercise of their religion by the Edict of Nantes, they had in their public institutions, particularly in their academy at Saumur, carried on their speculations with a boldness hitherto unknown to their more phlegmatic brethren of Holland and Germany. But the prosperity of this branch of the Reformed communion was of short duration. The government of France had from the time of Richelieu looked with jealousy upon a body who were divided by interests and feelings from other Frenchmen. And Louis XIV. had no sooner reached the summit of his power and splendour than he formed a design of depriving them of their political and religious rights. His dislike was aggravated into persecuting intolerance by Père la Chaise, his artful confessor. Every art was employed to seduce men of rank and distinction from the devoted sect. The learning of the Port-Royalists, and the craft and address of the Jesuits, were for once engaged in the same cause. And the eloquence and ingenuity of Bossuet were employed in attempts to persuade the Reformed that they were deterred only by imaginary difficulties from returning to the communion of the Church from the everlasting variations of error. Many were gained by these more gentle means, liberally enforced as they were by the inducements which weigh with ambitious minds. Those who remained firm in their profession were represented as obstinate and designing men, who deserved to be treated with severity. Accordingly the Edict of Nantes was revoked (1685), and the profession of the Reformed religion was forbidden in France. Six hundred thousand exiles found refuge Change in France. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

in Protestant States; their brethren who could not make their escape were driven to Mass, or forced into a desperate rebellion. This wretched act of intolerance deprived France of her most industrious inhabitants, and gave energy to those well directed efforts of England and Holland which brought disgrace upon the last years of her haughty monarch.

Several French exiles entertained opinions which were justly regarded with horror in the countries where they found protection. Claude Pajon revived the errors of Pelagius; and the celebrated Pierre Bayle, who also found refuge in Holland, avowed universal scepticism, and did more than any other writer to prepare the public mind on the continent for the rejection of Christianity.

The Remonstrants.

The Remonstrants were now an insignificant party. Limborch taught their opinions in their most inoffensive form; but their most influential writer at the end of this period was Jean Le Clerc, whose bold and insidious speculations did much towards breaking down the barriers which had hitherto prevented the Reformed from being drawn into infidelity and rationalism.

Smaller sects.

The Vaudois were cruelly persecuted by the Dukes of Savoy, in spite of the intercessions of Protestant States and Princes. The Socinians, deprived of their establishments in Poland, maintained their ground in Transylvania; and several of their principal writers found a precarious shelter in Holland, where their followers were soon lost among the Mennonites and Remonstrants. Infidelity, however, was rapidly increasing. The Jew Spinoza, who died in Holland in 1677, revived and subtilized the doctrine of Pantheism; and Hobbes and Blount in England denied the Divine authority of the gospel. A general indifference was extending through the whole of Europe, which was too soon to be ripened into an open hostility to Christianity.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE LATTER PART OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

ROMANISTS.

Jean de Launoi.
Antoine Arnauld.
Jacques-Benigne Bossuet.
John Bona.
Henry Noris.
Jean Mabillon.
Louis Bourdaloue.
Richard Simon.
Louis-Ellies Du Pin.

JEAN DE LAUNOI,

a doctor of the Sorbonne (born in 1603), by his writings, which were chiefly on subjects connected with Church history, exercised

a considerable influence upon his contemporaries. He was the declared foe of many of the superstitious practices which disgraced the religious body to which he belonged, and was a zealous and able defender of the rights of Bishops, and of the liberties of the Gallican Church. His works have been collected in ten volumes folio. He died, greatly respected for his virtues and erudition, in 1678.

ANTOINE ARNAULD

was born at Paris in 1612, and was the son of the celebrated advocate of the same name, who had distinguished himself so greatly by his hostility to the Jesuits. His connection with the Jansenist controversy, which kept him in the eyes of the public for fifty years, has been already noticed. He was a man of great learning and eloquence, and is said to have written upwards of a hundred separate pieces; the most important of which were *La Perpétuité de la Foi de l'Eglise Catholique touchant l'Eucharistie défendue contre le Livre du Sieur Claude Ministre de Charenton*, which he wrote in conjunction with Nicole, during the peace of Clement IX., and his numerous works on the Jansenist controversy. He was well versed in philosophy and the belles lettres, and was concerned in the composition of most of the Port-Royal publications on those subjects. The road to preferment was closed against him, as the intractable leader of an obnoxious party. But he was regarded with admiration by the most eminent men of his time, and Innocent XI. is said, upon good authority, to have at one time intended to place him in the sacred college.

JACQUES-BENIGNE BOSSUET,

who has been called "by anticipation a Father of the Church," was born at Dijon in 1627, and early in life attained extraordinary reputation by his learning and eloquence. He was preceptor to the Dauphin, the son of Louis XIV.; and his activity in the attempts to convert the Reformed, his exertions in behalf of the Gallican liberties, and his zealous endeavours to counteract the scepticism of Simon, the liberality of Du Pin, and the mysticism of Fénélon, gained him the most profound veneration of the French Church. His *Sermons* will ever remain models of pulpit eloquence, and his controversial writings display astonishing acuteness and learning. His *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, in which he laboured to expose the inconsistencies of the Reformers, and his *Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique*, in which he endeavoured to soften down the peculiarities of Romanism which were most objectionable to Protestants, were highly successful.

The latter piece, especially, has generally been considered a performance exhibiting at least much art and subtilty, and there were some curious circumstances connecctd with its publication, of which an account was given by Archbishop Wake. One of the most important of his works (*Defensio Declarationis celeberrimae quam de potestate Ecclesiasticâ sanxit Clerus Gallicanus*, 19 Mart., 1682), which was written by command of Louis XIV., was not published till many years after his death, which happened in 1704.

JOHN BONA,

a native of Piedmont, born in 1609, and created a cardinal in 1669, was one of the few Italians who during this period successfully cultivated theological literature. His works, *De Rebus Liturgicis*, and *De Divinâ Psalmodiâ*, exhibit great learning, and all his writings breathe a spirit of deep piety. They have been collected in four folios.

HENRY NORIS,

the most learned Italian of this period, was born at Verona in 1631. He belonged to the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine, and, after having been made librarian of the Vatican, was in 1695 placed in the sacred college. His *History of Pelagianism*, which was his principal work, was charged with Jansenism, and was more than once brought under the notice of the Inquisition. His works, which treat on various subjects of ecclesiastical and profane history, and have been collected in five volumes folio, exhibit great learning, and greatly tended to revive the study of ecclesiastical history in Italy. He died in 1704.

JEAN MABILLON

was born in Champagne 1632, and in 1667 became known to the learned world by his edition of St. Bernard. He was the soul of the literary labours of the Benedictines of the congregation of St. Maur. His *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, his treatise *De Re Diplomaticâ*, and his *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, put the study of mediæval Church history on a new footing. He was a sound and judicious critic, and has rarely been equalled, perhaps never surpassed, in ecclesiastical learning. His *Traité des Etudes Monastiques*, which was written in answer to the celebrated Abbé de la Trappe, who had denied that monks might lawfully engage in any studies which did not directly tend to their personal edification, showed the extent of his learning, and was one of the best introductions to the study of theology which appeared during this century. He died in 1707.

LOUIS BOURDALOUE,

who was born at Bourges in 1632, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1648, recommended religion to the intellectual and the great of France by his magnificent *Sermons*, which form an object of no small importance in the history of eloquence. They were not published, however, till after his death (1704), when they appeared (1707–33) in fifteen volumes 12mo.

RICHARD SIMON

was born in 1638, and distinguished himself in the congregation of the Oratory, which he quitted in 1678, by his intimate acquaintance with the Oriental languages. He acquired extensive information respecting the modern history of the Eastern Churches, and his writings on this subject are marked by great acuteness and candour. But he is most known as a Biblical critic. His *Critical Histories of the Old and New Testaments* were written in a spirit of which there had as yet been no example in the Church of Rome, and confer upon him the very equivocal distinction of having been a precursor of the modern Rationalists. They were denounced alike by orthodox Protestants and by the members of his own Church. He died in 1712.

LOUIS-ELLIES DU PIN,

born in 1657, was one of the most voluminous writers of his time. His *Dissertationes Historicæ de Antiquæ Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, and his *Bibliothèque Universelle des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques* brought him early into notice. The former was an able attack upon the notions of the ultramontanists; the latter, though it exhibits many traces of carelessness, was a most useful popular view of the literary history of the Church. His *Méthode pour étudier la Théologie* was also a useful work. He also wrote several works on the interpretation and criticism of Holy Scripture, and engaged in some of the controversies of the time. The freedom with which he treated the ancient writers caused him to be regarded with great suspicion in his own communion; the publication of his *Bibliothèque* was even interrupted by Bossuet. He died in 1719.

ANGLICANS.

Henry Hammond.	William Beveridge.
Jeremy Taylor.	George Bull.
Brian Walton.	Simon Patrick.
John Pearson.	John Tillotson.
Isaac Barrow.	

HENRY HAMMOND,

who was born in 1605, and became a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1625, was one of the most influential divines of the Church of England during the grand rebellion and the troubles

that followed. He was a man of the most admirable learning and most devoted piety, who by his works, which relate to almost every department of theology, dogmatical, practical, exegetical, and polemical, and the influence of his personal character, supported the Church in the time of her greatest affliction. He died about a month before the Restoration.

JEREMY TAYLOR

deserves to be ranked with the greatest names in the universal Church. His genius and originality were only equalled by his learning; and his writings are among the most wonderful in the English language. His polemical and casuistical pieces display his acuteness and erudition; but his exquisite mind, rich fancy, and warm piety appear to most advantage in his *Sermons* and practical works. He suffered greatly for his attachment to monarchy and the Church; and upon the Restoration was made Bishop of Down and Connor. He died in 1667.

BRIAN WALTON,

born in 1600, conferred no common benefit upon theological learning by editing the *London Polyglott Bible* (1657), the most complete work of its class. He was assisted in this important undertaking by Castell, Clarke, Hyde, Whelock, Thorndike, Pocock, and others. Upon the Restoration he was made Bishop of Chester, and died in 1661.

JOHN PEARSON

was born in 1612, and was educated at Eton and Cambridge. His *Exposition of the Creed* is a noble piece of Catholic theology; and his *Vindiciæ Epistolarum S. Ignatii* and other writings in illustration of ecclesiastical antiquities, give him a very high rank among such of our countrymen as have cultivated similar studies. Soon after the Restoration he was made Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1673 Bishop of Chester.

ISAAC BARROW,

one of the brightest ornaments of the University of Cambridge, was born in 1630, and during the usurpation improved his great talents by foreign travel. He was distinguished for his mathematical learning, but his fame chiefly rests upon his noble *Sermons*, so terse, compact, and eloquent, which were most of them published after his death in two volumes folio. His treatise also on the Supremacy of the Pope is a work of great learning. He was made Master of Trinity College in 1672, and died in the prime of life in 1677.

WILLIAM BEVERIDGE

was born in 1638, early distinguished himself at Cambridge by his acquaintance with the Oriental languages, and in more mature

life by the publication of the writings of the Greek canonists, (*Synodicon*, Oxon., 1672), and his vindication of the canons of the Primitive Church. He was made Bishop of St. Asaph in 1704, and died in 1707. A large number of his Sermons and several practical works were published after his death, with very little judgment or discrimination on the part of the editors.

GEORGE BULL

was born in 1634. His works on Justification excited great attention; and for his writings on the faith of the Primitive Church on the doctrine of the Trinity, he not only enjoyed the highest reputation at home, but received the thanks of the French Clergy. Till he had attained the age of fifty he was suffered to live in obscurity and poverty; but the dispensers of preferment afterwards endeavoured to make him amends by their liberality. He was made Bishop of St. David's in 1705, and died in 1710.

SIMON PATRICK

was educated at Cambridge, and after having enjoyed several other preferments, was successively Bishop of Chichester and Ely. His devotional writings are highly valuable, and he rendered a great service to the Church by his Commentary on the historical books of the Old Testament. His writings exhibit an intimate acquaintance with antiquity.

JOHN TILLOTSON

was born in 1630, and became a fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge. After the Restoration he obtained great reputation as a preacher in London. His talents for business brought him into notice, and he became the acknowledged leader of the Latitudinarians. He was made Archbishop of Canterbury upon the deprivation of Archbishop Sancroff, and died in 1694. The respect with which his name was treated for a century after his death shows the extent of his influence, but few will now doubt that his influence upon the whole was far from salutary to the Anglican Church.

LUTHERANS.

Abraham Calov.	Thomas Ittig.
Philip Jacob Spener.	Godfrey Arnold.

ABRAHAM CALOV,

(Calovius), whose connection with the Syncretistic controversy has been already noticed, was an exceedingly voluminous writer. He was a man of great learning. His *Systema Locorum Theologicorum*, in twelve quarto volumes, was the last scholastic work

which appeared among the Lutherans upon a similar scale. And his *Biblia Illustrata*, though partaking very much of the controversial character of his other writings, is considered to be the best commentary which was produced during this period in the Lutheran Church.

PHILIP JACOB SPENER

was born in 1635. We have already noticed the principal events of his life. Though he always declined the title when offered by his friends, posterity has styled him the reformer of Lutheranism. He wrote on heraldry with great learning; his *Pia Desideria* and his *Letters* exhibit his opinions and his character, but his name belongs to ecclesiastical history rather than to theological literature. He died in 1705.

THOMAS ITTIG,

(Ittigius), was professor of divinity at Leipsic, and exerted a very salutary influence in the revival of the study of ecclesiastical history. His writings exhibit great judgment and learning. He died in 1710.

GODFREY ARNOLD,

who was born in 1666, and died in 1714, may be mentioned as representing a class of men who were roused by the example of Spener to desire a reformation of Lutheranism, but whose zeal degenerated into party spirit and rancour. He was a man of learning, but his opinions were altogether of a mystical cast; and his writings on Church history especially did less service, by exciting a taste for independent research, than they did harm by setting an example of extravagant scepticism.

REFORMED.

JEAN DAILLE.	PHILIP LIMBORCH.
JEAN CLAUDE.	JOHN COCCEIUS.
FRANCOIS TURRETINI.	RICHARD BAXTER.
PIERRE JURIEU.	JOHN OWEN.

JEAN DAILLE,

(Dallæus), acquired great reputation as a theological writer by his first work (*De usu Patrum*, 1631), which greatly tended to weaken the respect which all the religious parties had hitherto professed for antiquity. His practical and controversial writings were numerous, and amply attest his abilities and learning. He took a leading part in the domestic affairs of the Reformed in France, and contributed not a little to introduce among them a relaxation of the strict Calvinistic theology. He died in 1670.

JEAN CLAUDE

was born in 1619, and was from 1666 minister of the Reformed Church at Charenton. His talents and learning made him the leading divine of his party in France. His controversies with the Port-Royalists, and a conference with Bossuet, gained him great reputation. He died in 1687, after having been expelled from France upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, under circumstances of severity which sufficiently showed the importance which was attached to his person by the advisers of that wretched measure.

FRANCOIS TURRETINI,

professor of divinity at Geneva, where he was born in 1623, enjoyed great reputation among the Reformed during this period as a preacher and divine. His *Institutio Theologiæ Elencticæ*, in three volumes quarto, is an able digest of the Calvinistic theology. He died in 1687.

PIERRE JURIEU

was born in 1637, and was the last professor of divinity in the Reformed academy at Sedan. He was an active polemic; but his numerous pieces against the Romanists show very little judgment. His residence in Holland was disturbed by his differences with his fellow exiles.

PHILIP LIMBORCH,

one of the most respectable of the Remonstrant divines, was born at Maestricht in 1633. He was related to Episcopius, and first came into notice by the publication of several of his posthumous works. His *Collatio amica cum erudito Judæo* is a work of merit. His *Theologia Christiana* placed in the most favourable light the Arminian divinity. But his *Historia Inquisitionis*, though it has been one of the most popular of his works, is a very superficial production. He was professor of divinity in the college of the Remonstrants, and died, greatly respected, in 1712.

JOHN COCCEIUS,

(Coch), who was born at Bremen in 1603, and was for many years a professor at Franeker and Leyden, was a learned Hebraist, and exercised great influence in the Reformed Churches by his system of interpretation. He carried the spiritualizing system farther than any other expositor of modern times; and formed a school of interpretation in opposition to that of Calvin and Grotius. He died in 1669, and his works have been collected in ten folios.

RICHARD BAXTER,

one of the most voluminous writers of this or any other age, can

only be ranked among the Reformed. He was born in 1615, and took orders in the Church of England in 1638. But he soon afterwards embraced Presbyterian opinions, though he was distinguished through life by his independence. Of all his numerous works those on practical subjects are chiefly remembered. He was a man of great originality and learning, whose writings contributed in no ordinary degree to break down the strict Calvinism which prevailed among the Puritans. His style is nervous, direct, and powerful, though his theology was not on all points self-consistent.

JOHN OWEN,

who was made by Cromwell dean of Christ Church, Oxford, was the most learned and able of the Independents. He died in 1683, and his numerous writings still rank among the best which have been written in the English language upon the doctrinal theory of Calvin. His treatises on the *Person of Christ*, on *The Holy Spirit*, and on *Indwelling Sin*, and his exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, are yet in constant request. His works were republished at Edinburgh in octavo a few years ago.

Many other writers may be added to this list, which indeed enumerates but a few of the divines and scholars of this period so rich in theological literature.

In the Church of Rome we may mention the names of De Marca, Raynaud, Pallavicini, Bolland, Godeau, Labbe, Holden, Papebrock, Nicole, Pascal, Huet, Thomassin, Tillemont, Fénélon, Hardouin, Baillet, Aguirre, Sfondrati, and Schelstrate.

In the Church of England, Gunning, Cosin, Nicolson, Sancroft, Cave, Hicks, Pocock, Whichcote, John Smith, Worthington, Lightfoot, Cudworth, South, Stillingfleet, and Burnet. Among these it ought to be stated, that Lightfoot and Pocock were eminent in Rabbinical and Oriental learning, which they did much to promote.

Among the Lutherans, Dannhauer, Meisner, F. U. Calixtus, Titius, Glassius, Musæus, Hildebrand, and Rechenberg.

And among the Reformed, Hottinger, Heidegger, F. Spanheim, Le Blanc, Larroque, Le Moyne, and Bochart.

CHAPTER X.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, FROM A.D. 1700 TO A.D. 1858.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

BEFORE we enter on the Ecclesiastical History of the last century and of part of the present, we must premise that the limits to which we must confine ourselves preclude anything but a rapid sketch of the leading features of the period. The subjects on which such a history must touch, if any attempt were made to treat them fully, would require many dissertations of considerable length. The public events connected with Ecclesiastical History are not, perhaps, so numerous as in earlier days, but some portion of this period was a stirring time in political events, and in many branches of intellectual inquiry, and both of these circumstances had very marked effects on the outward fortunes of the Church, and on the formation of opinions in regard to religious matters, both within and without the pale of the Church. The same arrangement which was adopted in the last chapter will be preserved here. The events relative to the Roman Catholic Church will first be stated, then those affecting the Church of England, and lastly, the history of other Churches will briefly be considered. A.D. 1700-1858

On the death of Innocent XII., Cardinal John Francis Albano was raised to the pontifical throne under the title of Clement XI. (Nov. 30, 1700). On his first accession he endeavoured to mitigate the contentions then raging between the King of France and the Emperor in regard to the Spanish succession, but his proffered mediation was unattended with any material results.[1] The two most important circumstances connected with the reign of Clement in an ecclesiastical point of view, are the measures which he took in regard to the missionaries in China, and the promulgation of the Bull *Unigenitus*. Clement XI. A.D. 1700-21.

We cannot enter at large into the history of the controversy between the Jesuits and their opponents, but a short summary of the principal points involved is requisite for a knowledge of the external history of the Roman Catholic Church. Their chief opponents were the Jansenists, but with the Jansenists was also a large body of the Roman Catholic Clergy, especially in France. The controversy relative to China was the resuscitation of an old dispute, which had scarcely ever been fully lulled to rest. The Old disputes revived.

[1] He espoused the French side, and acknowledged the Duke of Anjou as Philip V., in 1701; see *Ency. Met.* (original edition), ch. cxx., vol. iv., p. 735.

Morales. Jesuits (about 1645) had been accused by Father Morales, a missionary to the East, of compromising the Christian religion altogether, with regard to their converts in China, partly by allowing the suppression of many Christian rites, absolutely essential to the genuine exercise of that religion, but still more flagrantly, by suffering these converts to continue the use of many of the idolatrous customs which they had exercised as heathens. Morales had carried these accusations to Rome, and procured, in 1645, a condemnation of these practices. Armed with the authority of the Pope, he returned to China, and promulgated his new instructions. The Jesuits complained that he had misinterpreted the meaning of the Chinese ceremonies from imperfect acquaintance with their language and customs, and they sent

F. Martini. (in 1651) one of their body (Father Martini) to Rome, to represent these subjects in what they conceived to be a more correct

Decree of Alexander VII. manner. After long debates on the subject, F. Martini obtained the well known decree of Alexander VII. (in 1656), mitigating considerably the restrictions previously laid upon the Jesuits, and permitting many of the ceremonies complained of as idolatrous, especially the veneration of the tombs of their ancestors by the converts, and the annual tribute of respect to Confucius. Some controversies and difficulties supervened, but the Jesuits and their chief opponents, the Dominicans, came to a sort of mutual accommodation or compromise, and the latter acquiesced in the use of the ceremonies objected to. But the Jesuits are accused of having far outstepped the limits permitted by this Papal decree,

C. Maigrot. and in the year 1693, C. Maigrot,[1] Vicar Apostolic of the province of Fo-kien, published a mandate expressly forbidding certain rites to be used, and stating his reason for the prohibition. As, however, he considered that in so doing he had exceeded his powers, he accompanied the copy of his mandate, which he sent to Rome, by a defence, specifying the nature of these idolatrous usages, &c. The Jesuits defended themselves against these accusations by sending two of their body to Rome, who arrived just about the commencement of the pontificate of Clement XI. After considerable controversies at Rome, the Pope despatched

Cardinal C. de Tournon's arrival in China. C. de Tournon, as his legate, to China, and afterwards bestowed on him the dignity of a Cardinal. He entered most vigorously into warfare with those idolatrous practices immediately on arriving in China, although the Jesuits appeal to his having been guided by their counsels during his stay in Malabar upon his

[1] Maigrot belonged to the College of Foreign Missions at Paris, which was opposed to the Jesuits. Pray, who is the unflinching advocate of the Jesuits, accuses him of having taken the above step to vex the Jesuits, because the Archbishop of Goa had superseded him by a Jesuit. Pray, *Historia Controversiarum*, p. 94. It appears, however, that Maigrot accused the Jesuits of having attempted to murder him. Pray, p. 115, ridicules this accusation. Maigrot was afterwards Bishop of Conon.

road to China, as a proof that they did not tolerate anything which was really idolatrous. He left Europe in 1702, and entered on his duties in China in 1704. The Emperor is said to have sanctioned, or indeed suggested, an explanation of certain words and ceremonies peculiar to the Chinese, which had been circulated at Rome by the Jesuits about the year 1700. On the arrival of Cardinal Tournon, the Emperor sent two Mandarins in order to inquire about the opinion entertained at Rome on the subject of this explanatory paper. Cardinal Tournon answered them unsatisfactorily, and the Emperor offered an interview. The Jesuits say, that at this interview, at which Maigrot was put forward as interpreter, the Emperor complained of his entire ignorance of the Chinese language, as shown in his unsuccessful attempt to explain four words, which were inscribed on the wall above the head of the Emperor, which he requested them to interpret. Those who embrace views unfavourable to the Jesuits, allow that on this occasion the Cardinal's conduct was perhaps wanting in prudence, though in zeal and earnestness it was highly creditable to him. But, on the other hand, the Jesuits are accused of having instigated the Emperor against the new legate, and as they flattered the prejudices of the Chinese,[1] and favoured the rites, which in the eyes of their opponents were directly idolatrous, it is easy to see what advantages they would have in such a contest over the supporters of the view now taken by the Roman See of these questions. The result was, that Cardinal Tournon was driven away by the Emperor, and imprisoned at Macao, where, after suffering great hardships, he died in the year 1710.

Death of Cardinal de Tournon.

In the year 1715, a mitigation of the former decrees was obtained, and in 1721, C. A. Mezzabarba (then invested with the powers of a legate) published Pastoral Letters in accordance with this new state of things, but the conditions did not prove satisfactory to the Emperor. Mezzabarba left China in the end of the year, and in the following year the Emperor *Cham-hy* having been succeeded by *Yong-tching*, the latter showed the most determined spirit of hostility to the Christians. He began his persecution with his own brothers and sisters, who were said to have embraced Christianity; he destroyed 300 churches, and banished all the missionaries, except those at Pekin, to Macao. The only mitigation which could be obtained, was a permission for the Jesuits who engaged in mathematical pursuits to reside at Pekin,

Persecution in China.

[1] We must remember the nature of the controversy between the two parties. The Roman Pontiff and the Missionaries of the Paris College of Missions prohibited the use of the word *Tien* (heaven) for God, unless accompanied by *Tchu*, in order to express "Lord of Heaven." The Jesuits said it was necessary to use the former phrase, as the latter was not in use in classical Chinese, &c. The honours also paid to their deceased ancestors and to Confucius were defended by the Jesuits, and attacked by their enemies.

and for some of the others to exchange Macao for Canton, and even this latter permission was soon revoked. In 1736, *Kien-long* succeeded to the throne of the Celestial Empire, but the teachers obtained from him no relaxation of the former prohibitions; they now abstained from publicly exercising their religion except in Macao, and only endeavoured to steal privately into the provinces formerly under their care as missionaries. This gave rise to a severe persecution, in which some of them perished. As we shall not recur to this subject, we may as well mention now that Benedict XIV. in 1742 entirely prohibited the use of the rites, which had been the subject of dispute, in a Bull known by the title of "*Ex quo singulari.*"[1]

Final suppression of the rites.

Subjects of debate.

The chief points debated between the two parties, were the propriety of indulging the neophytes in certain ceremonies and of using certain expressions, both of which were defended by the Jesuits, and stigmatized by their opponents as idolatrous, and as making the converts Christians only in name. One important fact speaks very strongly. The Roman See deliberated long, and, after often repeated controversies, finally pronounced against the Jesuits. There are, however, other points of importance in the controversy besides those already brought forward: one of these points concerns the conduct of the Jesuits themselves in regard to other missionaries. They are accused of having continually evaded or disobeyed the Papal orders, and of having most unrelentingly persecuted all their opponents, and especially of having been the cause of Cardinal de Tournon's sufferings and death. That some accusations against them have been exaggerated seems not improbable; but the impression which the whole history of these transactions leaves upon the mind is highly unfavourable to the Jesuits.

The chief occurrences in the Chinese question took place in the pontificate of Clement XI. (1700-1721), under which we have therefore given the final result of the whole matter. We now proceed briefly to mention the other important event of the same pontificate—the issuing of the Bull *Unigenitus*.

The Bull *Unigenitus*.

The *Case of Conscience* published by Dr. Du Pin, in 1703, had been the cause of two apostolical ordinances against his adherents, as Jansenists, in 1705 and 1708, in the last of which the *Moral*

[1] The chief portion of the account here given is taken from Pray (Georgii Pray, *Historia Controversiarum de Ritibus Sinicis, &c.* Pestini Budæ, 1789), as quoted above. He is the constant and ardent advocate of the Jesuits in every part of this question. On the other side are to be consulted Mosheim (*Latest Ecclesiastical Events in China, &c.* Rostock, 1748, translated into English from German about 1750), the able *Reply to the Protest of the Jesuits, by the College of Foreign Missions in Paris*, published in French, July 10th, 1710, and translated into Italian in August of the same year, and several works quoted in that able memorial. The *Mémoires du Père Norbert* also afford most important illustrations of the proceedings of the Jesuits in their foreign missions. Besides these, however, there are a host of works which cannot be enumerated here, which bear on the subject.

Reflections of Pasquier Quesnel on the New Testament were expressly condemned. The reply of that theologian was the immediate cause of the Bull *Unigenitus* (so called from its initial word), in which one hundred and one propositions taken from that book were condemned, and an attempt made finally to extinguish Jansenism. This Bull was promulgated in the year 1713, and was acted upon in France for a time; but afterwards, during the Regency of Philip, Duke of Orleans, the rigours of its condemnations, by the influence of the Cardinal de Noailles, were, for a season, relaxed. The Regent was, however, induced afterwards by the party of the Jesuits to take some measures in support of it. A Papal Brief (dated August 28, 1718) afterwards appeared, threatening severe measures against all who opposed "the Constitution," as the Bull was called. The Parliament of Paris at first suppressed this Brief by an arrêt. The Jansenist prelates and dignitaries of the Gallican Church now offered to accept the Constitution, if they might give their own explanation of it, but their explanations were refused, and by the exertions of the Regent, and the Jesuits, Clement XI. saw the opponents of the Bull completely subdued. This was effected by a Royal Ordinance, dated August 4, 1720.[1]

Death of Clement XI. A.D. 1721.

The death of the Pontiff (19th March, 1721) followed close upon the victory he had thus obtained. He has been highly eulogized as a learned and amiable man, but it has been observed that his Bulls were not calculated to please either of the two great parties in the Roman Catholic Church. While he offended the Jesuits in China, as we have before stated, he offended equally their opponents the Jansenists by his treatment of them in France, and especially by the publication of the Bull *Unigenitus.*

Innocent XIII. A.D. 1721-1724

He was succeeded by Cardinal M. A. Conti, Bishop of Viterbo, under the title of Innocent XIII., whose pontificate exhibits nothing very remarkable, except, perhaps, an edict issued by him for the reformation of morals among the ecclesiastics of Spain. He died in 1724, and was succeeded by Cardinal Vincent Orsini, (son of the Duke of Gravina), under the title of Benedict XIII.

Benedict XIII. A.D. 1724-1730

Benedict XIII. appears to have been a mild and amiable man, fond of literature, and desirous of reforming some of the abuses then existing in the Roman Catholic Church. He projected a grand scheme of religious comprehension, by which all the great and leading portions of the Christian Church were to be united, but it is almost needless to say that no steps were taken in

[1] On the subject of the Liberties of the Gallican Church, the reader must be referred to the work of M. Pithou, as published with the *Commentaries* of M. Durand, in 1781. It had previously been augmented in 1639 and 1651 by M. Dupuy. An able but very brief summary of the principal points may be found in the *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Regulation of Roman Catholic Subjects in Foreign States*, 1816, p. 255.

Affair of Thorn.

furtherance of this plan. In his pontificate the affair of Thorn occurred. It originated in the refusal of some Lutherans to kneel at the procession of the Host, for which a Jesuit student struck some of them. This led to riots, and to violence on both sides, but the Roman Catholics eventually obtained the decapitation of the President of the city and nine of his associates, as well as an annihilation of the privileges of the Protestants. The Jesuits at that time had the chief influence over the court of Warsaw, and, as we see in this instance, they exerted it very unscrupulously.

The only other point, necessary to be noticed here, is the necessity under which this Pontiff found himself of yielding some privileges to the King of Sardinia, and his dispute with the King of Portugal, who recalled his ambassador from Rome, and empowered the Patriarch of Lisbon to grant dispensations. This dispute was not adjusted till the time of his successor. He died February 21, 1730.

Death of Benedict.

Clement XII. A.D. 1730-1740

He was succeeded by Lorenzo Corsini, who assumed the title of Clement XII., and held the pontificate about ten years. He appears to have made some reforms with regard to pluralities in Germany. He settled the dispute with Portugal by acceding to the terms of the King, but he revoked the concessions made to Sardinia by his predecessor. He favoured the Jesuits, and discouraged the French Jansenists. It was by a decree of Clement XII., in 1732, that the "Sodalities of the Devotion of the Heart of Jesus" appear first to have been authoritatively established, although Innocent XII. is said to have sanctioned them. These Sodalities were founded on the pretended revelations of Marie Alacoque, a nun, who died at the close of the seventeenth century, whom our Saviour is said to have inspired with a knowledge of the sufferings and perfections of his heart. Whatever dreams and enthusiasm may have mingled with the origin and the devotional exercises of these societies, they have been, and probably are at the present moment, most powerful engines of propagandism—the more powerful, like the Jesuits, from the secrecy with which their operations are conducted. It is worth while to mention their origin here, on account of the extraordinary effect which their secret combinations have produced.

Benedict XIV. A.D. 1740-1758

On the death of Clement XII. (6th February, 1740), Cardinal Prosper Lambertini was elevated to the Papal throne, which he occupied eighteen years, under the title of Benedict XIV. The disputes connected with the Bull *Unigenitus* were renewed in the time of this Pontiff. The adherents of the Jesuits refused the sacraments to those suspected of Jansenism; the Parliament of Paris took up the cause of the latter, fined the priests for this refusal, and eventually issued an ordinance prohibiting any refusal of the sacrament under pretence of obeying the Bull *Unigenitus*.

Continual disputes between the Court, the Parliament, and the Jesuits supervened, and Benedict XIV. was appealed to in 1755, in order to allay these irritating quarrels; but his answer was indecisive, and referred the matter to the King. His Majesty held a bed of justice, commanded obedience to the Bull, and altered the regulations concerning the magistracy, at which measure so much offence was taken by the Parliament, that two of the courts immediately resigned their functions.

Jesuits suppressed in France. A.D. 1764.

These measures were at first highly unfavourable to the Jansenists, but ere long the Parliament procured a full re-establishment of its powers; the exiles were recalled, and proceedings were resumed against those who withheld the sacraments, and the Jesuits were severely handled by the Parliament; and finally, on the 7th December, 1764, an edict of suppression was promulgated against them in France, and the Parliament by an *arrêt* suppressed a Bull issued for their re-establishment.[1]

In Portugal also.

In the meantime, the Jesuits had been banished from Portugal, in consequence of many of them (especially Father Malagrida) having been concerned in a conspiracy against the King's life. The storm was now gathering against this body, which eventually overwhelmed it.

Clement XIII. A.D. 1758-1769

Benedict XIV. died on the 5th May, 1758, and his place was supplied by Cardinal Charles Rezzonico, Bishop of Padua, under the title of Clement XIII. Some concessions were made by him to the King of Portugal, by which ecclesiastics in that country were wholly subjected to the civil power in cases of treason and sedition. Attempts were made to induce this Pontiff to suppress the Jesuits, but this act was reserved for his successor.

Clement XIV. A.D. 1769-1774

On the death of Clement XIII., in 1769, the celebrated Cardinal J. V. A. Ganganelli, a Franciscan monk, ascended the Pontifical throne, and styled himself Clement XIV. The great act which distinguished his pontificate was the suppression of the Order of the Jesuits. They had previously been banished from Portugal in 1759, from France in 1764, and from Spain and Sicily in 1767; but still a final measure of suppression was wanting from the See of Rome. In 1773 appeared a Brief[2] from

[1] It may be proper to mention slightly here, the miraculous cures asserted to have been effected at the tomb of the Abbé de Paris, at St. Medard's, in Paris. The Abbé, sometimes called the Jansenist saint, died in 1727, and it is said that persons who prostrated themselves upon his tomb received miraculous cures of the diseases with which they were afflicted. It is clearly shown, that in some cases there was imposture and fraud; and Bishop Douglas (in his *Criterion*) has examined all the cases which appear deserving of investigation, and shown that there were no cures amongst them, even admitting the facts, which might not be accounted for by natural causes. For a time these pretended miracles were a party engine of some power in the hands of the Jansenists.

[2] Various reasons have been assigned for the use of a Brief rather than a Bull, but none are satisfactory enough to be made matter of history. The Brief itself will be found in the Appendix to *The Report of the House of Commons on Foreign Roman*

Clement XIV., "to suppress and abolish" the Order altogether, and declaring *that the name of the company shall be, and is for ever extinguished and abolished.* It was after long deliberation that Clement resolved on this measure, and, although the authority of his letters has been used in order to show that he acted by the instigation, and almost under the control of others, these letters have usually been accounted forgeries. Pope Ganganelli died on the 22d September, 1774, under circumstances which caused no small suspicion of poison. The report, however, of Salicetti, his physician, attests that he died by natural causes; but it was, on the other hand, supposed that this report was obtained by undue influence.

Death of Clement XIV.

Report of the Spanish Minister.

With regard to the question whether Clement XIV. was poisoned or not, a very interesting communication may be found in the *Memoirs of Scipio de Ricci*, who was related to Father Ricci, the General of the Order at the time of its suppression. It is entitled a "*Circumstantial Narrative, describing the Last Illness and Death of Pope Clement XIV., sent by the Spanish Minister to his Court.*" This document first narrates the prophecies of Bernardine Beruzzi, a peasant girl of Valentino, who predicted that the Society "would not be extinguished; that one of its most celebrated members would be raised to the purple by Clement XIV. himself; that the Jesuits would in a short time be restored to the States from which they had been expelled," &c. . . . She afterwards, having herself been imposed upon, proceeded to announce the death of Clement, and persisted in repeating the false intelligence, until after being convinced that he was still alive, she returned to her predictions in favour of the Order. After the suppression of the Order in August, 1773, these prophecies still continued, but they were confined to two points: 1. The Restoration of the Society; 2. Predictions that the Pope would die, as well as all those who had assisted him. The real propagators of these predictions were some Jesuits, who systematically employed themselves in that object.

The Pope, however, lived in health and quiet more than eight months after the Society had been abolished, though he always suspected the intrigues of the Jesuits; and mentioned, it is said, his apprehensions to a person of credit, whose initials the Spanish Minister gives. The same authority gives also an account of the strange engraving, published in Germany, with the text from 1 Kings [*i. e.*, 1 Sam.] iii. 18—qVoD bonVM est In oCVLIs sVIs faCIat . . . . . —where the letters printed in capitals make up MDCCLVVVVIIII, 1774, the year in which Clement died. He then describes the

The prophetic engraving.

Catholics before referred to. The Bull of Pius VII. for their restoration is there also. They are also to be found in English in the *Constitutiones Societatis Jesu*, as reprinted in London in 1838. The first is dated July 21, 1773, the second August 7, 1814.

manner in which the Pope was attacked by disease, and the various symptoms which manifested themselves, concluding with these words:—"After all these facts, it seems hardly conceivable that an inflammatory disorder, as the physician named it, without some violent cause, should leave the blood without any indication of fever during nine successive days. Those persons" [intelligent persons who compared the prophecies, symptoms, &c.] "though unpractised in the profession, thought themselves authorized in applying to the case of Clement XIV. the distinguishing signs of poison pointed out by Paul Zacchia, a celebrated Roman physician."[1] Count Alexis de St. Priest, also, in his work entitled *The Fall of the Jesuits*, speaks unhesitatingly as to the fact, that his disease was from poison, and quotes several passages from the official correspondence of Cardinal Bernis with the French Minister, in which the same opinion is expressed. In the same work also, both Pius VI. and Pius VII. are quoted, as expressing their belief that his death was not produced by natural causes. Having made these statements, we must in justice also add, that there is a considerable variance of opinion on the question, and that the poisoning is doubted and denied by many.

The fall, however, of the Jesuits, is a matter of so much importance, that we must dwell a little longer on the subject. The occurrences in Portugal, although more political than religious, are closely connected with it. In the work quoted a little above (*The Fall of the Jesuits*, by Count Alexis de St. Priest), the author appears to attribute to the occurrences in Portugal the chief origin of the ruin which overwhelmed the Society of Jesuits. There can be no doubt that the policy of the Marquis de Pombal gave a great shock to the power of the Jesuits, but it would have been comparatively harmless, if many other circumstances had not concurred to give it significance and strength. The chief circumstances, therefore, which affected the position of the Jesuits in Europe, require a very brief recapitulation, which will most conveniently be arranged according to the countries to which they relate.

Marquis de Pombal.

1. *Portugal.*—Sebastian Carvalho, afterwards Count d'Oeyras, and subsequently Marquis de Pombal, by which last name he is best known as the Minister of Joseph I. of Portugal, belonged originally to the middle class, or to the lowest grade of nobility, and having carried away the daughter of a nobleman of the true *sang bleu* (*sangre azul*), was looked upon with great jealousy by the proud and ancient nobility of Portugal. On the 3d of September, 1758, an attempt was made to assassinate the King. His carriage was fired into by some conspirators on horseback, and the King was wounded in the arm. The Duke d'Aveiro, and

The Jesuits in Portugal.

[1] *Memoirs of Scipio de Ricci*, translated from the French by T. Roscoe, Esq., vol. i., pp. 8-18.

the greater part of the family of the Marquis de Tavoro, known enemies of Pombal, were seized, accused of this attempt, and several of them executed. The Duke d'Aveiro and the Donna Eleonora de Tavora were both of them executed, with many cruel aggravations of the disgrace. Three Jesuits, Mattos, Alexander, and Malagrida, were accused as the instigators of the crime, and Malagrida was executed some time after on a charge of heresy. The advocates of the Jesuits have accused Pombal of inventing the plot in order to ruin their Order; but, although the guilt of the crime has not been brought home to the accused parties so fully as the most impartial inquirer would desire, these attempts to exculpate them have no evidence to support them. The conclusion of Count St. Priest is as follows:—"There are fully sufficient reasons to believe the arrest of the parties accused to have been a legal act, although the means employed to obtain their conviction cannot be approved." The determination was taken to expel the Jesuits, and after some negotiations with Rome, which almost ended in a formal rupture, Pombal deported all the Jesuit priests, professors, &c., and sent them in vessels of the royal and merchant navy to the coast of Italy. Orders were sent to Brazil, and all the Portuguese colonies, to follow the same plan. Such were the circumstances under which the Jesuits were expelled from Portugal. It must, however, be stated also that the Jesuits are supposed to have opposed the execution of a treaty between Spain and Portugal in 1753, by which, on an exchange of colonies, the inhabitants were required also to exchange habitations. This contributed also to render them objectionable to the government.

The Jesuits in France.

2. *France.*—Many causes conspired to procure the expulsion of the Jesuits from France. Among these the celebrated trial caused by the commercial speculations of Father La Valette, were not the least influential. He was curate of a small parish in Martinique, and by availing himself of certain advantages in the exchange of money and other speculations, he established a trade of the most extensive character.[1] He carried on this trade for his Order, and after many risks and difficulties, he so completely compromised the house of Messrs. Lioncy and Gouffre, in consequence of the capture of one of his vessels (worth 2,000,000 fr.), by the English, that a remedy was sought in the courts of law. The Order was held liable for the actions of its agent, and very

[1] The mode by which he obtained his enormous profits is detailed in the thirteenth volume of the *Causes Célébres*, edited by Richer. Portugal gold pieces, which could be bought in France for forty-two francs, were current in Martinique for sixty-six! By buying these in France, and trading with them in the West Indies, his profits were greatly augmented. And French money passed also at a high premium. He would gain a clear profit of more than 50 per cent. in one year. In three years, therefore, he could repay the borrowed capital, and retain for himself more than that capital!

serious losses were in consequence sustained by it; and, in the course of the trial, the constitutions of the Society were imperatively required to be produced.

The Parliament.

This public exposure of their principles was very damaging to the Society, and conspired, with other causes, to bring the body into odium with the people at large. The disputes between the King and the Parliament of Paris concerning them, ended in a manner highly unfavourable to their interests. The source of the dispute was connected with the acceptance of the Bull *Unigenitus*. The Jesuits refused the sacraments to all who would not accept this Bull; but the Parliament of Paris fined a priest for such a refusal. This brought on a rupture between the Court and the Parliament of Paris. The majority of the Bishops took part with the Jesuits, but ultimately the Parliament triumphed, and a decree of suppression was obtained against the Order of Jesuits. The Pope issued a Bull for the re-instatement of the Order, but that Bull was suppressed in France by an *arrêt* of Parliament; while in Portugal it was rendered inoperative by the King's own command. The Duke de Choiseul states, that the King of France (Louis XV.) was under the impression, that if he maintained the Roman Catholic religion in France, he would certainly be saved; and that he even went so far as to resolve on an alliance with the House of Austria only to crush the King of Prussia and annihilate Protestantism. He was therefore unwilling to suppress the Jesuits, but eventually was obliged to yield to the force of public opinion; and, in 1764, the Jesuits were expelled from France.

The Jesuits in Spain.

3. *Spain.*—The causes which ruined the interests of the Jesuits in Spain are wrapt in obscurity. The first public circumstance connected with their fall was of a trifling nature. There was an affair called the "*Emeute des Chapeaux.*" The Court wished to put down broad-brimmed hats. This caused a riot and sedition, which nothing but the Jesuits could appease. They allayed it so easily, that they were accused of having fomented it, and this accusation the King believed. This was early in 1766; and investigations into the conduct of the Jesuits were secretly instituted by Count d'Aranda, the chief of the ministry, the result of which, and of other causes combined, was, that on the 2d April, 1767, despatches were opened by the Alcaldes in all the towns of Spain, and of its colonies, which ordered the suppression of the Order. The Alcaldes were ordered to enter their establishments by force, if necessary, to expel the Jesuits within twenty-four hours, and transport them to such towns as were mentioned in the despatches.

In this manner, therefore, in three of the principal kingdoms of the Roman Catholic faith, the Jesuits had been suppressed or deported before the year 1770. It is also worthy of remark, that

on the death of Clement XIII., in 1769, a long time elapsed before the Conclave of Cardinals could agree in the election of a Pope. Ricci, indeed, the General of the Order, endeavoured to persuade the Cardinals to elect a Pope, without waiting for the consent of France and Spain, but they were too timid to accept this policy. The French apparently would have preferred Cardinal de Bernis, but eventually they acquiesced in the wishes of Spain, and Ganganelli was chosen Pope. He was of plebeian origin, and had lived as a monk from his early youth, but under the cowl of the monk had always entertained ambitious views. It is said that he gave a sort of secret pledge to the Court of Spain, that he would, if elected, suppress the Order of the Jesuits. Indeed, the very terms in which he is said to have made the compact, have been published, but their authenticity is doubtful. One thing, however, is clear, that the only great Roman Catholic power which had not inflicted a severe blow upon the Order, and which was not anxious for its suppression, was Austria. Joseph II., who was at Rome in a kind of half *incognito*, pretended to treat all that related to the election of a Pope, and to the suppression of the Jesuits, with a supreme indifference. Indeed, they were in hopes that he was favourable to their cause. He soon, however, undeceived them. In order also to humiliate the Bourbons and the Pope, Joseph constantly expostulated against the importance attached to the election of a Pope; considering it an affair wholly unworthy of the attention of a monarch of the eighteenth century. Such were the circumstances under which Clement XIV. had ascended the Papal throne, and such the movement throughout Europe which preceded his suppression of the Jesuits. It is an episode in this portion of our history, but an episode of universal interest. We now return to the thread of our narrative.

Pius VI. A.D. 1774-1798

Clement XIV. was succeeded by Cardinal J. A. Braschi, under the title of Pius VI. His pontificate was in some respects remarkable and eventful. He visited the Emperor of Austria, in order to induce him to give up some of his intended reforms, but the visit scarcely appears to have been productive of any advantage to the Papal cause. On the outbreak of the French Revolution, the Roman Catholic Church in France was overthrown, and Christianity formally abolished in that country, and it was not many years before the Pope found himself actually at war with the French republic. The events of this war do not belong to this history, and it is only necessary to state that the Pope, on the establishment of a republic in Rome, was first removed into Tuscany, and eventually placed at Valence, in Dauphiny, where he died, 29th August, 1799.

Pius VII. A.D. 1800-1823

The French republicans were unable to secure the suppression of the Papal dignity, and, on the 14th of March, 1800, Cardinal

Barnabas Chiaramonti was chosen Pope, and assumed the title of Pius VII. The Christian worship had been, in some degree, restored in France, and Napoleon, as First Consul, saw clearly that no government could be stable in any country without religion, and a communication was opened between him and the Pope, which resulted in the *Concordat* of 1801, by which the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion, on a different basis from before, was settled. The government, however, placed many restrictions on the Church; even more unpalatable to Rome than the former liberties of the Gallican Church. In 1804, the Pope was called upon by Buonaparte to take part in the ceremony of his coronation as Emperor, to which, after some demur and scruples, he acceded, and was present at the ceremony, although Napoleon did not suffer him to place the crown upon his head. The new Emperor seized on Ancona, and, in 1808, occupied Rome by French troops. In 1809, Napoleon formally annexed Rome to the French empire as a free city. The Pope, who refused to surrender his rights, was deported from Rome, and retained a prisoner in France, at Grenoble, Savona, and Fontainebleau, a captivity from which the successes of the Allies in 1814 delivered him.

Concordat in 1801. French dominion over Rome.

After the Allies had entered Paris in the year 1814, Napoleon gave orders to conduct the Pope, Pius VII., to Rome, and after considerable delay, he made a triumphal entry into Rome on the 24th May. His return was hailed by all parties with pleasure, for even Protestants felt a certain degree of sympathy for one who had resisted with so much firmness the mighty Emperor, before whom the rest of Europe had so humbly bowed the knee.

Return of the Pope to Rome.

In Rome there were at this time two distinct parties, both of them of considerable strength; the one, with stern and earnest bigotry, devoted to the ideas of former ages, and the other, with the liberalizing tendencies of modern days, inclined to make concessions to the spirit of the times. They were called in Rome the Zealots (*Zelanti*) and the Liberals (*Liberali*). Cardinal Pacca, who enjoyed the confidence of the Pope, was the leader of the first, and Cardinal Gonsalvi of the second. The political difficulties which awaited the Pope on his return were not small; for a thorough reorganization, both of the Church and of the State, was imperatively required. Great changes had taken place in regard to the territorial division of Europe, and these had affected both dioceses and Bishops; and it was necessary to establish *concordats* with many States in order to re-constitute the dioceses. The tendencies which had been developed in many countries by the influence of the French Revolution had led, on the one hand, to considerable latitude and insubordination; and, on the other, as a natural consequence, to an antagonistic fanaticism. The consequences of the French Revolution, and the weakness of the

Romish Church, had given encouragement to freethinkers, even in the countries where the Inquisition had previously suppressed such opinions; as, for example, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, while a national reform of the Roman Catholic religion, and a limitation of the powers of the hierarchy were called for by another party. Under Joseph II., a certain degree of enlightenment had been diffused among the Roman Catholics, and it was difficult, especially where a large part of the German Roman Catholic States had been transferred to Protestant rulers, altogether to suppress these views. The Pope had therefore a difficult part to play: should he make concessions to the Liberals, he would enlist against himself some of his most enthusiastic adherents; if he gratified these latter, he would bring upon himself the hatred of the Liberals. The political and social condition of the States of the Church was also full of embarrassing difficulties. The State was impoverished in consequence of continual wars and the cessation of the foreign revenues, which had formerly flowed in from all the Roman Catholic countries. The privileges of the Clergy and the rights of the Church had been considerably diminished, but the mass of the population had gained great advantages. Commerce, agriculture, and the industrial arts, had advanced, order and security had been preserved by a vigilant police and by the able administration of the laws, and offices and employments were now thrown open to the laity which had previously been exclusively held by the Clergy. All these circumstances rendered the position of the Pope on his return very complicated, both in regard to the State and the Church. But his inclination, and his favourite advisers, alike induced him to oppose the progress of the age, and to endeavour to undo much of what had been done. The division of the State into provinces and municipalities was abolished, and it was divided into seventeen Legations, over each of which an ecclesiastic was appointed to preside; and if he was a cardinal, he bore the title of Legate. The social order, which had been previously maintained, was thus broken, and great disorders occurred; the laws were held in contempt, and crime became rampant in the land. He restored the Order of Jesuits, which re-established itself in many parts of Europe, and manifested great activity. Their condition, however, depended in great measure on the character of the government for the time being. They were re-established in Portugal, under Don Miguel, and also in Spain, but the prevalence of a liberal government in these countries entirely altered their position again. They were banished in 1815 from St. Petersburg; and in 1820 from the Russian empire. Some of those who were banished were received in Galitzia, and maintained educational establishments.

The Bible Society.

The Pope delivered his sentiments on the subject of the Bible Society, in a writing addressed to the Archbishop of Gnesen, dated

June 29, 1816. He designates such societies as a pest, as impious machinations of revolutionists, and as an invention calculated to sap the very foundations of religion ;[1] and he declares that translations of the Scriptures do more harm than good, and that none should be tolerated except those sanctioned by the Apostolic See, or furnished with explanations from the Fathers.

Cardinal Gonsalvi.

Gonsalvi was, although a leader of the *Zelanti*, a man of much statesmanlike knowledge, and he kept his party within certain limits. He prevented them from publishing, with the sanction of the Papacy, books, in which the dependence of temporal princes on the Pope in worldly matters was inculcated. But these limits were overstepped very soon after the death of Pius VII.

Leo. XII. 1823-1829.

The Pope, Pius VII., died in August, 1823, and in January, 1824, Gonsalvi followed his master. Annibale della Genga ascended the Papal throne under the title of Leo XII. His early career, it is said, had been marked in some degree by laxity; but, on the restoration of the Papacy, he joined the party of the *Zelanti*. Cardinals Anfossi and Fea were now permitted to publish books advocating the most unmitigated views of the ultramontane party.

Leo XII. favoured monks and Jesuits, and restored processions, and other ecclesiastical customs. The year of Jubilee, which fell within his pontificate, was celebrated with great solemnity.[2] He even extended the limits of the jubilean year for six months of 1826, as a post-jubilean year. Among the canonizations which he introduced, was the beatification of St. Julianus, a Spanish Franciscan, in 1825, which gave rise to many satirical observations, especially in regard to the miracles which he is said to have performed, one of which was, that he took half roasted birds from the spit, and restored them to life!

Pius VIII.

On the death of Leo XII., in 1829, Cardinal Castiglioni became Pope, under the title of Pius VIII., but his pontificate was extremely brief, as he died towards the close of 1830.

Gregory XVI. 1831-1846.

He was succeeded by Cardinal Capellari, who took the title of Gregory XVI. His pontificate was not without some degree of reputation; but his administration was so badly conducted that the finances of the State were in the utmost confusion, and an annual deficiency of from two to three million of scudi was the result.

The Archbishop of Cologne.

It was during the pontificate of Gregory XVI. that the celebrated affair of the Baron Droste von Vischering, Archbishop of

[1] Pestis . . . impiæ novatorum machinationes . . . inventum, quo ipsa religionis fundamenta labefactantur.

[2] The writer of these pages was in Rome during part of the year of Jubilee. The tradespeople complained that it injured trade extremely, as it was observed very strictly; and during Lent severe restrictions were imposed on the sale of refreshments even in the coffee-houses.

Cologne, took place. The question of mixed marriages had caused great uneasiness and trouble in Prussia. In those provinces where the number of the Roman Catholics was preponderant, the priests required that when a mixed marriage was contracted, an engagement should be entered into, that all the children should be educated in the Romish faith. As marriage is a sacrament, according to the Roman Catholic view, and ought to be preceded by confession and holy communion, the Roman Catholic Clergy had sufficient means to work on the Romish, and also on the Protestant portion of the population. The government forbade these proceedings, but they could not always enforce their orders.

Mixed marriages.

The Prussian government had the greatest difficulty in the Rhenish provinces, and in Westphalia. It desired to leave the matter to the consciences of the parents; but in the cases where they could not agree, or where, after the death of one party, nothing had been determined upon, there the children should be brought up in the faith of the father. This ordinance had long been followed in the eastern provinces of Prussia, but in the western the priests still refused to celebrate mixed marriages unless a promise was given to educate all the children as Roman Catholics. Count Von Spiegel, Archbishop of Cologne, from 1825, seemed to consider that the demands of the government were reasonable; but he could make no change except under the direction of Rome. On a report made by him, the Pope sent a Brief, dated March 25, 1830, in which mixed marriages were highly disapproved, and the Clergy were required to warn their flocks against them; but it was at the same time conceded, that those Roman Catholics who contracted such marriages should not be visited with ecclesiastical censures. Archbishop Spiegel died in 1835, and was succeeded by Baron Clement Augustus Droste von Vischering, who very soon entered into the most active opposition to the Prussian government in this matter. He also instituted very severe measures with a tendency towards repressing the views taught by Professor Hermes of Bonn. He persecuted all the Clergy who were called Hermesians, and dismissed all the teachers in his seminary for priests under the same pretext. He insisted, in the case of mixed marriages, on the promise that the children should be brought up in the Romish faith. The government at last took severe measures against him. For, on the 20th November, 1837, the military surrounded his palace, and he was taken as a prisoner to the fortress of Minden, and his chaplain Michelis to Magdeburg. The breach was now open between Rome and Prussia, and much diplomatic correspondence took place between Chevalier Bunsen and the Roman authorities, but with little effect. On the accession of Frederick William IV., in 1840, he endeavoured to heal this rupture, and by making some

concessions in regard to mixed marriages, his Majesty restored some outward signs of peace, and a coadjutor Bishop (John von Giessel, formerly Bishop of Spire) was appointed to administer the duties of the diocese.

Pius IX. 1846.

In the year 1846, on the death of Gregory XVI., the College of Cardinals felt the necessity, in order to meet the excited condition of the population, to choose at once, and to choose some person who would be acceptable to the Liberal party. The late Pope died June 1, and the choice of the Cardinals was made on June 16. It fell on Cardinal J. M. Mastai Ferretti, a man in full possession of vigour and strength, of the age of fifty-four years. Greeted by the people with enthusiasm, he began by endeavouring to gratify their wishes. He attempted the reform of some abuses, and a limitation of the expenditure; and created an unexampled degree of enthusiasm by his promulgation of an amnesty towards political offenders, under which measure six thousand prisoners were restored to their families. He thus won the favour of the people, but a strong party was formed against him among the priests, because they saw in the liberalism to which he gave himself up, decided hostility to the Church and the spiritual power. Under these circumstances he was very careful to leave no reason to suspect his strict orthodoxy in religious faith. He was desirous that outwardly the old hierarchical principles should be established, and limited his endeavours to give the State a constitution and government in accordance with the spirit of the times. He did not mean to weaken the worldly power of the Popedom, and to sacrifice his territorial rights. He wished merely to establish such freedom as might be consistent with the preservation of the rights of the owners of the soil, to give the laity a share in the conduct of public affairs, and especially to bring the finances into order. He established a Council, and a national guard was soon set on foot. This created a strong feeling against the Pope in the opposite party, and a conspiracy was formed against him in Rome, which was, however, discovered. The Pope was now considered as the head of the reforming, or movement party, throughout Italy. His friends, however, soon outstripped him in the race of liberality, and the old notion of Italian unity, with a constitution either republican or monarchical, with limitations, gradually rose up; outbreaks took place in the other Italian States in order to force the rulers into concessions to the people. The most serious was the revolt of Lombardy against Austria as a foreign power. The French Revolution of 1848 exercised a very great influence on Italy, and the Pope was obliged to grant a constitution to his subjects. He retained the unlimited power of ruling the Church, and created two Councils of responsible advisers. The election to the pontificate was to remain with the Cardinals. But Pius IX. soon found that a revolutionary spirit is insatiable.

Pius IX.

The Jesuits were the object of great hatred among the people, and were obliged to leave Rome. On the revolt of Lombardy against Austria, the Pope was obliged, though declaring himself at peace with Austria, to give his Ministers permission to join in the movement. His reluctance to declare war against Austria rendered him unpopular; he was no longer an object of reverence, and the radicals were the predominant party in Rome. The Pope called Count Rossi, who had been a long time in Rome as French Minister, into his councils, to assist him in re-establishing order. This was a step which offended the radicals, and on the 15th November, 1848, Count Rossi was stabbed by an assassin in the midst of a crowd as he was about to enter the Chamber of Deputies. Rome was now the scene of the wildest confusion; the radicals were the ruling party, and the Pope fled (it is said, in the disguise of a footman) to Mola de Gaeta, in the Neapolitan territory. A provisional government was appointed in Rome, and Rome was declared a Republic. The Pope was to be deprived of all secular authority, and the Roman Republic was to join what are called the Italian Nationalities. But France interposed, and, sending an army, she besieged Rome. On the 3d July, 1849, the French entered Rome, and re-established the Papal power. From that time to the present it has not been considered safe to leave the Pope to the protection and affection of his own subjects, and the French army remains still in occupation of Rome. Although, however, the Pope was unable to preserve his own authority among his own subjects without the aid of foreign troops, he attempted to trouble the State of England, and interfere with the authority of the Sovereign in that land.

Archpriests.

The government of the Romish Clergy living in England, from the time of Queen Elizabeth to the present day, has been conducted under different titles. On the death of Dr. Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, in 1584 (he being the last survivor of the English prelates who were expelled from their sees by Queen Elizabeth), a scheme for reviving the separate Episcopacy in England was submitted to the Pope on behalf of the Roman Catholics in England; but it was not considered expedient to attempt it. An archpriest (Mr. Blackwell) was sent over by Gregory XIII. in 1598, with authority to govern the Romish Clergy in England; and the system of archpriests continued till 1623, when a Brief was issued on March 25, by Gregory XV., licensing William (Dr. W. Bishop), who had previously been elected to the Church of Chalcedon, *in partibus*, to use all the faculties enjoyed by the archpriests in England, as well as those which are enjoyed by ordinaries in those cities and dioceses, during the pleasure of the Holy See, notwithstanding the decrees of General Councils, and all things to the contrary. No mention was made of the office of Vicar Apostolic, which is an office and title

Vicars Apostolic.

altogether unknown to the canon law.[1] The designation, however, crept in, and established itself by use, and the theory was, that the Roman Catholics in Great Britain were under *the immediate Episcopal authority* of the See of Rome; that authority being exercised through a vicar, who being, for the most part, a Bishop *in partibus*, could confer holy orders, &c. (*Twiss*, p. 118). This system continued till the year 1850, when the Roman Catholics, whose influence had been augmented by numerous secessions from the Church of England, were placed by the Pope under a different mode of government. They had long cherished the desire, being encouraged by some success in proselytizing, of taking some step by which they might seem to claim or assume a territorial jurisdiction; and the Pope took the measures calculated to meet this desire.

The Popish aggression.

The Pope, on the 29th September, 1850, issued letters apostolic, restoring the hierarchy of Bishops in England, and re-establishing or creating twelve Episcopal Sees, with a metropolitan archbishopric. By whose suggestion this measure was resolved upon, we cannot well certainly determine; but this much is certain, that the chief prominence was given to Cardinal Wiseman, who was appointed Archbishop of Westminster. Cardinal Wiseman was educated at the English College in Rome, and after occupying the chair of Oriental Literature in the University of Rome for some time, he came to England, where he has always been most active and persevering in endeavouring to propagate the Romish faith. He has apparently been more successful in such attempts, than in maintaining that faith in his controversial writings. In a controversy with the Rev. W. Palmer, he retired from the contest with the glory of having quoted spurious pieces as genuine, and in his controversy with Dr. Turton, now Bishop of Ely, he reproached his antagonist with having only a sort of schoolboy learning, which enabled him to refer to the books on his shelves to verify passages which a learned controversialist might happen to quote. Unhappily for Dr. Wiseman's reputation, he made too definite a charge of this sort; for it appeared perfectly certain that he could never have seen even the title-page of the book which he himself had quoted.[2] By whomsoever advised, however, the Pope sent these

Cardinal Wiseman.

[1] See *The Letters Apostolic of Pope Pius IX., considered with reference to the Law of England and the Law of Europe.* By Travers Twiss, D.C.L., &c. P. 115, *et seq.*

[2] The subject is so curious, that it may well justify a passing notice and record here. Dr. Wiseman quoted Tittman's *Meletemata*. Dr. Turton replied that he had searched Tittman's *Commentary*, and could find nothing to justify the assertion made. Dr. Wiseman replied, that Dr. Turton's schoolboy learning [!] was here so far at fault, that he could not refer to the right book: "I quoted the *Meletemata Sacra*," says Dr. Wiseman; "I suppose the learned Professor was unacquainted with the work; so, like a good controversialist—certainly not like a good scholar—he goes to another work of Tittman's, and from that attempts to confute me. This is his *Commentary on St. John*. . . . . The words from the *Meletemata Sacra*

letters apostolic to England, and early in November the English nation was roused to the highest degree of indignation at this measure. That the Pope should parcel out the territory of England into Episcopal Sees at his own pleasure, and appoint Bishops to those sees, appeared to be an assumption of power which required some legislative enactment in order to meet it. Lord John Russell, who was then Prime Minister, wrote a letter to the Bishop of Durham expressive of his indignation at this aggression. On the meeting of Parliament, in 1851, Lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles in respect of places in the United Kingdom. On the 7th February, and on the 14th, he carried this motion for leave, &c., by a majority of 395 to 63. The bill itself, by which the assumption of the titles of Bishops of Sees in England is rendered penal, passed the second reading in the House of Commons by a majority of 343 to 95. This circumstance will show very clearly how strongly this measure was condemned by the English people, although the bill itself was scarcely adequate to repress the evil.[1] It appears also from many documents which were now brought forward that a Romish hierarchy had been thrust upon our colonies, and in some places had endeavoured to take precedence of the English Bishops of those colonies. The correspondence relative to the See of Sydney, New South Wales, will be found in the volume of Dr. Twiss.[2] Into this question, however, our space will not permit us to enter further.

The Durham Letter.

Another act also of the pontificate of Pius IX. requires some notice here. In the year 1854, the Pope promulgated a new article of faith. The disputes which have existed for centuries between two parties in the Romish Church, regarding the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, are well known. The Dominicans have always opposed the doctrine strenuously, but it has received support from some portion of the Church of Rome, especially the Franciscans. After some preliminary inquiries and circulars, Pius IX. determined to proclaim it an article of the faith. Accordingly, on the 8th December, 1854 (being the festival of the Conception), in St. Peter's Church, during divine service, in the presence of Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, to the number of two hundred, and a vast congregation, amounting to thirty thousand

The immaculate conception.

are as clear as those from the *Commentary*," &c. It is evident from these words that Dr. Wiseman never saw the book he was quoting himself, for the title of that book is *Meletemata Sacra sive Commentarius Exegetico-criticus dogmaticus in Evangelium Joannis.* Dr. Turton, having an objection to long words, quoted it by the more common title of *Commentary!* All comment is superfluous.

[1] See also a clever pamphlet entitled, *The Queen's Ministers Responsible for the Pope's New Hierarchy in England*, &c., by Dudley M. Perceval, Esq. London: Rivingtons, 1851.

[2] Those who desire to enter fully into this question will do well to read the work we have quoted above by Dr. Twiss, *The Letters Apostolic Considered*, &c., together with the debates on the subject.

persons, the doctrine that the blessed Virgin Mary was conceived without spot of sin, and that it is henceforth to be received by all that she was exempt by a miraculous interposition of God from that original hereditary taint which has been derived by all from Adam, except by Christ alone; and that all who deny this proposition are guilty of heresy. In the brief telegraphic despatch which proclaimed this event to Europe, Rome is described as *intoxicated with joy.* The despatch says: "Le Pape officiant à Saint-Pierre a promulgué après l'Evangile (a onze heures) le décret attendu. L'Immaculée Conception est declarée foi de l'Eglise, et, quiconque la nie, heretique. . . . . Rome est ivre de joie."[1] It is needless to state that Catholic antiquity is against it. St. Augustine directly affirms the contrary doctrine; and not he alone, but many others, a reference to whose works will be found in Sermon xliii. of Dr. Wordsworth's *Occasional Sermons.*[2] This is not the place to discuss the doctrine, but simply to record the fact, that the Pope has here claimed the power of adding *a new doctrine* to the faith of the Church. It is not a declaration of a *primitive* doctrine; it is absolutely new. It has been doubted by some of the highest name in the Church of Rome, and denied by others, so that even St. Bernard held a view which is now declared by Pius IX. to be a heresy! It is clear that in recent times the worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary has been very much on the increase, and the Roman Pontiff himself, in his Encyclic Letter dated Gaeta, February 2, 1849, declares that the ground of his confidence is in the most Holy Virgin, because in her God has vested the plenitude of all things, and he applies to *her* the prophecy that *He* (the seed of the woman) *shall bruise the serpent's head.* Now, nothing can be more certain than that this is founded on a gross mistranslation of Genesis iii. 15.[3]

Its evil consequences.

And thus the Pope places the Blessed Virgin almost in the room of God, and applies to her a prophecy which the Word of God applies to Christ alone. These are signs of the times, and very awful signs also! The Christian cause has difficulties enough to contend with in its battle with the world, without bringing upon it such reproaches as must fall upon a confidence placed anywhere except in God and the Redeemer. They who encumber that cause with superstitious usages and false miracles, and who turn the current of that devotion which ought to be directed towards Christ to the Blessed Virgin, are taking the most effectual

[1] See this despatch, as quoted in Dr. Wordsworth's *Occasional Sermons*, No. xliii. Some admirable observations will also be found there, and in No. xii. of the same Sermons.

[2] See also the Bishop of Oxford's Sermon on the same subject.

[3] The pronoun, in early Hebrew writings, may be ambiguous, but there can be no mistake about the verb, which is undoubtedly masculine. The Romanists will, of course, appeal to the Vulgate, which they affirm to be the Word of God; but its authority is null and void in opposition to the original.

means of injuring Christianity. They are substituting modern superstitions for the faith once delivered to the saints, and preaching another Gospel, and preparing the way for infidelity.

Our general account of the Papacy has so far exceeded our limits that we can only afford space for a mere glance at its position in France.

Missions in France.

On the return of Louis XVIII., missions were established throughout France for the purpose of restoring the religious belief of the people. They were conducted by the Lazzarists, an Order founded by St. Vincent de Paul, and the Jesuits, together with a new Order named the "Priests of the Mission." They treated France, in great measure, as a country that had fallen from the faith. They usually opened their mission by the ceremony of "Planting the Cross." A colossal crucifix adorned with lilies (the emblem of the Bourbon rule), was borne to the appointed spot, and consecrated with great solemnity. The "Devotion of the Heart of Jesus" was also established and promoted. The Order of Trappists obtained sixteen monasteries. The government was desirous of establishing a new *concordat* with the Pope, by which a great accession of power would have been given to the Romish Church, but it was thought eventually unwise to propose it to the Chamber of Deputies. Ultramontanism began to be in the ascendant, under the influence of writings like those of Count de Maistre, the Abbé de la Mennais, and others. The Seminaries were made the instruments of the propagation of these views; and an association called "the Congregation," for the purpose of collecting revenues to be spent in promoting the interests of Popery throughout the world, was called into activity. Although, in 1826, a large body of Prelates (fourteen Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops), protested against the language which had been used in condemnation of the distinctive principles of the Gallican Church, ultramontanism began to be in the ascendant. A great check was given to the Jesuits for a time by the Revolution of 1830. The Professors in the Universities who were favourable to ultramontane principles, and to the Bourbon branch of the family, were obliged to resign their chairs. But eventually ultramontanism has prevailed, and the old principles of the Gallican Church are scarcely tolerated.

St. Simonians.

Two grievous forms of error appeared during this period in France, both of which were finally suppressed by law, or by order of government. One Count St. Simon put forth a number of crude views, partaking of a new Christianity and a system of Socialism; and on his death his opinions were propagated by his disciples, but in August, 1832, the leaders of this dangerous sect were condemned to an imprisonment of a year, and the Society was declared to be dissolved. The other form of error was that

Abbé Chatel.

propagated by the Abbé F. F. Chatel. Under Charles X., this

ecclesiastic had advocated religious freedom, and had set up a periodical called *Le Reformateur, ou l'Echo de la Religion et du Siecle.* He sought, like Ronge in Germany, to set up a new form of faith, which he called "L'Eglise Catholique Française," but from which he gradually obliterated all the distinguishing doctrines of Christianity. His church was closed by order of government, in November, 1842. One of his chief disciples, Auzon, returned to the Romish Church, and became a monk of La Trappe.

It was the Abbé de la Mennais who, in September, 1830, with Count Montalembert and Lacordaise established *L'Avenir* —a journal devoted to the maintenance of Catholicism and unbounded freedom! It advocated the independence of Church and State—the Church was to be poor, and receive neither support nor control from the State—and it was to be ruled by the Pope alone, &c. In 1832, the Pope condemned several of the doctrines of this journal, especially those relative to civil liberty; and the editors were recommended by Cardinal Pacca to yield obedience to the Pope. They immediately engaged to suppress their paper. But in 1834, the Abbé de la Mennais published another work, which caused a great sensation, *Les Paroles d'un Croyant.* Written in imitation of the style of the Bible, it breathed a spirit of the wildest democracy. It was soon condemned at Rome, and the author lived on, for a few years, in great isolation, and the sensation caused by his book soon subsided.

On the Pretended Miracles of the Romish Church in recent times.

Miraculous images.

It is requisite to take some notice of the numerous miracles which the Romanists assert to have taken place in the most recent times. When the French invaded Italy in 1796, a number of the images in various churches began to exhibit marks of miraculous agency. Some of them opened their eyes and winked, or miraculous tears ran down their cheeks, with various other wonders, which it is unnecessary to enumerate. The first image which exhibited any miraculous effects, was the great image of the Virgin in the Cathedral of Ancona. We will give the account of this image, which is found in *Supplemental Letter of Dr. Philpotts* (now Bishop of Exeter) *to C. Butler, Esq.* "The Abbé Vincent Albertini, himself an Anconitan, and Professor of Eloquence at Fermo, published, in the year 1820 (*with permission*), *An Historical and Moral Picture of the Invasion of Italy in* 1796, *and of the* Miraculous Winking, *at the same epoch,* of the Eyes *of the Holy Image of the Most Holy Virgin Mary, Worshipped in the Cathedral Church of Ancona.* A brief account of this work is given in the 'Pièces Justificatives' of the second volume of De

Potter's *Life of Scipio de Ricci, Bishop of Pistoia.* We are there informed, that the miracle first occurred on the 25th of June, 1796, at the very time when the news of the defeats of the French in Germany, and the higher Italy, was spread through the country. The Professor of Eloquence, referring to this occasion, makes the following very appropriate address to his countrymen:—'The angels,' said he, 'who, in the heights of the Empyrean, worship their exalted mistress, these very angels, to whom it is not permitted to direct a single glance to her face, envied in some sort your lot.' But whatever might be the feelings of the angels, certain it is that 'the whole population of Ancona ran to this image of the Virgin and gave the most sincere and unequivocal signs of penitence, joy, and devotion. The Cardinal Bishop Ranuzzi showed himself among the most eager.' By his order, there was published a true relation of the affair, which was known to 26,000 eye-witnesses, and authenticated by legal inquiries. An inscription was engraven in stone, and placed in the Cathedral, to perpetuate the memory of this unheard-of prodigy. 'On the 25th of November, 1796, the process was brought to a close, drawn out with the utmost rigour of form.' *The Pope instituted a pious fraternity to honour the image, under the name of the Sons and Daughters of Mary.*"

Miracles in England.

It is altogether needless to multiply narratives of these miraculous images; those who desire to read the details and the depositions in each case, may find a very ample collection of them in Marchetti.[1] Other events of a similar character often took place afterwards. Occasionally an image was reported to have spoken, or some other prodigy occurred. At a later period hundreds of thousands flocked to Treves to see and reverence the holy coat, the garment of our Lord. Prince Hohenlohe was also declared to have wrought many miraculous cures. In England, a small attempt was made to establish the truth of a miraculous cure effected upon a poor woman in 1835, in the parish of Whitwick, in Leicestershire, at a Romish chapel. She was subject to epileptic fits, and being seized with one of these during the service, she was said to have been cured by the application of one of the medals which had been blessed by the Archbishop of Paris. But on inquiry having been made by the clergyman of the parish, it appeared that other means (sal volatile, &c.), had been used, that her recovery was by no means complete, and that she con-

[1] DE 'PRODIGI avvenuti in molte sagre immagini specialmente di Maria santissima secondo gli autentici Processi compilati in Roma, MEMORIE Estratte e Ragionate da D. GIO. MARCHETTI, Esaminatore Apostolico del Clero e Presidente del Gesù, &c. Roma, 1797. 12mo, 293 pp.; or in the Translation known by the title of *Marchetti's Official Memoirs.* The writer possesses the original, and has formerly consulted a copy of the latter. But both are very rare. See also M. de Potter's *Memoirs of Scipio de Ricci*, vol. ii., p. 105, *et seq.*, in Roscoe's translation. This author calls them "tricks."

tinued to suffer for some time afterwards.[1] We mention this as a remarkable instance, although of less importance than the miraculous images in Italy, because in many cases the Pope sanctioned these latter. But the most remarkable case is that of the miraculous appearance of the Virgin Mary to two peasants at La Salette, in France. We take the following account of the occurrence from the *Notice Historique*, prefixed to the report of the last trial before the Cour Imperiale de Grenoble:[2]—

Lady of La Salette.

On the evening of Saturday, Sept. 19, 1846, two young persons, following the occupations of shepherds, Maximin Giraud, aged eleven, and Metanie Mathieu, aged fourteen, on returning from the hill of La Salette, declared that a beautiful lady had appeared to them, surrounded by glory, but with marks of sadness on her countenance, and that after making a wonderful revelation to them, she was carried up into the air, and disappeared, leaving only a bright luminous train, which also soon disappeared. The Curé of La Salette immediately announced the circumstance, and the report of it was soon spread far and near. Mgr. Bruillard, the Bishop of Grenoble, an octogenarian, took the matter up very warmly, and published a *Mandement Doctrinal* in favour of the miracle. Cardinal Bonald, however, the Archbishop of Lyons, altogether declined sanctioning the affair. The Bishop of Grenoble appears to have been entirely guided by M. Rousselot, his Vicar-General, and eventually, when he resigned his see, he would not sign his resignation until his successor, M. de Genouilhac, had agreed to maintain the truth of the miracle.

We need not enter into further details respecting the revelation made by the "beautiful lady" in the bright vision, but simply proceed to state the additional light which has been shed on the occurrence by subsequent events. Attention was attracted some years afterwards to the movements of an eccentric lady named Mdlle. de Lamerlière, and she was supposed to have had some connection with the affair of La Salette, from some strange statements she made herself, and from her exhibiting herself on one occasion in a dress which appeared the counterpart of that which was said to have been described by the two peasants. Her name was soon publicly associated with the miracle, and eventually two lawsuits were the result of the allegations that this miracle was effected by her contrivance. A paper war raged in the south of

[1] See a clever pamphlet published at Leicester in 1836, under the title of "*Special Pleadings in the Court of Reason and Conscience, held on Sunday, March 20th, 1836, during the Assizes at Leicester. Trial of W. O. Woolfrey, and others, for a Conspiracy.* Taken down by Memory, short-hand writer to the Court." Mr. Woolfrey was the Romish Priest who was officiating in the chapel at the time of the occurrence. He published a statement of the miracle.

[2] This volume is entitled, *Affaire de la Salette—Mademoiselle de Lamerlière contre MM. Déleon et Cartellier, Demande en* 20,000 *fr., de dommages intérêts.* Recueilli et publié par J. Sabatier, &c. Paris. 1857.

France on the subject with the utmost bitterness. In favour of the miracle the following publications were issued :—1. *La Verité sur l'Evènement de la Salette :* Grenoble, 1848. 2. *Nouveaux Documents sur l'Evènement de la Salette, &c. :* Ibid, 1848. 3. *Nouveau Sanctuaire:* Ibid, 1853. These three were all by M. Rousselot, and to them may be added a fourth :—4. *Notre Dame de la Salette Mieux Connue, ou la Verité de l'Apparition de la Reîne du Ciel démontrée par des preuves theologiques et canoniques, mises à la porteé des fideles. Par le R. P. Huguet, Mariste :* (Paris, C. Douniol). The most prominent among the opponents of the miracle were Messrs. Déleon and Cartellier, who published the following works :—1. *La Salette Fallavoux* (*Fallax Vallis*), *ou la Vallée du Mensonge par M. Donnadieu:* Grenoble, 1852. 2. *La Salette devant le Pape, ou Rationalisme et Heresie decoulant du fait de la Salette; Suivie du Memoire au Pape, par plusieurs membres du Clergé diocesain :* Ibid, 1854.

Donnadieu is an assumed name, made use of by M. l'Abbé Déleon, who wrote also *La Salette devant le Pape*, while the *Memoire au Pape* was written by M. Cartellier. The memorial to the Pope was signed by above fifty of the Clergy of the diocese of Grenoble. But the war, which thus raged, was destined to be carried into a different region, and to receive its final settlement in a court of law. Mdlle. de Lamerlière, either conceiving herself to be injured by the insinuations that she had contrived the miracle, or stimulated to the measure by the persuasion of the advocates of the miracle, brought an action for defamation against Messrs. Déleon and Cartellier, laying the damages at 20,000 francs. It was first tried before the Tribunal Civil of Grenoble, Oct. 8, 1854, where the result was a verdict in favour of the defendants, with costs. Mdlle. de Lamerlière appealed against this judgment, and brought the cause before the Cour Imperiale of Grenoble. It was tried April 27, 1857, and following days. Two of the ablest lawyers in France were employed on this occasion, M. Jules Favre for Mdlle. de Lamerlière, and M. Bethmont for the defendants. The judgment of the court was delivered on May 6, 1857. The appeal was dismissed with costs.

Conclusion.

We have described this pretended miracle more fully than any other, because, although the Pope could not be persuaded to sanction it, the results of it have been very remarkable. The mountain has been the scene of so many pilgrimages that *Missionaries of La Salette* have been established, buildings constructed to receive the pilgrims, and sisters are found to wait upon them; and on May 25, 1852, Mgr. de Bruillard, assisted by the Bishop of Valence, laid the first stone of a church which rises majestically on the very scene of the miracle. We have deemed it right to enter into this subject at some length, because it presents a very remarkable phase of the human mind. It seems sad

that men professing the faith of Christ should think it needful to support their cause by means such as these. They have their effect with the ignorant and the prejudiced, but eventually, when the deception is cleared away, the result must be deplorable. It serves to bring the faith of Christ into contempt, and leads those who cannot discriminate to reject the miracles of Scripture, when they find that those to which they have attached so much credit are only the inventions of man. We wish to use no harsh language, but we consider that the employment of such means as these is highly discreditable, and that eventually it must tend to the subversion of the faith of multitudes. They find a place here also in a summary of ecclesiastical history, because they serve to mark, with signs that cannot be mistaken, the unchanged spirit and policy of the Church of Rome.

CHAPTER XI.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, FROM A.D. 1700 TO A.D. 1858.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

SECTION I.—FROM 1700 TO 1815.

A.D.1700-1815 WE now turn to the history of the Church of England during the eighteenth century. The beginning of that century found the Church in a very divided state. The division consequent on the secession of the non-juring Bishops and Clergy was, of course, still existing, but to this was added another dispute of a mixed nature, partly political and partly ecclesiastical, between the two Houses of Convocation, and their respective adherents out of doors. The

Convocation of 1700.

Convocation, which met in February, 1700, was a sort of triumph to the party which had opposed the doctrine of the right of the Crown to suspend the meeting of this synod. It had been held by some that the Crown was not obliged to summon the Convocation, while others maintained that, although the summons from the Crown was requisite in order to enable the Convocation to meet, yet that it was imperative on the Crown to grant it. Both this Convocation and that which followed were much taken up with the disputes between the Lower and the Upper House respecting the rights and privileges of both. Among the rights claimed by the Lower House, the most important was that of originating discussions, and presenting the result of their deliberations on the subjects in which they had taken the initiative, to the Upper House. But it would be impossible here to enter into the minutiæ of these disputes, which are among the most complicated questions relating to our ecclesiastical polity. Their result is, however, highly important as an historical fact. The views of the Lower House were displeasing to King William, but during the reign of Queen Anne they took rather more latitude, and ventured to bring forward books for censure, and show other signs of activity. On the accession of George I. they were not

Convocation of 1717. Suppression of its functions.

immediately checked; but, in 1717, having ventured to animadvert on a sermon preached before the King by Bishop Hoadley, and published by him,[1] on the subject of the civil establishment of the Church, the Convocation was immediately prorogued, without being allowed to come to a decision. The notions of Bishop Hoadley were then in favour at court, and this decided step was

[1] The sermon on which the Convocation, or, to speak more properly, the Lower House of Convocation, were desirous of animadverting, was the origin of the celebrated Bangorian controversy.

also a final one, for since that time to a very recent period, the Convocation was never allowed to transact any real business. It met on the meeting of every new Parliament, but it was merely for the purpose of hearing divine service, and a *Concio ad Clerum*, and going through the preliminaries which are formally necessary previous to entering on its former functions. It never continued its sittings after these preliminaries were over, but was indefinitely prorogued.[1]

Influence of political events.

The course of politics was at this time unfavourable to Christianity, as it promoted jealousies among the Clergy. In the reign of Queen Anne (as has already been stated) the trial of Dr. Sacheverel overturned the Whig ministry, and restored the Tories to power. The activity of the Lower House of Convocation having been put an end to early in the reign of George I., much jealousy continued to exist between the two parties. The Court party were chiefly Whigs, and the parochial Clergy chiefly Tories, so that there was a heartburning and a jealousy among the body which materially impaired their usefulness. But other causes were at work also to depress the state of religion. The Court of Queen Anne had been, at least, favourable to virtue, that of George I. was, to say the least, favourable to vice. The remains of the profligacy of the times of Charles II. still smouldering in the country, were again called into something like energy, and immorality and irreligion now began to be rampant in the land. Deism was openly advocated, and a torrent of infidel publications was poured out upon the land—an inundation which never fails to leave the most desolating effects, even after its shallow and turbid waters have subsided.

Court of Queen Anne and George I.

Infidelity of the age.

The efforts of the Clergy were much divided by internal jealousy and distrust, and their constant controversy with the enemies of Christianity gave a tone to the literature and theology of the period, which was little calculated to raise the spirit of the age, and to educe the higher qualities of the Christian character. It was a perpetual defence of the outworks of the Christian faith, a continual putting of the Apostles and Evangelists, as it were, on their trial, rather than listening to their voice and catching the rays of divine light which beam from their pages.

Chief infidel writers.

The chief writings of the infidel party were those of Shaftesbury, Collins, Toland, Bolingbroke, Tindal, Morgan, Woolston, and Chubb, which took various grounds of objection against Christianity.

[1] Those who are desirous of reading upon the subject of the disputes about the Convocation at this period will find a long list of works in the *Biographia Britannica*, under the name *Atterbury*. The first origin was a *Letter to a Convocation Man* (said to have been written by Dr. Binckes). This was answered by Dr. (afterwards Archbishop) Wake. Dr. Wake was answered by Atterbury, whom he answered in his *State of the Church*. These writings, Bishop Gibson's *Synodus Anglicana*, and the publications of Dr. Hill and Dr. Kennet, are the most prominent works on the subject.

Lord Shaftesbury.

Lord Shaftesbury seemed rather to set Christianity aside, elbowing it out of the world with something like decent civility and a degree of light satire, and substituting an empty name of virtue in its stead.

Collins.

Collins, pretending that the sole evidence of Christianity was the accomplishment of the prophecies relative to the Messiah, endeavoured to undermine it altogether, by pretending to show that these prophecies were not properly applied in the New Testament, and that Christianity is, as it were, the allegorical sense of the Old Testament. We need not here stay to examine the falsehood of the very first principle of this argument, viz., that the sole evidence of Christianity is the fulfilment of prophecy; nor to observe the mistakes and unfairness of most of what he advances regarding the very few prophecies of which he lays hold. His scheme is here only mentioned at all, because it was one of the elements which served to form the German school of Rationalism, of which we shall have to speak briefly hereafter. He was answered very elaborately by Bishop Chandler and others.

Woolston.

The line—we cannot say of argument, but the line—which Collins had chalked out was carried farther by Woolston, who, not content with asserting that the prophecies of the Old Testament had an allegorical sense put upon them by the writers of the New Testament, declared that the very narrative of the New Testament was only allegory; that the miracles of our Saviour were not only unreal, but that the writers of the New Testament never meant them to be considered otherwise than allegory. The coarseness and low buffoonery of Woolston's works, however mischievous among men of a lower intellectual and moral condition, caused too much disgust to men of any refinement to gain a general currency for infidel views. Christianity was, however, attacked with more subtilty by Tindal, who pretended to show that the law and the religion of nature were sufficient for man, and that no Revelation was either needed, or could be so made as to give conclusive proofs of its coming from God. Dr. Morgan's views are somewhat similar, but disguised under a greater and more hypocritical pretence of friendliness to Christianity and of an acceptance of it. There is little in the remainder of these writers to call for particular notice here, though the works of Bolingbroke and Hume differ materially from the above attacks on Christianity. Chubb was a man of little education and no learning. His views have no consistency, and nothing to entitle them to much attention, nor did they receive such elaborate answers as those of the other deists.

Butler's Analogy.

Each of the above mentioned authors was answered by men of reputation, and their arguments confuted with great solidity, but still nothing was done which struck at the root of infidelity, till the publication of the *Analogy* by Butler, afterwards Bishop of

Durham. This work literally cuts away the ground from under most of the objectors to Christianity, and has had great and permanent influence on the view of Revelation taken by subsequent writers. It was published in 1736, but did not at first receive the notice and attention which it really deserved, being indeed on this question a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. But the controversies with each of the above sceptics occupied the divines and others of those days so amply, and took up so large a share of the public attention, that the effects were anything but favourable to the propagation and maintenance of a high state of religious faith and character. There was, indeed, an under-current of sober practical piety, which had its due weight and influence upon a wide circle, and we may appeal to many works of that day, such as those of Dr. Stanhope, Nelson, &c., and others, as evidencing the existence of this spirit. But still the tone of public feeling was of too cold a nature for the higher graces of Christianity to attain their full measure, and these very circumstances assisted the schism, founded by Wesley, in reaching the strength and power to which it has attained. It has been usual to cast the whole blame of this schism upon the lukewarmness or the negligence of the Church of England, but the above considerations clearly point out other causes to which every one ought to look in estimating the Ecclesiastical History of this century.

It changes the state of the question.

Effect of infidel writings.

Before we briefly narrate the origin of this schism, we must just mention the communications which passed between Archbishop Wake and Dr. Du Pin, of the Sorbonne, with the hope that some measure of reconciliation might take place, or negotiations, at least, be entered into with that hope, between the Church of England and the Gallican Church. The Archbishop had formerly been chaplain to the embassy at Paris, was well known in France, and well acquainted with some of the leading men of learning and ecclesiastics in that country. It has been represented that Archbishop Wake sought to "found a project of peace and union between the English and Gallican Churches founded on this condition, that each should retain the greatest part of their respective and peculiar doctrines." This is, however, an unfounded calumny upon the memory of this prelate. The correspondence on the subject, on the part of the Archbishop, published in Dr. Maclaine's *Fourth Appendix to his Translation of Mosheim*, justifies his conclusions, 1st, That Archbishop Wake was not the *first mover* in the business; 2d, That he never offered to give up a single point of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, to promote such a union; 3d, That any desire of union with the Church of Rome expressed in his letters, proceeded only from the hopes he entertained of a considerable reformation in that *Church*, and that its most offensive doctrines would fall to the ground, if deprived of the Papal authority, the

Dr. Wake's correspondence with Dr. Du Pin.

destruction of which was the basis of the correspondence. In fact, Dr. Wake seems only to have pointed out the way in which a negotiation might take place, but to have stated certain conditions, without which the notion could not be entertained for a moment on the part of the English Church. He also indicates that the first step ought to be on the part of the Gallican Church to place itself on the basis of a national Church, by denying the right of the Pope to control their internal arrangements. The treatment of Dr. Du Pin and others, at the hands of the Pope, in the matter of the Bull *Unigenitus*, may have seemed not unlikely to produce such a result. The Archbishop also suggested that the Liturgies of the two Churches, as a preliminary step, ought to be so adjusted that the members of each community might join the services of the other. He considered the only point at which the Romanists could take offence in ours was the rubric about the Communion.

He also intimates that of those things to which we object in their services, there is "nothing but what they agree may be laid aside, and yet the public offices be never the worse or more imperfect for the want of it." It would hardly have been necessary to mention this correspondence, as nothing was effected by it, if it had not been misrepresented as a triumph over the Church of England on the part of Rome, and as derogatory to the character of Archbishop Wake, who certainly, throughout the correspondence, really maintains the ground which he took in the beginning, when he said, "I am a friend to peace, but more a friend to truth."

State of the Nonconformists.

We must now briefly advert to the rise of that form of dissent which has obtained greater consistency and strength as a body, than that of any other separatists from the Church—Wesleyan Methodism. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the chief dissenters were the remains of the Nonconformist party, whose objections were mostly scruples at some of the ceremonies of the Church of England. On the day of the death of Queen Anne, the Schism Act was to have come into operation, but her demise rendered it a dead letter. In 1719 the Act against *occasional conformity*, passed in 1711, was repealed, as well as the *Schism Act*. The *Test Act* continued, although attempts were made to repeal it, but it was rendered practically inoperative in most respects by an annual *Act of Indemnity*.

John Wesley was born in 1703, the son of a clergyman of learning and piety, and a mother of no ordinary character. In 1720 he went to Christ Church, Oxford; in 1728 was elected (although with some opposition to him on account of religious eccentricities) a Fellow of Lincoln College. He was ordained, and undertook his father's curacy for a time, at Epworth, Lincolnshire, but soon returned to Oxford, where he superintended a

society formed, in his absence, by his younger brother, Charles Wesley, then at Christ Church, to which the name of Methodists had been given. They were highly self-denying, but pushed their principles and practices to a considerable height of enthusiasm. Among them was George Whitfield, the fellow-labourer of Wesley in the same field. He was the son of a publican at Gloucester, and for some time a waiter in the tavern, although educated at the Grammar School there. In 1734, however, he obtained a servitorship at Pembroke College, Oxford, by which he was enabled to obtain a University education, and in 1736 Bishop Benson ordained him in his native city, where, as well as at Bristol and in London, his eloquence produced a very great sensation.

Rise of Wesleyan Methodism.

In 1735, John Wesley and his brother Charles went to the colony of Georgia, and on the voyage they became acquainted with some Moravians who were bound to that colony also as settlers. John Wesley left Georgia in 1738, his brother Charles having left it before him. He now became in London a pupil of the Moravians, and went to Germany; but after a short time, finding things among them of which he could not approve he withdrew from them. Their views, however, appear to have materially influenced his character. In 1740 he became the minister of a registered chapel in Moorfields, and he now separated from Whitfield. The Calvinistic doctrine formed the chief distinction between these two parties, into which the adherents of the movement created by these two energetic men divided themselves, Wesley taking the Arminian, and Whitfield the Calvinistic side of the question. In 1744 the first Conference of the Wesleyan body was held, and it began to obtain that strength and union which have marked it since. Wesley originally contemplated little more than would be called a revival, and to the last season of his life denounced separation from the Church of England in the strongest terms. It is needless to say such a denunciation was utterly in vain; the spirit he had raised was too powerful to be thus laid to rest, and the Wesleyan Methodists are now the largest body of separatists from the Church.

Enthusiastic excesses.

It will not be necessary to enter further into detail respecting the progress of this sect. It may, however, be stated, that at the commencement of this movement, it was, as is usual in such cases, accompanied by great enthusiasm, and many claims to supernatural effects were set up, in virtue of the powerful excitement produced by the doctrines and the language of Wesley and Whitfield, and their followers. Inspiration, the exorcism of evil spirits, convulsions, agonies, palpable experiences of the Divine presence, and all the effects, both mental and physical, which often accompany the first propagation of doctrines of an exciting character, were all professedly to be found among the early

excesses of this religious fervour, and were sometimes appealed to as proofs of the Divine approbation, but by sober-minded men were justly discountenanced. A parallel, indeed, was drawn by one of the English prelates of the day (Bishop Lavington) between the proceedings of the Methodists and the Papists, and entitled, *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Considered.* These enthusiastic excesses, with the delusions, and in some instances the impostures to which they gave rise, require this passing notice, because, without it, the ecclesiastical delineation of the period would be imperfect. As the body obtained a degree of consistency, and a certain regularity in all their proceedings was established, this enthusiasm no longer presented the same prominence, some of its developments altogether ceased, and those which remained appeared only under a softened form.

French prophets.

Some writers have represented these effects as partly due to impressions and feelings shed abroad in this country early in the eighteenth century by the French prophets. Without, however, pronouncing any decision as to such a connection, we shall merely mention that these French prophets were chiefly persons who escaped from the tremendous persecutions inflicted on the Protestants of France in the later years of Louis XIV. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 had driven over many Protestants to England, while those who remained in their own country were subjected to bitter persecutions. They were driven, by the cruelties inflicted upon them, into taking up arms against the government—a struggle in which they were eventually defeated. During these struggles, large numbers of the Protestants had professed to be guided by immediate inspiration, and laid claim to the gifts of prophecy. In 1706 some of these prophets came over to England. Their claims to inspiration, both as to languages and to prophecy, as well as those to the possession of miraculous powers, &c., were soon clearly disproved by the inaccuracy of their attempts at known languages, and the failure of their prophecies and attempts at miracles. The chief names among those who claimed the gift of prophecy were Elias Marion and D. Fage, while the most remarkable of their English followers was Mr. Lacy. That they were sincere, but mistaken enthusiasts, appears to be the most just conclusion concerning them. Among the emigrants was also Colonel Cavallier, who has left a most interesting and remarkable narrative of the wars among the Cevennes.

We now resume the thread of the history of the English Church, with which the two last subjects treated of are only incidentally connected.

Toleration on the increase.

On a survey of the last century, it will not fail to be observed, that the principles of toleration were in a state of nearly continual progression. The publication of Locke's *Treatise on Toleration*

had given an impulse to these principles, which the writings of Hoadley and others had much promoted, and to which the controversies about the first principles of religion above mentioned had certainly been favourable. By all these circumstances combined, a larger share of religious indifference was much diffused, and even in religious minds, well and deeply persuaded of the truth and the importance of the doctrines of the Church of England, a greater degree of reluctance to promote its cause by external means and temporal inducements was generated. Some enactments intended to force conformity to the Church, as a qualification for civil offices, thus became inoperative, and others were repealed.

Rise of Socinianism.

The compulsory conformity in externals required in many countries in communion with the Romish Church may lead to secret infidelity, but every particular error has its favourite haunt, and indifference is the atmosphere pre-eminently favourable to Socinianism. The circumstances, therefore, just above mentioned, by introducing among many a lower tone of religious feeling, and a certain degree of laxity in their notions generally, made way for a wider extension of the Socinian heresy than it had previously attained. The Socinians were originally excepted from the toleration allowed to other Nonconformists, and their numbers must have been very small in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Their opinions, however, must have received a considerable impulse by the publication of such works as the *Primitive Christianity* of Whiston, and the *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, by Dr. Samuel Clarke. The latter was Arian in its tendency, in maintaining a *subordination of nature* in the three persons of the Trinity, and was answered by Dr. Waterland, and other eminent divines.

This was only one step, indeed, into the deep gulf of Socinian heresy, but it was the beginning of a downward movement, which has never remained contented with that one step. An Arian congregation maintaining its principles for a century is, we believe, a phenomenon unknown to the Christian world. And in the course of the eighteenth century the downward progress of this class of opinions was evidently shown; and before the end of it, Socinian places of worship were openly established, and a sect formed under the title of *Unitarians*—a name obviously improper, as a distinctive appellation, because it would seem to imply that the great body of the Christian Church does not maintain the *Unity* of God. A movement towards a general acceptance of persons holding these opinions into the ministry of the Church was in some degree attempted by F. Blackburne, Archdeacon of Cleveland, who agreed in some points of doctrine with the Socinians. Some of his immediate relatives and connections (the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey and the Rev. Dr. Disney) gave up their preferments, in consequence of having embraced these Socinian views;

Archdeacon Blackburne.

and in 1774 Mr. Lindsey opened a room in Essex Street for worship on Unitarian principles, and in 1778 the chapel in that street was built for him. Archdeacon Blackburne never resigned his preferment. His proposals went to the length of abolishing subscription to the Articles, as a condition of entering on the ministry of the Church, or as a test of ministerial conformity, and with these views he published *The Confessional*, in 1766, a work which created a considerable sensation at the time. The objections to subscription entertained by Archdeacon Blackburne were entertained by other individuals, both lay and clerical, and they endeavoured to obtain a legislative measure in favour of their views.

Attempts to abolish subscription in 1772.

The first public effort made to obtain an abolition of subscription to the Articles was in 1772. Before that year *The Confessional* (published in 1776) is said to have produced eighty controversial pamphlets, and of course with the leaning to Socinianism, which we have already observed upon, among a section of the people, the opinions of this work will naturally have produced some converts. A petition was hastily drawn up, by an association of two hundred and fifty persons, both clergymen and laymen, at the Feathers Tavern in the Strand, praying the legislature for relief from all subscriptions to all articles of religious doctrine and discipline. The petition was introduced to the House of Commons, Feb. 6, 1772, by Sir W. Meredith, and opposed by Lord North and Burke. The petition was rejected by a majority of 217 to 71. It was again introduced to the House, Feb. 24, 1773, and again rejected by a majority of 159 to 67. One of the points most argued was the impolicy of requiring subscription at Oxford on matriculation, and attempts were made in Oxford to induce the Convocation to alter this regulation; but the University with firmness rejected the proposal altogether. At Cambridge, the subscription on taking a Bachelor of Arts degree was altered into a declaration that the candidate for a degree is a *bonâ fide* member of the Church of England.[1]

This attempt therefore signally failed; but afterwards Sir Henry Houghton introduced a petition to Parliament from the dissenting body generally, complaining of the hardship to which their ministers were subject, in being liable to be called upon to subscribe the doctrinal articles of the Church, although this statute was for the most part practically dormant. The bill founded on this petition, after two failures, passed into a law in 1779. It had previously passed the Commons, but had been rejected by the Lords.

This movement, however, which, although chiefly promoted by

[1] Six months after this substitution was effected, the son of Archdeacon Blackburne, on proceeding to take his degree, refused to make this declaration, and offered one couched in his own terms, expressive of a *belief in the Christian religion as exhibited in the Scriptures, and his intention of continuing to communicate with the Church of England.* His degree was of course refused.

persons inclined to Socinian opinions, was not wholly Socinian, was soon followed by decided and open attacks upon the doctrine of the Trinity. Dr. Priestley, the celebrated experimental philosopher, in 1782, published a work, entitled, *A History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, which led the way to a controversy between him and the learned Dr. Horsley, then Archdeacon of St. Alban's, who in 1788 became Bishop of St. David's, and was afterwards translated to Rochester (1793), and to St. Asaph (1802). In a charge delivered to the Clergy of St. Alban's in the spring succeeding the publication of this work, the Archdeacon noticed some of its most prominent defects and errors. The course pursued and triumphantly followed up by Dr. Horsley was to bring forward such instances of ignorance and error from the work of Dr. Priestley, as to prove him entirely incompetent to write upon such a subject. The instances alleged may be reduced (as the son of the Bishop has observed in the preface to a collected edition of his father's writings on this subject) to six general heads : instances of reasoning in a circle ; of quotations misapplied through ignorance of the author's subject ; of testimonies perverted by forced interpretations ; of passages misinterpreted through ignorance of the Greek language, and also through ignorance of the Platonic philosophy ; and lastly, instances of ignorance of the phraseology of the earliest ecclesiastical writers. The controversy thus begun lasted for some time, and has been most momentous in its consequences to the Church, for the manifest superiority obtained by Dr. Horsley in it, evidently suppressed that leaning towards Socinianism which had obtained too many adherents ; and although several dissenting chapels, especially those of the old Presbyterians, have dwindled into Socinianism, the last stage in the downward descent of heresy, the Socinians have never become a great or leading sect.

Dr. Horsley's controversy with Dr. Priestley.

The controversy with the Unitarians which occurred at the close of the eighteenth century, was that which chiefly distinguished that period, as far as controversies towards heretical sects was concerned. The Unitarians, after the death of Bishop Horsley, published what they presumed to call an *Improved Version of the New Testament*, the egregious mistakes and falsifications of which were ably exposed by Dr. Nares, Mr. Rennel, and Dr. Laurence, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel. But to Bishop Horsley at this period, as in the close of the seventeenth century to Bishop Bull, the Church was, under the providence of God, indebted for the chief controversial means by which the spread of these pernicious opinions was checked.

We must now briefly advert to the condition of the Roman Catholics in England. For a considerable part of the eighteenth century they were liable to great hardships, under statutes passed in 1699, and also some which were enacted in the reign of George

I. It is true that these statutes were scarcely ever enforced; but in 1778 Sir George Saville obtained their repeal by a motion which passed both Houses without a division. A further relaxation took place in 1791; but the total abolition of their civil disabilities did not take place till the year 1829.

New opinions.

On the outbreak of the French Revolution, the world was deluged with a new class of opinions. In France, during the greater part of the eighteenth century, Voltaire, and those associated with him, had endeavoured to undermine the Christian religion, by ridiculing the Bible, and by endeavouring to raise objections against its statements and its evidences. The Abbé Guenée, under the character of a body of Portuguese Jews, had answered Voltaire with extraordinary acuteness and wit. The soil was, however, well prepared for the reception of infidelity; and when the Revolution led the French into the extreme of licentiousness in political opinions, a corresponding licentiousness pervaded their country in respect to religion. The Christian religion was to be set aside as cramping man's natural rights, preventing the progress of man and society to the state of perfection of which they are capable, with a multitude of other idle dreams, which the trial of a few years served to dissipate. But these idle dreams were then, practically, a mischief of no common order; and they were united with the extreme of democracy, and appeared at one time to threaten something like the same overthrow in England which the French government had sustained. There was therefore a renewed necessity for arguments against the atheistical and deistical opinions thus set afloat; and these discussions, however they may serve to establish the impregnable truth of Christianity, have generally, as we have before remarked, a tendency to lower the tone of spiritual and practical religion in the country where they are unhappily necessary. The infidel insinuations of Gibbon (who was, however, entirely opposed to revolutionary politics) were chiefly addressed to men of some learning and thought; while the writings of Thomas Paine were of a coarser texture, and addressed to a lower class of minds. To these objectors popular answers were addressed by Dr. Watson (afterwards Bishop of Landaff), and others, and to the existence of the spirit caused or promoted by these infidel writings, may in part be attributed the character of the literature of that period. This is especially shown in the works of Paley. His *Moral Philosophy*, worse than useless as a system of morals, is a triumphant answer to the objections of the new school of French philosophy, as it proves that all the requirements of the Christian religion really promote the social happiness of man. His other writings were the produce also of a season, in which religion was, either covertly or openly, constantly attacked.

All these circumstances must be taken into account in estimat-

ing the condition of the Church at that period; and it will not appear wonderful if the controversies with infidelity still served to impede her progress, and dim her lustre. Within the Church itself, however, a school of teaching took its origin towards the close of the eighteenth century, which exerted a very marked influence upon the character of the English Church generally. It was the characteristic of this school to dwell chiefly on certain parts of the Christian scheme, among which an almost exclusive pre-eminence was assigned to the doctrine of justification by faith. Judging from their publications, the doctrines of personal election, grace, conversion, and regeneration (the two last of which terms they used in a peculiar sense), justification by faith, and what was termed experimental religion, with a constant reference to the personal experience of individual believers, formed the main topics of the teaching of this class of divines. The total depravity of man, the freeness of grace, the work of God in the conversion of a sinner, were also put prominently forward by this school. *Regeneration* was dissevered from baptism,[1] and *conversion* was used as a term distinguishing a Christian in a state of salvation from mere professing Christians. Regeneration, says Scott (*Essay* XII., p. 152, edition of 1825), may be defined as a "change wrought by the power of the Holy Spirit in the understanding, will, and affections of a sinner, which is the commencement of a new kind of life, and which gives another direction to his judgment, desires, pursuits, and conduct." Conversion also, and the evidences of a change so essential to the eternal welfare of the soul, formed another topic of constant occurrence. It is impossible in a rapid sketch to particularize all the features of this style of teaching, or to enumerate the shades of opinion which were found among its followers, but the above constitute the most prominent points; and as conformity with these views was considered to be the test of an acceptance of gospel truth, the name of *Evangelical* was applied exclusively to these doctrines, and those who held them were designated the Evangelical party. It cannot fail to strike the attentive observer of the period now under review, that the Church of England was divided into great sections, of which the above formed one, while the other was that to which the name of the Orthodox or the High Church party has been given. It is not intended in this sketch to use any such term as implying approbation, but these have been known for so long a time as distinctive terms, that to disclaim their use would be idle affectation.

State of parties in the Church of England.

The Evangelical party.

[1] On this point many who were classed among this school of divines held different opinions, as well as upon personal election, and some doctrines here enumerated among the distinctive characters of their teaching. The earlier phases of the controversy may be seen from Polwhele's *Letters to Dr. Hawker*, Daubeny's *Guide to the Church*, on one side, and Overton's *True Churchman Ascertained*, on the other; and the turn which it took in a later period may be considered in the controversy between Bishop Tomline and Mr. Scott.

High Church party.

While the Evangelical party brought into almost exclusive prominence the dealings of God with man as an individual, and gave great weight to religious *feelings*, the opposite party laid greater stress on the ordinances of the Church, on the blessings promised to a faithful reception of its means of grace, and insisted more upon the outward marks by which the Church claims the allegiance of Christians; and while they acknowledged the doctrine of justification by faith, contended also that its only evidence must be its fruits, and they dwelt more on the duties of a Christian, and on the practice of a holy life. It has sometimes been asserted, that the extreme of the Evangelical party would be dissent, and the extreme of the High Church party would be Popery, as, in the system of dissent, the individual is everything, and the Church nothing; while in Popery the individual is altogether lost in the Church. But this is, even if true, not the most enlarged view to take of the subject. This can only be profitable, as warning us against either extreme, inasmuch as each, carried to the extreme, may lead to a desperate delusion, and to dreadful error. But when we look on the history of our Church during the period of which we are now treating, and see the gradual amalgamation which time has wrought between the best men of both parties, the softening of peculiarities, and of those asperities which a season of controversies will produce, we may be thankful that God in mercy permitted two counterbalancing views to be maintained in our Church, and we may, as it were, trace in the results of this permission a portion at least of the work assigned to each.

Results of their differences.

The result has certainly been a very great increase of efficiency in the ministrations of the Clergy, a great increase of attachment to the Church on the part of the laity, and constantly increasing, however inadequate, efforts to take care that nothing may be wanting on the part of man, that our scriptural Church should be enabled to fulfil the high destiny marked out for her by Providence. Let us trust that God is still carrying on these good works amongst us, and whenever controversies arise within the Church itself, let us hope that they may in the end set forward its spiritual advancement, increase its efficiency, and ultimately promote unity of heart and mind among its members.

Controversy on the Bible Society.

A very warm controversy was excited early in the nineteenth century within the English Church, in consequence of the establishment of the British and Foreign Bible Society. As this society was composed both of Dissenters and Churchmen; as it was to confine itself exclusively to the circulation of the Holy Scriptures, several grounds of objection were taken to it by many Churchmen, and the pamphlets published on both sides would form a large number of octavo volumes. Some objected that it interfered with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which, while it was a Bible Society, also had the further advan-

tage of spreading abroad, by Prayer Books and other publications, the doctrines of the Church of England as deduced from those Scriptures, thus furnishing an interpretation as well as the text itself; while those who desired nothing but the Scriptures were not obliged to add anything to them. There were other grounds of objection, viz., that, although men of different religious persuasions may well unite for any merely charitable purpose, yet that it is idle for them to unite for religious purposes, as there must always be some point at which they must separate. To this it would be replied, that all acknowledged the truth and supremacy of the Scriptures: but it was again contended, that unless we interpret the Scriptures, there is no meaning in them, and that the very parties who disseminated them drew widely differing, and even contradictory conclusions from them. All acknowledged the paramount duty of circulating the Scriptures, but the controversy was only as to the method to be adopted. The cause was ably argued on both sides, the Evangelical party chiefly espousing the cause of the Bible Society, and the Orthodox party that of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge; and though the principles which must guide men, humanly speaking, to a judgment on this question, were developed pretty early (1810-1813) by Bishop Marsh, Dr. Wordsworth, on the one side, and by Mr. Dealtry, Dr. Milner, Mr. Owen, &c., on the other, the controversy continued at intervals to excite attention for many years.

American and Colonial bishoprics.

We must now turn our attention to two circumstances connected with the Church of England during the last century, which appear of paramount importance in estimating the ecclesiastical history of that period, and which seem to promise lasting effects upon the condition of the Church all over the globe. These are (1.) the extension of our pure and reformed Church in North America, by the consecration of Bishops for the United States, as well as the establishment of bishoprics in several of the colonies of England; and (2.) the great advances made in the efficiency of the older societies in connection with the Established Church, and the formation of new societies, with the intention of promoting those Christian objects which did not seem to lie altogether within the professed purpose of the former.

American bishoprics.

The history of the Church in America, as regards its Bishops, is in part connected with a very interesting and important branch of the Church at home—the Scottish Episcopal Church. As the adherents of this Church had been chiefly attached to the non-juring party, they had been very hardly dealt with from the time of William III., under whom Presbyterianism had been made the established religion of Scotland. It is not intended here to refer to contests which have passed away, but it is necessary to state this, as in the consecration of the first American Bishop (Dr.

Seabury), recourse was had to the Bishops in Scotland.[1] Dr. Seabury (who had been created D.D. at Oxford in 1777, for services rendered to the cause of Episcopacy in America), having been elected Bishop by the Clergy of Connecticut, came over to London in 1784, and requested consecration at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the English Bishops. There were, however, from existing statutes, some objections to this course, and a correspondence was opened with the Scottish Bishops, who were then in so depressed a state, that they felt a delicacy in engaging in this work until they were assured that it would be highly acceptable to the authorities in England. Dr. Seabury was accordingly consecrated at Aberdeen on the 14th November, 1784, and in the course of the year 1787, Dr. Provoost and Dr. White from America were consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the difficulties previously existing having been obviated by a special enactment. Dr. Madison was also soon after added to the number of those consecrated in England. The American Church having thus been placed in a position to continue the succession for itself, a great advance was made towards placing that Church on the footing which it justly required. It has now (1858) forty dioceses, and about two thousand Clergy, and is looked upon as the only secure abode of genuine Christianity; as a refuge against the errors of Popery on the one hand, and the evils of fanaticism on the other. It is rich in zeal and in good works; and may it be enabled, by God's blessing and guidance, to keep pure unto the end "the faith once delivered to the saints!"

The Episcopal Church of Scotland during the earlier part of the last century was in a state of great depression and under positive persecution, until the political dangers apprehended from the Stuart family ceased to alarm the public mind. Since the death of the Pretender in 1788, the names of our Sovereigns have been received into their liturgy without hesitation, and shortly afterwards the intolerant statutes of 1746 and 1748 (by the last of which no ordinations except those from English or Irish prelates were allowed as titles to officiate in Episcopal chapels in Scotland) were repealed. Since that time this body has been making a steady progress in all which gives a Church of Christ honour and stability.

Colonial bishoprics.

The establishment of Colonial bishoprics is another measure which appears to lay the foundation of a very wide extension of the Church. In the early part of the last century, the spiritual superintendence of our foreign possessions, and especially of the colonies in America, was vested in the Bishop of London, who governed in Church matters in America through a commissary

[1] The cause of Episcopacy had previously been much promoted in America by Dr. Samuel Johnson, first president of King's College, New York, who came in 1723 to England for Episcopal ordination, having become dissatisfied with that received from the Presbyterians.

there. It is clear that this was an incompetent arrangement, even if it could have proved efficient for ecclesiastical superintendence. Those rites confided solely to the Episcopal body, such as confirmation, could never be administered; and on any interruption of friendly relations with the mother country the succession of the Clergy could not be maintained. We have seen how this evil was remedied in the United States after their separation from this country; but our remaining colonies were then, and some of them are even now, in the same deficient state in regard to their Church establishment. The government, however, determined to provide for this deficiency in some cases, and in 1787 the See of Nova Scotia was founded. Other bishoprics have since been founded in our colonies in North America.[1]

Missions in the East.

But not only "in the far West" were the limits of our holy Church extended, but the distant East also at last received that consideration which was due to objects of such paramount importance. Up to the year 1814, indeed, the East Indies had been unprovided with a Bishop, and the chaplains of the Hon. East India Company, and the missionaries or other Clergy sent forth by the Church societies at home were the only means afforded of supplying its spiritual necessities.

We must not omit, even in this brief and rapid sketch, to pay due honour to the enlightened labours of the noble minded Danish and German missionaries, through whose exertions the mission in the East Indies received its early impulse and its most efficient advances during a great portion of the eighteenth century. Under Ziegenbalg, Plutscho, Grundler, and others, sent by the Missionary College of Copenhagen, and aided by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the missions at Tranquebar had been established; and through their exertions a printing press, with Malabar types, cast at Halle, had been set up there in 1712. In 1718, Ziegenbalg died; and in 1720, Grundler also went to his reward.

In 1724-5, three new missionaries (ordained at Copenhagen) were sent from Halle, at the instance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to Tranquebar, and before the death of Grundler, he had been cheered by the arrival of three others—among whom the name of Schultz is deservedly celebrated.

In 1728, Schultz removed to Madras, and, although much opposed (especially by Roman Catholic missionaries there), succeeded in founding a mission there also. But among all the labourers in that field, the pre-eminence has been justly assigned to Schwartz, who, from 1750 to 1798, was indefatigable in every good work, and obtained a name honoured alike in every part of the world, and an influence among the natives which has remained

[1] The further progress and present condition of the Colonial Church will be more fully stated in the following portion of this chapter.

unrivalled. He was respected by the natives even in the midst of a cruel war; and on one occasion his word was sufficient to procure supplies for a besieged town, when every other means had failed. The labours also of Pohloff, Zaenicke, Gericke, and other missionaries, may be alluded to; and amongst these names, for the zeal and self-devotion of his life, if not for the amount of the success of his labours, the name of an English labourer in this portion of God's vineyard deserves especial mention—the honoured name of Henry Martyn.

In the work of Christianizing India, however, it seems clear that the proper human means could never be tried, nor that course adopted, which gives the hope of the Divine blessing, until the Church in India was rendered complete in its framework by the appointment of Bishops. This course was begun in the year 1814, by the erection of the See of Calcutta, to which Dr. T. F. Middleton was appointed as the first Bishop. He rendered great services to the cause of true religion, by the wisdom and foresight with which he laid the foundations of a lasting work, by the establishment of Bishop's College, Calcutta, and many other wise measures, adapted rather to secure permanent advantages, than to make a vain show of rapid but unreal progress. The splendid endowments and the self-devotion of his successor, the admirable Reginald Heber, are well known. We shall see in the sequel that this enormous diocese, which at first embraced all the Presidencies, and the East Indian islands, has been divided into several smaller dioceses, which are still, however, of a most unwieldy and unmanageable extent. Indeed, the subdivision of our colonial sees is a process which appears to be only in its infancy; and while all lament that the number of dioceses is insufficient to meet the actual wants of the Church, we must be cheered by the advance which has already been made; and as there is no obstacle except the want of funds, to prevent any amount of extension that may be required, we must hope that growing attachment to the Church will lead its members to give more freely of their substance for the future.

We might now give some account of the societies in connection with the Church of England, such as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, established in 1698; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, established in 1704; and the Church Missionary Society, established in 1800; but it seems more convenient to connect this account with a statement of their present position, which naturally belongs to the second portion of this chapter. Our rapid sketch of the first great period is now brought to a close; and in the second portion of the chapter we must give even a more condensed summary of the chief events which have affected the Church of England.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

SECTION II.—FROM A.D. 1815 TO A.D. 1858.

THE period on which we are now about to enter, is fraught with events of the deepest importance to the branch of the Church of Christ established in Great Britain and Ireland. That Church has extended itself in every portion of the British colonial empire, and at home she has made a progress by the erection and endowment of churches and schools, which is without precedent in her former annals. But her trials and the difficulties of her warfare have increased also in a corresponding degree. Our limits will preclude us from attempting anything more than to give a most rapid enumeration of the principal events which have affected the Church of England during this period. Church of England—1815-1858.

For some years after the restoration of peace to Europe, the Church of England was undisturbed by any very stormy controversy within, or any very severe pressure from without. Occasional attacks upon her doctrine were made and answered, and a spirit of scepticism and infidelity began to spread to a greater extent than at any previous period since the days of Tom Paine and the outbreak of the first French Revolution. Among other attempts to undermine religion, we may notice the publication of *The Apocryphal New Testament* by Hone. This was a collection of the well known early apocryphal writings, printed in a form imitating the New Testament, and accompanied by miscellaneous observations. The *animus* of the publication appeared to be rather to bring the New Testament to a level with these apocryphal productions, although it is right to state that the author has, since that time, expressed regret for any evil which might have arisen, and professed very different sentiments. But the book was doing much mischief until its sale was arrested by an article in the *Quarterly Review* of October, 1821, written by the late Rev. Hugh James Rose. Other publications tending to infidelity were also pushed into circulation among the poorer classes, but not so systematically as at present. The controversy against the Socinians was also continued; but after the demolition of Dr. Priestley, as a controversialist, by Bishop Horsley, and after the treatises of Archbishop Magee, it was only carried on in a languid manner by an occasional attack from the feeble pen of Mr. Belsham. It may be desirable to mention here, that the pulpit of the University of Cambridge began now to exhibit signs of a great increase of zeal and earnestness in religion. The appointment of Mr. Benson as one of the select preachers attracted greater attention to the discourses at St. Mary's, and the eloquence of his Hulsean Lectures contributed to increase the sensation which had already been made. The University Church now became crowded when any preacher of eminence was ap- Infidel publications.

pointed, and increased care was evidently bestowed upon the selection.

In 1825, the series of *Discourses on the State of Protestantism in Germany* called forth the controversy which will be described in the following chapter of this work, between the Rev. H. J. Rose and Dr. Pusey.

Events, however, more immediately affecting the state of the Church were now on the political horizon. The country had long been agitated by the question of the Roman Catholic claims. This agitation was now increasing in intensity, especially in Ireland, where the influence of Daniel O'Connell was brought to bear upon the Romanist population with tremendous force. At length in the year 1828, O'Connell determined to assert the right of a Roman Catholic to sit in the House of Commons, even under the existing laws. He was elected for the county of Clare on July 5, 1828, and proceeded to take his seat. He was of course required to take the usual oaths, and on his refusal, he was restrained from taking his seat. He claimed to be heard at the bar of the House in support of his right to sit without taking the oaths. It may well be imagined that such a course would prove nugatory, as it did for that year. But a time was now come, in which the Ministry, apparently under fear of a rebellion and a civil war in Ireland, took the country by surprise by proclaiming their intention of endeavouring to carry those measures for the relief of the Roman Catholics, to which they had always been so strenuously opposed. Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington were the Ministers by whom this measure was proposed, and after a very severe struggle it was carried April 13, 1829. The Test and Corporation Acts had been repealed in the preceding year on the motion of Lord John Russell. Thus, the legislature which had, by a fiction, been exclusively of the Church of England, was now no longer even nominally connected with it. A declaration was, however, introduced into the oaths, which were to be taken by Roman Catholic members, by which they promise that they will not make use of any power which they may acquire by this permission to sit in the House of Commons, to injure the Church of England. The declaration, of course, is of so elastic a nature, that it is easy to see that it is of very little use as a measure of defence to the Church of England.

There had been a very strong feeling against the Roman Catholic Bill in large masses of the population, and there was a general feeling that those who were opposed to it, and who had confided in the principles of the Ministers, had been in some degree betrayed by the leaders of their party. This was the first step towards the breaking up of the great Tory party, which had ruled the destinies of the country since the year 1808 without intermission, and with a very brief interval for a much longer

period. It was, however, completely broken up in its internal union by this want of confidence in its leaders, and when, on the accession of William IV., the Duke of Wellington declared decidedly against any measure of reform in Parliament, there was no longer a strong phalanx of united men to oppose the cry of Radicalism, and the Duke of Wellington eventually resigned office. Thus the way was opened for a Whig Ministry under Lord Grey towards the close of 1830. He became Premier on November 12, 1830, and entered upon office on the pledges of reform and retrenchment. The cry of Reform was raised throughout the land, and artificially promoted by Ministerial influence. In some parts of the country, especially in Sussex, mobs assembled, proceeded to the houses of the Clergy, and demanded, under intimidation, a reduction of the tithes, and a general diminution of their income. In some instances these agricultural riots had been encouraged by the tenantry, or rather by a portion of them.[1] All these circumstances appeared to argue very ill for the future prospects of the Church in regard to its temporal possessions, and when the sweeping measure of reform (which was not intended to be carried) was proposed, and seized upon with such avidity by the extreme party in the country, that its authors were compelled to stand by it, there was a general uncertainty, such as had scarcely been known before, about the future prospects of the country and nation.

These matters belong rather to the secular than the ecclesiastical history of England, but it is necessary just to mention them here, in order to explain the circumstances of the Church, and to intimate the nature of the fears which actuated the minds of those most attached to the Church of their fathers.

To write a continued history of the ensuing period, would be a task of very great difficulty. It has been marked by great activity, by a vast fermentation in the minds of men, by great excitement, and by many features which have no parallel in the history of the Church of England during the preceding hundred years. But the most remarkable features in its history have been a series of contests of various kinds, in which antagonistic principles have been brought into collision on some isolated point, as in the legal proceedings in the cases of Mr. Gorham and others, or on a more general field of inquiry, as in the controversies respecting the *Tracts for the Times*.

It appears, therefore, that the most convenient mode of treat-

[1] The newspapers of that period were filled with accounts of these proceedings. In one instance, however, at a public meeting in Devonshire, where the farmers pressed a clergyman to promise a reduction of tithes, he immediately promised it, on condition that they would raise the pay of their labourers. This condition was refused; and the clergyman turned the tide of feeling against his opponents, by addressing the mob from the window of the inn and stating his proposal, and its rejection!

ing this portion of our history, will be to give separate accounts of the most remarkable of these contests and events, and afterwards to throw a hasty retrospective glance at the period in which they have taken place.

The chief subjects of separate consideration will be the following:—

I. The Tracts for the Times. II. The Hampden discussions. III. The Gorham case. IV. The Denison case.

I. *The Tracts for the Times.*

Tracts for the Times.

The events and controversies arising from the publication of the *Tracts for the Times* are of so recent a date, that, in recording their history, we must confine ourselves to a very brief narrative of some of the most remarkable phases of this movement. During the years 1832 and 1833, great alarm prevailed in the minds of Churchmen, lest some measures should be adopted by Parliament which might alter the condition of the Church of England very materially. Parliamentary interference with the *Book of Common Prayer* was openly alluded to, and the legislature was supposed to be harshly disposed towards it in many other respects. The suppression of ten Irish bishoprics had given great cause for fear; and the hearts of men of all parties in the Church were naturally drawn to each other, and the remembrance of minor differences was merged, in many cases, in the common sense of apprehension.[1] Under these circumstances, some members of the University of Oxford met together, to inquire whether some scheme might not be practicable by which the scattered energies of Churchmen might be brought into combined action, and some great efforts made to remedy the evils which all deplored. Such was the professed, and, we believe, such was the real intention of those who met together on that occasion. The first originators of the scheme were—Mr. Froude, Mr. Newman, Mr. Keble, and Mr. Palmer, of Worcester College. During the summer of that year, towards the middle of July, a meeting took place at Hadleigh Rectory, then the residence of the Rev. Hugh James Rose, at which three of the four persons above named were present. Various plans were spoken of; and although no definite rules were laid down, it was agreed that they should engage in some form of combined effort to endeavour to produce a better feeling towards the Church and its distinctive doctrines, than was at that time to be found. It was agreed that a series of tracts would be emi-

[1] In the publication of the late Hon. and Rev. A. P. Perceval, entitled, *A Collection of Papers connected with the Theological Movement of* 1853, London: Rivington, 1842; and in the *Narrative of Events connected with the Publication of the Tracts for the Times*, &c., by Rev. W. Palmer, M.A., of Worcester College, Oxford, Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1843,—these statements are abundantly supported.

nently useful, and ought to be begun at once. From the time this conference broke up, which occupied only a few days (from Thursday to Monday), the late Mr. Rose had no part in the proceedings of the authors of the tracts. The resolutions which were made afterwards were not even communicated to him, and he never saw a single tract before it reached him in its published form. Indeed, a resolution was made that the tracts should be written exclusively by members of the University of Oxford. His responsibility, therefore, in regard to these publications, was absolutely nothing; and before the most objectionable Tract (No. XC.) had been published, God had removed him from all earthly struggles to the rest and peace prepared for the faithful soldier of Christ. This much is due to his memory. But it would also be unjust to fasten the responsibility of all the tracts on all those who originally agreed to furnish contributions to the series. Each author was to be responsible only for his own works.

Such was the origin of the *Tracts for the Times*—a series of publications which has had a very powerful effect throughout the country. The men also who originated them obtained great influence.

British Magazine.

But the attachment to the Church, and the amalgamation of feeling which subsequently sprung up, were owing, in great measure, to the same *causes* as those which produced these tracts—the fear of violent changes from without, and the earnest persuasion that union was imperatively required. It is very difficult to estimate exactly the proportion in which these combined causes produced the effect. But they had great influence; and the *British Magazine*, which had been started by Mr. Rose in a spirit of conciliation and moderation, but on strictly Church principles, served materially to cement the union of hearts. The *Tracts for the Times* continued to be published with very varied acceptation. One section of the Church considered them as little less than Popery in disguise; and on this side they were met with a storm of indignation, and vigorously controverted. Even among those who sympathized with the movement itself, there arose a feeling of mistrust and anxiety, which many of the statements in the tracts were calculated to excite. This state of things continued till the year 1841, in which year, on Jan. 25, Mr. Newman published the Tract No. XC., by which the discontinuance of the series was caused.

No. XC.

This tract is entitled *Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles*, and its object appeared to be to show that many of the Articles which appear to be directed against the doctrines of Popery are not directed against the real authorized doctrine of the Church of Rome, but against certain errors commonly held by members of that Church. Mr. Newman had, in a former publication, intimated his belief that the powers of the Romish

Church were Satanic; and when this was charged upon him, just as he was on the eve of joining, or had joined the Romish Church, a letter appeared anonymously in the newspapers (universally, however, attributed to Mr. Newman himself), defending him on a ground which every candid mind must repudiate. His conduct in making this choice was defended as resulting logically from the author's acceptance of the views of the Church of England. Under such a system it would be very difficult, when a writer advances any views, to know whether they are really his views, or the logical result of his acceptance of a system—in short, whether he really advances them as true in themselves or not. However, this is not the point with which we are concerned now. No. XC. attracted the attention of the University; and at a meeting of the Hebdomadal Board, a resolution was agreed to in the following terms:—

Censure of Tract XC.

"At a meeting of the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Proctors, in the Delegates' Room, March 15, 1841;

"Considering that it is enjoined in the statutes of this University that every student shall be instructed and examined in the Thirty-Nine Articles, and shall subscribe to them; considering that a tract has recently appeared, dated from Oxford, and entitled *Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles*, being No. XC. of *Tracts for the Times*, a series of anonymous publications, purporting to be written by Members of the University itself:—

"Resolved, That the modes of interpretation, such as are suggested in the said tract, evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-Nine Articles, and reconciling subscription to them, with the adoption of errors which they were designed to counteract, defeat the object, and are inconsistent with the due observance of the above mentioned statute.—P. WYNTER, Vice-Chancellor."

The Tracts discontinued.

Some gentlemen of the university, in a letter to the editor of the tracts, also called upon the author to give up the secrecy of an anonymous publication, and Mr. Newman answered the appeal by proclaiming himself the author of this tract. The late Bishop of Oxford intimated to Mr. Newman that he considered Tract XC. as objectionable, and that it might tend to disturb the peace of the Church; and he recommended the discontinuance of the tracts—a recommendation which was adopted. A warm controversy ensued—the friends of Mr. Newman writing in his defence, while others attacked the doctrines of this tract. Some of those who wrote most warmly in favour of Mr. Newman, *e.g.*, Mr. Ward (who wrote anonymously a pamphlet on the *Doctrine of the Catholic Church in England on the Eucharist*), have since joined the Church of Rome. How early Mr. Newman himself cherished the intention of departing from the pure doctrine of the Church of England to the corruptions of the Church of Rome, we are

unable to say, nor do we care to inquire. It is enough to say that he has done incalculable mischief to the cause of the Church, because every principle which he more especially advocated became suspected at once; and those who had maintained for years before Mr. Newman brought the fatal gift of his advocacy to their cause, the principles which are commonly called Church principles, are still objects of suspicion, and believed to be disposed to play with Romanism! The suspicions which are thus cast on true and faithful members of the Church, and on the true principles they maintain, by Mr. Newman's treacherous unfaithfulness to those principles, are far more injurious to the Church than all the rancorous abuse with which he has assailed the Church he has left. But it is a remarkable circumstance, that in almost all the most remarkable instances of perversion to the doctrines of the Church of Rome, the individuals who have been so perverted, although they took up in their progress the principles of those who are called the High Church party, have originally belonged to the opposite men of the Church. But this is a subject which is far too solemn to be made the vehicle of any party statements. There has been a canker in the Church, and many have become unsound, and left her teaching, for the false doctrines of Rome. Let us who remain be ever faithful to her principles, reverencing in our Church and its sister Churches the pure doctrines of the Gospel and a true ministry, derived in unbroken succession from the Apostles.

Apostolic succession.

Before we quit the subject, however, let us attempt to set in a clear light the doctrine of the Apostolic succession, which is so much misrepresented by the adversaries of the Church. It is affirmed that the Apostles ordained Bishops, and that through these Bishops other Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, were ordained for the sacred ministry; that for 1,500 years, no other mode was recognized in the Church of Christ; that the authority of the Priest as conferred upon him by ordination, is not the gift of man, but the appointment of Christ. It is affirmed, and it is a simple fact, that this authority to minister has always been conferred by those, to whom the Church had thus confided it. It is affirmed that this is a very solemn truth, and that this chain of men can be traced in unbroken succession to the times of the Apostles, and that this, therefore, constitutes a strong argument to prove that it is the only legitimate channel through which authority to minister in the Church of Christ can be conferred. Such is the simple statement of this doctrine. We forbear to pursue it farther; but as the foundation on which it rests, is often grossly misrepresented, these few words may be useful in arresting erroneous impressions on the subject.

We forbear also to enter upon the controversies which arose from the publication of Tract XC. The subsequent conduct of

Mr. Newman must have affected those who defended him, under the belief that he was unalterably attached to the Church of England, with the deepest concern and sorrow, that they did not see more clearly whither the principles he professed were leading him. We shall say nothing more now, because we are not desirous of renewing former strife and bitterness, but would far rather desire to implant in all a fervent love for the pure faith and the Apostolic authority of the Church of England.

Address to the Archbishop.

Before we pass on, however, to the next subject, we must mention the very powerful effect which was produced by the circulation of an address to the Archbishop of Canterbury, expressive of attachment to the Apostolical doctrine and polity of the Church of England, and to its Liturgy, and deprecating any rash changes, but promising the co-operation of the Clergy in any measure that might tend to restore ancient discipline, and strengthen the connection between the Bishops, Clergy, and people, and to promote the purity, the efficiency, and the unity of the Church. This address was drawn up by Mr. Palmer of Worcester College. Many of the firmest friends of the Church (such as Mr. Rose and others) considered it a very doubtful step. But the Oxford party, and many at Oxford who had no part in the scheme for the *Tracts*,[1] promoted the circulation of this address with untiring energy, and the result was, that above 7,000 Clergy signed the clerical document, and 230,000 laymen the other! These addresses were presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury—that from the Clergy in February, and that from the Laity in May, 1834. The *circulation* of these documents produced incalculable benefits, as Mr. Palmer justly observes. His language is so remarkable, that we quote a portion of it:—

"The circulation of the declaration amongst the laity, however, which took place under the auspices of the committee, produced far more important and decisive effects than could have resulted from any assemblage of signatures. It produced the first awakening from that torpor of despair into which the friends of order and religion had been plunged by the triumph of hostile principles under the Reform Bill. The country was still under the formidable domination of political unions; it was still trembling at the remembrance of insurrection and devastation at Bristol and Nottingham. It beheld a feeble band of patriots in the House of Commons struggling for the remnants of the British Constitution against a majority of revolutionists, fivefold more numerous than themselves. The House of Lords, indeed,

[1] Especially the Rev. R. Greswell of Worcester College. It is particularly gratifying to be able to record the exertions of Mr. Greswell, and to have an opportunity of stating that this is only one of the many occasions on which he has either contributed munificently from his substance to Church extension, or given exertions which are beyond all price, to the same cause.

nobly stemmed wave after wave of revolution, but we know not how soon the threats and execrations of the disappointed democracy might rise into another storm, and sweep away this last bulwark of law and order. It was then that the principle of attachment to the Church of England called forth the first public demonstration of attachment to all that Englishmen should hold most dear and sacred. The declaration of the laity was sent to all parts, and meetings of Churchmen were convened in all the principal towns. So great was the apprehension at the time, that they did not venture at first to assemble openly for the purpose of recording their attachment to the Established Church; admission was in general restricted to those friends who were provided with tickets."

Rubrical controversies.

Such were some of the chief features of the great movement, in which the *Tracts for the Times* or the *Oxford Tracts* formed so prominent an element. Indeed, so large a portion of the energies developed at this time were due to the influence, not of the *Tracts* themselves, but of the body of men from whom they proceeded, that the other causes which conspired to give effect to their exertions, are sometimes overlooked, and the movement exclusively attributed to them. Those, however, who remember the state of feeling existing among the Clergy, and the exertions which had been made previous to the publication of any of these *Tracts*, know well that there was a strong feeling bringing men's hearts together, and leading them to maintain stricter principles with regard to the Church than they had previously done. The seed falling upon a soil thus prepared brought forth a very plenteous harvest, and the exertions of the authors of the *Tracts* had a very marked and prominent influence in promoting this harvest. In connection with this subject, we may mention the attempts to introduce a stricter observance of the Rubric in the performance of Divine service. The observance of several portions of the Rubric had been disused for so many years—in many, indeed, we may say in most of the churches throughout the country—that on any revival of them the indiscriminating multitude considered the clergyman who ventured upon such a step, a setter forth of strange doctrines. There was also in many of the Clergy who, with the best intentions, entered upon this task, a certain want of discretion. They were unwilling to make allowances for the prejudices which naturally arose on the revival of customs and observances, which had so long been unknown to the people, and sometimes would risk the alienation of their flocks rather than yield some matter of minor importance. For instance, it appears upon the whole, more consonant to the Rubric that the sermon should be delivered in the surplice than in a gown; but the use of the gown had become so general, that the revival of the surplice appeared a great innovation. We think the mention of one prin-

ciple ought not to be omitted, because it was often overlooked in the hasty violence of those who opposed any movement in this direction. A clergyman promises to perform the service according to the Book of Common Prayer; and therefore the endeavour to obey the Rubric as strictly as possible, was an endeavour to act upon a principle, and that a principle of very high value and importance. However general disuse, and an acquiescence in that disuse on the part of the authorities of the Church, may seem, in the minds of some, to sanction certain deviations from the letter of the Rubric, it is clear that the conscientious scruples of those who cannot accept of this irregular release from a solemn engagement, ought to have been respected. But at the same time, when there was a degree of violence which would listen to no reason, on the part of congregations, it was unwise to attempt even that which might be defended upon principle, at the risk or with the certainity of alienating the minds of a whole congregation, unless the point in question were really of importance. We must also observe that there were some also who carried their Rubrical notions to the most exaggerated height, and others who were disposed not only to carry the injunctions of the Rubric into effect, but to add ceremonies and observances which the Rubric did not sanction, and which were wholly adverse to the mind of the Church of England. Romanizing customs—such as the clergyman crossing himself and making genuflexions—were in some instances adopted; and the natural consequence was, that every person, however legitimate his desire might be to maintain a simple conformity to the Rubric, was accused immediately of a Romanizing tendency, if he introduced any innovations into the usual mode of performing Divine service. Unhappily, many secessions to Rome, especially among the friends and supporters of Mr. Newman, in some measure served to justify these apprehensions, and the energies of the Church, which ought to be devoted to the warfare against its real enemies, were wasted in very unprofitable contests between members of the same Church. There was, for instance, the celebrated stone-altar case, in regard to a stone-altar slab which had been placed in the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Cambridge, on its restoration by the exertions of the Cambridge Camden Society. The decision was ultimately in favour of the incumbent, who desired its removal. It was ruled that although stone in itself was not an objectionable material, the circumstance of its being let into the wall rendered it no longer a table, in the sense of the communion office. There has been since that time the trial between Mr. Liddell, the incumbent of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, with St. Barnabas, and Mr. Westerton, the churchwarden of St. Barnabas, with regard to certain ornaments used in St. Barnabas, the result of which was not an entire triumph to either party. Some of the ornaments, *e. g.*, moveable

crosses, were condemned; but the Court did not condemn crosses architecturally introduced in certain positions in churches. We are desirous of speaking with moderation on these matters, but we cannot help regretting that the funds and the energies devoted to these contests were not bestowed on objects of a more exalted usefulness, and unattended with party feelings of so strong a kind. However, the limits to which we must confine ourselves will preclude our doing more than merely mention these cases, which have their own importance and weight, but do not involve, like the cases we are about to consider, the great and fundamental doctrines of the Faith!

We approach now, with feelings of deep anxiety, the consideration of those cases in which the opinions of individual clergymen have been the source of controversies of a very painful nature, but of vast importance. We mean more particularly—1. The two cases connected with Dr. Hampden, the present Bishop of Hereford; 2. The Gorham case; and 3. The Denison case.

II. *The Hampden Cases.*

As these cases involve the consideration of the orthodoxy of one of the Bishops of our Church, still living, it will be desirable to confine ourselves, as far as possible, to a mere outline of the facts necessary to illustrate them.

The Hampden cases.

In the year 1832, Dr. Hampden preached the Bampton Lectures, and took for his subject the scholastic philosophy. He was shortly after made Principal of St. Mary's Hall, and in 1834 he was appointed to the Chair of Moral Philosophy. In 1834 he published a pamphlet, entitled, *Observations on Religious Dissent.* Some of the opinions expressed in these publications gave offence and caused alarm. In the year 1834, however, before the pamphlet on dissent had been published, the author was elected to the Professorship of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford.[1] In the course of the year 1836, he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity by Lord Melbourne; and on this appointment a great struggle commenced. A remonstrance was forwarded to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be presented to the Crown, against the appointment, and a declaration was drawn up, and signed by a great many residents in the university, bearing date March 10, 1836, in which the subscribers recorded their condemnation of Dr. Hampden's mode of viewing the doctrines of the Bible and the Articles of the Church. Then, on the 22d March, an attempt was made to introduce a statute into the House of Convocation, stating that Dr. H.'s mode of treating theology was such that the University could not feel confidence in him. A large body of

[1] The number of electors is only six. Two were against the appointment, and two of the same number *subsequently* became opponents of Dr. Hampden.

voters was assembled at Oxford to vote upon this statute, which had passed the Heads of Houses, when the Proctors interposed their authority, and prevented it from coming to a vote in convocation. The pamphlets of that year, 1836, are, many of them, directly addressed to this question, and some of them are written with great warmth.[1] We purposely abstain from argument in this painful case as to the justice of the censure on the doctrinal statements of the Bampton Lectures, and the other works of the author, because in this brief sketch we have only undertaken to record the facts, as far as they are necessary to elucidate the ecclesiastical history of the period.

Second Hampden case.

Our account of the second Hampden case will be still more brief. When Lord John Russell determined to confer the vacant See of Hereford on Dr. Hampden, thirteen of the Bishops presented a remonstrance against such an appointment, appealing to the former controversies, and urging the inexpediency of placing over the Clergy one whose opinions were rendered suspicious by the decision of a body like the University of Oxford. Some of the advocates of Dr. Hampden observed, in reply, that although in 1836 the Convocation of Oxford had censured Dr. Hampden by a majority of 474 to 94, yet in 1842, on occasion of a proposal to repeal it, the numbers were so much changed, that it was reduced to 330 to 219. They also argued that many of the persons who censured Dr. Hampden objected to the University as an arbiter of doctrine, in the case of Tract XC., and of Mr. Ward's *Ideal of the Church*. Archdeacon Hare, in defence of Dr. Hampden, and Mr. Trower (now Dr. Trower, Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway), against Dr. Hampden, each published a pamphlet on the occasion. An attempt was also made to interfere with the confirmation of the Bishop at Bow Church, by answering the challenge there made to allege any charge against the doctrine of the Bishop Elect; but the authorities would not allow the question to be tried. A large congregation assembled in the church to witness the proceedings. They were breathless with anxiety when the attempt was made and overruled, to convert the mere ceremony into something practical. We do not pretend to lay down the course which ought to have been pursued; but cer-

[1] Two or three of the more prominent controversial pamphlets may be mentioned. 1. *Elucidation of Dr. Hampden's Theological Statements.* Oxford: Parker, 1836. (Against Dr. Hampden.) 2. *Specimens of the Theological Teaching of Certain Members of the Corpus Committee at Oxford.* London: Fellowes. (In Dr. Hampden's defence.). The line taken is to show, by quotations from the *Tracts*, that some of his opponents were themselves unsound in an opposite direction. Dr. Hampden himself, in his "Inaugural Lecture," and his vindication of the Bampton Lectures, adverted to the charges made against him, and gave his own view of the questions. The *Conspectus of the Hampden Case*, written by the late excellent John Miller, of Worcester College, may perhaps also be mentioned as one of the controversial pamphlets against Dr. Hampden. At least, the mention of it permits a passing tribute of respect to a man of rare qualities and sterling worth.

tainly, by this refusal, the act of confirmation is rendered a mere ceremony.

We now dismiss this painful subject. Those who desire to investigate the justice or injustice of the charges against the books of Dr. Hampden must read the books themselves, as well as the most remarkable pamphlets and letters which the controversy called forth. We have abstained from naming some, because we think that the controversy having ceased for many years, it is not desirable to stir up its embers now. The Bishop of Hereford has found other employments in the duties of a diocese, than writing books, which have had the misfortune, whether justly or unjustly, of appearing, to a considerable section of the Church of England, to contain statements which are objectionable; and his opponents, having placed on record their protests, have, since that time, left him unassailed.[1]

III. *The Gorham Case.*

The next case to which our attention is drawn is that of the Rev. George Cornelius Gorham.[2] In the year 1846, Lord Lyndhurst presented Mr. Gorham to the vicarage of St. Just-in-Penwith, the most western parish (except one) in Cornwall. He had been serving, as he states, for thirty-five years as an unbeneficed clergyman. He was for eighteen years a Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge. The Bishop of Exeter, at first, appeared to approve of Mr. Gorham, and to be disposed to act in concert with him. However, after a time, Mr. Gorham showed symptoms of what the Bishop appeared to consider rather strong party feeling, by advertising for a curate "*free from* TRACTARIAN ERROR;" and the Bishop expressed his disapprobation of this and other things, and intimated to Mr. Gorham that he should narrowly watch any one who applied for his curacy. In one instance the Bishop summoned a curate for examination, "ESPECIALLY ON BAPTISM," and intimated to him that his acceptance of a curacy from Mr. Gorham was unfavourable to him; he was, however, ultimately licensed. An unpleasant correspondence arose between

The Gorham case.

[1] The author of these pages, although he has endeavoured to state the facts of this case with impartiality, feels that it might be considered unmanly were he to refuse to express *any opinion* on the main point of the controversy. He therefore, with some diffidence, begs to say that, without believing that Dr. Hampden consciously held any opinions at variance with the Articles of the Church, there are statements in the Bampton Lectures which, to his mind, appear very difficult to be reconciled with the true interpretation of Scripture and with the Articles of the Church. He will not enter further into the discussion, as he considers that it is better on all accounts that it should not be re-opened.

[2] It may be necessary for the author to state, that although he feels himself really bound to write with impartiality the narrative of this contest, his own doctrinal views are opposed to those of Mr. Gorham in regard to regeneration. There are, of course, more questions than the mere truth of these views, *e. g.*, the propriety of the course pursued, &c. But on these he expresses no opinion.

the Bishop and Mr. Gorham in consequence, and the Bishop appears to have imbibed a considerable distrust in the soundness of Mr. Gorham as to the doctrines of the Church, especially in regard to the efficacy of baptism. In August, 1847, the Lord Chancellor (Lord Cottenham) offered to present Mr. Gorham to the vicarage of Bramford-Speke, a small parish, with a less income (to the amount of £300 per annum) than St. Just. The Bishop, on being requested to countersign his testimonials, stated on the paper his doubts as to Mr. Gorham's views, both of discipline and doctrine. The Lord Chancellor, however, presented Mr. Gorham, who applied for institution.[1] The Bishop then intimated his intention of examining Mr. Gorham before he instituted him.

The examination took place, and it continued for several days. It is quite unnecessary to specify each particular grievance of which Mr. Gorham complained as to the time of the examination and the course which it took, &c. The result was, that the Bishop of Exeter declined to institute Mr. Gorham to the vicarage of Bramford-Speke.

Legal proceedings.

The circumstances were so unusual, that the common course of proceedings in law did not appear to offer any means by which Mr. Gorham could ascertain whether he had suffered any wrong by this decision, and, in that case, obtain a remedy. He was therefore advised to have recourse to a proceeding in the Ecclesiastical Court, which goes under the name of *Duplex Querela*—a process which had become almost obsolete. The suit was in the Court of Arches; and the precedent on which the form was drawn was of a date anterior to 1670. It was in Latin. A monition issued, 15th June, 1848. Mr. Gorham denied the right of the Bishop to examine him, because the twenty-eight days allowed by the Ninety-Fifth Canon for that purpose had expired. The monition to the Bishop called upon him to show cause why he had not instituted Mr. Gorham. The Bishop prayed to be heard on his petition, the object of which was to state the grounds on which the Bishop refused to institute Mr. Gorham. To this Mr. Gorham answered by his Proctor, and a reply was given on behalf of the Bishop. The judge of the Court of Arches was Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, and he gave judgment on the 1st of August, 1848. He complained of the inconvenient manner in which the cause was brought before the court. He intimated that he should have expected that the case should be carried on by plea and proof on both sides (referring to the form of proceeding set forth in Oughton, in a book commonly referred to in Ecclesiastical Courts, viz., *Clarke and Oughton*, Oughton, vol. i., p. 237, under the head *De Causis Beneficialibus*); whereas the

[1] These facts are taken from Mr. Gorham's own account, in his *Examination before Admission to a Benefice*, &c. London: Hatchard & Seeleys. 1848.

evidence was to be sought in a book annexed to the act of the Bishop on petition, "containing upwards of 250 pages of introduction, correspondence, and 149 questions, addressed to Mr. Gorham, with his answers" (Sir H. J. Fust's Judgment).

Committee of Privy Council.

The judge then went through part of the evidence, as deducible from this book of correspondence and examinations, and finally determined that the Bishop was justified in rejecting Mr. Gorham. Upon this decision Mr. Gorham appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and the cause was again heard before this court. The constitution of this court is entirely unfitted for the consideration of doctrinal questions; and it is only by an Act of Parliament, which was passed without any specific view to doctrinal questions, under the direction of Lord Brougham, that causes of this kind come before the Privy Council. The object of Lord Brougham's Bill was to substitute the Judicial Committee of Privy Council for the Court of Delegates. The questions which usually came before the Court of Delegates were such as affected the temporalities of the Church and some other matters, unconnected with doctrine; and a period of many years had passed without a single doctrinal question being brought before it. There seems, therefore, to have been *no intention* to constitute the Committee of Privy Council a court of appeal on questions of doctrine; but by the wording of the Act they were transferred with other causes, because the Act provided that *all* causes which formerly were decided by the Court of Delegates, should thenceforth be brought before the Committee of Privy Council. Probably it escaped observation—at any rate, it excited no attention—that doctrinal causes would thus be transferred to the jurisdiction of the Committee of Privy Council. The court of appeal on this occasion consisted of the following members:—The Master of the Rolls, Lord Langdale; the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Campbell; Mr. Baron Parke; Vice-Chancellor Sir J. Knight Bruce; Right Hon. Dr. Lushington; Right Hon. Pemberton Leigh; Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Sumner); Archbishop of York (Dr. Musgrave); Bishop of London (Dr. Blomfield).

Final decision.

Such was the tribunal before which a cause involving one of the most important doctrines of the Church was brought for final decision. Their decision could, indeed, in no way whatever, affect the doctrines of the Church. It could, at the utmost, show the amount of latitude in the constitution of the formularies of the Church, which, at that particular time, the last court of appeal would allow. Every question of doctrine must be judged separately; it is highly improbable that any other person would render himself responsible for every statement of Mr. Gorham; and in another case the composition of the committee might possibly be entirely different. It is a fundamental and fatal objection to this court of appeal, that every member of which it

consists might be Dissenters, with the exception of those members of Episcopate who act as assessors! But before this court the cause of Mr. Gorham was brought and finally decided! The Committee of Privy Council reversed the decision of the Court of Arches, and declared that the Bishop of Exeter had not shown sufficient reasons for not instituting the Rev. G. C. Gorham to the vicarage of Bramford-Speke. The Bishop being determined not to institute Mr. Gorham, the Archbishop of Canterbury was empowered to give him institution; and all attempts on the part of the Bishop of Exeter to interfere with this decision were frustrated. Thus ended the celebrated cause of Mr. Gorham in the matter of the vicarage of Bramford-Speke.

Judgment of the Privy Council.

Before we quit the subject, however, it is absolutely necessary to offer a few observations on the judgment of the Committee of Privy Council. We have already intimated that the constitution of this court is wholly unsuited to the decision of cases involving questions of doctrine. We deem that it is almost revolting to common sense that the final appeal in such cases should be to a court where it is not necessary that a single member of the court should belong to the Church on whose doctrines he is to sit in judgment! If the bare consideration of the nature of the court leads to this conclusion, the judgment itself amply bears out these unfavourable anticipations. It would be difficult to find a document in which a judgment was given which was so wholly at variance with the *data* on which it professes to be founded. From what cause the circumstance may proceed, we do not care to inquire; but it will be easy to show that Mr. Gorham held one set of opinions, while the Privy Council decided that another set of opinions is compatible with the Articles of the Church of England. Here is the summary of Mr. Gorham's opinions, according to the Privy Council:—

"In considering the examination, which is the only evidence, we must have regard not only to the particular question to which each answer is subjoined, but to the general scope, object, and character of the whole examination; and if, under circumstances so peculiar and perplexing, some of the answers should be found difficult to be reconciled with one another (as we think is the case), justice requires that *an endeavour should be made* to reconcile them in such a manner *as to obtain the result* which appears most consistent with the general intention of Mr. Gorham in the exposition of his doctrine and opinions.

"Adopting this course, the doctrine held by Mr. Gorham appears to us to be this—that baptism is a sacrament generally necessary to salvation, but that the grace of regeneration does not so necessarily accompany the act of baptism, that regeneration invariably takes place in baptism; that the grace may be granted before, in, or after baptism; that baptism is an effectual sign of

grace, by which God works invisibly in us, but only in such as worthily receive it—in them alone it has a wholesome effect; and that, without reference to the qualification of the recipient, it is not in itself an effectual sign of grace. That infants baptized, and dying before actual sin, are certainly saved; but that in no case is regeneration in baptism unconditional."

Erroneous view of the case.

Now, certainly, although these opinions are held by many persons—and they are opinions on which we are not called upon to deliver any judgment—they are *not* the opinions which Mr. Gorham exhibited in his examination; and they are irreconcileable with some of those which Mr. Gorham did express. For instance, in answer 15 Mr. Gorham says—

"Our Church holds, and I hold, that no spiritual grace is conveyed in baptism, except to *worthy recipients;* and as infants are by nature *un*worthy recipients, 'being born in sin, and the children of wrath,' they cannot receive any benefit from baptism, except there shall have been a prevenient act of grace to make them worthy. Baptism is the sign or seal either of the grace already given, or of the repentance and faith which are stipulated, and must be hereafter exercised."

The same view is steadily maintained, in regard to infants dying before actual sin, in answer 19, where Mr. Gorham concedes "that they are 'undoubtedly saved;'" but he adds, "and therefore they must have been regenerated by an act of grace prevenient to their baptism, in order to make them worthy recipients of that sacrament." It will be seen by these extracts that Mr. Gorham's view was no mere opinion that regeneration *may* sometimes be separated from baptism, but a settled and determined view, that regeneration never *can* be given to infants in baptism, but that it *must*, in every case where a child is saved, have been given by an "act of prevenient grace."

This view is so remarkable and peculiar, that it seems almost in Mr. Gorham to be the result of idiosyncracy, so that he was impelled to view the question in this manner by some strange delusion, which overthrew his judgment in this particular instance. But the judgment of the Privy Council, as far as we can see, had nothing to do with the opinions he expressed. Mr. Gorham maintained that regeneration *never can* be given by baptism; and the Committee of Privy Council very gratuitously assure us that it would be unjust to refuse institution to a clergyman who maintains that regeneration may be separated from baptism. Mr. Gorham carries through his view with remarkable consistency. Having settled that regeneration *cannot* be given as the grace of baptism, because an infant is an *un*worthy recipient, he invents or assumes an act of prevenient grace to make that child a worthy recipient—in the case of death before actual sin—a case where the Church has ruled, and Mr. Gorham admits, that the child is

undoubtedly saved. It will be seen that such a view, consistently carried out, is wholly different from the view imputed to Mr. Gorham by the Privy Council, and in some particulars directly contradictory of it. The judgment of the Privy Council (from which the Bishop of London dissented), as far as regards the authorized doctrine of the Church of England, is so much blank paper. The utmost it can do is to impose a precedent for a similar court to follow; but unless the words were absolutely identical, any new case must be judged upon its own merits; and the decision of the court upon Mr. Gorham's doctrine would not be of any importance.

We bring forward these statements, however, in order to show how very desirable it is that the jurisdiction in doctrinal causes should be withdrawn from the Committee of Privy Council, the composition of which renders it wholly unsuitable for the settlement of such causes. It is well adapted for those which were chiefly contemplated by Lord Brougham, viz., cases where ecclesiastical customs and the laws of the country are concerned; but for no cause where the doctrine of the Church is the main point involved.

IV. *The Denison Case.*

The Denison case.

It becomes now our duty very briefly to state the proceedings which have taken place in some of the Ecclesiastical Courts in regard to certain opinions publicly maintained by the Rev. G. A. Denison, Vicar of East Brent, Archdeacon of Taunton. Archdeacon Denison was one of the examining chaplains of the late Bishop of Bath and Wells (Dr. Bagot, 1845–1854). In the early part of the year 1853, Bishop Spencer (formerly Bishop of Madras), who was acting as commissary for the Bishop of Bath and Wells, having become acquainted with the views upon the Eucharist which were inculcated by the Archdeacon on candidates for orders, determined to bring the matter before his diocesan. The Bishop expressed his willingness to bring the case before the Provincial Court, but stated its extreme expense as an objection. But Archdeacon Denison was removed from his office of examining chaplain. He did not, however, make any recantation of his views; but, on the contrary, in August and November of that year he repeated his statement in some sermons, preached in the cathedral of the diocese, and immediately afterwards published. The incumbent of a neighbouring parish, the Rev. Joseph Ditcher, Vicar of South Brent, considered that it was his duty, as a senior clergyman of the diocese, to bring the questions raised in these sermons to trial in some of the constituted tribunals of the country, and obtain a judgment upon them. It may, perhaps, be convenient here to reprint the passages, extracted from the sermons, on which the charge was made, and on which the

sentence of the Archbishop of Canterbury was subsequently founded. They are the following:—

Archdeacon Denison's views.

"That the Body and Blood of Christ, being really present, after an immaterial and spiritual manner, in the Consecrated Bread and Wine, are therein and thereby given to all, and are received by all, who come to the Lord's Table." And

"That to all who come to the Lord's Table, to those who eat and drink worthily, and to those who eat and drink unworthily, the Body and Blood of Christ are given; and that by all who come to the Lord's Table, by those who eat and drink worthily, and those who eat and drink unworthily, the Body and Blood of Christ are received." And

"It is not true that the Consecrated Bread and Wine are changed in their natural substances, for they remain in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored. It is true that worship is due to the real, though invisible and supernatural, presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Eucharist, under the form of Bread and Wine."[1]

These are the chief propositions which served as the groundwork of the charge against Archdeacon Denison. That they do not maintain Transubstantiation is clear; but that they are not agreeable to the literal interpretation of the Twenty-Eighth and Twenty-Ninth Articles of the Church of England, appear also to be clear. Whether they can in any way be explained, so as not to be directly repugnant and contrary to the doctrine enunciated in those Articles, is not a question which lies within the scope of this narrative.[2]

The first movement made by Mr. Ditcher was to endeavour to bring the case before the Court of Arches. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of the diocese (Bath and Wells) were both applied to; but the Bishop was reluctant to incur the expense of such a proceeding, and, for other reasons also, appears to have thought it desirable to avoid taking this course. The Bishop

[1] It will be observed that Archdeacon Denison limits the *Presence* of the Body and Blood of Christ to the elements. It will also be remembered that the Church of England does not make use of the word "*Presence*" in reference to the Eucharist in any of its authorized formulas. And undoubtedly it does not limit the presence locally to the elements. It maintains that they are the ordained means by which the benefit called in Scripture eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ is conveyed to the soul of the believing recipient; but this is a very different proposition from that of the Archdeacon.

[2] The writer has no hesitation in saying that he accepts *ex animo* the statement of the Twenty-Ninth Article, and that he considers its doctrine very different from that of Archdeacon Denison. But there may be an ambiguity in the sense of the words "partakers of Christ," from which he supposes the Archdeacon would draw his defence. To be a "*partaker* of Christ" is to share in the benefits of His passion, &c. He supposes that the Archdeacon would maintain that the wicked *receive the Body and Blood of Christ*, but are not "*partakers* of Christ" in the former sense, but rather *receive* them to their condemnation. But the subject is very deep and mysterious; and the writer is desirous of not going beyond that which is written.

appears also to have entered into a kind of correspondence with Archdeacon Denison, in which he expressed his disapprobation of the views of the Archdeacon, and endeavoured to persuade him to modify them. The Bishop seems to have considered that this correspondence, which was founded partly on the statements furnished by Mr. Ditcher, with a view to bringing the matter forward judicially, had somewhat the nature of a trial, and that his own censure might stand in the place of a judicial sentence. But this, of course, would not be accepted by the opposite party as a satisfactory proceeding, and they accordingly applied to the Archbishop to act in this case. The only ground for the Archbishop's interference was the accidental circumstance, that the preferment held by the Archdeacon is in the gift of the Bishop of the diocese. In this case, the law has provided that an appeal should be permitted to the Archbishop, as a protection to the clergyman. This provision, however, in the present case, proved only an additional restriction to the clergyman. Instead of appealing from his diocesan to his metropolitan, as a protection to *him*, his opponents made use of this provision to put the Archbishop in movement against him, in a case where his own diocesan and the patron of his living was not disposed to bring him to public trial. A commission would have issued, Mr. Ditcher informs us, had not the death of the Bishop taken place at that period. Mr. Ditcher then applied to the successor of Bishop Bagot (Lord Auckland), but he declined to enter into the case, on the ground that it had been disposed of by his predecessor. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Sumner) now issued a commission, to inquire whether there were *primâ facie* grounds for taking further proceedings. It is generally stated that all the clergymen on this commission were persons whose general views were well known to be adverse to those of Archdeacon Denison. The commission reported to the Archbishop that there were *primâ facie* grounds for further proceedings. The Bishop of the diocese now declined to sign the letters of request by which the cause would have been brought before the Court of Arches, and the Archbishop was unwilling to make use of the provisions of the Church Discipline Act, and himself constitute a court for the trial of this cause. As the Archbishop declined to do this, the opponents of the Archdeacon determined to apply to the Court of Queen's Bench, to compel the Archbishop to proceed by this course. The application was made, and a rule *Nisi* was granted on the 22d November, 1855. On the 24th January, 1856, the rule was made *absolute*. On the 19th April, 1856, this was made *peremptory*.

Proceedings in the Queen's Bench.

Lord Chief Justice Campbell, during the course of these proceedings, made some very strong observations on the course taken by the Archbishop, stating that the commission being the commencement of a judicial process, the Archbishop was bound to go

on with it, on the report of the commissioners that there were *primâ facie* grounds for further proceedings. In May the Archbishop made a return to the rule, stating that he had cited the Archdeacon to appear before him at Doctors' Commons. Mr. Ditcher objected to this return, on the ground that the citation should have been to some place in the diocese of Bath and Wells. The Archbishop's return was accordingly quashed; and on June 26, 1856, the Archbishop made another return to the rule, stating that he had cited the Archdeacon to appear before him at Bath.

On the 22d July the court met. It consisted of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, the Dean of Wells, and Dr. Heurtley, Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford, as his assessors. The Bath judgment.

The Archdeacon appeared under protest, and pleaded that his citation to Bath, which took place June 5, 1856, was the commencement of the suit, and that, as more than two years had then elapsed since the alleged offence had been committed, the proceedings would be invalid, as the Church Discipline Act required every such suit to be commenced within two years from the commission of the offence alleged.

This was overruled, and the cause proceeded to trial. On the 12th August a declaration was promulgated by the court, to the effect that the doctrine of the Archdeacon was directly contrary and repugnant to the Twenty-Eighth and Twenty-Ninth Articles; and the Archdeacon was called upon to revoke his error by the 1st October following. The court was then adjourned to the 21st October, on which day the final sentence was to be pronounced, according to 13 Eliz., c. 12.

On 30th September the Archdeacon delivered a protest against this declaration, on the ground that the Twenty-Ninth Article was not included in the articles to which 13 Eliz., c. 12, could apply. This objection was overruled, 21st October, 1856; and on 22d October sentence was delivered, condemning the Archdeacon in the Acts, and sentencing him to deprivation of all his ecclesiastical preferments. The Archdeacon then appealed to the Court of Arches. The Dean of the Arches (Sir J. Dodson) refused the appeal, on the ground that he was only the deputy of the Archbishop, and no appeal could be from the superior to his deputy. The Archdeacon then applied to the Court of Queen's Bench for a mandamus to the Dean of the Arches, to compel him to hear the cause, which was granted on 28th January, 1857, on the ground that the Archbishop at Bath was only acting as Bishop of Bath and Wells *pro hac vice*, and that the appeal lay to the Court of Arches, according to the Church Discipline Act.

On the cause being heard in the Court of Arches in April, 1857, the Dean of the Arches determined in favour of the objection taken to the proceedings, because they were not commenced Final appeal.

within the period required by the Church Discipline Act. This judgment was given April 23, 1857. An appeal was made from this decision to the Committee of Privy Council, which was argued December 4 and 5, 1857.

On February 6, 1858, the judgment of the court was given, by which the judgment of the Court of Arches was confirmed.

We are not disposed to enter at any length into the questions raised by the Denison case. They relate to very deep and mysterious doctrines, and the greatest reverence is required in the discussion of them. We are very thankful that it has pleased Providence to spare the Church of England the mortification of seeing them brought before a tribunal like the Committee of Privy Council. It is unhappy that Archdeacon Denison should think that he is bound to stand forth as an expounder of the doctrine of the Church on this point; but it is highly probable that while we dissent from the views of the Archdeacon, we should find ourselves very little inclined to accept those of his opponent. And if we dissent from the views of the two contending parties, we also dislike the tone in which the controversy has been carried on. It is to be hoped that these great doctrines will not be made again the occasion of party strife. There is, happily, no triumph to either party. The Archdeacon remains at present uninjured, except by the expense of the proceeding; while Mr. Ditcher, who has failed to procure the deprivation of the Archdeacon, consoles himself with the reflection, that the court which assembled at Bath condemned his doctrine. Let us hope that, for the future, both parties will learn to value more highly the Christian graces of humility and charity, and employ their energies in some more useful channel, than in contentions about doctrines, for the consideration of which there is no tribunal at present, the decision of which could give any satisfaction to the Church.

But though we decline to enter into the merits of the case, we cannot forbear a passing remark on the anomalies and absurdities exhibited in the course of the legal proceedings themselves.

Legal anomalies.

The first anomaly is the appearance of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the matter at all, from the accidental circumstance that the preferment of the Archdeacon is in the gift of the Bishop of the diocese. The next anomaly is, that the Archbishop having issued a commission, and received from that commission a report that there were *primâ facie* grounds for further proceedings, resolved *not* to proceed farther. The third anomaly is, that Lord Chief Justice Campbell,[1] after scolding the Archbishop very

[1] Perhaps Lord Campbell may be excused in the mind of many, from the peculiarity of the circumstances. It is not often that a Scotch Lord Chief Justice has the opportunity of lecturing an Archbishop of Canterbury! It is the opinion of some lawyers, also, that the final decision of the Privy Council was erroneous; and no doubt Lord Campbell will agree with them. But whichever is right, the anomaly remains as a blot in this portion of our jurisprudence.

severely, ordered his Grace to proceed immediately with a cause at a time when, according to the decision of the last court of appeal, the proceedings were necessarily null and void! The last anomaly we shall mention is the delivery of a formal judgment and sentence of deprivation by the court at Bath, which proved in the end to be so much waste paper! Grateful as we are to Providence that we escaped a decision of the Privy Council, we cannot avoid remarking, that the state of our ecclesiastical jurisdiction is an utter disgrace to the legislature of the country. With these observations we conclude our account of the Denison case!

The Revival of the Active Powers of Convocation.

Revival of Convocation.

We have now given an account of some of the most remarkable contests and ecclesiastical events which have taken place during the last few years. There are other circumstances also which serve to characterize the period to which we must also refer, but very briefly. The most remarkable of these is the partial revival of the functions of Convocation. For a long season a growing desire had been manifested for a revival of the active powers of Convocation, but no movement of importance was made till the year 1847. The Convocation which assembled at the close of that year, proceeded to take some initiative steps which had not previously been usual. The Convocation of that year having met as usual, and heard the Latin sermon at St. Paul's, afterwards met again on the 24th November, 1847, in the Jerusalem Chamber. Dr. Lyall, Dean of Canterbury, having been chosen Prolocutor by the Lower House, was presented to the Archbishop, and immediately read a Latin speech on points connected with the state of the Church, in which he suggested that the present would be a favourable opportunity for the Convocation to be allowed to act. The Archbishop approved the choice of the Lower House, and complimented the Prolocutor on the ability with which he had discharged the various duties which devolved upon him. The Lower House then retired, and the names of the Clergy summoned were read by the Prolocutor. A member then proposed "that an address should be presented to the Upper House, asking their Lordships to unite with the Lower House in a humble petition to the Queen, praying for her royal license that Convocation might be permitted to consult upon the best means of increasing the efficiency of the Church." This motion, and an amendment upon it, were both put, and both lost. Some questions were then raised as to the competency of Convocation to receive and consider petitions, and eventually the petition of the Upper House to the Queen was made the subject of discussion, and some amendments were proposed, which were accepted by the Upper House. The business lasted from 11 A.M. to 5.30 P.M.

This appears only a small matter, but it was not without its advantages. It accustomed the public mind to contemplate calmly the reality of some discussion in Convocation, and this was by no means a small gain. On subsequent occasions further progress was made, as, for instance, in the year 1852, when Convocation having opened with the usual forms, on the 5th November, it was continued (*i. e.*, prorogued) to November 12th, when a considerable advance was made towards the revival of the deliberative functions of Convocation. Dr. Wordsworth presented a private schedule of *gravamina*. A *committee of grievances* was appointed and approved by the Archbishop, and a representation was made by the Lower House to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, in Convocation assembled. Other motions and amendments were made, and some measures were taken for securing order in the debates of the House, by drawing up a table of "standing orders." All these are also small matters, but they indicate a cheering degree of progress. In 1856, Convocation advanced still farther, and deliberated on the expediency of a re-arrangement of the Services of the Church;[1] and in 1857 and 1858, the cause advanced so far, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, though not desiring the revival of the active powers of Convocation, declared that it would now be out of the question to put an end to such debates as those which have hitherto been admitted; indeed his language went farther than this.

Synodical action.

From these statements it will easily be gathered that the cause of Convocation has advanced very considerably within the last ten years, and that it is destined, in all probability, to achieve still greater success. There is also, at the same time, another movement going forward, which is intended, in some degree, to obviate the necessity for the revival of the powers of Convocation. That movement is an agitation for the establishment of Diocesan Synods. Many papers have been circulated on this subject by the Rev. W. Pound and other clergymen. They contain many valuable suggestions, but the movement has not been so general as that for the revival of Convocation. There does not appear any reason why the two might not co-exist. It is clear that there is a longing and a desire for some kind of synodical action, but the Church in England has been so entirely unaccustomed to any form of such action, that this desire is often found without very definite views as to the manner in which it may be satisfied. The objects, indeed, of Diocesan Synods would be different from those of Convocation; for Diocesan Synods could only have authority or influence in the diocese in which they are held,

[1] Not with any view to an alteration of the doctrine or language of the Liturgy, but a re-arrangement of existing Services, *e. g.*, such alterations as the following:—a permission to use the Litany alone or with the Lessons of the Day, &c.

while Convocation being, by representation, the action of the Church of the whole province, would have authority throughout that province. The convocation of the province of York has several times endeavoured to advance *pari passu* with that of Canterbury, but the proceedings have always been stopped by the Archbishop at once. This is the more remarkable, because the Archbishop of York was promoted to his present position, as a strong supporter of the Whig government, who claim for themselves the name of the liberal party, and the friends of the people. But his Grace has taken every possible opportunity of suppressing any public expression of feeling on the part of the Clergy of his province, in Convocation.

The cause of Convocation has, however, made such progress, that the impediments thrown in its way can scarcely prevent its eventual success. We earnestly hope that in some manner or other, it will be competent hereafter for the Church of England to give expression to its sentiments. If it be through Convocation, which seems to be the true method, the constitution of that assembly must of course be modified to meet the present state of our ecclesiastical bodies. The details of such a scheme will need very careful discussion, but the result would doubtless be advantageous to the Church.

Commutation of tithes.

It may now be requisite to mention other parliamentary measures affecting the Church of England, especially in its temporalities. Among these one of the most remarkable was the Act of 6 and 7 William IV., c. 71, by which the tithe was commuted for a perpetual rent charge. The following are the principles on which the Act was founded:—"By the Tithe Commutation Act all Tithes are converted into a Corn Rent of so many Bushels of Wheat, Barley, and Oats, but instead of the party paying such Corn Rent in kind, it directs that the respective quantities shall be annually valued at the average prices for the seven preceding years, and the amount thereof shall be the Tithe Rent Charge for the following year."

The 55th clause of the Act directs that the draft of every appointment, or schedule annexed, shall state the amount of rent charge, charged on the said several lands included in the agreement or award. These amounts are to be divided into three portions, and every rent charge is to be deemed of the value of such number of imperial bushels of wheat, barley, and oats, as the same would have purchased at the average prices for seven years ending Thursday before Christmas day, 1835, in case one-third of such rent charge had been laid out in wheat, one-third in barley, and one-third in oats.

It will be seen by this, that all tithe, as represented by money, is converted into a fixed number of bushels of wheat, barley, and oats. The income of the clergyman is the value of this grain

at the average prices of the seven preceding years. The number of bushels for £100 of tithe is as follows:—Wheat, 94·955; barley, 168·421; oats, 242·424. If the average price of grain has been low, the £100 will be diminished; if high, it will be increased. And although on an average of the last twenty-two years, the value of £100 has been £99 0s. 1¼d., yet the fluctuations have been very great. For instance, in 1855 £100 of rent charge was worth only £89 15s. 8¾d., or very nearly 10¼ per cent. below par; in 1858, it is worth £105 16s. 3½d., or nearly 5¼ above par.[1] But whatever may be the proportionate worth of £100 in the various years, there is, besides the exchange of a Divine mode of payment (as applied to the Jewish Church) for a human invention, a principle of injustice in the Act. It precludes the Church from any participation in the future improvement of agriculture in England. Had it been adopted in Henry VIII.'s time, the value of the benefices in England would not have been one-tenth of their present value. So great an increase in the productive power of the country is probably not to be anticipated for the future, as has taken place since the time of Henry VIII.; but when the produce of the country is increased, the maintenance of the Clergy does not keep pace with it; and the cheaper corn is, that is, the greater the blessing which God bestows on the country, the lower will be the revenue of God's ministers.

Cathedral chapters.

Other Acts with regard to the cathedral revenues, and the canonries in cathedral churches have been passed, by which the interests of the Church have been very much affected. Canonries have been suspended by wholesale (*e. g.*, six in Canterbury, five in Bath and Wales, two in Ely, four in Durham) with the intention of bestowing their revenues on small livings. It is true that the state of many of the small livings is very disgraceful to the richest country in the world, but the remedy for that evil ought not to have been derived from robbing the Church. The real remedy would have been increased liberality on the part of the laity. And it must be acknowledged, that very many instances of munificence on the part of the laity, in the endowment of churches, have occurred. It is chiefly in very populous towns that the deficiency of revenue occurs. In manufacturing places, where large masses of population are herded together for the purpose of increasing the gains of large capitalists, it is clear that the duty of providing for their spiritual instruction falls on their employers, and the revenues for that purpose ought not to be sought from the alienation of other ecclesiastical funds.

[1] We borrow this summary from Mr. Willich's most useful volume, *Tithe Commutation Tables*, second edition, 1843. An annual appendix is issued by Mr. Willich, by which the amount of any given sum, which is chargeable by the draft of apportionment, may be found, with its value in the current year. Mr. Willich, whose accuracy and skill as a calculator are too well known to need any recommendation here, is entitled to the thanks of the country for his most useful tables of various kinds.

Besides the funds of the suppressed canonries, the Ecclesiastical Commission has latterly been empowered, in great measure, to manage the property of the chapters, in regard to leases, &c., with a view to substitute, it is said, some better mode of payment than by leases on lives with fines on renewal. It is true that abuses and evils have arisen from the ancient system, but the present commissioners have not shown any very great degree of sagacity in improving it. Indeed the chief advantage of this portion of the duties of the commissioners appears to be, that it provides an amiable nobleman (the Earl of Chichester) and two other laymen a comfortable revenue of £1,000 per annum, out of the property of the Church, for doing very little. Of course so large a sum appropriated to a hard working parish priest would be thought a most extravagant income, and deserve to be numbered among the abuses of the day! But it will no doubt be conceded by modern liberalism, that it is very proper that laymen should be well paid for mismanaging the estates of the Church! The commissioners for the episcopal revenues, which have all been re-arranged and altered under a commission, have also exhibited rather an unfortunate specimen of lay interference in ecclesiastical revenues. It is not worth while to enter into details, but the facts of the cases may be ascertained from the reports of the commissioners, and the debates in the House of Commons, at various times.

Chapter property.

In regard to the changes in the territorial arrangement of the dioceses, it would be very difficult to give an intelligible account of them without a map. It may justly be said that, upon the whole, they are improvements; but much more requires to be done before the episcopal office can be rendered as efficient as it might become, if the duties of each Bishop were confined to a smaller district. The enormous diocese of Lincoln has been considerably reduced, but it has been effected by throwing whole counties into another see; *e. g.*, Bedfordshire has been transferred from Lincoln to Ely, but Ely is itself inconveniently large. It extends over three counties and part of a fourth, the population of which reaches nearly half a million (it is 482,412), and it contains 529 benefices, over which the Bishop has the superintendence. Changes have also been made lately in regard to the patronage of the Bishops. The See of Oxford had very little patronage formerly, but by a regulation which has been introduced, a large part of the patronage of other bishoprics has been transferred to Oxford. Before this alteration, Oxford had only twenty-two benefices, and at present it has about seventy, several of which are of considerable value. The patronage of Ely has been much diminished, and a general redistribution has taken place, nearly on the principle on which Cyrus is said to have adjusted the two coats to their owners. These, however, are

Division of dioceses.

matters of secondary importance, compared to any attempts to tamper with the doctrines or the Liturgy of the Church.

The Universities.

In estimating the condition of the Church, and narrating the helps and hindrances which respectively advance or impede its progress, the condition of the Universities must be taken into account. An attempt was made in 1834 to induce the legislature to introduce some measure by which Dissenters might obtain some further advantages in regard to the Universities than they then possessed. At Oxford the declaration on matriculation excluded them, as those who were matriculated signed the Thirty-nine Articles. At Cambridge no such regulation was in force; it was only on admission to the first degree (that of Bachelor of Arts) that the student declared himself *bonâ fide* a member of the Church of England. A petition was drawn up among the Whig members of the Senate at Cambridge with a considerable degree of secrecy, and the rest of the University was rather surprised to find Lord Grey presenting a petition to the House of Lords, as if coming from the great majority of that body, praying that the restrictions by which Dissenters were prevented from taking degrees might be removed. It was signed by several Professors, but was, of course, only a party document, and certainly was far from expressing the sentiments of the Senate in general. This petition was the origin of a warm controversy on the subject of the admission of Dissenters in general.[1] Those who were then admitted were not admitted *as Dissenters*, but if they did not object to attendance at Chapel, and to the lectures of their College, they could reside in the University of Cambridge, without any declaration as to their opinion, until their admission to a degree. They were permitted to attend even the final examinations; and some gentlemen, whose names are recorded in the *Tripos Papers*, in high places, never took their degree on this account. Thus, on one occasion, a gentleman whose name stands as second wrangler, being of the Jewish persuasion, never proceeded to his degree. About the same time a charter was granted to the London University, in which degrees were to be granted without any reference to religious belief. This season of trial, however, passed away without any measure being enacted for the purpose of altering the conditions of granting degrees at Oxford and Cambridge. The blow, however, destined for the Church of England through the sides of the Universities, though it did not then fall, was only delayed for a time, and not effectually warded off. In 1850, a commission was issued for inquiring into the condition of the University of Oxford; it is dated August 31,

[1] Pamphlets were published on the subject by Dr. Tuxton (now Bishop of Ely), Dr. Whewell, the present Bishop of St. David's, Rev. W. Selwyn, Rev. C. Wordsworth, Rev. Henry J. Rose, Dr. Lee, and others. In Oxford there were likewise many pamphlets issued on the subject of the Admission of Dissenters, by Rev. W. Sewell, Rev. G. Moberly, and others.

1850; and about the same time another commission was issued for inquiring into the state of Cambridge. The composition of these commissions was of a party character. The commissioners named were persons who were either committed to a certain class of opinions, or tolerably well known to entertain them. It is impossible to enter into detail as to the measures recommended. The reports of these commissions have been published, and may be consulted. But they are by no means mere reports; very practical measures have been their result, which are even yet in progress. Great changes have been made in the laws and the studies of the Universities. It remains to be seen with what effect. But there can be no question whatever that one object of these changes has been to weaken, as much as possible, the power and influence of the Church in the Universities. In some of the Colleges, from the faithlessness of the existing Society, or at least of its majority, changes have been accepted, which the commissioners would never have forced upon a reluctant College, by which the very Fellows of the College are no longer necessarily members of the Church of England. Some regulations with regard to Professorships, and lectures connected with them, are judicious and advantageous.[1] But those useful measures, to which the Universities themselves would have been more than willing to lend a helping hand, are not the measures which the authors of these commissions look upon with the greatest favour. To weaken the hold of the Church upon the country at large, and to Germanize the Universities as far as possible, these were apparently the favourite schemes of the original projectors of these commissions. Our hope and trust is that, in reference to these objects, their expectations may be grievously disappointed! The charter granted to the London University was of course a great concession to popular views; but the ancient Universities, though they showed some symptoms of discontent and jealousy, had no great reason to complain of this concession. The University of Oxford, in 1834, appealed to the Privy Council against the grant of this charter; but it was by far the best solution of the difficulty. If it was desirable to give degrees irrespective of religious faith, it was far better to create a new body for the purpose, than to force religious institutions into an irreligious indifference.[2]

[1] It is remarkable enough that in Cambridge two gentlemen who were most eager for University Reform—indeed one of them was a distinguished member of the commission—held valuable mathematical professorships for many years without giving a single lecture!!

[2] The following fact is perfectly notorious:—In one College at Cambridge the Master drew up a form of prayer, which, he conceived, could not offend the religious prejudices of any person, and wished that all should attend by compulsion on this service; while he intended to leave attendance on the Chapel worship (*i. e.*, the Liturgy of the Church of England) optional. The undergraduates declared they

But another scheme of great importance also, in connection with University education, was carried into effect in the north of England in the year 1833. In 1832, Dr. Van Mildert, Bishop of Durham, with the co-operation of the Chapter of that Cathedral, determined, with the utmost munificence, to assign a large income from the resources of the Chapter, and from the Bishop's own revenues, to the foundation of a University at Durham. A bill was obtained from Parliament authorizing the transfer, &c., in 1832, and in October, 1833, the University was opened. Three stalls were assigned to the Warden and to the Professorships of Divinity and of Greek; and estates belonging to the Chapter were appropriated to the uses of the University. The sacrifices made by the Bishop and the Chapter are a noble monument of the munificence of both. They seem to recall a bygone age, when the grants of endowments, from which the two ancient Universities derive their revenues, were more common than at present. We cannot pursue this subject further, as it is only incidentally connected with ecclesiastical history.

We must now, as a conclusion to this chapter, turn our attention to the progress of the Church of England in other respects, especially in regard to the great societies in connection with it. In the progress of the Colonial Episcopate, and in the work of church building, there is great room for thankfulness to God for the great work which has been effected within the present century. In promoting the increase of the Colonial Episcopate, the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* has been mainly instrumental.

At the beginning of the present century there were only two Bishops connected with the British Colonies. There was the See of Nova Scotia, founded in 1787; and the See of Quebec, founded in 1793.

The movement made in 1814, by which the See of Calcutta was erected, was only the beginning of a great change in the relations of the Church at home to its daughters in the colonies. It was not till the year 1824 that the measure began to bear its legitimate fruit; in that year two more Sees were erected,—viz., Jamaica and Barbadoes. The North American Sees were afterward further developed by the erection of Frederickton and Newfoundland from that of Nova Scotia, and Toronto and Montreal from that of Quebec; both Nova Scotia and Quebec still remain as Sees. Rupert's Land was afterwards erected, while Guiana and Antigua were added to Barbadoes. In the eastern hemisphere the process of development also went on by the addition of Bombay, Madras, and Ceylon, to Calcutta. The present number of

would leave the College in a body if this measure was persevered in. The disgrace was thus warded off! The proposer of this scheme is a member of the Cambridge Commission!

colonial Bishops is thirty-two, as will appear from the following table:—

Western Hemisphere.	Eastern Hemisphere.	Australian Colonies.
Nova Scotia.	Calcutta.	Sydney.
Newfoundland.	Bombay.	New Zealand.
Frederickton.	Madras.	Newcastle.
Quebec.	Colombo.	Melbourne.
Montreal.	Labuan.	Adelaide.
Toronto.	Victoria.	Tasmania.
Rupert's Land.	Mauritius.	Christ Church.
Huron.	Cape Town.	Perth.
Jamaica.	Graham's Town.	——
Barbadoes.	Natal.	Europe.
Antigua.	Sierra Leone.	Gibraltar.
Guiana.		

On one occasion, in 1847, four colonial Bishops were consecrated at one time in Westminster Abbey—a spectacle which recalled the remembrance of that period when missionary work was undertaken, as it ought to be, by the Church in her corporate capacity. The advantage of sending out Bishops to our colonies, and thus completing there the organization of the Christian Church according to the Apostolic pattern, will be apparent to those who compare the number of missionaries before the appointment of a Bishop, and afterwards. It is frequently found to be quadrupled within a short time from the first appointment of the Bishop. The progress of the Church of England, therefore, in the last quarter of a century, may be considered, if not as great as we might desire, yet very satisfactory as compared with former periods.

If we look now at the progress of church building, we shall find the following table (taken from Mr. Mann's *Abridgment of the Census of* 1851) very useful.—(We have omitted the returns of 1811, 1821, and 1841):—

	Population.	Churches.	Sittings.
1801, ...	8,892,536	11,379	4,289,883
1831, ...	13,896,797	11,883	4,481,891
1851, ...	17,927,609	14,077	5,317,915

It will be seen that while from 1801 to 1831 the increase was only 504 churches in thirty years, the number of churches in the twenty years between 1831 and 1851 was increased by no less than 2,193! But still, great as this increase was, it was not in proportion to the increase of population; so that although the present generation has laboured more earnestly than was the case in any preceding period, it has been unable to keep pace with the population. Had former generations laboured at all in the same proportion, the deficiency now felt would have long ceased to exist.

We now turn a hasty glance to the progress made by the chief societies in connection with the Established Church.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.),

established in 1698, and the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.F.P.), which was developed from the former in 1701, pursued, during part of the last century, their respective objects in a very quiet manner. The first was occupied in circulating Bibles, prayer books, and tracts in England, and in assisting towards finding a provision for the spiritual wants of our foreign dependencies by grants in favour of schools and missions. The other attempted to provide for the spiritual necessities of our colonies, and was eminently useful, although its slender revenues were wholly inadequate to the gigantic work which it desired to perform. But about the beginning of the present century, a great impulse was given to the operations of both, and a great increase of support was afforded to them.

At the beginning of the present century the S.P.C.K. had about 2,000 subscribers, and its resources from subscriptions, sale of books, &c., were about £10,000.

In 1857 its funds from the sale of books were £64,950 2s. 11d.; but large as this sum appears, it did not cover the expenses of books, paper, printing, &c., by £14,077 11s. 11d. The subscriptions amounted to £13,995 11s. 8d., the benefactions to £4,676 3s. 4d., legacies, £5,181 0s. 8d.; while other sources brought this part of its finances to £38,577 13s.; so that the Society administered funds to an amount of more than £100,000.

The S.P.G.F.P., at the commencement of the present century, had only £425 in annual subscriptions, and the whole of its funds did not reach £6,000; while from its Report of 1857, we find the following statement of its revenue for 1856:—

Collections, subscriptions, and donations, ...	£54,548
Legacies, ...	11,117
Dividends, &c., ...	3,910
Total of Society's General Fund, .	£69,575
In addition to this, special funds for particular dioceses, .	16,658
Memorial Church at Constantinople, ...	18,237
Total, . .	£104,470

This Society has twice received a heavy blow from the government of the country; *first*, when £15,000, which government paid annually, according to an agreement with the Society, was withdrawn by the Whig government shortly after the Reform Bill; and *secondly*, when Lord Palmerston (by the advice, it is said, of Lord Shaftesbury, who is opposed to the Society,) determined that no Queen's letters for collecting in churches should again be issued.

It will be seen, however, that these measures have not prevented a large increase in the revenue of the Society. Indeed they have only served to increase the exertions of its friends. The principles of this Society entitle it to the support of every

member of the Church of England. It has no party views. In sending missionaries out, it confines its own inquiries to the character and general fitness of the missionary. In regard to his views of doctrine, it professes to be satisfied to leave this question to the determination of the Bishops of the Church with whom he is brought into connection,—the Bishop in England from whose diocese he comes, and the Bishop abroad in whose diocese he is about to be employed. The number of missionaries employed by this Society is between 400 and 500, besides above 300 catechists, schoolmasters, &c. In the Report of this Society for 1851, there is an interesting table showing, by the formation of a curved line between two scales, the increase of this Society from its first foundation. The original intention of this Society was to confine its operations to our own countrymen in the colonies as its first object, and thus to work upon the heathen; but its *missionary* work is now a very large part of its operations. In some districts it has been very successful. In the Tinnevelly district, in Madras, above 20,000 converts have been made within a few years by its missionaries, and as large a number also by those of the Church Missionary Society.

The Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) has entered more particularly on the proper work of missions. It was founded at the beginning of the present century, and has advanced very rapidly within the last few years, till it has reached a very high position. It was stated at the Exeter Hall meeting, May, 1858, that its revenue this year has exceeded £150,000; so that its funds are larger than those of any Society in connection with the Church. For some years the sanction of the late Archbishop of Canterbury was withheld from the Society, because it would not consent to place its missionaries under the control of the Bishops in whose dioceses they were labouring. This has been in some degree remedied, but the Society takes upon itself the responsibility of judging of the doctrinal views of its missionaries. It will send none whose examination in this respect is not satisfactory to the Committee, which is composed of clergy and laity in equal numbers. By the instrumentality of this active Society several sees have been formed in our colonies. Thus the Sees of New Zealand, Sierra Leone, and Rupert's Land, have been founded, chiefly in consequence of the exertions and representations of this Society. It is a very energetic and persevering Society; and although its constitution will probably always prevent its amalgamation with the S.P.G.F.P., yet the circumstance of two societies existing in the Church need not necessarily be an evil, and may prove advantageous, if the two content themselves with a generous rivalry, as to which shall effect the greatest good, without any feeling of hostility. The true mode of entering on missionary work would be by the Church, in her corporate capacity, either

through Convocation or by Diocesan Synods; but as this cannot be hoped for at present, we must endeavour to effect the utmost good possible by means of these two most valuable Societies.

The next society to which we call attention is the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church. It was instituted in the year 1811, and incorporated by royal charter. It receives now nearly £7,000 in annual subscriptions; and the amount by these subscriptions, bequests, &c., in 1857, was £14,499 2s. 1d.; the amount received for books, &c., from the depôt, £15,744 6s. 7d., and the amount by parochial collections (partly due to the Queen's letters, which have now been withdrawn by Lord Palmerston), was in the same year £12,263 9s. 6d. The number of schools in the country, in union with this Society, is now 10,856, and the number of children in them is nearly one million. The National Society has been eminently useful during the present century, and it only requires a large amount of funds to extend its usefulness still further. This notice of the National Society would be imperfect if we failed to mention the advantages which that Society derived from the exertions and the wise counsels of the late Joshua Watson, Esq., its treasurer. He was, indeed, a zealous servant of God, and eminent alike for his munificence, his active exertions, and his wisdom.

Church Building Society.

The "Incorporated Society for Promoting the Enlargement, Building, and Repairing of Churches and Chapels," established in 1818, is the third society which has been deprived of the advantage of the Queen's letters.[1]

This Society, which is not so extensively supported as it deserves to be, has, since the year 1818, been instrumental in procuring a large amount of church accommodation for the people. From a late Report (1855) we learn that up to that time, 3,554 grants had been made by the Society, that the number of additional churches thus built was 1,035, and the accommodation in 2,519 had been increased, by means of which 959,681 additional seats had been obtained, of which 736,736 were free for the poor. The sum expended for these purposes was £523,506, which was met on the part of the public by an outlay of not less than £3,280,009. Nothing more need be said as to the utility of this Society.

Additional Curates' Fund.

The Additional Curates' Fund and the Church Pastoral Aid Society undertake to assist poor incumbents, in populous parishes,

[1] These were given in turn to the S.P.G.F.P., the National Society, and the Church Building Society. It is generally supposed that the two former having incurred the hostility of Lord Shaftesbury, his Lordship used his influence with Lord Palmerston to deprive them of this advantage. About £35,000 was generally collected on these occasions—so that each society, once in three years, obtained this sum.

towards obtaining the assistance of curates. Of those two, the Additional Curates' Fund has followed more strictly the true line, which prevents the Society from assuming a party character. The Society ascertains that the parish has need of assistance, and determines the amount it can give; but it is content to leave the selection of the curate to the incumbent and the Bishop of the diocese.

Pastoral Aid Society.

The Church Pastoral Aid Society requires, besides the approbation of the Bishop and the incumbent, that the curate chosen shall satisfy a committee, consisting partly of Clergy and partly of laity, chosen by the Society, of his orthodoxy. This is manifestly a party measure; and therefore, although to those whose principles agree with those of the committee, this Society will be the most acceptable, the Additional Curates' Fund will receive the support of those who desire to bury party distinctions in a general desire for the welfare of the whole Church. In 1855 the Additional Curates' Fund had, from 1836 to 1855, dispensed £225,160 to meet £93,613, from local sources; it had granted £10,450 in aid of permanent endowments, to meet £34,600 locally raised for the same purpose. In 1856 it made grants of £18,130, to meet £8,108 locally raised, in order to benefit a population of above 2,000,000. The extreme usefulness of this Society will be evident from this statement; and it will be seen that it requires nothing but increased support. The resources of the Pastoral Aid Society are considerably larger. There is room for the operation of both, and both require increased support from those who respectively approve of their course of proceeding.

Conclusion.

These are the chief societies in connection with the Church of England, by which her progress may be tested. It is constantly forgotten, when it is said that the English Church is the richest in the world (which is hardly true), that England is the richest country in the world, and that it is also the dearest. The societies above enumerated, although their funds have so largely increased, are still not supported by the amount of contributions which might justly be expected from the resources of the British empire; but we may point to the great increase which has taken place, as a proof of the progress which the Church has made in the affections of the people! We have previously alluded to the secessions from her communion to the corrupt Church of Rome; and we cannot be blind to the fact that a large number of the people are led away from her sound doctrines to various forms of dissent. But no person can have watched the signs of the times, and failed to perceive that the energies of the Church of England have been developed, during the last half-century, to an extent wholly unexampled in her past history, and that the late season of trial has been only an additional proof of that tough and vigorous life which Mr. Newman, in former years, claimed for the Church of

England. He observed then, that "if there ever were a Church on whom the experiment has been tried, whether it had life in it or not, the English is that one."[1] The "experiment" is still in progress, and the result which we deduce from it is, that God's blessing is with the Church of England; and that although for a season clouds may obscure its sky, they will pass away, and the Sun of Righteousness shine forth in the midst of her, and that her pure doctrine and apostolic constitution will receive the protection of Him who has declared that He will be with His Church to the end of the world, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her![2]

[1] Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, 1841.

[2] Some further details regarding the colonial churches, which are at present an integral portion of the Church of England, will be found in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF THE GERMAN CHURCHES AND OTHER ECCLESIASTICAL BODIES, FROM 1700 TO 1858.

We now turn our attention to the German Churches, and to other ecclesiastical bodies not connected with the Church of Rome, or that of England. Our sketch must be most rapid; and as we cannot give details concerning each branch of the foreign Protestant Churches, or dissenting bodies at home, we must be content to seize on some characteristic features, and to bring forward some of the most striking events and circumstances connected with their history. Among the phenomena which distinguished the latter part of the last century, and the beginning of the present, there is one which proves the chief characteristic of the whole period—we mean *rationalism*. The period may, indeed, be denominated the *rationalistic*, from the prevalence of that class of opinions to which the name of Rationalism has been attached. By the term Rationalism we mean here, in general, "the principle that man is led by his reason, and generally by the powers of his natural mind and soul (Geistes-und Seelenkräfte), and by observation of nature which surrounds him, to a true knowledge of divine and moral things; that reason holds the highest authority, and the office of a judge in matters of belief and practice;"[1] but under its banners are ranged men of the most discordant opinions. It amounts generally to a rejection of Christianity as a *positive* revelation, but an acceptance of its doctrines and precepts as really divine, and approving themselves as such to this supreme reason, that sits in judgment on all things human and divine. The miracles and the positive portion of the Christian revelation, though not equally rejected by all, are frequently considered as a mere accommodation to the prejudices of the time in which, and the people among whom, Christianity first appeared. As the very great prevalence of this portentous phenomenon among the theologians of Germany is the distinguishing characteristic of the age about which we are treating, we propose very rapidly to advert to the causes by which it was apparently produced, and very briefly to delineate some of its features and results.[2]

[1] Staüdlin's *Geschichte des Rationalismus und Supernaturalismus.* Gottingen, 1826, p. 3.

[2] In reference to the various matters treated of under this head, it will be sufficient to refer to the work of the late Rev. Hugh James Rose, entitled *The State of Protestantism in Germany Described*, second edition, 1829. This most masterly work, by its full references, and by the comprehensive power of the author, gives perhaps

Causes of Rationalism. Wolf's philosophy.

Those who have most studied the history of Rationalism usually consider that it received in some measure its origin from two causes, from the prevalence of the Wolfian philosophy, and from the views of Spener and his followers, commonly called the Pietists. Wolf himself appears chiefly to have methodized the notions of Leibnitz, and to have added to them what is necessary to form them into a system. Now, in deducing the origin of Rationalism from the prevalence of the Wolfian philosophy, it must not be supposed that we attribute any of the pernicious opinions held by rationalists either to Leibnitz or to Wolf. Both were sincere believers in revelation, and both endeavoured to show that philosophy and religion are not at variance. As, however, in opposing the mere empiricism of Locke, and the scepticism of Bayle, Leibnitz lays down certain *à priori* laws, as Wolf, in his views on revelation in general, lays down also *à priori* the conditions which must characterize a revelation, and as the followers of Wolf carried on these *à priori* speculations so far as to undertake to prove, after the scholastic manner, the absolute necessity of a supernatural revelation, and a vicarious satisfaction for mankind, and as others even attempted to prove in the same manner most of the doctrines revealed to us in Scripture,—it is clear that the reason of man was beginning to assume the position of the judge of Scripture rather than its interpreter. A persuasion was growing up that the reason of man is able to *discover* what is truth even in divine things, and that it may test the teaching of revelation by its agreement or disagreement with the discoveries, or the *à priori* conclusions, which reason has made. In this lies the germ of Rationalism, and even those who attempted scholastically to prove that a revelation is necessary, assisted to raise this fabric. But besides, when this method was carried to the most ridiculous extent, it not only habituated the minds of men to a wrong judgment on the proper province of reason, but, by its

the fullest exhibition anywhere to be found of the results of rationalism as developed in Germany at the period of which it treats. Dr. Pusey's work on the *Causes of Rationalism*, which was partly written in reply to that of Mr. Rose, professes to enter into the matter more historically. To this Mr. Rose replied by his *Letter to the Bishop of London*, 1829. These works exhibit the various phases of the rationalist question as viewed in England. There has recently been published a book in France by M. Amand Saintes, which unites an exposition of the results of rationalism with a history of its rise and progress. M. Saintes, although he does not cite either of the above works, and does not appear to be acquainted with them, has, in many instances, arrived at many conclusions, and expressed many sentiments, which are almost anticipated by Mr. Rose. The views of M. Saintes on Church polity and on Episcopacy are not developed in this treatise, and they may differ from those of Mr. Rose; but there is a remarkable coincidence in many of their views of this phenomenon. The title of this able work is, *Histoire Critique du Rationalisme en Allemagne, depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours.* Par Amand Saintes, Paris, 1841. A long list of works on rationalism is given in Krug's *Allgemeines Handwörterbuch der Philosophischen Wissenschaften*, under the word "Rationalismus." He is, we must remember, evidently a favourer of its doctrines. Staüdlin's *Geschichte*, referred to above, is a highly useful work also.

signal failures and the absurdities of its followers, it brought into contempt the philosophy from which it arose, and exposed to attack the very doctrines of Scripture which it would defend.

Spener and the Pietists.

We must now advert to the influence exercised by the school of which Spener may be regarded as the founder. The name of Pietists was given in consequence of the *Collegia Pietatis*, or religious conferences established by Spener in Frankfort, Berlin, and Dresden. The history of Spener himself (who died in 1705) belongs to a former period, but the effect of his exertions could not be seen till the principles of which he had established the germ had been more fully developed by his disciples. Spener maintained that divine matters could only be treated of by men imbued with the Spirit of God, and therefore that the true theologian must be a regenerated man, without which condition theology would be no longer a divine, but a mere human wisdom.[1] And further, he maintained that to arrive at truth we must seek it only at its source, and that we must not inquire whether Luther or any other theologian held such and such a doctrine, nor whether the symbolical books admit it or not, but we must simply regard the Bible itself as able only to solve all moral and religious questions. We see that by these principles, if fully carried out, religion is removed almost entirely from the region of *objective* knowledge to that of *subjective;* that we lose sight of the fact that there is a great body of Christian doctrine which the Christian Church has maintained from the very first, and which is the sum and substance, as it were, of the Scriptures in such a form as to fit it for traditional transmission together with Scripture, as collateral evidence of the truths which it contains, and as a help to its interpretation. The Christian who considers that what the whole Church has everywhere and at all times received, is to be received by him also, believes that, from the first time of Christianity, the essential truths have been acknowledged, and that Scripture is not a region in which he can expect to *make discoveries* on fundamental points. But this system, fully developed, would set each man to discover the whole body of Christian truth for himself, and thus, whatever he made Scripture say, would be Divine truth to him. And here too was a foundation for the doctrines of a class of mysticism, when the positive truths of religion were to depend on what a regenerated man would deduce from Scripture. The setting aside the authority of the symbolical books, which, however inconvenient as articles of agreement, from the length and minuteness with which they entered into all doctrines, had hitherto been maintained as the standard of faith, was another step towards loosening all restraint

[1] When this principle is brought forward for reprehension, it must be remembered, that, though not true in the extent and in the sense in which it was laid down, this proposition has a basis of truth, and, under proper limitations, is useful.

on the caprices of individual belief. We must not, however, leave the subject of the Pietists without a tribute to the excellence of their character, the sincerity of their motives, and the practical good which they effected. To Francke, one of the most eminent of the body, the oriental missions owe their chief support from Halle in the early part of the last century; and the Waisenhaus (or Orphan Institution) of Halle, and other charitable foundations there, stand as an imperishable monument of his real piety and active benevolence.

English Deists.

Such, therefore, were two of the leading features which characterized the early part of the last century, and to them another influence was added by the effects produced in Germany by the writings of the English deists. It will be seen from the sketch given above of their sentiments, that there was much in their views which would lend itself admirably to further the tone of mind which a portion of the German public was assuming. Bishop Butler has admirably, in one sentence, disposed of much of their writings, by observing with most comprehensive truth and force, that objections against Christianity as distinguished from objections against its evidence, are frivolous. The truth is, that almost all the writings of these infidels were objections against Christianity rather than its evidence, and some of them, as we have shown, endeavoured to show that much of the Scripture history must be considered allegorical; that the great point is the moral instruction in Scripture, and of this they judge by bringing it before the tribunal of man's reason. It is easy to perceive how much there was in all this, which would soon be adopted as an explanation of Christianity, and as a means of defending it before what was presumed to be an enlightened reason and an age of illumination; and accordingly we find that the Rationalist writers of Germany, having cast off the traditional belief of the doctrines of the Church, entered into the path which had been trodden before by these English deists or naturalists. Their sentiments were in great part adopted, as an able writer has observed,[1] by men like Mendelsohn, Reimarus, and Lessing, men of a certain degree of seriousness of character; while a more frivolous class of writers, such as Edelman, Bahrdt, and Basedow, retailed, under the guise of enlightened views, or rational criticism, to their countrymen, the sneers of Voltaire and the French Encyclopedists. Among these, Bahrdt was a man of profligate life, though an ecclesiastic and a professor at several universities successively. The infidel doubts and arguments put forth in the Wolfenbüttel *Fragments* (chiefly written by Reimarus, but published by Lessing, as an anonymous work found in the Wolfenbüttel Library about 1770) caused a great sensation, and brought

[1] M. A. Saintes. *Histoire Critique, &c.*, p. 83.

a number of followers. Among the more remarkable writers also who attempted to present Christianity under the form of mere natural religion, we must just mention Steinbart, Professor of Theology at Frankfort-on-the-Oder.

Hermeneutics.

But while we trace the influence of these causes, we must not forget that another impulse was also given to Rationalism by the turn which the method of interpreting Scripture had taken. Although treatises had long existed, both among Romanists and Protestants, on the proper mode of interpreting Scripture, yet the publication of the *Institutio Interpretis V. T.*, by Ernesti, in 1761, appears to have been the great step towards the formation of the science of *Hermeneutics* (the principles of interpretation), as distinguished from *Exegesis*, or actual interpretation. Ernesti himself, a most able and indefatigable scholar and philologist, is not to be charged with holding the pernicious opinions afterwards prevalent among those who studied in his school. But without himself departing from the orthodox standard of Lutheran belief, his hermeneutical labours appear to have paved the way for others to do so. He wished to apply the same method which is pursued in the criticism and interpretation of a profane author to that of Holy Scripture—a principle which, under proper limitations, is useful and just;[1] but the science of hermeneutics, once fairly launched into the world of religious learning, soon showed that a compass or guide were wanting to bring her to a haven of rest.

Semler's school of criticism.

Semler, a disciple of Ernesti, soon left the guidance of the principles laid down by Ernesti, and established the system of *Accommodation* as one of the greatest principles of hermeneutics. This was the principle, by which everything in Scripture that was irreconcileable with the views of this age of pretended enlightenment might be supposed to be only an accommodation to the prejudices of the age in which Christianity was first promulgated. Ernesti had justly observed, that, in interpreting the New Testament, we must inquire the sense in which words were used at the time at which it was written: an inquiry which involves historical and antiquarian, as well as grammatical discussions; the principle of *historical interpretation* went so much farther as to attribute more weight to these considerations than to the actual assertions of Scripture, presuming thus to judge what the writers must have meant to say, rather than interpreting what they have actually written; and then there was only one step more to the principle

[1] In this very brief and rapid sketch we cannot lay down principles; and in dealing with those laid down, we can only touch upon their general tendencies. Thus the principle of the Pietists, where it leads us to study Scripture in a spirit of prayer and with the desire of holiness, is good and useful, while the mischief of its abuse has been above pointed out. Again, when this principle of Ernesti leads us to acquire and apply, in the interpretation of any particular passages of Scripture, all the philological helps within our reach, it is just and good, but it requires something more than this to enable us to deduce the whole body of essential Christian truth from the whole volume of Scripture.

of *accommodation*, which assumed that our Saviour and his disciples, in order to promulgate the great and important truths of religion, were obliged not only to use the language of the age in which they lived, but actually to convey these truths under the prejudices and false notions of that age. This was the great instrument in the hands of all Rationalist commentators, and as its results depend on the opinions of the inquirer, as to what Scripture ought to say, and not on what it actually declares, we may easily see the discordant conclusions to which it led. There was no limit to the most fearful and profane speculation on the most sacred subjects; the genuineness, the authenticity, the trustworthiness of Scripture in every part was openly rejected; the prophets were considered as deluded men or impostors; nor were even our Saviour and his apostles exempted from the treatment which the writers of the Old Testament had received. The remarkable circumstance is, that it was not professed unbelievers, like those in England, who vented all these crudities, but men who held the post of parochial clergymen and professors of theology. The rage for such speculations infected almost all the German writings on these subjects, and as the results to which it led were so unsatisfactory and contradictory, though all that diligence and ingenuity could do for the system were done, it has been seen that this, at least, was not the way to investigate Scriptural truth. The mode of lecturing pursued in German universities presented also a temptation to men of ingenuity to attempt to raise a reputation by the boldness and novelty of their theories. But while a certain class of philological inquiries were eagerly pursued, as well as all that related to the historical interpretation of Scripture of which we have just spoken, and every new inquirer made vast collections on these points for himself, from which, according to the bent of his own mind, he drew his system, yet the application of what in England would be termed sound scholarship to the interpretation of Scripture, was not only neglected, but the commentaries of the Rationalist divines show that many of its first principles were utterly disregarded by them, and its rules completely violated. The Rationalist commentators were *not* the great scholars of Germany, such as Hermann, Boeckh, &c.; but men who might have learned their own insufficiency in sound scholarship from these really great classical scholars.

Neglect of sound scholarship.

Conclusion.

It is not our intention, as it would extend beyond our limits, to give any detatils of the opinions held by these writers. It is almost impossible to conceive anything more rash and more unfounded than the great mass of their speculations.[1] Our only

[1] In the works of the late Mr. Hugh James Rose, of Dr. Pusey, and of M. Saintes, already alluded to, full particulars may be obtained as to the opinions of Rationalist divines, especially in regard to the New Testament; and in the Hulsean Lectures

object has been to trace the progress of these opinions, as the leading phenomenon of the Protestant Churches abroad during great part of the last century. It spread among the Lutherans in Denmark, and among the Reformed Church in Holland; while Geneva, where strict Calvinism had long been upon the decline, fell into the fashion of the age, so far as to become almost wholly Socinian.

Paulus.

But although we do not attempt to particularize the views held by different schools of Rationalists, we may give a specimen or two of the mode in which Scripture was treated. Paulus[1] was one of the boldest of those who attempted Rationalist explanations of the Gospels. He actually ventured to admit the text, and yet deny its substantial meaning. Thus he declared that the New Testament miracles disappeared before a truly critical, grammatical, and psychological commentary! The appearance of the angels at the birth of Christ was a phosphorescent phenomenon, the miraculous cures are to be explained by an historical ellipsis, viz., the omission of the natural remedies! The walking on the sea is explained from the word ἐπὶ, which is to be translated here *at*, and not *upon!!*

Fritsche.

These are only common examples of the egregious folly which was then tolerated, and even thought to be profound wisdom. A more intellectual and better educated school discarded these absurdities, and explained the text of Scripture more correctly, though it denied its truth. Thus Fritsche explains the Gospels as he would a heathen author, but coolly assumes that any portion he disbelieved was inserted as a wilful falsehood. Thus he declares that the flight into Egypt was invented by St. Matthew to account for the absence of our Lord during the murder of the innocents, and that Egypt was the locality fixed upon in consequence of the prophecy of Hosea. This was quite as irreverent, but more honest. We cannot, however, think it needful to add further evidence of this class of teaching. They all belong to the same *genus*, with only a variation of the *species;* and happily a large portion of the *genus* is already extinct.

for 1833 will be found a synopsis of the opinions of the chief writers of this school with regard to the genuineness, &c., of the scriptures of the Old Testament, and their criticism on the Hebrew language. These points have also been incidentally touched upon by some other writers.

[1] It appears that the father of Paulus, who was unable to tear himself from the corpse of his wife, affirmed that he saw the dead person raise herself up. From that moment he gave himself up to the belief of an intercourse with the world of spirits to a degree which incapacitated him for his office as a clergyman. His son saw that delusion and self-deceit were practised here, and he used to invent visions to cheer his father. Such was the early education of Paulus, one of the most remarkable of the Rationalist commentators. It would hardly be worth recording if it did not serve to show how such wild opinions are sometimes the result of idiosyncrasy, and to throw light on the state of the German mind which could listen to such trash! See Kahnis, *Internal History of German Protestantism*, p. 171, *et seq.*, in the English translation.

It is a very easy task to trace the downward path of opinions, although many unsuspected causes, no doubt, contributed in part to the great result, but it is far more difficult to ascertain the slow and fluctuating advances by which a more healthy state of opinion has been attained in Germany. Two works,[1] however, which treat expressly on this subject, which the authors view from very different standing points, appear to agree in one view, which we may therefore conclude to have a certain foundation in truth. Both Gieseler and Kahnis ascribe a considerable influence to the War of Liberation in 1814; the earnestness of character, produced by its solemn events and stirring contests, appears to have worked a moral revolution in Germany, and to have taught the Germans the necessity of a practical reliance on Divine assistance in human affairs, as well as the value of earnest prayer to God. A detestation of everything foreign arose, and with this a desire for pure Germanism. This took an unhealthy turn in directing men's wishes to a reconstruction of society on mediæval views, and many men of some reputation joined the Church of Rome. Among these were Frederic Schlegel, a professor at Bonn, and Haller, a state councillor. The latter at first joined the Romish Church (in 1820) secretly with a dispensation.

War of Liberation.

In 1821 he was detected and deprived of his state appointments. A spirit also of mysticism was engendered, and direct revelations were expected and believed, which opened the way to prophecies and visions. Among the most remarkable were those which Madame de Krudener professed to have received as messages from God. It is said that the Emperor of Russia, Alexander, was led by her influence to join the Holy Alliance. She used to hold prayer meet-

[1] Gieseler, *Kirchengeschichte der Neusten Zeit.* This has not yet, we believe, been translated. It contains some useful information, from which we have derived a portion of the history we gave of the Papacy, but upon the whole it is a trumpery, superficial work, unworthy of the author's name and reputation. The chapter devoted to the English Church is false, calumnious, and twaddling in the highest degree. It is a gross caricature of all the defects that the author could find attributed to the English Church by the lowest class of dissenting publications, without a single fact to support them, and without any mention of the progress of the Church. In speaking of the English missions, he mentions neither the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, nor the Church Missionary Society. In short, this portion of his work is a disgrace to his editor. For further proofs of the incompetence of the author to write on English matters, see the review of this book in *The Literary Churchman*, vol. ii., No. 1, January 12, 1856. There is, certainly, among all German writers an apparent determination to ignore everything which is to the credit of the Church of England. The author may be excused, as the work is posthumous. The German part, where, of course, the author is more at home, is much more valuable. The *Internal History of German Protestantism*, by Dr. Kahnis, which has been translated by the Rev. T. Meyer, of Edinburgh, is a much more profound and valuable work. It is of incalculable advantage to a foreigner who desires to understand the rise and decline of Rationalism, and the history of religion in Germany for the last hundred years. The translator has to contend with a very difficult subject, and, we rather think, that in any passage of great importance it might be necessary to consult the original. We must say that we have not compared it with the original, but from long acquaintance with German theological works, we rather guess this to be the case in several passages which appear confused in the translation.

ings in St. Petersburg; but her influence after a time began to wane, and in 1822 she was ordered to leave the court. In 1824 she died. She was the widow of a Prussian statesman.

Schleiermacher.

The influence of Schleiermacher was for a long time very great in Germany[1]; and although his opinions were unsound enough, they helped to lead the way to a better mind. The modified pantheism of his views seemed to a certain degree to connect human life with religion, which was a stepping-stone to better things. We must refer to Dr. Kahnis for details of the manner in which the philosophical views of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, affected the theology of their time, and for an account of the influence exercised by Schleiermacher. The following is Dr. Kahnis's account of Marheineke (or Marheinicke) :—"In the Theological Faculty *Marheinicke* was decidedly on Hegel's side. He comes nearest to *Daub*. He had not the depth and originality of Daub, but a better style. He had not *Daub's* simplicity and strength of character, but he was more practical, and was possessed of a more religious and ecclesiastical sense. *Daub* was only a professor; but Marheinicke was also a minister, and something of an ecclesiastical prince. Like Daub, Marheinicke, too, had been led to *Hegel* by striving to reconcile the doctrine of the Church with science. This reconciliation is presented to us in his second edition of his *Dogmatik* (1827). More successful than in this system of theology, which was more assuming than demonstrative, and which dealt in a very summary way with Scripture and history, Marheinicke was, in his *Symbolik* (1810), a work which marked a new epoch in the sense of an historiography, entering into the depth of the phenomena, and which has been excelled in individual results, but not in the spirit and cast of the whole."—*Translation of Kahnis's Internal History of Protestantism*, p. 247.

Marheineke.

Views of the King of Prussia.

But it would be endless to narrate all the views of the different theologians of this period; nor would the result be satisfactory, as far as ecclesiastical history is concerned. We can only gather from the general tone pervading all, a certain alteration of sentiments in the theology of Germany, and an advance upon the whole towards a more healthy state of mind. But other influences began to work in Prussia as soon as the War of Liberation was brought to a conclusion. Frederick William III. began to put into

[1] Thus Nitsch, and Bleek, and Sack of Bonn, Gasz of Breslau, Lücke of Gottingen (died 1855), and Schweizer, were his followers; and to a certain degree he also influenced others—as Hase, Ullmann, Tholuck, Müller, Röthe, Dorner, &c. Daub was at first a disciple of Kant, then of Fichte and Schelling, and lastly of Hegel. Rosenkrantz, Marheineke, and Göschel, are rather *Hegelian* in their views. In estimating the theology of Germans, we must always ascertain the philosophical school to which they belong. Chevalier Bunsen, however, in his last work, *Gott in der Geschichte*, tells us that philosophy in Germany now acknowledges that it cannot establish a theory of the Infinite, so that the world will be delivered for a few years from an ocean of absurdities, under the name of philosophy.

execution a project he had long secretly entertained, of bringing a Liturgy into use in Prussia, and effecting a union between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in his dominions. We cannot narrate the first movement of His Majesty in this direction better than in the words of Chevalier (now Baron) Bunsen, his friend and minister. In his *Signs of the Times*, Letter X., in the portion entitled "History of the Union," he thus begins his account:—

"When in the year 1814, after heavy trials and arduous conflicts, Frederick William III. visited England, an idea ripened within him which had slumbered in his breast ever since 1808. There, for the first time, he beheld the Protestant Church under a form worthy of her—at once national and conservative; honoured, yet moderate; full of belief, yet liberal in practice. In the English Liturgy he found a service animated by a spirit of piety, and calculated to exert a living influence over its hearers, while it effectually accomplished the object of assigning to prayer its due share in public worship.

"The first plans preparatory to a union of the Protestant Churches of Germany, and a common liturgy for their use, were sketched in St. James's Palace, and were the fruit solely of his own inward impulses. Ere long, but after an interval filled up by the Congress of Vienna and the battle of Waterloo, came the tricentenary festival of the Reformation in 1817. What an event for a Hohenzoller and King of Prussia! In virtue of its own history and that of the country, it had become the hereditary vocation of this dynasty to labour for the removal of the lamentable divisions between the two Protestant confessions: the House of Hohenzoller, originally Lutheran, had gone over to the Reformed Church shortly before the thirty years' war; and the personal religion of all the reigning princes had borne strong traces of this latter type. But the Protestant population of the six eastern provinces belonged almost exclusively to the Lutheran confession; while in Westphalia and the Rhine provinces the Reformed element predominated."[1]

The King's notion is thus embodied by Baron Bunsen in a supposed address of the King to the two Churches. He did not wish the Lutherans to go over to the Reformed, and the Reformed to the Lutherans; but he wished to put this question to both—"Will you leave your differing theological notions concerning the Sacrament to the schools and the learned, when you go to the table of the Lord, and when you are called to common action as a Church? In other words, would you not rather constitute a national Protestant Church, and live under one ecclesiastical organization, than persist in a division which has borne such bitter fruits? You will be at liberty to use the Lutheran or the Heidelberg Catechism, or one in which your peculiar points of difference are

[1] Bunsen's *Signs of the Times*, pp. 359, 360; Miss Winkworth's translation.

kept in the background and softened down. You will be at liberty to preach according to whichever form of doctrine your conscience dictates—the one Lutheran, the other Reformed, a third chiefly in the spirit of the form of agreement which may be hereafter adopted; but you must refrain from all condemnation of your brethren, and all attacks upon the other forms of doctrine admitted within the pale of the union. This work shall be sealed by a Union-Liturgy, which shall keep as closely as possible to Scripture, and by a united Church government. A purely evangelical celebration of the Sacrament will unite you as brethren in faith and love in one worship—a common constitution, a single ecclesiastical body." This is a tolerably faithful representation of the idea of Frederick William III.

Ordinances commanding the union.

In pursuance of this intention of the King of Prussia, some ordinances were issued by his command, with a view of facilitating the desired union. In them he expressly declared that he did not desire to force the consciences of the ministers of these two Churches. It is there called "a Union in which the Reformed Church shall not go over to the Lutheran, nor *vice versâ*, but both shall form a revivified Evangelical Christian Church, in the spirit of their holy Founder." The King further declares in this Cabinet order, that he proposes "to celebrate the tricentenary of the Reformation, by uniting the Lutheran and Reformed congregations of the court and garrison of Potsdam into one Evangelical and Christian Church, and partaking with them of the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper;" and he adds, "To the wise guidance of the Consistories—to the pious zeal of the Clergy and their Synods,—I leave the outward form of the agreement to be entered into, assured that the congregation will willingly follow their proper leaders." In another Cabinet order, dated February 28, 1834, the King explains that the Liturgy is not intended as a substitute for the confessions of faith in the Evangelical Church, but is meant to be of such a nature that a congregation composed of both classes (Lutheran and Reformed) might use it without offence. In the first instance the Liturgy was drawn up by some divines, but this proved a failure, and the King himself drew up another as a substitute for it. From that time to the present day attempts have been made, with varied success, to unite the two parties; but there is still a very wide chasm and much alienation of heart between them.[1]

[1] There is a good account of the efforts towards union in Bunsen's *Signs of the Times*. He gives the following documents:—1. *Proclamation of Frederick William III.*, 27th September, 1817; 2. *Cabinet Edict* of 28th February, 1834; 3. *Cabinet Edict of Frederick William IV.*, 6th March, 1852; 4. *Cabinet Edict of Frederick William IV.*, 12th July, 1853. Bunsen also refers to Nitsch's Collection of *Documents about the Union;* Julius Müller's *The Evangelical Union*, &c.; Hess's *Church History*, and Gieseler, in the work we have before quoted. To these we may add Kahnis's *Internal History of Protestantism*, &c.

The old Lutherans form a strong party in one portion of Prussia, *i. e.*, in the six eastern provinces of Prussia, while in the Rhine provinces and Westphalia, the Reformed party is predominant. Dr. Krummacher, in an address to the Evangelical Association, January 23, 1857, has pointed out the difference which characterizes these two portions of Prussia, in regard to the churches, the worship, and the sermons. In the eastern provinces the churches are adorned with crucifixes, and provided with appliances for kneeling, and the altar is a prominent feature; while in the west the sermon is the chief part of the public service, and the churches are chiefly provided with seats for hearers, and the pulpit throws the communion table into the shade. The churches are more thronged in the west than in the east, for in the latter the attendants are chiefly women and children. In the east the singing and chanting are much attended to, while the sermon is a comparatively unimportant part of the service; the contrary being the case in the west. In the east the sermon is *synthetic*, that is, it seizes upon some *subject* or *theme*, which the text suggests, and treats of that alone; in the west it is *analytical*, *i. e.*, it goes through the text, explaining and interpreting every portion of it.[1]

At the present day there are annual meetings of many ecclesiastical bodies for the purposes of discussion. There is—1. The *Kirchentag*, or Church-day, a moveable conference, attended by members of all the churches. The meeting at Stuttgard, in 1857, was the ninth. 2. *The German Evangelical Conferences*, attended by deputations from almost all the governing bodies of the various evangelical Churches. This met at Eisenach in 1857. 3. *The Berlin Pastoral Conferences*. 4. *The Gnadau Conferences*, &c., &c.

It would be useless to enumerate all the various sections which meet annually in Germany, but in the absence of any real synodical action, their transactions assume a certain amount of ecclesiastical importance. They discuss such questions as the Law of Divorce, the Refusal of Church Rites to Suicides, excommunicated persons, and the Revival of Church Discipline. Their transactions are recorded in the chief religious periodicals of Germany, and an abridged account of all is annually given in the *Church Chronicle* of Karl Matthes.[2] There are also societies which collect funds for religious objects, such as the *Home*

[1] Krummacher, *Der Kirkliche Osten und Westen unseres Preussischen Vaterlandes*. We can recommend this extremely interesting pamphlet to any reader who is interested in the present state of the Mission Churches.

[2] *Allgemeine Kirkliche Chronik*, von Karl Matthes, Pfarrer in Oberarnsdorf, &c., Vierter Zahrgang, das Zahr, 1857. This useful summary of ecclesiastical information in a little duodecimo pamphlet, of 160 pages (price 1*s.* 6*d.*), is full of most interesting matter. The author almost ignores the Church of England, like the rest of the Germans; but that is a deficiency an English reader can easily supply for himself. The author has also a sort of instinctive horror of what he calls Puseyism, and, of course, his view of the Lutheran party is rather prejudiced, as some of their views approximate to this στυγημα of Karl Matthes. But the book is very useful. The number of

Mission (Innere Mission), for the dissemination of religion at home, the *Gustav-Adolphs-Verein* (Gustavus-Adolphus Society), intended to aid scattered Protestant communities in Roman Catholic countries, &c.

The state of Germany may be considered one of transition. There are many opposing elements at work; but there are very earnest hearts engaged in the work of reconstructing a Church out of the fragments which remain, and it may be hoped that they will eventually see a way to peace. They did wrong, and took a false step, when they rejected Episcopacy; and would they return to the Apostolic order, there would be a better prospect of that peace, and a firmer hope of that blessing without which nothing is strong and lasting.

Eucharistic controversy.

We have now endeavoured to give a general view of that improved tone which marks the religious literature of Germany.[1] We have also endeavoured to point out the progress made in ecclesiastical matters, but the subject is too complicated to allow any attempt at further details. We have indicated some of the most valuable sources of information on these subjects, and we must now leave this portion of our history. We have sufficiently indicated the nature of the struggle which is going forward, and we must direct those readers who require full information to original documents and German treatises. It is curious that the self-same disputes, which have agitated the English Church, should also have been carried on with great warmth in Germany. The question, whether the wicked receive the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Communion, has been discussed in Germany between two parties with as much warmth as between Archdeacon Denison and Mr. Ditcher. Dr. Sartorius has been the great champion of views like those of the Archdeacon, and Dr. Ebrard has been his most distinguished opponent.[2] The same observation may

German religious periodicals is endless. Some of them, as the *Studien und Kritiken*, and the *Zahrbücker für Deutsche Theologie*, &c., are written by eminent theologians, and full of profound dissertations. Others are of more frequent publication (once or twice a-week), and are more like a religious review and journal. The *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*, now a weekly paper, with its *Literaturblatt*, is the chief organ of the broad party—sometimes approaching to Rationalism, though professing respect for the letter of Scripture. The *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, conducted by Hengstengberg, is the chief organ of the Anti-Rationalist party.

[1] Hengstengberg, Havernick, Keil, and others, for many years, have been engaged in warfare against the Rationalistic view of the Old Testament, and their treatises are very valuable. A very complete Commentary on the Bible has been projected by Dr. Lange, of which only St. Matthew is as yet published. It is Anti-Rationalistic. The first part of Bunsen's *Bibelwerk* is also just published. This is of a very different character. Bunsen believes the historical portion of Jonah a myth, although he actually accepts a miserable piece of Greek verse of a late age as a genuine song of Arion! He conjectures a considerable part of Isaiah to be written by Baruch, &c. These opinions are promulgated in his *Gott in der Geschichte*, the first volume of which was published about two years ago. We have reason to fear that this latter work will be an influential vehicle of very unsound views.

[2] See a summary of the controversy in the *Allgemeine Kirchen-Zeitung* for April, 1856. Nos. 65 and 66.

be made as to many other points on which a difference of opinion exists in the Church of England, for the same controversies occur also in the German Churches.

Hymn Book. Great importance has been attached to the compilation of a Hymn Book for Public Worship, and at the Conference held at Eisenach, in 1852, a commission was given to Dr. Wackernagel to prepare a collection of hymns, 150 in number, as a national Hymn Book. He restricted his selection to hymns composed before 1750, and gave the text with such antiquarian exactness that many governments declared their people could not understand them. They have been, in consequence, very sparingly adopted.

Emigration. In consequence of the opposition of certain villages in Silesia to the introduction of the new Liturgy, troops were quartered upon them to their utter ruin. About 600 of the inhabitants emigrated to America, and since that time a very large tide of emigration has constantly flowed from Germany to America. A large establishment has been formed at Mercersberg, in Pennsylvania, and there has actually sprung up a new form of the German language—an American patois! There are now about four millions of Germans in the United States, and two thousand German clergy. Such, at least, is the assertion of Dr. Schaff, Professor of Theology at Mercersberg, in his work on the *Political, Social, and Religious Condition of the United States.* (See the *Literary Churchman*, vol. iii., No. 7.)

We now take our leave of the Churches of Germany, observing, however, that in Prussia there are only three communions acknowledged by the government—the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Evangelical Church. The toleration extended to any form of dissent is very limited.

Kirk of Scotland. We now proceed to consider, very briefly, the condition of the Kirk of Scotland, and the great disruption which took place in it some years ago. If we cast back a glance to the early part of the last century we shall find that the tone of the Kirk of Scotland was then moderating from the severer doctrines of Calvinism. In 1714, Professor Simpson of Glasgow was accused of teaching Arminian or Pelagian doctrines, and, after a long delay, was only mildly censured by the General Assembly. The Presbytery of Auchterarder, on the contrary, also maintained that "It is not sound and orthodox to teach that we must forsake sin in order to our coming to Christ, and instating us in covenant with God."[1] This was explained by those who favoured those views only to mean that we must guard against the unsound doctrine that a man

[1] Early in the present century a clergyman, who embraced very extreme views of election, and seceded from the Church of England, actually declared in a sermon preached at Cheltenham, "that a man might murder his father and mother and not be a whit farther from the kingdom of heaven." Such were his views of irrespective or unconditional election.

must of himself first abandon sin, and cease to be a sinner, before he can be at liberty, or entitled, to come to Christ, and to enter into covenant with God. The Church was then divided into two parties, between whom a warm controversy was long carried on, which ended in favour of the Moderate party. In 1719, a commission was issued to examine the doctrines of an old English work, *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, republished by two Scottish ministers. The Assembly condemned these doctrines, and from that time to the end of the century the Anti-Calvinistic views were predominant in the Assembly. For many years Dr. Robertson, the historian, was a kind of dictator in the Assembly, but he retired in disgust from public life in 1780, when a scheme for abolishing subscription to the *Confession of Faith*, and the other formularies of the Church of Scotland, was proposed. Socinianism now began to find some favour, especially in the West of Scotland, where a Dr. M'Gill, minister of Ayr, published, in 1790, an Essay on the Death of Christ, in which Socinian principles are boldly maintained. There was so much apathy about religious matters that an act proposed to the Assembly in aid of Missionary work was rejected, and even treated with scorn by several leading members of the House. But this has since been altered, and evangelical principles began to prevail about the commencement of the present century.[1] Dr. Hill, the Principal of St. Andrews, and Dr. Chalmers, were both instrumental in improving the tone and the views of the Kirk of Scotland.

The call—Ordination.

But this Church was destined to receive a very rude shock in the course of the present century from the secession of large numbers in the year 1843. It was, in fact, an entire disruption of the Church, such as has seldom been paralleled in any other case. Important as this movement has been, our account of it must be extremely brief. It arose from no difference as to doctrine or discipline, but from resistance to the encroachment of the State on the domain of the Church, in regard to the rights of patrons. To enter fully into the history of the dispute would be impossible here; but the main facts are as follows:—The power of presentation to a benefice is exercised in a different manner in Scotland from that which prevails in England. In Scotland ordination does not precede, but follows, the appointment to a living. In England, although a Bishop may accept the promise of a presentation to a benefice as a title for Priest's orders, yet the Patron is bound to present a person in Priest's orders. The *probationer* must obtain a parish before he can be ordained. An English clergyman

[1] See a good summary of the History of the Church of Scotland in Marsden's *History of Churches and Sects*, to which volume the author is chiefly indebted for the account here given of the Church of Scotland and the Free Church. Mr. Marsden's account is highly favourable to the Free Church. But all readers should compare these statements with those of Dr. Bryce's *Ten Years of the Church of Scotland*, a very able book on the other side.

must, when presented to a living, in ordinary cases, have been for one or two years employed in the ministry, and he must have satisfied the Bishop of his fitness for his office. It appears to have been the intention of the Church of Scotland to give the power of election to the congregation, or at least to secure their concurrence in the choice of a minister. This concurrence, in the lapse of time, became a mere nominal agreement; a few of the heritors signed the call (which is the acceptance, as it were, of the presentation, on the part of the congregation), and this was considered sufficient. Among some of the proposals which were made was one, that no call should be effectual unless a majority of the heads of families in the parish should subscribe it. The effect of this regulation would, of course, be, virtually to place the election in the hands of the parishioners. The question of patronage is always difficult; but we think a popular election has many disadvantages. It leads to unworthy attempts to secure popular favour, and it almost invariably creates a party feeling in the disappointed minority. These are great disadvantages, but it is certainly a great evil if a patron can appoint whom he pleases, and insist upon his ordination by the Presbytery.[1] An attempt to restore the call to its efficiency in 1832 was defeated in the General Assembly. Petitions had been presented for this purpose from three provincial Synods and eight Presbyteries. On the next meeting of the Assembly petitions were offered from forty-two ecclesiastical bodies.[2] In 1833 the non-intrusionists had agreed upon their course of action, and the question of a *veto* was introduced by Lord Moncreiff, and supported by Dr. Chalmers. The latter spoke with great moderation. "He had no great faith," he said, "in the efficacy of a renovated constitution to bring about a renovated spirit either amongst ministers or people. . . . It should be remembered that we have nothing but human nature to piece and to build with; and that with such materials we expect in vain to make good our escape from corruption by passing from one form to another." . . . . "I will not be a party to the delusion that our Church is necessarily to become more pure, by the constitution of its becoming more popular, or by the transference of its authority from the hands of the few to the

[1] A useful summary of the former Acts relating to Patronage, from the Act of Parliament in 1597 to that of 1711, called an Act for Restoring Patronage, is found in Marsden's *History of Churches and Sects.* It is stated that Mr. Syme, of Alloa, was instituted in his pastoral cure by the help of a band of soldiers. He was a brother-in-law of Dr. Robertson. An attempt was made to restrict Patronage in 1768, but Dr. Robertson's influence was exerted in behalf of the patrons. At that time it is said that 100 meeting-houses had been erected, and that there were 100,000 seceders.

[2] The author was in Scotland during the summer of 1833, and from all that he observed at that time he felt assured that a very severe trial was awaiting the Establishment. He was much impressed by the ability and forethought of the late Dr. Mearns of Aberdeen.

hands of the many." But he thought that the rights of the people had been violated. His proposal was, that the dissent of a majority of the heads of families resident within the parish, being members of the congregation, and in communion with the church for two years at least, and *whether such dissent should be expressed with or without reasons assigned*, should set aside the patron's nominee. He excepted the cases in which corrupt or malicious opposition could be proved. For this resolution 137 voted with Dr. Chalmers, while 149 voted for the amendment of Dr. Cook, who objected to give effect to the dissent of the congregation *without compelling them to assign their reasons.* In 1834 Lord Moncreiff carried a measure very similar to that of Dr. Chalmers. It was called the Veto Law, and enacted that the dissent of the majority of the male heads of families should be sufficient ground for the rejection of the patron's nominee. This law was in force for five years; and out of 200 vacancies the *veto* was exercised only in eight or ten cases, and in no instance, it is said, was the opposition factious.

Auchterarder case.

After a few years the famous Auchterarder case came on. The Earl of Kinnoul presented a licentiate, Mr. Young, to the vacant living of Auchterarder, of which he was patron. A licentiate is still a layman; his license merely permits him to preach upon probation. Mr. Young having preached on trial, the congregation was dissatisfied, and only three persons, out of a population of three thousand, signed the call. The veto was now tried, and out of three hundred and thirty persons entitled to vote, two hundred and eighty-seven dissented from the call. The question was referred by the Presbytery to the Synod of Perth, and by that body to the General Assembly, where the decision was given against the patron's nominee. Mr. Young then appealed to the civil courts, and the question was tried before the highest civil tribunal in Scotland, the Court of Session. The Judges, after a very long trial, lasting from November, 21, 1837, to December 12, delivered their sentiments, eight in favour of Mr. Young, and five against him. In May, 1838, the General Assembly took up the question, and instructed its law officer to lodge an appeal before the House of Lords. The House of Lords decided in favour of the patron, and under the guidance of Lords Cottenham and Brougham, advanced the principle that the Church, in such cases, must limit herself to judge of the personal qualifications of the nominee, that is, his life, literature, and manners.

Other cases.

After this case came those of Lethendy and Marnoch. In the latter case the Presbytery inducted a candidate whom the General Assembly had rejected. The Presbytery acted under an order of the Court of Session. In December, 1839, a Commission of the General Assembly considered the conduct of the Presbytery, and eventually suspended them from the ministry. The civil courts

were now appealed to, and the opponents of the Presbytery were interdicted from preaching in the schools or churches of the refractory Presbytery. Their churches were now closed against them by the Commission of the General Assembly, and against the ministers ordered by the General Assembly to supply their places, by the interdict of the Court of Session. Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, and others, now went forth in the face of an interdict from the civil court, and preached in fields and barns throughout the district of Strathbogie. The Church and the State were now in direct collision.

Lord Aberdeen.

In 1840 Lord Aberdeen introduced a measure into the House of Lords on the subject; but the General Assembly declared entirely against it, because it disallowed the Veto Law of the Assembly, and required the dissenting portion of the congregation to assign their reasons. The Duke of Argyll brought another Bill into the House of Lords on the 6th May, 1841. This would probably have given satisfaction; but it was lost by the dissolution of the Parliament. In the new Parliament a similar Bill was rejected in the House of Commons.

The Non-intrusionists secede.

It is impossible here to pursue the history of this deeply interesting movement step by step; but eventually Dr. Chalmers and the Non-intrusionists convoked an association for consultation, and a large number of ministers attended the summons. The result was seen when the Lord High Commissioner came, on the 18th May, 1843, to open the General Assembly. Dr. Welsh, after preaching, had taken the Moderator's chair, and in a most crowded house, amidst breathless anxiety, he made a protest against any further proceedings in the Assembly, on the ground that there had been an infringement on the liberties of the Church on the part of the civil powers, and that this infringement had been sanctioned by the government. On the conclusion of his address, four hundred ministers left with him the General Assembly, and, resigning all their ecclesiastical offices and emoluments for ever, were willing to brave, for conscience sake, all the ills of poverty and privation. These four hundred ministers, escorted by a vast and enthusiastic crowd, proceeded to Canonmills, where a large hall, capable of accommodating 3,000 persons, had been engaged. Here they held the first "General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland," Dr. Chalmers having been chosen as its Moderator. Their sittings were continued till May 30; and before the Assembly rose, Dr. Chalmers announced an aggregate sum of £232,447 for the support of the Free Church of Scotland. Indeed their income for the first year amounted to £366,719 14s. 3d.

There were strong party feelings on both sides, and the seceders were prepared to meet with much opposition and to endure great privations. But their determination had been taken; and whether

we approve of their judgment or not, their stern principle and their unbending obedience to the dictates of conscience, must command the admiration of all.

Progress of the Free Church.

The progress of this Church has been almost unprecedented. Within a single year 500 churches had been built; but even these were insufficient for the congregations. In 1853 the Free Church had about 850 congregations, with about 800 ministers. Its income has always exceeded £300,000. In one year (1845) £100,000 was raised to build manses. All the foreign missionaries joined the Free Church; and it has educational establishments of vast extent—600 schools, and an academical institution, well provided with Professors and students for ordination, &c. The spirit of disinterested and conscientious adherence to principle shown by its founders have thus called forth a corresponding enthusiasm and liberality on the part of the people; and the Free Church of Scotland is a phenomenon of the highest importance and interest in ecclesiastical history.

Final result.

With these statements we close our account of the two Presbyterian Churches of Scotland—the Established Church and the Free Church. They are identical in doctrine and discipline, with the exception of the point of patronage. Their want of the Episcopal grade of the ministry is, in the estimation of members of the Church of England, a vital defect in their organization; but this is a question which it does not lie within the province of this sketch to discuss. In many respects the arrangements of the Church of Scotland have been peculiarly adapted to the habits and the condition of the people; and although, towards the close of the last century, Socinianism was gaining a great hold within the Establishment, yet it was redeemed from that fearful heresy, and in its doctrinal views was approximating very much to the Evangelical section of the Church of England on most points, when this tremendous disruption took place, the full effects of which must still remain to be seen. When the enthusiasm the secession called forth has passed away, it also remains to be seen how far the voluntary principle will maintain the Free Church in an efficient condition. At one time, when the only point of difference in the Church itself was the question whether the dissentient parties in a parish should be obliged to assign their reasons or not, it seems strange that no way of peace was devised by which so great a breach might have been avoided. And it certainly seems strange that the government should not have taken care to satisfy the just demands of the Church, before that disruption took place.[1] But these considerations belong to the past; and as that which has occurred cannot be recalled, we have only to look to the future,

[1] For the history of the secession, the chief authorities are Hanna's *Life of Dr. Chalmers*, Buchanan's *Ten Years' Conflict*, and Bryce's *Ten Years of the Church of Scotland.*

and hope that, by the guidance of God's good providence, the present divisions may tend to future good.

Dr. Campbell.

The Church of Scotland, in the last century, supplied but few divines of learning. One of the most learned was Dr. George Campbell, the Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen; but the absence of anything corresponding to Cathedral Chapters, and the difficulties which parochial duties in retired situations oppose to the pursuit of learned studies, render the possession of these acquirements rather rare in the Church of Scotland. Another reason has also been offered to account for this deficiency. The professional education of the Clergy is not based upon a sound course of classical study, and the want of that classical training is much felt. There is now a great movement going on, with a view to improve the academical institutions of Scotland, but it is not ripe for history.

Episcopal Church of Scotland.

The Episcopal Church of Scotland, a body in which the pure doctrines of the Gospel are united with the Apostolic form of Church government, struggled with every form of difficulty and oppression for the greater part of the last century, and it was only by slow degrees that the restrictions under which it laboured were removed. The attachment of the members of this Church to the House of Stuart, as we have before intimated, rendered it suspected at the court of the Kings of England; and it was under severe restrictions till the death of the Pretender, in 1788, when the Bishops agreed to acknowledge the sovereignty of George III., and to submit to the government. In 1792[1] an Act was passed which repealed sundry former enactments, and enabled Clergy, whose orders were from Scottish Bishops, to minister in public, without fear of fine, imprisonment, and transportation, to which Clergy who officiated without taking the oaths of allegiance had previously been subjected. The Scottish Clergy were, however, prohibited from officiating in English churches. In 1840 an Act was passed which allowed their ministration in English churches, for not more than two successive Sundays, and that with permission of the Bishop in writing. There is no body of men who have shown more devoted fidelity to their principles, through times of severe persecution, than the Episcopal Church of Scotland. It is advancing daily in estimation and importance; but the poverty of its endowments prevents it from taking that position to which its purity of doctrine and its Apostolic form would entitle it. There are at present seven Bishops, and between one and two hundred Clergy. The late charge of the

[1] The chief obstacle in the House of Lords was Lord Thurlow, who had defeated the measure in the previous year. Three of the Scottish Bishops came to London to forward these measures. The author possesses some MS. letters of the admirable Bishop Horne, in which their visit is described. Bishop Horne and Treasurer Stevens were very active in promoting the object of their visit.

Bishop of Brechin (Dr. Forbes) has called forth a very mild Pastoral Letter from the six remaining Bishops, who object to the language used by the Bishop with regard to the Eucharist. His views approximate very much to those of Archdeacon Denison. The Bishops state that their brother Bishop, in order to assert and uphold the dignity of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, has adopted a line of argument which, as it exceeds the truth of God's Word, is likely to defeat the object he has in view. "He has pleaded," they say, "for what has recently been called 'the Real Objective Presence' in such a manner, that the inferences he draws from it, however doctrinally unsound, becomes, as he represents, logically inevitable; that is, supreme adoration becomes due to Christ, as mysteriously present in the gifts (p. 27), or, as it is expressed elsewhere, 'to Christ in the gifts' (pp. 28, 33); and the sacrifice of the Cross and the sacrifice of the Altar 'become substantially one,' and 'in some transcendental sense identical'" (p. 42).

Pastoral Letter of six Bishops.

After expressing their disagreement from these views, the Bishops proceed to say—"Instructed by Scripture and the formularies of the Church, you will continue to teach that the consecrated elements of bread and wine become, in a mystery, the Body and Blood of Christ; for purposes of grace to all who receive them worthily, and for condemnation to those who receive the same unworthily. But you will not, we trust, attempt to define more nearly the mode of this mysterious presence. You will remember that as our Church has repudiated the doctrine of transubstantiation, so she has given us no authority whereby we can require it to be believed that the substance of Christ's Body and Blood, still less His entire person as God and man, now glorified in the heavens, is made to exist with, in, or under the material substances of bread and wine."

They further desire the Clergy to teach that the sacrifice of the altar is only to be regarded "as the means whereby we represent, commemorate, and plead, with thanksgiving and praise, the unspeakable merits of the precious death of Christ, and whereby He communicates and applies to our souls all the benefits of that one full and all-sufficient sacrifice once made upon the cross."

They then explain the kneeling during the reception of the Communion, according to the principles laid down in the Canon of the English Church in 1640, in which it was asserted that gestures of adoration in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist are to be performed, "not upon any opinion of a corporeal presence of the Body of Jesus Christ on the Holy Table, or in mystical elements, but only for the advancement of God's majesty," and to give Him the due honour and glory.

We have extracted these statements from the document put forth by the Bishops of Scotland, because it bears upon one of the

great questions of the present day. There is very great danger lest those persons who desire to elevate and dignify the Holy Communion, should insensibly be led to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and, therefore, a warning from men of undoubted piety, whose reverence towards holy things has never been called in question, is highly valuable. Dr. Trower of Glasgow and Dr. Wordsworth of St. Andrews, are especially known in England, and their opinion will be regarded with great respect. But in saying this, we do not mean to disparage in any degree the authority of the others, as some of them are also highly esteemed in the English Church. Of the learning and piety of Dr. Forbes there can be no doubt; but we cannot fail to concur in those expressions of this document by which the danger of exceeding the simple view of the Church on this great doctrine is pointed out. We cannot accede to the conclusions of Bishop Forbes, however we respect his learning and his piety. And we earnestly hope that the confusion which might arise from the agitation of this question may be avoided, and the controversy quietly subside.[1]

American Church.

Our sketch of these ecclesiastical bodies in Great Britain, although brief, has exceeded the limits we had proposed, but the importance of the questions connected with them must form our excuse. Our notices, therefore, of other communities must be proportionably shortened. The Episcopal Church of America has already been noticed in the last chapter of this work. We have only to add that in the present century many bright ornaments of that Church have appeared among the Bishops and Clergy of that Church. The late admirable Bishop Hobart, a man of true piety and apostolic simplicity, the energetic Bishop Doane, the late venerable Bishop Chase, and the Rev. A. Cleveland Coxe (so long celebrated for his sacred poetry), are men of whom any land or any Church might justly be proud, and they are only types of a class which is to be found among the ministers of that Church. It is by men such as these that, under God's blessing, the Church in America has made such remarkable progress. Mr. Coxe, and some of the American Bishops, were present in England during the celebration of the Third Jubilean period of the existence of the S.P.G.F.P., and a deputation from that Society visited America afterwards, on a kind of mission to the American Church, by which the friendly feeling, which had long subsisted between these Churches, was much cemented. The American Church may be called the daughter of the English Church, and seems destined to rival her in influence and importance in the far West.

Colonial Church.

And although the Colonial Church of England would properly be treated of under the head of the National Church, yet, as it is

[1] The fullest information relative to this branch of the Church of Christ, may be found in Bishop Skinner's *Ecclesiastical History*, and Stephens's *History of the Episcopal Church of Scotland*, 4 vols., 8vo, 1843.

probable that some of the Colonies, if not all, will eventually be separated from the mother country, it may be well to record the names of some of the most eminent missionary Bishops, whose names adorn the annals of the Colonial Churches. We have no space to do more than simply to name them. But never did more zealous missionaries labour in behalf of the Church of Christ than some of those whose piety and simplicity bring back the remembrance of the Apostolic age. Bishop Broughton, at Sydney, laboured with a zeal and judgment, to which, under God's providence, the Church in Australia owes a debt of deep gratitude. In New Zealand, in Cape Town, in Natal, in Grahamstown, the apostolic labours of Bishops Selwyn, Gray, Colenso, Armstrong, are known and appreciated throughout the length and breadth of the land. Nor are they alone—in Guiana Bishop Austin, in Newcastle (Australia), Bishop Tyrrel, and in many other of our Colonies, the present Bishops are emulating the zeal of these faithful servants of the Church of Christ. In Labuan, while Sir James Brooke has been founding an empire, Bishop M'Dougall has been founding a Church; and in every quarter of the globe the missionary Bishops of England are showing a noble example to their brethren at home, of every quality which can adorn the Episcopate, so that, in a few years, if the missionary zeal of England should not grow cold, the Colonial Church promises to be one of the brightest spots in the history of our country.

Colonial Bishops.

In turning for a moment to the history of the Protestants in France, we shall find that for a considerable portion of the eighteenth century they were subject to severe persecutions. The *Dragonades*, under the order of Louis XIV., had done much towards suppressing Protestantism in the south of France, but there were always a few who retained their opinions. They used to worship among the mountains and in caves and desert places. But there was no regular community of French Protestants, and it was reserved for Antoine Court to collect the scattered remains of former congregations, and again unite the Protestants together as a compact body. He mentions the delight with which he found himself, in 1744, in the midst of congregations of ten thousand men, while in the earlier years of his ministry he had been able to persuade only six, ten, or fifteen persons to follow him to some out-of-the-way barn, or into the open fields. He held a kind of Synod in 1715, and the following years. Of the first six of those who signed the regulations of the Synod, four perished on the scaffold for their religion! The last great law enacted against French Protestantism was the Royal declaration of 1729. It was procured at the instigation of Tressau, Bishop of Nantes, who persuaded the Duke of Bourbon, then Prime Minister, to issue these cruel regulations. The penalty for the preachers was death,

French Protestants.

and the galleys or imprisonment was that for sheltering them, &c. And every regulation which could enable their enemies to hunt them out was added to these laws. Alexander Roussel was hanged at Montpellier, November 30, 1728. As he went to the place of execution he prayed for his judges and the executioner. Pierre Durand followed him, April 22, 1732. Some congregations were seized, and on one occasion a number of females were confined in the Tower of Constance at Aigues-Mortes, whence they were released, after a confinement of many years, about the year 1769. The story of Calas, a reversal of whose sentence was obtained in favour of his family after his death by the advocacy of Voltaire, is well known, and need not be repeated. He was executed on a pretended charge of murder, but in reality because he was a Protestant. The last execution for religion was on February 19, 1762. Rochette suffered as a Protestant minister, and three of his flock (three brothers, named Grenier), for bearing arms, and for a pretended sedition. All were executed.

France and Geneva.

From that time the spirit of persecution rather abated, but the state of the Protestants was still very miserable. Under the empire of Napoleon I. their position was changed, and their ministers salaried by government. In 1815 they were subject to considerable persecution. Under the present government their condition, although one of toleration, is one of considerable embarrassment and difficulty.[1] They have had some very able writers and energetic ministers, especially Adolphe Monod, who has lately closed a long career of ministerial labours. There is a close connection between the Protestants of France and those of Geneva. The Church at Geneva was deeply imbued at one time with Socinian views, but has now, in great measure, recovered from their influence. During the course of 1856, M. Felix Bungener, an eloquent Genevan preacher, was invited by the Consistory of Nismes to make a preaching tour in the south of France. He accepted the invitation, and has published four discourses, entitled *Christ et le Siecle*. They have a good deal of unction, and are written with much ability. The author is well known by many other works, especially by some on the Ecclesiastical History of France during the last century. The services of the French Protestants, in many particulars, resemble those of the Kirk of Scotland.[2]

The Moravians.

The non-Episcopal Churches which we have hitherto considered are either Established Churches—as the Reformed Churches of

[1] See the *History of the Protestants of France, from the Commencement of the Reformation to the Present Time*, by G. de Felice, D.D., Professor of Theology at Montauban. (Translated and Published by Messrs. Longman in 1853) 2 vols., 8vo.

[2] It may also, in connection with the French Protestant Church, be well to mention the energetic and spiritually-minded pastor Felix Neff, who died, aged about thirty, in the year 1829. His sphere of activity was a portion of the Alps, about Dormilleuse.

Germany and the Kirk of Scotland—or Protestant communities in Roman Catholic countries. We now pass on to the consideration of a different class of Churches, *i. e.*, Dissenting Churches in Protestant countries. There is, indeed, one body which stands in a different position from any of these; and though it is not an Established Church, it is hardly in opposition to the Protestant Churches,—we mean the Moravians, or the United Brethren. They are descended from the ancient Church of Bohemia. They retired under persecution to Poland, where Commenius was appointed "Bishop of the dispersed brethren from Bohemia and Moravia." In Moravia conformity to the Romish worship was enforced by law; but many of the brethren, holding the doctrines of the Reformation, met secretly for worship, and, as opportunity occurred, fled into the Protestant States of Germany. In the year 1722 Count Zinzendorf gave to ten of these refugees permission to settle on a portion of his lands. The settlement was called "Herrnhut"—"the Watch of the Lord." Count Zinzendorf soon became the leader of the new Church, which in 1727 numbered 500 members. This Church gave itself much to missionary work; and its missionary proceedings were planned with much forethought and wisdom. They established settlements, and living in a kind of fraternal community, they endeavoured to teach the people and heathen nations among which they were planted the arts of civilized life. The Bishop of Capetown, while he offers a very cheerful testimony to the good they *have* effected in South Africa, appears to consider that the particular system adopted by the Moravians is not precisely calculated now to advance efficiently the work of Christian missions in that quarter of the world.[1] There is a great simplicity in the habits of the Moravians, and their great educational institutions are conducted on a uniform plan in every part of the world. There is a great advantage in this uniformity, because, in consequence of it, parents who are engaged in missions have far fewer scruples in sending their children home for education. During a portion of the last century considerable objections were made to the Moravians on account of the language of some of their hymns, and indeed of their books also, where sensual images were used in regard to spiritual affections in a reprehensible manner. We believe that in these respects the Moravians have quite reformed their practice. They had in the year 1851 as many as seventy settlements, distributed over South Africa, Greenland, Australia, the West Indies, America, &c.[2] This body, which holds nearly

[1] See his *Three Months' Visitation*, &c., 1856, pp. 14-18.

[2] Those who desire to know the present condition of the Moravian communities will find a great deal of information in Dr. Schröder's *Der Graf Zinzendorf und Herrnhut*, &c., published at Nordhausen in 1857. See a review of this work in the *Literary Churchman*, vol. iii., No. 25. There are also Histories of the Moravians and Lives of Count Zinzendorf in English, which need no enumeration.

the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession, maintains an isolated position; but it is not in actual hostility either to the Church of England or to the Churches of Germany. Its numbers are small in Europe, but it influences a much larger circle than that which consists of its own individual members.

English dissenters.

Among the communities which occupy a schismatical position in England, the Wesleyans, the Baptists, and the Independents, are by far the most numerous. We have given an account in the last chapter of the life of Wesley, and described the origin of the schism which he established. There have been great divisions in the body at large, and it is now divided into about eight distinct societies—such as *The Original Connexion*, *The New Connexion*, *The Primitive Methodists*, &c. Of these the *Original Connexion*, which is by far the largest body, returned, in 1851, 6,579 places of worship, with 1,361,443 sittings; the *Primitive Methodists*, 2,871 places of worship, with 369,216 sittings; while none of the other portions of this sect returned so large a number of sittings as 100,000. The Independents returned 3,244 places of worship, with 1,002,507 sittings. The Particular Baptists, which appears to be the most numerous class of that sect, returned 1,917 places of worship, with 550,775 sittings.[1]

Mr. Irving.

These are the most numerous of the many sects into which the people of England are divided. There are others which attract notice rather by the strangeness of their doctrines, than by their numbers or real popularity. We mean more particularly the Irvingite congregations, and the Mormonites or Latter-Day Saints. The former, who call themselves "The Catholic Apostolic Church," and not Irvingites, are formed, however, from the party which followed the doctrines and teaching of the Rev. Edward Irving. He was a man of remarkable powers of mind, and endowed with much oratorical ability. He was for a time the assistant of Dr. Chalmers in Glasgow, which place he left in 1821 for London, where he created an almost unprecedented sensation by his sermons. His chapel in Hatton Garden was crowded every Sunday, and among the crowds were the most intellectual men and the most eminent statesmen of the day. This popularity, however, waned in two years; but a steady congregation remained, who built for him a church in Regent Square, St. Pancras. After a time Mr. Irving developed some extraordinary views with regard to the fulfilment of the Book of Revelation, and the revival in the present day of miraculous powers, as well as on the nature of Christ's humanity. The gift of tongues and that of prophecy were said to be revived, and members of his

[1] We copy these numbers from Mr. H. Mann's *Religious Worship in England and Wales*, from the census of 1851. This is a very valuable synopsis of the census; but of course we have no means of testing the correctness of the returns themselves.

congregation uttered uncouth sounds, which were called unknown tongues; while others delivered prophecies, which were proved to be false, by their non-fulfilment. In 1833 Mr. Irving was deposed from the ministry of the Scottish Church, and he retired, with a part of his congregation, to an apartment in Newman Street; but within a few months (Dec. 8, 1834), he expired, at the age of forty-two. A magnificent place of worship has since been built by the members of the "Catholic Apostolic Church;" but it makes very little way among the people. It still puts forth its claims to certain gifts, and holds many strange views. It is only on account of the claims to miraculous powers (the gifts of healing, prophecy, &c.), and the extraordinary phenomenon which it presents, as a production of the nineteenth century, that we have thought it necessary to insert this short record of its existence.

The Mormonites.

With regard to the Mormonites, it seems scarcely proper to dignify their degrading habits, and their abominable absurdities, with the name of a heresy. The only ground for mentioning them in an ecclesiastical history is the warning which they afford against the abuse of that religious liberty which exists, almost without restraint, in England and America. The total liberty of these nations in civil affairs appears to engender a notion that an equal amount of religious freedom is a natural inheritance and an inborn right of man. It is quite true that *the law* leaves in these countries, to every man, the free choice of his religion; but we cannot admit that he is really free to choose between revelation and no revelation. If, as we believe, God has revealed the truth in Christianity, it cannot be open to man to reject Christianity. He who does so may not sin against human laws, but he sins against laws which have a higher origin than human laws. Man cannot be at liberty, in a moral sense, though he may be politically, to reject that which God has given. But without entering further into this question, the case of the Mormonites is one which almost forms an exception to all known rules. Mormonism advances the most absurd pretensions to a new revelation which ever disgraced any system of imposture, and its results have been the most flagrant immorality and profligacy. Although it has made some progress in England, and numbers have been deluded away, with a view of reaching the Great Salt Lake, it is American in its origin. One Joseph Smith, a native of the State of Vermont, is the founder of this new community. He was born in 1805, and in 1823, after sundry hallucinations in former years, he pretended that he had found in Ontario county (New York State) some gold plates, filled with inscriptions in a reformed Egyptian character, in a box, in accordance with a promise formerly made to him by an angel. These golden plates are not forthcoming, nor have they been seen except by three witnesses, to whom an

angel showed them. The revelation contained in them asserts that the Americans are a remnant of the Israelites, and other absurdities. Smith, after a time, produced the *Book of Mormon*, which he pretended to be a translation from the gold plates. It has been suggested that a MS., written by one Spaulding, early in this century, to prove that the Americans are the lost tribes of Israel, fell into the hands of Sidney Rigdon, who was much associated at first with Joseph Smith. The early fortunes of the band of persons who followed Smith's doctrines were very various. Smith himself was tarred and feathered, and his followers expelled from Missouri, when they took refuge in Illinois, and built a city, which they called *Nauvoo*, which was said to mean "beautiful" in the Mormon language. In consequence of some proceedings at Nauvoo, Smith came into collision with the laws of America, and refused to acknowledge a warrant issued against him. The town was about to be besieged; but Smith surrendered on a promise of protection. This promise proved of small avail; for in a riot on the 27th June, 1844, the prison doors were broken, and both Joseph and Hyram Smith were shot. Sidney Rigdon and Brigham Young now contended for the leadership of the new sect, which was given to Young; but in the year 1846 they determined, in consequence of the perpetual conflicts and bloodshedding which occurred, to leave the State altogether. They then took refuge on the shores of the Great Salt Lake, and carried on their abominations unmolested for some years. They indulge in a plurality of wives, and the most degrading immorality prevails, united with the utmost oppression towards any person who becomes disgusted with their system. They have, however, within the last two years, become involved in a contest with the government of the United States, and an expedition has been sent to reduce them to obedience. The last accounts stated that they had determined to evacuate their settlement, and seek some new locality as the habitation of their sect. We deem it unnecessary to add more concerning this class of persons. It is only to be hoped that they may not succeed in deluding away more victims to this irreligious imposture.

Greek Church.

The remainder of the sects formed among English Christians we pass over in silence, and turn for a moment to the consideration of the present condition of the Greek Church. This Church is in an oppressed and feeble state in most of the countries in which it prevails, with the exception of Russia, where it is the Established Church of a large empire. But in Turkey and in the East generally, as well as in the part of Africa in which it is found, it is in a low condition, much cramped and oppressed by the dominant Mahometan powers, and internally distracted by schism. The general government of the Greek Church is vested in the four Patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch,

and Alexandria.[1] The Patriarch of Constantinople is elected by plurality of votes, by the metropolitan and neighbouring Bishops; but is instituted by the Sultan, and after institution is still subject to deposition, banishment, or even execution by the Sultan. He is said to nominate his brother patriarchs; but this is probably in name rather than reality; and after the election of his nominee by the Bishops of their respective patriarchates, he confirms their election; but the sanction of the Mahometan rule is still required before their appointment is valid. In Egypt, the Copts, who are Monophysites, have a patriarch of their own; but the orthodox patriarch has a few adherents, who are chiefly resident in Alexandria, or the villages of Lower Egypt. Early in the eighteenth century attempts were made to restore the Romish worship, but without success. The jealousy of the Franciscans towards the Jesuits, who were the chief authors of the attempt, appears to have injured the chance of success, and eventually Jesuits and Franciscans both suffered from the persecution of the natives. The Armenians are chiefly Monophysites, which appears to be the heresy by which the Greek Church is most liable to suffer.

Russian Church.

In Russia, Peter the Great appears to have effected a great reformation in the Church. But he also altered altogether its form of government, and suppressed the patriarchate of Moscow, when it became vacant by the death of Adrian in 1700. For some years after this suppression, the Church of Russia was governed by an Exarch, but in 1720 he transferred the government of that Church to the "Holy Legislative Synod," established by his order, and under the superintendence of the celebrated Theophanes, Archbishop of Plaskow, and afterwards of Novogorod. The order for this change was written by Theophanes, and called the *Spiritual Regulation*. Two copies were corrected by Peter himself, and signed by him 23d February, 1720, and on 21st January, 1721, it was publicly promulgated, and the Synod entered on its duties. It consisted of twelve members. Peter also gave greater currency to the catechism of *Mogilas* (drawn up by Peter Mogilas, metropolitan of Kioff, and confirmed by the four Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, in 1643), which had been some time in use; but the work is considered now to be more in favour of some Romish doctrines than is quite agreeable to the present state of opinion among the Russian Clergy. In 1765, Father Plato published his work, called *Orthodox Learning*, for the use of the Grand Duke, to whom he was preceptor, a work which long maintained a high reputation as a sort of standard of opinion. The Russian Church, however, although a branch of the great Greek Church, appears to contain much which is peculiar to itself; and it appears also to be in great bon-

[1] The Patriarch of Antioch is opposed by two rivals, one a Monophysite patriarch, the other a Maronite, but the former sect is the most numerous.

dage to the state. There was a considerable persecution of the *Raskolneks* (which is a general name for schismatics, including a variety of sects), during the last century; but towards the end of it they were treated with greater lenity.

In regard to the Greek Church we shall only remark further, that although it practises some of the superstitious observances, and admits some of the offensive doctrines of the Romish Church, decidedly protests against the supremacy of the Pope; and it may therefore be looked upon as a most important witness in this matter, while we may trust that it will please God to enable it, by intercourse with other Churches of purer doctrine, to reform all that is not primitive in its faith, and not wholesome and edifying in its practice.

Bishop at Jerusalem.

Our relations with the Greek Church are extremely limited and uncertain. The war in which France and England engaged in the defence of Turkey, against the aggression of Russia, was preceded by some disagreements between Russia and France, as to their respective privileges connected with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In this dispute, of course, England could have no real ground for interference; and these differences were not, in fact, the occasion of the war. But England has had for some time a very anomalous kind of mission at Jerusalem. In connection with the King of Prussia, England established, in 1841, a bishopric, the head-quarters of which were to be Jerusalem. As there is already a Bishop of the Greek Church located there, there can canonically be no other Bishop of Jerusalem; and accordingly we find that the Bishop is not designated Bishop *of* Jerusalem, but "Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland *at* Jerusalem;" and in the documents by which the government explained its intentions it was distinctly stated, that the Bishop was "specially charged not to intrench upon the spiritual rights and liberties of the [Eastern] Churches;" and the same determination was still more strongly expressed in the "Letter Commendatory" from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Eastern Bishops. His duties were to be confined to the English and German Protestants, and the Jewish converts which might be made. But this portion of the instructions of the Bishop has been, it is said, very much disregarded by the present Bishop, Dr. Gobat. But whether this be the case or not, the whole proceeding is full of anomalies. The first Bishop, Dr. Alexander, was a converted Jew.

With this statement of the establishment of a bishopric in Jerusalem, we close our notice of the Churches and communities which belong neither to the Church of Rome nor that of England. We only profess to call attention to a few isolated facts connected with them, while we have endeavoured to give a connected history of the two former.

Conclusion.

The reflections to which a review of the last and of the present century would lead are of a very chequered character; but upon the whole they are calculated to raise up in the heart a spirit of hope for the days to come. The powers of darkness have indeed been brought into a fearful state of activity, and the mischief they have wrought has been almost incalculable; but, on the other hand, the providence of God has called forth antagonistic principles and very noble exertions. In the territorial distribution of the different forms of Christianity, the changes have not been very great. But much has been lost and much gained. The Church of Rome, by great exertions, has recovered some of its lost ground in France; but in Spain and Italy its power appears to be declining. In England the Church has been subjected to severe trials, but under God's guidance it has girded up its loins, to meet them in the spirit of faith and trust. It has recovered at least from the torpid condition in which it was at the commencement of the present century; and during the last thirty years its exertions have been unremitting, and they have been crowned with many blessings. It is a comfort to know that, within about fifty years, nearly three thousand churches have been built; and the Colonial Episcopate has increased from two to upwards of thirty Bishops—that schools have been built and churches endowed—that the services have been multiplied in almost all places where there is a population ready to attend them—and that in all respects the Church has become most anxious adequately to discharge its duties and meet its responsibilities. May God, without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy, guide the hearts of all our countrymen to an acceptance of the precious truths of Christianity, and a due appreciation of the value of the ordinances of Christ's Church.

DISTINGUISHED ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS.

ROMANISTS.

Claude Fleury.
Louis Antony Muratori.
Bernard de Montfaucon.
John Dominic Mansi.
John Bernard de Rossi.
Count Joseph-Marie de Maistre.
Joseph Simon Assemani.

CLAUDE FLEURY (1640-1723),

commonly called Abbé Fleury, was a celebrated ecclesiastic of France. Originally intended for the bar, and indeed practising there for nine years, his predilection for sacred studies led him to change his profession. He was born 1640, and from 1672 to nearly 1700, he was employed as preceptor to various members of

the royal family; and in 1716 he was made confessor to the young King. His chief works are his *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, in 20 vols. (continued by Father Fabre in 16), and *Les Mœurs des Chretiens*, 1 vol., 12mo. He also wrote Treatises on Ecclesiastical Law. His great work is full of matter and of information; but it is deficient in a critical spirit.

LOUIS ANTONY MURATORI (1672-1750)

was one of the most learned and laborious writers of his own age. Most of his works are of a historical character—such as those great collections, the *Annali d'Italia;* but many are directly ecclesiastical—such as his *Anecdota ex Ambrosianæ Bibliothecæ*, &c., and his *Anecdota Græca*, his *Liturgia Romana*. He was a native of the Modena territory; and when he had been called by C. Borromeo to the librarianship of the Ambrosian library, at Milan, the Duke of Modena felt ashamed of having allowed so distinguished a man to leave his country, and offered him the office of keeper of the archives of Modena, &c., which induced him to return, and he remained at Modena for the rest of his life.

BERNARD DE MONTFAUCON (1655-1741)

was one of the most learned and diligent of the Benedictines. He was the editor of Athanasius, of Origen's *Hexapla*, and, above all, of the splendid Benedictine edition of St. Chrysostom. His *Diarium Italium*, his *Palæographia Græca*, and some Bibliographical works, also enjoy a high reputation.

GIOVANNI DOMENICO MANSI (1692-1769)

was Archbishop of Lucca, and celebrated for his learned and laborious works. He translated Calmet's *Dictionary* into Latin; he published a new edition of Baronius, with many other works. But he is chiefly known by his publication of *The Councils*. His edition of these is by far the most valuable.

JOHN BERNARD DE ROSSI (1742-1831)

one of the most learned and laborious Hebraists of modern days. His publications are too numerous to be mentioned here; but they all tended to illustrate Hebrew and Jewish literature. He published a vast supplement to the labours of Kennicott in his collation of MSS. of the Hebrew Bible. It is contained in four quarto volumes. His *Bibliotheca Judaica Antichristiana*, his Dictionary of Jewish authors, and his description of his own Hebrew MSS., are most valuable works for the criticism of the Old Testament, &c.

COUNT JOSEPH-MARIE DE MAISTRE (1753-1821)

was one of the ablest advocates of Ultra-Montane opinions in recent times. He was a Sardinian statesman, and at first known as a political writer against revolutionary principles. In 1802 he became Sardinian Minister at the Court of St. Petersburg. It was here that he wrote those remarkable works which were published after his return from Russia. His book *Du Pape*, published in 1819, with an appendix, entitled *De l'Eglise Gallicane, dans son rapport avec le Souveraine Pontife*, although exaggerated and extreme in their views, are highly esteemed by the Ultra-Montane party. His *Soirées de St. Petersbourg*, although chiefly devoted to philosophical and metaphysical subjects, is intended to do good service to the Roman Catholic Church. It is full of attacks on all Protestant philosophers, and written with great elegance and brilliancy.

JOSEPH SIMON ASSEMANI (1687-1768)

was by birth a Syrian, and having been educated at Rome, he was made one of the librarians of the Vatican by Clement XI. He travelled in Syria and Egypt, for the purpose of examining the libraries of those regions; and from the Vatican Lake (which was visited for the same purpose, a few years ago, by Archdeacon Tattam) he brought a collection of MSS., about forty in number. His great works are his *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (a work to which Syriac literature is extremely indebted), his edition of Ephrem Syrus, and his *Kalendaria Ecclesiæ Universæ.*

His brother, Joseph Aloysius Assemani, published the *Missale Alexandrinum*, 1734, and the *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiæ Universalis*, 1749-1766—the latter in 13 vols., 4to.

Stephen Euodius Assemani, the nephew of these learned men, and the successor of the first as librarian of the Vatican, published also *Bibliothecæ Mediceo—Laurentianæ et Palatinæ Cod. MSS.*, &c., 1748. He also assisted his uncle Joseph Simon in editing Ephrem Syrus.

Another member of this family, Simon Assemani, also published some works on Oriental literature in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

JOSEPH BINGHAM.
WILLIAM WAKE.
DANIEL WATERLAND.
EDMUND GIBSON.
GEORGE BERKELEY.
JOSEPH BUTLER.
ROBERT LOWTH.
BENJAMIN KENNICOTT.
SAMUEL HORSLEY.
RICHARD LAURENCE.
WILLIAM MAGEE.

JOSEPH BINGHAM (1668-1723)

was one of the most laborious and learned authors of modern days. He wrote several learned Treatises—such as his *Scholastic History of Lay Baptism;* but his fame rests on his immortal work on the Antiquities of the Christian Church—his *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*—a work which has neither been surpassed nor superseded.

WILLIAM WAKE (1657-1737)

was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1715-1737, and a very learned prelate. He wrote two works on the Convocation question, in favour of the civil authorities—*The Authority of Princes over their Ecclesiastical Synods, &c., Asserted,* and the *State of the Church and Clergy of England in their Councils, Synods,* &c. Several controversial pieces of this author are found in Gibson's *Preservative Against Popery*—especially some very able answers to Bossuet.

DANIEL WATERLAND (1683-1740)

was a divine of great eminence. He wrote answers to many of the sceptical writings of his own day; but his work on the *Doctrine of the Trinity,* and his *Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist,* &c., are the most esteemed among his works.

EDMUND GIBSON (1669-1748)

was a very learned prelate. His *Synodus Anglicana,* his *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici,* &c., and his *Preservative Against Popery,* are all works of high merit. The last is a collection of treatises by several authors, edited by Bishop Gibson.

GEORGE BERKELEY (1684-1753)

was a profound metaphysician and an able writer. Pope assigns "to Berkeley every virtue under heaven." He organized a scheme for the propagation of the Gospel among the American Indians, by means of a missionary establishment in the Bermudas. His literary fame rests chiefly on his *Minute Philosopher,* and some other metaphysical treatises.

JOSEPH BUTLER (1692-1752)

was Bishop of Durham for a few years. It is unnecessary to say

more than that he was the author of the *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature*, and of the *Sermons on Human Nature*. He has left also a few admirable Sermons, usually printed with those on Human Nature.

ROBERT LOWTH (1710-1787)

was distinguished both as a scholar and a divine. In his *Prælectiones de Sacra Pöesi Hebræorum* he propounded the theory of parallelism, which has been found of so much use in sacred criticism. His translation of Isaiah has merit; but he there shows himself too ready to alter the text. The Commentaries of his father, W. Lowth, on the Prophets, are highly esteemed.

BENJAMIN KENNICOTT (1718-1783)

was an able Hebrew scholar. It was by his exertions that the criticism of the Hebrew text of the Bible was placed upon a firm basis. His edition of the Hebrew Scriptures was the first truly critical edition ever published. The collations made for this edition were carried on for a long series of years in most parts of Europe, and even elsewhere. Dr. Kennicott may be said to have been the founder of this branch of criticism.

SAMUEL HORSLEY (1733-1806)

was a very learned prelate. He is perhaps best known from his controversy with Dr. Priestley. His *Sermons* display great ability, and his *Controversial Letters with Dr. Priestley* great learning and sagacity. Indeed, under God's providence, his writings were, in great measure, the means of repressing the Unitarian heresy. His critical works are considered to display more ability than judgment.

RICHARD LAURENCE (1760-1839)

was Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, and afterwards Archbishop of Cashel. His *Bampton Lectures* are a very judicious and learned exposition of the Articles usually considered Calvinistic; and his animadversions on the Unitarian version of the New Testament, and his editions and translations of some apocryphal writings in the Ethiopic language, are highly valuable.

WILLIAM MAGEE (1765-1831)

was Archbishop of Dublin, and very eminent as a divine. His work on the Atonement, and his answers to Mr. Belsham, are very valuable defences of the doctrine of the Trinity.

We shall not attempt to select names from among the foreign Protestants for specific mention, but will content ourselves with

enumerating some of the eminent writers who belong to the period under review.

Among foreign Protestants we have, in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, the learned and laborious Fabricius, Ittig, Pritius, Witsius, and many other Lutheran divines. We find in Oriental literature—Reland, B. C. Michaelis, J. D. Michaelis (who is also eminent as a commentator), Vater, Gesenius. We are also bound specially to mention Griesbach as a critical editor of the New Testament. When we come down to the Rationalist period, the names of prolific writers are far too numerous to be mentioned. Many of the most eminent receive a passing notice in that portion of our history which treats of the rise and fall of Rationalism.

But our list of distinguished writers among the Roman Catholics, and among the members of the Church of England, would require a very large supplement, if it professed anything like completeness. Among the Roman Catholics the Benedictines continued their labours in editing the Fathers; and in recent times Cardinal Mezzofanti has distinguished himself as a linguist, and Angelo Mai as the editor of portions of antiquity recovered from Palimpsests.

In the Church of England there have been, besides those above enumerated, many divines and scholars of great eminence—Mill, Bentley, Wotton, Cumberland, Atterbury, Warburton, Hurd, Horne, Jones of Nayland, Townson, Secker, Potter, White, Gloster Ridley, &c.—during the last century.

In the present century we have had some very eminent linguists —as Professor Lee and Dr. Mill—the latter was eminent also as a divine. Bishop Marsh and Bishop Kaye, Bishop Lloyd, Dr. Burton, and many others, have left monuments of their industry and learning.

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