



AN
Ecclesiastical History,
ANTIEN T AND MODERN,
FROM
THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,
TO THE
BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY.

VOL. IV.

AN
Ecclesiastical History,
ANTIENT AND MODERN,

FROM
THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,
TO THE
BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY:

IN WHICH
The Rise, Progress, and Variations of CHURCH POWER
ARE CONSIDERED

In their Connexion with the State of LEARNING and PHILOSOPHY,
and the POLITICAL HISTORY of EUROPE during that Period.

By the late learned
JOHN LAWRENCE MOSHEIM, D.D.
And Chancellor of the University of GOTTINGEN.

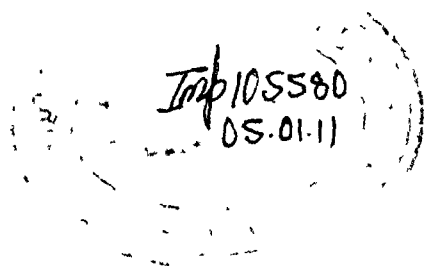
Translated from the ORIGINAL LATIN,
And accompanied with NOTES and CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES,
By ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, D.D.

To the whole is added AN ACCURATE INDEX.

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VOL. IV.

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AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.
BOOK THE FOURTH.
CONTAINING THE
HISTORY OF THE CHURCH,
FROM
The Beginning of the Reformation by Luther
TO
THE PRESENT TIMES.

VOL. IV.

B

XV.d.10

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

I. **T**HE order and method, that have been followed in the former part of this Work, cannot be continued, without the greatest inconveniences, in this Fourth Book, which relates to the modern history of the church. From the commencement of the sixteenth century, the face of religion was remarkably changed; the divisions, that had formerly perplexed the church, increased considerably; and the Christian societies, that relinquished the established forms of divine worship, and erected themselves into separate assemblies, upon principles different from those of the Roman hierarchy, multiplied from day to day. This circumstance renders it impossible to present in one connected series, or, as it were, in one continued tabature, the events, vicissitudes, and revolutions, that happened in the church, divided its members, and enfeebled the dominion of its tyrants. From the period on which we now enter, the bond of union among Christians, that had been formed by a blind obedience to the Roman pontifs, was everywhere either dissolved, or, at least, relaxed; and consequently this period of our history must be divided into a multitude of branches, into as many parts, as there were famous sects that arose in this century.

The method observed in the preceding part of this history changed in the Fourth book.

II. It is however proper to observe here, that many of the events, which distinguish this century, had a manifest relation to the church in general, and not to any Christian society in particular.

The history of the church in this century may be divided into two general heads.

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ticular. And as these events deserve to be mentioned separately, on account of their remarkable tendency to throw a light upon the state of Christianity in general, as well as upon the history of each particular Christian society, we shall therefore divide this Fourth Book into two main and principal parts, of which the one shall contain the *General*, and the other the *Particular History of the Christian Religion*.

The general history of the church--its extent.

III. To the *General History* belong all those events which relate to the state of Christianity, considered in itself and in its utmost extent, to the Christian church viewed in the general, and abstracted from the miserable and multiplied divisions into which it was rent by the passions of men. Under this head we shall take notice of the advancement and progress of Christianity in general, without any regard to the particular sects that were thus instrumental in promoting its interests; nor shall we omit the consideration of certain doctrines, rites, and institutions, which appeared worthy of admission to all, or, at least, to the greatest part of the Christian sects, and which consequently produced everywhere changes and improvements of more or less importance.

Particular history.

IV. In the *Particular History* of this century, we propose passing in review, in their proper order, the various sects into which the Christian church was divided. This part of our work, for the sake of method and precision, we shall subdivide into two. In the *first* we shall comprehend what relates to the more *ancient* Christian sects, both in the eastern and western hemispheres; while the *second* shall be confined to the history of those more *modern* societies, the date of whose origin is posterior to the Reformation in *Germany*. In the accounts that are here to be given of the circumstances, fate, and doctrines of each sect, the method laid down in the Preface to this Work shall

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shall be rigorously observed, as far as is possible; since it seems the most adapted to lead us to an accurate knowledge of the nature, progress, and tenets of every Christian society, that arose in these times of discord.

V. The most momentous event that distinguished the church after the fifteenth century, and we may add, the most glorious of all the Revolutions that happened in the state of Christianity since the time of its divine and immortal Founder, was that happy change introduced into religion, which is known by the title of the *Blessed Reformation*. This grand revolution, which arose in *Saxony* from small beginnings, not only spread itself with the utmost rapidity through all the European provinces, but also extended its efficacy more or less to the most distant parts of the globe, and may be justly considered as the main and principal spring which has moved the nations from that illustrious period, and occasioned the greatest part both of those civil and religious revolutions that fill the annals of history down to our times. The face of *Europe* was, in a more especial manner, changed by this great event. The present age feels yet, in a sensible manner, and ages to come will continue to perceive, the inestimable advantages it produced, and the inconveniences of which it has been the *innocent occasion*. The history therefore of such an important revolution, from whence so many others have derived their origin, and whose relations and connexions are so extensive and universal, demands undoubtedly a peculiar degree of attention, and has an unquestionable right to the principal place in such a work as this. We therefore now proceed to give a compendious view of the modern history of the Christian church, according to the plan and method already laid down.

History of
the Re-
formation.

THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.
SECTION I.

The HISTORY of the REFORMATION.

CENT. I.
XVI.
SECT. I.

The division
of the first
section.

THE History of the Reformation is too ample and extensive to be comprehended without a certain degree of confusion, in the uninterrupted narration of one Section; we shall therefore divide it into *Four Parts*.

The **FIRST** will contain *An Account of the State of Christianity before the Commencement of the Reformation*.

The **SECOND**, *The History of the Reformation, from its first Beginnings until the date of the Confession drawn up at Augsburg*.

The **THIRD** will exhibit *A View of the same History, from this latter period to the Commencement of the war of Smalcald*. And

The **FOURTH** will carry it down to *The Peace that was entered into with the Abettors of the Reformation in the year 1555* [a]. This division is natural; it arises spontaneously from the events themselves.

CHAP.

[a] The writers of the *History of the Reformation*, of every rank and order, are enumerated by the very learned PHILIP. FRID. HANE (who himself deserves a most eminent rank in this class), in his *Historia Sacrorum a Luthero Emendatorum*, part I. cap. i. p. 1. and by JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Conjecturae Lutheranae*, part II. cap. clxxxvii. p. 863.—The greatest part, or at least the most eminent, of this list of authors must be consulted by such as desire a farther confirmation or illustration

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of the Christian Church before the Reformation.

I. **A**BOUT the commencement of this century the Roman pontifs lived in the utmost tranquillity; nor had they, as things appeared to be situated, the least reason to apprehend any opposition to their pretensions, or rebellion against their authority; since those dreadful commotions, which had been excited in the preceding ages by the Waldenses, Albigenses, and Beghards, and lately by the Bohemians, were entirely suppressed, and had yielded to the united powers of counsel and the sword. Such of the Waldenses as yet remained, lived contented under the difficulties of extreme poverty in the vallies of *Piedmont*, and proposed to themselves no higher earthly felicity, than that of leaving to their descendants that wretched and obscure corner of *Europe*, which separates the *Alps* from the *Pyrenean* mountains; while the handful of Bohemians, that survived the ruin of their faction, and still persevered in their opposition to the Roman yoke, had neither strength nor knowledge adequate to any new attempt, and therefore, instead of inspiring terror, became objects of contempt.

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SECT. I.

Things are in a quiet state at the beginning of this century.

II. We must not, however, conclude from this apparent tranquillity and security of the pontifs and their adherents, that their measures were applauded, or their chains worn without reluctance.

The complaints against the popes and clergy ineffectual.

illustration of the matters which I propose to relate briefly in the course of this History. The illustrious names of *SLIDAN* and *SECKENDORFF*, and others, who have distinguished themselves in this kind of erudition, are too well known to render it necessary to recommend their works to the perusal of the curious reader.

CENT. XVI.
SECT. I. This was far from being the case. Not only private persons, but also the most powerful princes and sovereign states, exclaimed loudly against the despotic dominion of the pontifs, the fraud, violence, avarice, and injustice that prevailed in their counsels, the arrogance, tyranny, and extortion of their legates, the unbridled licentiousness and enormous crimes of the clergy and monks of all denominations, the unrigateous severity and partiality of the Roman laws, and demanded publicly, as their ancestors had done before them, a *Reformation* of the church, in its head and in its members, and a general council to accomplish that necessary and happy purpose [b]. But these complaints and demands were not carried so far as to produce any good effect; since they came from persons who never presumed to entertain the least doubt about the supreme authority of the Pope in religious matters, and who, of consequence, instead of attempting, themselves, to bring about that reformation that was so ardently desired, remained entirely unactive, and looked for redress to the court of *Rome*, or to a general council. As long as the authority of the Roman pontif was held sacred, and his jurisdiction supreme, there could be no reason to expect any considerable reformation either of the corruptions of the church or of the manners of the clergy.

[b] These complaints and accusations have been largely enumerated by several writers. See, among many others, VAL. IERN. LOESCHERUS, in *Actis et documentis Reformationis*, tom. i. cap. v. p. 105.—cap. ix. p. 181. & ERN. SALOM. CYPRIAN. *Præfat. ad Wilk. Ern. Tenzeln Historiam Reformat.* published at *Leipfic* in 8vo, in the year 1717.—The grievances, complained of by the Germans in particular, are amply mentioned by J. F. GEORGIUS, in his *Gravamina Imperator. et Nationis German. adversus pædem Roman.* cap. vii. p. 261. Nor do the wiser and more learned among the modern Romanists pretend to deny that the church and clergy, before the time of LUTHER, were corrupted in a very high degree.

III. If any thing seemed proper to destroy the gloomy empire of superstition, and to alarm the security of the lordly pontiffs, it was the restoration of learning in *Europe*, and the number of men of genius that arose, of a sudden, under the benign influence of that auspicious revolution. But even this new scene of things was insufficient to terrify the lords of the church, or to make them apprehend the decline of their power. It is true, indeed, this happy revolution in the republic of letters dispelled the gloom of ignorance, and kindled in the minds of many the love of truth and sacred liberty. Nay, it is also certain that many of these great men, such as *ERASMUS* and others, pointed the delicacy of their wit, or levelled the fury of their indignation, at the superstitions of the times, the corruptions of the priesthood, the abuses that reigned in the court of *Rome*, and the brutish manner of the Monastic Orders. But this was not sufficient, since none had the courage to strike at the root of the evil, to attack the papal jurisdiction and statutes, which were absurdly, yet artfully, sanctified by the title of *canon law*, or to call in question that ancient and most pernicious opinion, that *Christ* had established a vicegerent at *Rome*, clothed with his supreme and unlimited authority. Entrenched, therefore, within these strong-holds, the pontiffs looked upon their own authority and the peace of the church as beyond the reach of danger, and treated with indifference the threats and invectives of their enemies. Armed, moreover, with power to punish, and abundantly furnished with the means of rewarding in the most alluring manner, they were ready, on every commotion, to crush the obstinate, and to gain over the mercenary to their cause; and this indeed could not but contribute considerably to the stability of their dominion.

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S E C T. I.

The restoration of
learning.

IV. Hence

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The popes.
Alexander
VI.
Pius III.

IV. Hence it was, that the bishops of *Rome* lived in the utmost security and ease, and being entirely free from apprehensions and cares of every kind, followed without reluctance, and gratified without any limitation or restraint, the various demands of their lusts and passions. ALEXANDER VI., whom humanity disowns, and who is rather to be considered as a monster than as a man, whose deeds excite horror, and whose enormities place him among the most execrable tyrants of ancient times, stained the commencement of this century by the most tremendous crimes. The world was delivered from this papal fiend in the year 1503, by the poisonous draught which he had prepared for others, as is generally believed; though there are historians that attribute his death to sickness and old age [c]. He was succeeded in the pontificate by PIUS III., who, in less than a month, was deprived by death of that high dignity. The vacant chair was obtained by fraud and bribery by JULIAN DE LA ROVERE, who assumed the denomination of JULIUS II.

Julius II.

V. To the odious list of vices with which JULIUS II. dishonoured the pontificate, we may add the most savage ferocity, the most audacious arrogance, the most despotic vehemence of temper, and the most extravagant and frenetic passion for war and bloodshed. He began his military enterprises by entering into a war with the Venetians, after having strengthened his cause by an alliance with the emperor and the king of *France* [d]. He

[c] See the *Life* of ALEXANDER VI., in two volumes, 8vo. by ALEX. GORDON, Esq.—As also another life of the same pontif, written with more moderation, and subjoined, along with that of LEO X., to the first volume of the learned and ingenious work, intituled, *Histoire du Droit public Ecclesiastique François*, par M. D. B. published in 4to, at London, in 1752.

[d] See Du Bos, *Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray*, published at the *Hague* in two volumes, 8vo, in the year 1710.

afterwards

afterwards laid siege to *Ferrara*; and, at length, turned his arms against his former ally, the French monarch, in conjunction with the Venetians, Spaniards, and Swiss, whom he had drawn into this war, and engaged in his cause by an offensive league. His whole pontificate, in short, was one continued scene of military tumult, nor did he suffer *Europe* to enjoy a moment's tranquillity as long as he lived. We may easily imagine the miserable condition of the church under a vicar of CHRIST, who lived in camps, amidst the din of arms, and who was ambitious of no other fame than that which arose from battles won and cities laid desolate. Under such a pontif all things must have gone to ruin; the laws must have been subverted, the discipline of the church destroyed, and the genuine lustre of true religion entirely effaced.

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VI. Nevertheless, from this dreadful cloud that hung over *Europe*, some rays of light seemed to break forth, that promised a better state of things, and gave some reason to expect that reformation in the church, that was so ardently and so universally desired. LEWIS XII., king of *France*, provoked by the insults he had received from this arrogant pontif, meditated revenge, and even caused a medal to be struck with a menacing inscription, expressing his resolution to overturn the power of *Rome*, which was represented by the title of *Babylon* on this coin [e]. Several cardinals also, encouraged by the protection of this monarch and the emperor MAXIMILIAN I., assembled, in the year 1511, a council at *Pisa*, with an intention to

The council of *Pisa*.

[e] See B. CHRIST. SIGISMUND. LIEBII *Commentatio de nummis Ludovici XII., Epigraphe, PERDAM BABYLONIS NOMEN, insignibus*; Leipzig, 1717.—See also *Theſaurus Epistolicus Crozianus*, tom. i. p. 238. 243.—COLONIA, *Histoire Litter. de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 443.—The authenticity and occasion of this medal have been much disputed, and, as is well known, have afforded matter of keen debate.

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set bounds to the tyranny of this furious pontif, and to correct and reform the errors and corruptions of a superstitious church. JULIUS, on the other hand, relying on his own strength, and on the power of his allies, beheld these threatening appearances without the least concern, nay, treated them with mockery and laughter. He did not, however, neglect the methods of rendering ineffectual the efforts of his enemies, that prudence dictated, and therefore gave orders for a council to meet in the palace of the Lateran in the year 1512 [f], in which the decrees of the council of *Pisa* were condemned and annulled in the most injurious and insulting terms. This condemnation would, undoubtedly, have been followed with the most dire and formidable *anathemas* against LEWIS and other Princes, had not death snatched away this audacious pontif, in the year 1512, in the midst of his ambitious and vindictive projects.

LEO X. VII. He was succeeded, in the year 1513, by LEO X., of the family of MEDICIS, who, though of a milder disposition than his predecessor, was nevertheless equally indifferent about the interests of religion and the advancement of true piety. He was a protector of men of learning, and was himself learned as far as the darkness of the age would admit of. His time was divided between conversation with men of letters and pleasure; though it must be observed, that the greatest part of it was consecrated to the latter. He had an invincible aversion to whatever was accompanied with solicitude and care, and discovered the greatest impatience under events of that nature. He was remarkable for his prodigality, luxury, and imprudence, and has even been charged with impiety, if not atheism. He did not however

[f] HARDUINI *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 1559.

neglect

neglect the grand object which the generality of his predecessors had so much at heart, even the promoting and advancing the opulence and grandeur of the Roman see. For he took the utmost care that nothing should be transacted in the council of the Lateran, which JULIUS had assembled and left sitting, that, had the least tendency to favour the *Reformation* of the church. He went still farther; and, in a conference which he had with FRANCIS I. king of *France*, at *Bologna*, he engaged that monarch to abrogate the *Pragmatic Sanction* [g], which had been so long odious to the popes of *Rome*, and to substitute in its place another body of laws, more advantageous to the papacy, which were imposed upon his subjects under the title of the *Concordate*, and received with the utmost indignation and reluctance [h].

VIII. The

[g] We have mentioned this *Pragmatic Sanction*, Cent. XV. Part II. Chap. II. § XVI. note [g], and given there some account of its nature and design. This important edict is published at large in the eighth volume of the *Concilia* HARDUIN, p. 1940. as is the *Concordate*, that was substituted in its place, in the ninth volume of the same work, p. 1867. and in LEIBNITZ, his *Manifester Coticis Diplomati* part I. p. 158. part II. p. 358.—The history of these two pieces is given in an ample and accurate manner by bishop BURNET, in his *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 3.—See also, on the same subject, DE BOULAY, *Historia Academ. Paris.* tom. vi. p. 61—109. DU CLOS, *Histoire de Louis XI.—Histoire du Droit Ecclesiastique Francois*, tom. 1. Diff. ix. p. 415.—*Meniana*, tom. iii. p. 285.

[h] The king went in person to the parliament to offer the *Concordate* to be registered, and letters patent were made out requiring all the judges and courts of justice to observe this *Act*, and see it executed. The parliament, after deliberating a month upon this important matter, concluded not to register the *Concordate*, but to observe still the *Pragmatic*, unless the former edict was received and established in as great an assembly as that was, which published the latter in the reign of CHARLES VII. And when by violence and force they were obliged to publish the *Concordate*, they joined to this publication a solemn protest, and an appeal from the pope to the next general council, into both which measures the university and the clergy entered with the greatest alacrity and zeal. But royal and papal despotism at length prevailed.

The

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SECT. I.

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SECT. I.

The avarice
of the popes.

VIII. The raging thirst of dominion that consumed these pontiffs, and their arrogant endeavours to crush and oppress all that came within the reach of their power, were accompanied with the most insatiable avarice. All the provinces of *Europe* were, in a manner, drained to enrich these ghostly tyrants, who were perpetually gaping

The chancellor DE PRAT, who was principally concerned in promoting the *Concordate*, has been generally regarded as an enemy to the liberties of the Gallican church. The illustrious and learned president HAINAULT has not, however, hesitated to defend his memory against this accusation, and to justify the *Concordate* as an equitable contract, and as a measure attended with less inconveniencies than the *Pragmatic Sanction*. He observes, that by the king's being invested, by the *Concordate*, with the privilege of nominating to the bishoprics and vacant benefices of the first class, many corruptions and abuses were prevented, which arose from the simoniacal practices that prevailed almost every where while, according to the *Pragmatic Sanction*, every church chose its bishop, and every monastery its abbot. He observes moreover, that this nomination was the natural right of the crown, as the most considerable part of the great benefices had been created by the kings of *France*; and he insists particularly on this consideration, that the right, which Christian communities have to chuse their leaders, cannot be exercised by such large bodies without much confusion and many inconveniencies; and that the subjects, by entrusting their sovereign with the government of the *state*, invest him *ipso facto* with an authority over the church, which is a part of the *state*, and its noblest branch. See HAINAULT, *Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France*, in the Particular Remarks that are placed at the end of the reign of LEWIS XIV.

The most specious objection that was made to the *Concordate* was this: that, in return for the nomination to the vacant benefices, the king granted to the popes the *annates*, or *first fruits*, which had so long been complained of as an intolerable grievance. There is, however, no mention of this equivalent in the *Concordate*. And it was by a papal bull that succeeded this compact, that the pontiffs claimed the payment of the *first fruits*, of which they had put themselves in possession in the year 1316, and which had been suspended by the *Pragmatic Sanction*. See the *Histoire du Droit Ecclesiastique François*. As this substitution of the *Concordate*, in the place of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, was a most important transaction, and had a very great influence upon the minds of the English, the translator judged it necessary to give here some account of that matter.

after

after new accessions of wealth, in order to augment the number of their friends and the stability of their dominion. And indeed, according to the notions commonly entertained, the rulers of the church seemed to have a fair enough pretext, from the nature of their character, to demand a sort of tribute from their flock; for none can deny to the supreme governors of any state (and such was the character assumed by the popes) the privilege of levying tribute from those over whom they bear rule. But as the name of *tribute* was every way proper to alarm the jealousy and excite the indignation of the civil magistrate, the pontiffs were too cunning to employ it, and had recourse to various stratagems and contrivances to rob the subject without shocking the sovereign, and to levy taxes under the specious mask and pretext of religion. Among these contrivances, the distribution of *indulgences*, which enabled the wealthy to purchase impunity for their crimes by certain sums applied to religious uses, held an eminent rank. This traffic of *indulgences* was constantly renewed whenever the coffers of the church were exhausted. On these occasions, they were recommended warmly to the ignorant multitude under some new, specious, yet fallacious pretext, and were greedily sought after, to the great detriment both of individuals and of the community.

IX. Notwithstanding the veneration and homage that were almost every where paid to the Roman pontiffs, they were far from being universally reputed infallible in their decisions, or unlimited in their authority. The wiser part of the German, French, Flemish, and British nations, considered them as liable to error, and bounded by law. The councils of *Constance* and *Basil* had contributed extremely to rectify the notions of the people in that respect; and from that period all Christians,

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The pope's
authority
held inferior
to that of a
council.

Nor could the case be otherwise as matters were now constituted; for, as all the offices and dignities of the church were become *venal* every where, the way of preferment was inaccessible to merit, and the wicked and licentious were rendered capable of rising to the highest ecclesiastical honours.

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S E C T.

XI. The prodigious swarms of monks that overspread *Europe* were universally considered as cumberers of the ground, and occasioned murmurs and complaints every where. And, nevertheless, such was the genius of the age, of an age that was but just emerging from the thickest gloom of ignorance, and was suspended, as it were, in a dubious situation between darkness and light, that these monastic drones would have remained undisturbed, had they taken the least pains to preserve any remains even of the external air of decency and religion, that used to distinguish them in former times. But the Benedictine and the other monkish fraternities, who were invested with the privilege of possessing certain lands and revenues, broke through all restraint, made the worst possible use of their opulence, and, forgetful of the gravity of their character and of the laws of their order, rushed headlong into the shameless practice of vice in all its various kinds and degrees. On the other hand, the Mendicant orders, and especially those who followed the rule of St. DOMINICK and St. FRANCIS, though they were not carried away with the torrent of licentiousness that was overwhelming the church, yet they lost their credit in a different way; for their rustic impudence, their ridiculous superstitions, their ignorance, cruelty, and brutish manners, alienated from them the minds of the people, and diminished their reputation from day to day. They had the most barbarous aversion to the arts and sciences, and expressed a like abhorrence of certain eminent and learned men, who endeavoured

The state of
the monastic
orders.

C E N T. voured to open the paths of science to the pursuits
 XVI. of the studious youth, recommended the culture of
 S. E C T. I. the mind, and attacked the barbarism of the age in
 their writings and in their discourse. This is sufficiently evident from what happened to REVELINUS, ERASMUS, and other learned men.

The Dominicans.

XII. Among all the monastic orders, none enjoyed a higher degree of power and authority than the Dominican friars, whose credit was great, and their influence universal. This will not appear at all surprising, when we consider that they filled very eminent stations in the church, presided every where over the terrible tribunal of the *inquisition*, and had the care of souls, with the function of *confessors*, in all the courts of *Europe*; a circumstance this, which, in these times of ignorance and superstition, manifestly tended to put the most of the European princes in their power. But, notwithstanding all this credit and authority, the Dominicans had their enemies; and about this time their influence began to decline. Nay, several marks of perfidy, that appeared in the measures they employed to extend their authority, exposed them justly to the public indignation. Nothing more infamous than the frauds they practised to accomplish their purposes, as may be seen, among other examples, by the tragedy they acted at *Bern*, in the year 1509 [k]. They were perpetually

✂ [k] This most impious fraud is recorded at length by RUCHAT, at the end of the sixth volume of his *Histoire de la Réformation en Suisse*; and also by HOTTINGER, in his *Hist. Eccl. Helvet.* tom. i. p. 334. There is also a compendious, but distinct, narration of this infernal stratagem, in Bishop BURNET's *Travel, through France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland*, p. 31. The stratagem in question was the consequence of a rivalry between the Franciscans and Dominicans, and more especially of their controversy concerning the *Immaculate Conception* of the Virgin MARY. The former maintained, that she was born without the blemish of *Original Sin*; the latter asserted the contrary. The doctrine of the Franciscans, in an
 age

perpetually employed in stigmatising, with the
 opprobrious mark of *Herefy*, numbers of learned
 and

CENT.
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age of darknes and superstition, could not but be popular; and hence the Dominicans lost ground from day to day. To support the credit of their Order, they resolved, at a chapter held at *Vimfen* in the year 1504, to have recourse to fictitious visions and dreams, in which the people at that time had an easy faith; and they determined to make *Bern* the scene of their operations. A person named JETZER, who was extremely simple, and much inclined to austerities, and who had taken their habit, as a lay-brother, was chosen as the instrument of the delusions they were contriving. One of the four Dominicans, who had undertaken the management of this plot, conveyed himself secretly into JETZER's cell, and about midnight appeared to him in a horrid figure, surrounded with howling dogs, and seeming to blow fire from his nostrils, by the means of a box of combustibles which he held near his mouth. In this frightful form he approached JETZER's bed, told him that he was the ghost of a Dominican, who had been killed at *Paris*, as a judgment of Heaven for laying aside his monastic habit; that he was condemned to purgatory for this crime; adding, at the same time, that, by his means, he might be rescued from his misery, which was beyond expression. This story, accompanied with horrible cries and howlings, frightened poor JETZER out of the little wits he had, and engaged him to promise to do all that was in his power to deliver the Dominican from his torment. Upon this, the impostor told him, that nothing but the most extraordinary mortifications, such as the *Discipline of the Whip* performed during eight days by the whole monastery, and JETZER's lying prostrate in the form of one crucified in the chapel during *mass*, could contribute to his deliverance. He added, that the performance of these mortifications would draw down upon JETZER the peculiar protection of the Blessed Virgin; and concluded by saying, that he would appear to him again, accompanied with two other spirits. Morning was no sooner come, than JETZER gave an account of this apparition to the rest of the convent, who all unanimously advised him to undergo the discipline that was enjoined him; and every one consented to bear his share of the task imposed. The deluded simpleton obeyed, and was admired as a saint by the multitudes that crowded about the convent, while the four friars that managed the imposture magnified, in the most pompous manner, the miracle of this apparition, in their sermons and in their discourse. The night after, the apparition was renewed with the addition of two impostors, dressed like devils, and JETZER's faith was augmented by hearing from the spectre

C E N T. and pious men, in encroaching upon the rights
 XVI. and properties of others to augment their posses-
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all the secrets of his life and thoughts, which the impostors had learned from his confessor. In this and some subsequent scenes (the detail of whose enormities, for the sake of brevity, we shall here omit), the impostor talked much to JETZER of the Dominican order, which he said was peculiarly dear to the Blessed Virgin; he added, that the Virgin knew herself to be conceived in *Original Sin*; that the doctors who taught the contrary were in purgatory; that the Blessed Virgin abhorred the Franciscans for making her equal with her son; and that the town of *Bern* would be destroyed for harbouring such plagues within her walls. In one of these apparitions, JETZER imagined that the voice of the spectre resembled that of the prior of the convent, and he was not mistaken; but, not suspecting a fraud, he gave little attention to this. The prior appeared in various forms, sometimes in that of St. BARBARA, at others in that of St. BERNARD; at length he assumed that of the Virgin MARY, and, for that purpose, clothed himself in the habits that were employed to adorn the statue of the Virgin in the great festivals; the little images, that on these days are set on the altars, were made use of for angels, which, being tied to a cord that passed through a pulley over JETZER's head, rose up and down, and danced about the pretended Virgin to increase the delusion. The Virgin, thus equipped, addressed a long discourse to JETZER, in which, among other things, she told him, that she was conceived in *original Sin*, though she had remained but a short time under that blemish. She gave him, as a miraculous proof of her presence, a *host*, or consecrated wafer, which turned from white to red in a moment; and after various visits, in which the greatest enormities were transacted, the *Virgin-prior* told JETZER, that she would give him the most affecting and undoubted marks of her son's love, by imprinting on him the *five wounds* that pierced JESUS on the cross, as she had done before to St. LUCIA and St. CATHERINE. Accordingly, she took his hand by force, and struck a large nail through it, which threw the poor dupe into the greatest torment. The next night this masculine virgin brought, as he pretended, some of the linen, in which Christ had been buried, to soften the wound, and gave JETZER a soporific draught, which had in it the blood of an unbaptized child, some grains of incense and of consecrated salt, some quicksilver, the hairs of the eye-brows of a child, all which, with some stupifying and poisonous ingredients, were mingled together by the prior with magic ceremonies, and a solemn dedication of himself to the devil in hope of his succour. This draught threw the poor wretch into a sort of lethargy, during which

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sions, and in laying the most iniquitous snares and stratagems for the destruction of their adversaries.

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which the monks imprinted on his body the other four wounds of Christ in such a manner that he felt no pain. When he awakened, he found, to his unspeakable joy, these impressions on his body, and came at last to fancy himself a representative of Christ in the various parts of his passion. He was, in this state, exposed to the admiring multitude on the principal altar of the convent, to the great mortification of the *Franciscans*. The *Dominicans* gave him some other draughts, that threw him into convulsions, which were followed by a voice conveyed through a pipe into the mouths of two images, one of *MARY* and another of the child *JESUS*; the former of which had tears painted upon its cheeks in a lively manner. The little *JESUS* asked his mother, by means of this voice (which was that of the prior's), why she wept? and she answered, that her tears were owing to the impious manner in which the *Franciscans* attributed to *her* the honour that was due to *him*, in saying that she was conceived and born without sin.

The apparitions, false prodigies, and abominable stratagems, of these *Dominicans*, were repeated every night; and the matter was at length so grossly over-acted, that, simple as *JETZER* was, he at last discovered it, and had almost killed the prior, who appeared to him one night in the form of the Virgin with a crown on her head. The *Dominicans* fearing, by this discovery, to lose the fruits of their imposture, thought the best method would be to own the whole matter to *JETZER*, and to engage him, by the most seducing promises of opulence and glory, to carry on the cheat. *JETZER* was persuaded, or at least appeared to be so. But the *Dominicans*, suspecting that he was not entirely gained over, resolved to poison him; but his constitution was so vigorous, that, though they gave him poison five several times, he was not destroyed by it. One day they sent him a loaf prepared with some spices, which, growing green in a day or two, he threw a piece of it to a wolf's whelps that were in the monastery, and it killed them immediately. At another time they poisoned the *host*, or consecrated wafer, but, as he vomited it up soon after he swallowed it, he escaped once more. In short, there were no means of securing him, which the most detestable impiety and barbarity could invent, that they did not put in practice, till, finding at last an opportunity of getting out of the convent, he threw himself into the hands of the magistrates, to whom he made a full discovery of this infernal plot. The affair being brought to *Rome*, commissaries were sent from thence to examine the matter; and the whole cheat being fully proved, the four friars were

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The state of
learning,
and of the
public
schools.

ties [1]. And they were the principal counsellors, by whose instigation and advice Leo X. was determined to that most rash and imprudent measure, even the public condemnation of LUTHER.

XIII. The principal places in the public schools of learning were filled very frequently by monks of the Mendicant orders. This unhappy circumstance prevented their emerging from that ignorance and darkness, which had so long enveloped them; and it also rendered them inaccessible to that auspicious light of improved science, whose salutary beams had already been felt in several of the European provinces. The instructors of youth, dignified with the *venerable* titles of *Artists*, *Grammarians*, *Physicians*, and *Dialecticians*, loaded the memories of their laborious pupils with a certain quantity of barbarous terms, arid and senseless distinctions, and scholastic precepts delivered in the most inelegant style; and all such as could repeat this jargon with a certain readiness and rapidity, were considered as men of uncommon eloquence and erudition. The whole body of the philosophers extolled ARISTOTLE beyond all measure; while scarcely any studied him, and none understood him. For what was now exhibited, as the philosophy of that famous Grecian

solemnly degraded from their priesthood, and were burnt alive on the last day of May, 1509. JERZER died some time after at *Constance*, having poisoned himself, as was believed by some. Had his life been taken away before he had found an opportunity of making the discovery already mentioned, this execrable and horrid plot, which, in many of its circumstances was conducted with art, would have been handed down to posterity as a stupendous miracle. This is a very brief account of the matter; such as are desirous of a more circumstantial relation of this famous imposture, may consult the authors mentioned in the beginning of this note.

[1] See BILIB. PIRKHEIMERI *Epistola ad Hadrianum Pontif. Maxim. de Dominicanorum flagitiis*, in opp. ejus, p. 372. This letter is also to be found in GERDESII *Introd. ad Histor. Renavatis Evangelii*, tom. i. p. 170. Append.

page,

sage, was really nothing more than a confused and motley heap of obscure notions, sentences, and divisions, which even the public doctors and heads of schools were unable to comprehend. And if, among these thorns of scholastic wisdom, there was any thing that had the appearance of fruit, it was crushed and blasted by the furious wranglings and disputes of the *Scotists* and *Thomists*, the *Realists* and *Nominalists*, whose clamours and contentions were unhappily heard in all the European academies.

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XIV. The wretched and senseless manner of teaching theology in this century, may be learned from many books yet extant, which were wrote by the divines it produced, and which, in reality, have no other merit than their enormous bulk. The expositors of the holy scriptures were very few in number, during this century; and there were scarcely any of the Christian doctors that had a critical knowledge of the sacred oracles. This kind of knowledge was so rare, that, when LUTHER arose, there could not be found, even in the university of *Paris*, which was considered as the first and most famous of all the public schools of learning, a single person qualified to dispute with him, or oppose his doctrine, upon a scripture foundation. Any commentators, that were at this time to be found, were such, as, laying aside all attention to the true meaning and force of the words of scripture, which their profound ignorance of the original languages and of the rules of criticism rendered them incapable of investigating, gave a loose to their vain and irregular fancies, in the pursuit of mysterious significations. The greatest part of the public teachers belonged to these classes of divines, which we have formerly mentioned under the titles of *Positivi* and *Sententiarii*, who were extremely fond, the former of loading their accounts, both of the truths and pre-

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C E N T. XVI. s e c t. I. cepts of religion, with multiplied quotations and authorities from the writings of the ancient doctors; the *latier* of explaining the doctrines of the gospel by the rules of a subtle and intricate philosophy.

The liberty
of debating
religious
subjects.

XV. It must at the same time be observed, that the divines of this century disputed with a good deal of freedom upon religious subjects, and even upon those that were looked upon as most essential to salvation. There were several points of doctrine, which had not been as yet fixed and determined by the authority of the church; nor did the pontifs, without some very urgent reason, restrain the right of private judgment, or force the consciences of men, except in those cases where doctrines were adopted that seemed detrimental to the supremacy of the apostolic see, or to the temporal interests of the sacerdotal and monastic orders. Hence it is, that we could mention many Christian doctors before LUTHER, who inculcated not only with impunity, but even with applause, the very same tenets that afterwards drew upon him such heavy accusations and such bitter reproaches. And it is beyond all doubt, that this great reformer might have propagated these opinions without any danger of molestation, had he not pointed his warm remonstrances against the opulence of *Rome*, the overgrown fortunes of the bishops, the majesty of the pontifs, and the towering ambition of the Dominicans.

The nature
of religious
worship as
it was cele-
brated at
this time.

XVI. The public worship of the Deity was now no more than a pompous round of external ceremonies, the greatest part of which were insignificant and senseless, and much more adapted to dazzle the eyes than to touch the heart. The number of those, who were at all qualified to administer public instruction to the people, was not very considerable; and their discourses, which contained

contained little else than fictitious reports of miracles and prodigies, insipid fables, wretched quibbles, and illiterate jargon, deceived the multitude instead of instructing them. Several of these sermons are yet extant, which it is impossible to read without the highest indignation and contempt. Those who, on account of their gravity of manners, or their supposed superiority in point of wisdom and knowledge, held the most distinguished rank among these vain declaimers, had a common-place set of subjects allotted to them, on which they were constantly exercising the force of their lungs and the power of their eloquence. These subjects were, the authority of the holy mother church, and the obligations of obedience to her decisions; the virtues and merits of the saints, and their credit in the court of heaven; the dignity, glory, and love of the Blessed Virgin; the efficacy of relicks; the duty of adorning churches, and endowing monasteries; the necessity of good works (as that phrase was then understood) to salvation; the intolerable burnings of *purgatory*, and the utility of *indulgences*. Such were the subjects that employed the zeal and labours of the most eminent doctors of this century; and they were, indeed, the only subjects that could tend to fill the coffers of the *good old mother church*, and advance her temporal interests. A ministry, who would have taken it into their heads to inculcate the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, to exhibit the example of its divine author, and the efficacy of his mediation, as the most powerful motives to righteousness and virtue, and to represent the love of God and mankind as the great duties of the Christian life, such a ministry would have been very unprofitable servants to the church and to the papacy, however they might have promoted the cause of virtue and the salvation of souls.

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The corrup-
tion and
miserable
condition of
the people
in general.

XVII. The state of things, that we have been now describing, exhibits to our view the true causes of that incredible ignorance in religious matters, which reigned universally in all countries, and among all ranks and orders of men; an ignorance accompanied with the vilest forms of superstition, and the greatest corruption of manners. The clergy, who presided over the rites and ceremonies of the church, were far from shewing the least disposition to enlighten the ignorance or to check the superstition of the times; nay, instead of opposing, they rather nourished and promoted them, as conducive to their safety, and favourable to their interests. Nor was there more zeal shewn in stemming the torrent of immorality and licentiousness, than in dispelling the clouds of superstition and ignorance. For the prudence of the church had easily foreseen, that the traffic of *indulgences* could not but suffer from a diminution of the crimes and vices of mankind; and that, in proportion as virtue gained an ascendant upon the manners of the multitude, the profits arising from *expiations*, *satisfactions*, and such like ecclesiastical contrivances, must necessarily decrease.

A reforma-
tion in the
church ar-
dently de-
sired.

XVIII. Such then was the dismal condition of the church. Its corruption was complete, and the abuses that it permitted were gone to the greatest height of enormity. But in proportion to the greatness of this corruption was the ardor and impatience with which all, who were endowed with any tolerable portion of solid learning, genuine piety, or even good sense, desired to see the church reformed and purged from these shocking abuses. And the number of those who were affected in this manner was very considerable in all parts of the western world. The greatest part of them, indeed, were, perhaps, over-moderate in their demands. They did not extend their views

so far as a change in the form of ecclesiastical government, a suppression of those doctrines, which, however absurd, had acquired a high degree of credit by their antiquity, nor even to the abrogation of those rights and ceremonies, which had been multiplied in such an extravagant manner, to the great detriment of true religion and rational piety. All they aimed at was, to set limits to the overgrown power of the pontiffs, to reform the corrupt manners of the clergy, and to prevent the frauds that were too commonly practised by that order of men; to dispel the ignorance and correct the errors of the blinded multitude, and to deliver them from the heavy and unsupportable burthens that were imposed upon them under religious pretexts. But as it was impossible to obtain any of these salutary purposes without the suppression of various absurd and impious opinions, from whence the grievances complained of sprung, and, indeed, without a general reformation of the religion that was publicly professed; so was this *reformation* supposed to be ardently, though silently, wished for, by all those who publicly demanded the *reformation of the church in its head and in its members*.

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XIX. If any sparks of real piety subsisted under this despotic empire of superstition, they were only to be found among the *Mystics*. For this sect, renouncing the subtilty of the schools, the vain contentions of the learned, with all the acts and ceremonies of external worship, exhorted their followers to aim at nothing but internal sanctity of heart, and communion with God, the centre and source of holiness and perfection. Hence the *Mystics* were loved and respected by many persons, who had a serious sense of religion, and were of a tender and devotional complexion. But as they were not entirely free from the reigning superstitions, but associated many vulgar errors with their practical

The Mystics.

C E N T. practical precepts and directions; and as their excessive passion for contemplation led them into many chimerical notions, and sometimes into a degree of fanaticism that approached to madness; more effectual succours than theirs were necessary to combat the inveterate errors of the times, and to bring about the reformation that was expected with such impatience.

C H A P. II.

The History of the Reformation, from its first beginnings, to the Confession given in at Augsbург.

The dawn
of a reform-
ation rises
unexpectedly.

I. WHILE the Roman pontif slumbered in security at the head of the church, and saw nothing throughout the vast extent of his dominion but tranquillity and submission; and while the worthy and pious professors of genuine Christianity almost despaired of seeing that reformation on which their most ardent desires and expectations were bent; an obscure and inconsiderable person arose, on a sudden, in the year 1517, and laid the foundation of this long-expected change, by opposing, with undaunted resolution, his single force to the torrent of papal ambition and despotism. This extraordinary man was MARTIN LUTHER, a native of *Aisleben*, in *Saxony*, a monk of the *Augustinian Eremites*, who were one of the Mendicant orders, and, at the same time, professor of divinity in the academy that had been erected at *Wittemberg*, a few years before this period, by FREDERIC the *Wise*. The papal chair was, at this time, filled by LEO X.; MAXIMILIAN I., a prince of the house of *Austria*, was king of the Romans, and emperor of *Germany*; and FREDERIC, already mentioned, elector of *Saxony*.

The

The bold efforts of this new adversary of the pontiffs were honoured with the applauses of many, but few or none entertained hopes of their success. It seemed scarcely possible that this puny DAVID could hurt a GOLIAH, whom so many heroes had opposed in vain.

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II. None of the qualities or talents that distinguished LUTHER were of a common or ordinary kind. His genius was truly great and unparalleled; his memory vast and tenacious; his patience in supporting trials, difficulties, and labour, incredible; his magnanimity invincible, and independent on the vicissitudes of human affairs; and his learning most extensive, considering the age in which he lived. All this will be acknowledged even by his enemies, at least by such of them as are not totally blinded by a spirit of partiality and faction. He was deeply versed in the theology and philosophy that were in vogue in the schools during this century, and he taught them both with the greatest reputation and success in the academy of *Wittemberg*. As a philosopher, he embraced the doctrine of the *Nominalists*, which was the system adopted by his order; while, in divinity, he followed chiefly the sentiments of AUGUSTIN; but in both he preferred the decisions of Scripture and the dictates of right reason before the authority and opinions of fallible men. It would be equally rash and absurd to represent this great man as exempt from error and free from infirmities and defects; yet, if we except the contagious effects of the age in which he lived, and of the religion in which he had been brought up, we shall perhaps find but a few things in his character that render him liable to reproach [*m*].

Luther.

III. The

[*m*] The writers who have given any circumstantial account of LUTHER and his transactions are accurately enumerated by JO. ALB.

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Indulgences
preached up
by John
Tetzel in
1517.

III. The first opportunity that this great man had of unfolding to the view of a blinded and deluded age, the truth, which had struck his astonished sight, was offered by a Dominican, whose name was JOHN TETZEL [n]. This bold and enterprising monk had been chosen, on account of his uncommon impudence, by ALBERT archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, to preach and proclaim, in Germany, those famous *indulgences* of LEO X., which administered the remission of all sins, past, present, and to come, however enormous their nature, to those who were rich enough to purchase them. The frontless monk executed this iniquitous commission not only with matchless insolence, indecency [o], and fraud, but even carried his impiety so far as to derogate from the all-sufficient power and influence of the merits of CHRIST. At this, LUTHER, unable to smother his just indignation, raised his warning voice, and, in ninety-five propositions, maintained publicly at *Wittenberg*, on the 30th of September, in the year 1517, censured the extravagant extortion of these questors, and plainly pointed out the Roman pontif as a partaker of their guilt, since he suffered the people to be seduced, by such delusions, from

JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Centifolium Lutherianum*; the first part of which was published at *Hamburg* in the year 1728, and the second in 1730, in 8vo.

[n] The historians who have particularly mentioned TETZEL, and his odious methods of deluding the multitude, are enumerated in the work quoted in the preceding note, part I. p. 47. part II. p. 530.—What is said of this vile deceiver by ECHARD and QUETIF, in the *Scriptores Ordin. Predicator.* tom. ii. p. 40. discovers the blindest zeal and the meanest partiality.

[o] In describing the efficacy of these indulgences, TETZEL said, among other enormities, that *even had any one ravished the mother of God, he (TETZEL) had wherewithal to efface his guilt.* He also boasted, that *he had saved more souls from hell by these INDULGENCES, than St. PETER had converted to Christianity by his preaching,*

placing

placing their principal confidence in CHRIST, the only proper object of their trust. This was the commencement and foundation of that memorable rupture and revolution in the church, which humbled the grandeur of the lordly pontiffs, and eclipsed so great a part of their glory [p].

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IV. This

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

Mr HUME, in his *History of the Reign of HENRY VIII.*, has thought proper to repeat what the enemies of the reformation, and some of its dubious or ill-informed friends, have advanced, with respect to the motives that engaged LUTHER to oppose the doctrine of indulgences. This elegant and persuasive historian tells us, that the *Austrian friars* had usually been employed in Saxony to preach indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration; that ARCEBOLDUS gave this occupation to the Dominicans; that MARTIN LUTHER, an Austrian friar, professor in the university of Wittenberg, resenting the affront put upon his Order, began to preach against the abuses that were committed in the sale of indulgences, and, being provoked by opposition, proceeded even to deny indulgences themselves †. It were to be wished, that Mr. HUME's candour had engaged him to examine this accusation better, before he had ventured to repeat it. For, in the first place, it is not true, that the *Austrian friars* had been usually employed in Saxony to preach indulgences. It is well known, that the commission had been offered alternately, and sometime jointly, to all the Mendicants, whether *Austrian friars*, *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, or *Carmelites*. Now, from the year 1229, that lucrative commission was principally entrusted with the *Dominicans* ‡; and, in the records which relate to indulgences, we

* HUME's *History of England, under the House of Tudor*, vol. i. p. 119.

† Id. ib. p. 120.

‡ See WEISMANNI, *Memorabilia Historiæ Sacræ* N. T. p. 3051. 3115.

might have been terminated with the utmost facility, had LEO X. been disposed to follow the healing CENT.
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the Dominicans in general; since it was given to TETZEL alone, an individual member of that Order, who had been notorious for his profligacy, barbarity, and extortion.

But that neither repentment nor envy were the motives that led LUTHER to oppose the doctrine and publication of indulgences, will appear with the utmost evidence, if we consider, in the *third* place,—That he was never accused of any such motives, either in the edicts of the pontiffs of his time, or amidst the other reproaches of the contemporary writers, who defended the cause of *Rome*, and who were far from being sparing of their investives and calumnies. All the contemporary adversaries of LUTHER are absolutely silent on this head. From the year 1517 to 1546, when the dispute about indulgences was carried on with the greatest warmth and animosity, not one writer ever ventured to reproach LUTHER with these ignominious motives of opposition now under consideration. I speak not of ERASMUS, SLIDAN, DE THOU, GUICCIARDINI, and others, whose testimony might be perhaps suspected of partiality in his favour; but I speak of CAJETAN, HOGSTRAI, DE PRIERIO, EMSER, and even the infamous JOHN TETZEL, whom LUTHER opposed with such vehemence and bitterness. Even COCHIEUS was silent on this head during the life of LUTHER; though, after the death of that great reformer, he broached the calumny I am here refuting. But such was the scandalous character of this man, who was notorious for fraud, calumny, lying, and their sister vices*, that PALLAVICINI, BOSSUET, and other enemies of LUTHER, were ashamed to make use either of his name or testimony. Now, may it not be fairly presumed, that the contemporaries of LUTHER were better judges of his character, and the principles from which he acted, than those who lived in after-times? Can it be imagined, that motives to action, which escaped the prying eyes of LUTHER's contemporaries, should have discovered themselves to us, who live at such a distance of time from the scene of action, to M. BOSSUET, to M^r. HUME, and to other abettors of this ill-contrived and foolish story. Either there are no rules of moral evidence, or Mr. HUME's assertion is entirely groundless.

I might add many other considerations to shew the unreasonableness of supposing that LUTHER exposed himself to the rage of the Roman pontiff, to the persecutions of an exasperated

* SLIDAN. *De Statu Rel. et Reip. in Dedic. Epist. ad August. Elector.*

C E N T. ing method which common prudence must have
 XVI. naturally pointed out on such an occasion. For,
 S E C T. I. after all, this was no more than a private dispute
 between two monks, concerning the extent of the pope's power with respect to the remission of sin. LUTHER confessed that the Roman pontif was clothed with the power of remitting the *human* punishments inflicted upon transgressors, *i. e.* the punishments denounced by the church, and its visible head the bishop of *Rome*; but he strenuously denied that his power extended to the remission of the *divine* punishments allotted to offenders, either in this present, or in a future state; affirming, on the contrary, that these punishments could only be removed by the merits of CHRIST, or by voluntary acts of mortification and penance undertaken and performed by the transgressor. The doctrine of TEIZEL was, indeed, directly opposite to the sentiments of LUTHER; for this senseless or designing monk asserted, that all punishments, present and future, human and divine, were submitted to the authority of the Roman pontif, and came within the reach of his absolving power. This matter had often been debated before the present period; but the popes had always been prudent enough to leave it undecided. These debates, however, being sometimes treated with neglect, and at others carried on without wisdom, the seeds of discord gained imperceptibly new accessions of strength and vigour, and from small beginnings produced, at length, revolutions and events of the most momentous nature.

rated clergy, to the severity of such a potent and despotic prince as CHARLES V., to death itself, and that from a principle of avarice and ambition. But I have said enough to satisfy every candid mind.

V. The sentiments of LUTHER were received with applause by the greatest part of *Germany*, which had long groaned under the avarice of the pontifs, and the extortions of their tax-gatherers, and had murmured grievously against the various stratagems that were daily put in practice, with the most frontless impudence, to fleece the rich, and to grind the faces of the poor. But the votaries of *Rome* were filled with horror, when they were informed of the opinions propagated by the Saxon reformer; more especially the Dominicans, who looked upon their order as insulted and attacked in the person of TETZEL. The alarm of controversy was therefore sounded, and TETZEL himself appeared immediately in the field against LUTHER, whose sentiments he pretended to refute in two academical discourses, which he pronounced on occasion of his promotion to the degree of doctor in divinity. In the year following (1518) two famous Dominicans, SYLVESTER DE PRIERIO and HOGSTRAT, the former a native of *Italy*, and the latter a *German*, rose up also against the adventurous reformer, and attacked him at *Cologne* with the utmost vehemence and ardour. Their example was soon followed by another formidable champion, named ECKIUS, a celebrated professor of divinity at *Ingolstadt*, and one of the most zealous supporters of the Dominican order. LUTHER stood firm against these united adversaries, and was neither vanquished by their arguments, nor daunted by their talents and reputation; but answered their objections and refuted their reasonings with the greatest strength of evidence, and a becoming spirit of resolution and perseverance. At the same time, however, he addressed himself by letters, written in the most submissive and respectful terms, to the Roman pontif and to several of the bishops, shewing them the uprightness of his intentions, as

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S E C T. I.

The adversaries of
Luther and
the patrons
of Tetzcl.

C E N T. well' as the justice of his cause, and declaring his
 XVI.
 S E C T. I. readiness to change his sentiments, as soon as he
 should see them fairly proved to be erroneous.

A conference is held
 between LUTHER and CAJETAN at
Augsburg.

VI. At first, LEO X. beheld this controversy with indifference and contempt; but, being informed by the emperor MAXIMILIAN I., not only of its importance, but also of the fatal divisions it was likely to produce in *Germany*, he summoned LUTHER to appear before him at *Rome*, and there to plead the cause which he had undertaken to maintain. This papal summons was superseded by FREDERICK *the Wise*, elector of *Saxony*, who pretended, that the cause of LUTHER belonged to the jurisdiction of a German tribunal, and that it was to be decided by the ecclesiastical laws of the empire. The pontif yielded to the remonstrances of this prudent and magnanimous prince, and ordered LUTHER to justify his intentions and doctrines before cardinal CAJETAN, who was, at this time, legate at the diet of *Augsburg*. In this first step the court of *Rome* gave a specimen of that temerity and imprudence with which all its negotiations, in this weighty affair, were afterwards conducted. For, instead of reconciling, nothing could tend more to inflame matters than the choice of CAJETAN, a Dominican, and, consequently, the declared enemy of LUTHER, and friend of TETZEL, as judge and arbitrator in this nice and perilous controversy.

The issue of
 this conference.

VII. LUTHER, however, repaired to *Augsburg*, in the month of October 1518, and conferred, at three different meetings, with CAJETAN himself [q], concerning the points in debate. But had he even been disposed to yield to the court of *Rome*, this imperious legate was, of all others, the most improper to encourage him in the exe-

[q] There is a large account of this cardinal given by QUETIF and ECHARD, *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. ii. p. 14.

cution of such a purpose. The high spirit of LUTHER was not to be tamed by the arrogant dictates of mere authority; such, however, were the only methods of persuasion employed by the haughty cardinal. He, in an overbearing tone, desired LUTHER to renounce his opinions, without even attempting to prove them erroneous, and insisted, with importunity, on his confessing humbly his fault, and submitting respectfully to the judgment of the Roman pontif [r]. The Saxon reformer could not think of yielding to terms so unreasonable in themselves and so despotically proposed; so that the conferences were absolutely without effect. For LUTHER, finding his adversary and judge inaccessible to reason and argument, left *Augsburg* all of a sudden, after having appealed from the present decisions of the pontif to those which he should pronounce, when better informed; and, in this step, he seemed yet to respect the dignity and authority of the bishop of *Rome* [s]. But LEO X., on the other hand, let loose the reins to ambition and despotism, and carried things to the utmost extremity; for, in the month of November, this same year, he published a special edict, commanding his spiritual subjects

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[r] The imperious and imprudent manner in which CAJETAN behaved towards LUTHER was highly disapproved of even at the court of *Rome*, as appears, among other testimonies, from PAULO SARPI's *History of the Council of Trent*, book I. p. 22. The conduct of CAJETAN is defended by ECHARD, in his *Scriptor. Ord. Prædicator.* tom. ii. p. 15. but with little prudence, and less argument. The truth of the matter is, that the court of *Rome*, and its unthinking sovereign, were not less culpable than CAJETAN in the whole of this transaction. Since they might easily foresee, that a Dominican legate was of all others the most unlikely to treat LUTHER with moderation and impartiality, and consequently the most improper to reconcile matters.

[s] See B. CHRIST. FRID. BORNERI *Diff. de Colloquio Lutheri cum Cajetano.* Leipf. 1722, in 4to.—VAL. ERN. LOSCHERI *Acta et Documenta Reformat.* tom. ii. cap. xi. p. 435. opp. *Lutheri*, tom. xxiv. p. 409.

C E N T. to acknowledge his power of delivering from all the
 XVI. punishments due to sin and transgression of every
 S E C T. I. kind. As soon as LUTHER received information of
 this inconsiderate and violent measure, he perceived, plainly, that it would be impossible for him to bring the court of *Rome* to any reasonable terms; he therefore repaired to *Wittenburg*, and, on the 28th of November, appealed from the pontif to a general council.

The transactions of
 Miltiz.

All the projects of reconciliation
 disconcerted
 in 1519.

VIII. In the mean time, the Roman pontif became sensible of the imprudence he had been guilty of in entrusting CAJLTAN with such a commission, and endeavoured to mend the matter by employing a man of more candour and impartiality, and better acquainted with business, in order to suppress the rebellion of LUTHER, and to engage that reformer to submission and obedience. His new legate was CHARLES MILTITZ, a Saxon knight, who belonged to the court of LEO X., and whose lay character exposed him less to the prejudices that arise from a spirit of party, than if he had been clothed with the splendid purple, or the monastic frock. He was also a person of great prudence, penetration, and dexterity, and every way qualified for the execution of such a nice and critical commission as this was. LEO, therefore, sent him into *Saxony* to present to FREDERICK the golden consecrated *rose* (which the pontifs are used to bestow, as a peculiar mark of distinction, on those princes, for whom they have, or think proper to profess, an uncommon friendship and esteem), and to treat with LUTHER, not only about finishing his controversy with TETZEL, but also concerning the methods of bringing about a reconciliation between him and the court of *Rome*. Nor, indeed, were the negotiations of this prudent minister entirely unsuccessful; for, in his first conference with LUTHER, at *Altenburg*, in the year 1519, he carried matters so far as to persuade him

him to write a submissive letter to LEO X., promising to observe a profound silence upon the matters in debate, provided that the same obligation should be imposed upon his adversaries. This same year, in the month of October, MILTITZ had a second conference with LUTHER in the castle of *Leibnwerd*, and a third the year following, at *Lichtenberg* [1]. These meetings, which were reciprocally conducted with moderation and decency, gave great hopes of an approaching reconciliation; nor were these hopes ill founded [2]. But the violent proceedings of the enemies of LUTHER, and the arrogant spirit, as well as unaccountable imprudence, of the court of *Rome*, blasted these fair expectations, and kindled anew the flames of discord.

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S E C T. I.

☞ [w] IX. It was sufficient barely to mention the measures taken by CAJETAN to draw LUTHER anew under the papal yoke; because these measures were, indeed, nothing more than the wild suggestions of superstition and tyranny, maintained and avowed with the most frontless impudence. A man, who began by commanding the reformer to renounce his errors, to believe, and that upon the dictates of mere authority, that *one drop of Christ's blood, being sufficient to redeem the*

The nature of the conferences between Miltitz and Luther.

[1] See B. CHRIST. FRID. B. The records, relating to the embassy of MILTITZ, were first published by ERN. SALOMON CYPRIANUS, in *Addit. ad WILH. ERN. TENZELII Hist. Reformat.* tom. i. ii.—As also by VAL. ERN. LOSCHERUS, in his *Acta Reformat.* tom. ii. c. xvi. & tom. iii. cap. ii.

[2] In the year 1519, LEO X. wrote to LUTHER in the softest and most pacific terms. From this remarkable letter (which was published in the year 1742, by LOSCHERUS, in a German work, intituled, *Unschuld Nachrichten*) it appears, that at the court of *Rome* they looked upon a reconciliation between LUTHER and the pontif as certain and near at hand.

☞ [w] This whole ninth section is added to Dr. MOSHEIM's work by the translator, who thought that this part of LUTHER's history deserved to be related in a more circumstantial manner, than it is in the original.

C. E. N. T. ^{XV.} S. E. C. T. 1 *whole human race, the remaining quantity, that was shed in the garden and upon the cross, was left as a legacy to the church, to be a treasure from whence indulgences were to be drawn and administered by the Roman pontiffs [x]: such a man was not to be reasoned with. But MILTITZ proceeded in quite another manner, and his conferences with the Saxon reformer are worthy of attention. He was ordered, indeed, to demand of the elector, that he would either oblige LUTHER to renounce the doctrines he had hitherto maintained, or, that he would withdraw from him his protection and favour. But, perceiving that he was received by the elector with a degree of coldness that bordered upon contempt, and that LUTHER's credit and cause were too far advanced to be destroyed by the efforts of mere authority, he had recourse to gentler methods. He loaded TETZEL with the bitterest reproaches, on account of the irregular and superstitious means he had employed for promoting the sale of indulgences, and attributed to this miserable wretch all the abuses that LUTHER had complained of. TETZEL, on the other hand, burthened with the iniquities of Rome, tormented with a consciousness of his own injustice and extortions, stung with the opprobrious censures of the new legate, and seeing himself equally despised and abhorred by both parties, died of grief and despair [y]. His incendiary being sacrificed as a victim to cover the Roman pontif from re-*

[x] Such, among others still more absurd, were the expressions of CAJETAN, which he borrowed from one of the *Decretals* of CLEMENT VI. called (and that justly for more than one reason) *Extravagants*.

[y] LUTHER was so affected by the agonies of despair under which TETZEL laboured, that he wrote him a pathetic letter of consolation, which however produced no effect. His infamy was perpetuated by a picture, placed in the church of *Pinna*, in which he is represented sitting on an ass, and selling indulgences.

proach, MILTITZ entered into a particular conversation with LUTHER, at *Altenburg*, and, without pretending to justify the scandalous traffic in question, required only, that he would acknowledge the four following things: “1st, That “the people had been seduced by false notions of “indulgences: 2^{dly}, That he (LUTHER) had “been the cause of that seduction, by representing indulgences as much more heinous than “they really were: 3^{dly}, That the odious conduct of TETZEL alone had given occasion to “these representations: and 4^{thly}, That, though “the avarice of ALBERT, archbishop of *Mentz*, “had set on TETZEL, yet that this rapacious tax-gatherer had exceeded by far the bounds of his “commission.” These proposals were accompanied with many soothing words, with pompous encomiums on LUTHER’s character, capacity, and talents, and with the softest and most pathetic expostulations in favour of union and concord in an afflicted and divided church, all which MILTITZ joined together with the greatest dexterity and address, in order to touch and disarm the Saxon reformer. Nor were his mild and insinuating methods of negotiating without effect; and it was upon this occasion that LUTHER made submissions which shewed that his views were not, as yet, very extensive, his former prejudices entirely expelled, or his reforming principles steadily fixed. For he not only offered to observe a profound silence for the future with respect to indulgences, provided the same condition were imposed on his adversaries; he went much farther; he proposed writing an humble and submissive letter to the pope, acknowledging that he had carried his zeal and animosity too far; and such a letter he wrote some time after the conference at *Altenburg* [z]. He even consented to publish a

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✂ [z] This letter was dated the 13th of March, 1519, about two months after the conference of *Altenburg*.

CENT. circular letter, exhorting all his disciples and fol-
 XVI. lowers to reverence and obey the dictates of the
 SECT. I. holy Roman church. He declared, that his only
 intention, in the writings he had composed, was
 to brand with infamy those emissaries who abused
 its authority, and employed its protection as a
 mask to cover their abominable and impious
 frauds. It is true, indeed, that amidst those
 weak submissions which the impartial demands of
 historical truth oblige us to relate, there was, pro-
 perly speaking, no retraction of his former tenets,
 nor the smallest degree of respect shewn to the in-
 famous traffic of indulgences. Nevertheless, the
 pretended majesty of the Roman church, and the
 authority of the Roman pontif, were treated by
 LUTHER in this transaction, and in his letter to
 LEO, in a manner that could not naturally have
 been expected from a man who had already ap-
 pealed from the pope to a general council.

Had the court of *Rome* been prudent enough to
 have accepted of the submission made by LUTHER,
 they would have almost nipped in the bud the cause
 of the reformation, or would, at least, have con-
 siderably retarded its growth and progress. Hav-
 ing gained over the head, the members would,
 with greater facility, have been reduced to obe-
 dience. But the flaming and excessive zeal of
 some inconsiderate bigots renewed, happily for
 the truth, the divisions, which were so near being
 healed, and, by animating both LUTHER and his
 followers to look deeper into the enormities that
 prevailed in the papal hierarchy, promoted the
 principles, and augmented the spirit, which pro-
 duced, at length, the blessed [*a*] reformation.

X. One

✠ [*a*] See, for an ample account of LUTHER's conferences
 with MILTITZ, the incomparable work of SECKENDORF, in-
 titled, *Commentar. Histor. Apolog. de Lutheransmo, sive de Re-*
formatione Religionis, &c. in which the facts relating to LUTHER
 and the Reformation are deduced from the most precious and
 authentic

X. One of the circumstances that contributed principally, at least by its consequences, to render the embassy of MILTITZ ineffectual for the restoration of peace, was a famous controversy of an incidental nature that was carried on at *Leipsic*, some weeks successively, in the year 1519 [b]. A doctor named ECKIUS, who was one of the most eminent and zealous champions in the papal cause, happened to differ widely from CARLOSTADT, the colleague and companion of LUTHER, in his sentiments concerning *Free-will*. The result of this variety in opinion was easy to be foreseen. The military genius of our ancestors had so far infected the schools of learning, that differences in points of religion or literature, when they grew to a certain degree of warmth and animosity, were decided, like the quarrels of valiant knights, by a single combat. Some famous university was pitched upon as the field of battle, while the rector and professors beheld the contest, and proclaimed the victory. ECKIUS, therefore, in compliance with the spirit of this fighting age, challenged CARLOSTADT, and even LUTHER himself, against whom he had already drawn his pen, to try the force of his theological arms. The challenge was accepted, the day appointed, and the three champions appeared in the field. The first conflict was between CARLOSTADT and

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The disputes at *Leipsic* in the year 1519, between ECKIUS and CARLOSTADT.

authentic manuscripts and records, contained in the library of *Saxe-Gotha*, and in other learned and princely collections, and in which the frauds and falchoods of MAIMBOURG's *History of Lutheranism* are fully detected and refuted.—As to MILTITZ, his fate was unhappy. His moderation (which nothing but the blind zeal of some furious monks could have hindered from being eminently serviceable to the cause of *Rome*) was represented by ECKIUS, as something worse than indifference about the success of his commission; and, after several marks of neglect received from the pontif, he had the misfortune to lose his life in passing the *Rhine* at *Mentz*.

[b] These disputes commenced on the 25th of June, and ended on the 15th of July following.

ECKIUS

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SECT. I.
ECKIUS concerning the powers and freedom of the human will [c]; it was carried on in the castle of *Pleissenburg*, in presence of a numerous and splendid audience, and was followed by a dispute between LUTHER and ECKIUS concerning the authority and supremacy of the Roman pontif. This latter controversy, which the present situation of affairs rendered singularly nice and critical, was left undecided. Hoffman, at that time rector of the university of *Leitfic*, and who had been also appointed judge of the arguments alleged on both sides, refused to declare to whom the victory belonged; so that the decision of this matter was referred to the universities of *Paris* and *Erfurt* [d]. In the mean time, one of the immediate effects of this dispute was a visible increase of the bitterness and enmity which ECKIUS had conceived against LUTHER; for from this very period he breathed nothing but fury against the Saxon reformer [e], whom he marked out as a victim

[c] This controversy turned upon *liberty*, considered not in a philosophical, but in a theological sense. It was rather a dispute concerning *power* than concerning *liberty*. CARLOSTADT maintained, that, since the fall of man, our natural liberty is not strong enough to conduct us to what is good, without the intervention of divine grace. ECKIUS asserted, on the contrary, that our natural liberty co-operated with divine grace, and that it was in the power of man to consent to the divine impulse, or to resist it. The former attributed all to God; the latter divided the merit of virtue between God and the creature. The modern *Lutherans* have almost universally abandoned the sentiments of CARLOSTADT.

[d] There is an ample account of this dispute at *Leipfic* given by VAL. ERN. LOSCHERUS, in his *Acta et Documenta Reformationis*, tom. iii. c. vii. p. 203.

[e] This was one proof that the issue of the controversy was not in his favour. The victor, in any combat, is generally too full of satisfaction and self-complacency, to feel the emotions of fury and vengeance, which seldom arise but from disappointment and defeat. There is even an insolent kind of clemency that arises from an eminent and palpable superiority. This indeed ECKIUS had no opportunity of exercising.

LUTHER

victim to his vengeance, without considering, that the measures he took for the destruction of LUTHER, must have a most pernicious influence upon the cause of the Roman pontif, by fomenting the present divisions, and thus contributing to the progress of the reformation, as was really the case [e].

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S E C T. I.

XI. Among the spectators of this ecclesiastical combat was PHILIP MELANCTHON, at that time, professor of Greek at *Wittenberg*, who had not, as yet, been involved in these divisions (as indeed the mildness of his temper and his elegant taste for polite literature rendered him averse from disputes of this nature), though he was the intimate friend of LUTHER, and approved his design of delivering the pure and primitive science of theology from the darkness and subtilty of scholastic jargon [f]. As this eminent man was one of those, whom this dispute with ECKIUS convinced of the excellence of LUTHER's cause; as he was, more-

Philip Melancthon.

LUTHER demonstrated, in this conference, that the church of *Rome*, in the earlier ages, had never been acknowledged as superior to other churches, and combated the pretensions of that church and its bishop, from the testimony of scripture, the authority of the fathers, and the best ecclesiastical historians, and even from the decrees of the council of *Nice*; while all the arguments of ECKIUS were derived from the spurious and insipid *Decretals*, which were scarcely of 400 years standing. See SECKENDORFF's *Hist. of Lutheranism*.

[e] It may be observed here, that, before LUTHER's attack upon the store-house of indulgences, ECKIUS was his intimate friend. ECKIUS must certainly been uncommonly unworthy, since even the mild and gentle MELANCTHON represents him as an *inhuman persecutor*, a *sophist*, and a *knave*, who maintained doctrines contrary to his belief and against his conscience. See the learned Dr. JORTIN's *Life of Erasmus*, vol. ii. p. 713; see also VITUS's account of the death of ECKIUS in SECKENDORFF, lib. iii. p. 468; and in the *Scholia ad Indicem* i *Hist. of the same book*, No. xxiii.

[f] See MELANCTHON's Letter concerning the conference at *Leipfic*, in LOSCHER's *Acta et Documenta Reformationis*, tom. iii. cap. viii. p. 215; as also in the *Wittenberg* edition of LUTHER's Works, vol. i. p. 336.

over,

CENT. XVI.
 SECT. I. over, one of the illustrious and respectable instruments of the Reformation; it may not be improper to give some account here of the talents and virtues that have rendered his name immortal. His greatest enemies have borne testimony to his merit. They have been forced to acknowledge, that the annals of antiquity exhibit very few worthies that may be compared with him; whether we consider the extent of his knowledge in things human and divine, the fertility and elegance of his genius, the facility and quickness of his comprehension, or the uninterrupted industry that attended his learned and theological labours. He rendered to philosophy and the liberal arts the same eminent service that LUTHER had done to religion, by purging them from the dross with which they had been corrupted, and by recommending them, in a powerful and persuasive manner, to the study of the Germans. He had the rare talent of discerning truth in all its most intricate connexions and combinations, of comprehending at once the most abstract notions, and expressing them with the utmost perspicuity and ease. And he applied this happy talent in religious disquisitions with such unparalleled success, that it may safely be affirmed, that the cause of true Christianity derived from the learning and genius of MELANCTHON more signal advantages, and a more effectual support, than it received from any of the other doctors of the age. His love of peace and concord, which was partly owing to the sweetness of his natural temper, made him desire with ardour that a reformation might be effected without producing a schism in the church, and that the external communion of the contending parties might be preserved uninterrupted and entire. This spirit of mildness and charity, carried perhaps too far, led him sometimes to make concessions that were neither consistent with prudence,

dence, nor advantageous to the cause in which he was engaged. It is however certain, that he gave no quarter to those more dangerous and momentous errors that reigned in the church of *Rome*; but maintained, on the contrary, that their extirpation was essentially necessary, in order to the restoration of true religion. In the natural complexion of this great man there was something soft, timorous, and yielding. Hence arose a certain diffidence of himself, that not only made him examine things with the greatest attention and care, before he resolved upon any measure, but also filled him with uneasy apprehensions where there was no danger, and made him fear even things that, in reality, could never happen. And yet, on the other hand, when the hour of real danger approached, when things bore a formidable aspect, and the cause of religion was in imminent peril, then this timorous man was converted, all at once, into an intrepid hero, looked danger in the face with unshaken constancy, and opposed his adversaries with invincible fortitude. All this shews, that the force of truth and the power of principle had diminished the weaknesses and defects of MELANCTHON's natural character without entirely removing them. Had his fortitude been more uniform and steady, his desire of reconciling all interests and pleasing all parties less vehement and excessive, his triumph over the superstitions imbibed in his infancy more complete [g], he must deservedly have been considered as one of the greatest among men [h].

XII. While

[g] By this, no doubt, Dr. MOSHEIM means the credulity this great man discovered with respect to prodigies and dreams, and his having been somewhat addicted to the pretended science of astrology. See SCHLHORNII *Anacmt. Hist. Eccles. et Lit.* vol. ii. p. 609.

[h] We have a Life of MELANCTHON, written by JOACHIM CAMERARIUS, which has already gone through several editions.

CENT.
XVI.
SECT. I.

The origin
of the re-
formation in
Switzer-
land.

XII. While the credit and authority of the Roman pontif were thus upon the decline in Germany, they received a mortal wound in Switzerland from ULRIC ZUINGLE, a canon of Zurich, whose extensive learning and uncommon sagacity were accompanied with the most heroic intrepidity and resolution [i]. It must even be acknowledged [k], that this eminent man had perceived some rays of the truth before LUTHER came to an open rupture with the church of

tions. But a more accurate account of this illustrious reformer, composed by a prudent, impartial, and well informed biographer, as also a complete collection of his *Works*, would be an inestimable present to the republic of letters.

[i] The translator has added, to the portrait of ZUINGLE, the quality of *heroic intrepidity*, because it was a predominant and remarkable part of the character of this illustrious reformer, whose learning and fortitude, tempered by the greatest moderation, rendered him perhaps beyond comparison the brightest ornament of the protestant cause.

[k] Our learned historian does not seem to acknowledge this with pleasure, as the Germans and Swiss contend about the honour of having given the first overtures towards the Reformation. If, however, truth has obliged him to make this acknowledgment, he has accompanied it with some modifications, that are more artful than accurate. He says, "that ZUINGLE had perceived some rays of the truth before LUTHER had come to an open rupture," &c. to make us imagine that LUTHER might have seen the truth long before that rupture happened, and consequently as soon as ZUINGLE. But it is well known, that the latter, from his early years, had been shocked at several of the superstitious practices of the church of Rome: that so early as the year 1516*, he had begun to explain the scriptures to the people, and to censure, though with great prudence and moderation, the errors of a corrupt church; and that he had very noble and extensive ideas of a general reformation, at the very time that LUTHER retained almost the whole system of popery, indulgences excepted. LUTHER proceeded very slowly to that exemption from the prejudices of education, which ZUINGLE, by the force of an adventurous genius, and an uncommon degree of knowledge and penetration, easily got rid of.

* RUCHART, *Hist. de la Reformation en Suisse*. ZUINGLI *Opp.* tom. i. p. 7. *Nouveau Diction.* vol. iv. p. 866. DURAND, *Hist. du xvi. Siecle*, tom. ii. p. 2, &c. JURIEU, *Apologie pour les Reformateurs*, &c. partie I. p. 119.

Rome. He was however afterwards still farther animated by the example, and instructed by the writings of the Saxon reformer; and thus his zeal for the good cause acquired new strength and vigour. For he not only explained the sacred writings in his public discourses to the people [1], but also gave in the year 1519, a signal proof of his courage, by opposing, with the greatest resolution and success, the ministry of a certain Italian monk, whose name was SAMSON, and who was carrying on, in *Switzerland*, the impious traffic of Indulgences with the same impudence that TETZEL had done in *Germany* [m]. This was the first remarkable event that prepared the way for the reformation among the Helvetic cantons. In process of time, ZUINGLE pursued with steadiness and resolution the design that he had begun with such courage and success. His noble efforts were seconded by some other learned men, educated in *Germany*, who became his colleagues and the companions of his labours, and who jointly with him succeeded so far in removing the credulity of a deluded people, that the pope's supremacy was rejected and denied in the greatest part of *Switzerland*. It is indeed to be observed, that ZUINGLE did not always use the same methods of conversion that were employed by LUTHER; nor, upon par-

† [1] This again is inaccurate. It appears from the preceding note, and from the most authentic records of history, that ZUINGLE had explained the scriptures to the people, and called in question the authority and supremacy of the pope, before the name of LUTHER was known in *Switzerland*. Besides, instead of receiving instruction from the German reformer, he was much his superior in learning, capacity, and judgment, and was much fitter to be his *master* than his *disciple*, as the four volumes, in folio, we have of his works, abundantly testify.

[m] See JO. HENR. HOTTINGERI *Hist. Eccles. Helvet.* tom. ii. lib. vi. p. 28.—RUCHAT, *Histoire de la Reformation en Suisse*, tom. i. livr. i. p. 4.—66.—GERDES, *Histor. Renovati Evangelii*, tom. ii. p. 228.

C E. N. T. particular occasions, did he discountenance the use of
 KVI. violent measures against such as adhered with ob-
 S E C T. I. stinacy to the superstitions of their ancestors. He
 is also said to have attributed to the civil magistrate, such an extensive power in ecclesiastical affairs, as is quite inconsistent with the essence and genius of religion. But, upon the whole, even envy itself must acknowledge, that his intentions were upright, and his designs worthy of the highest approbation.

Luther is
 excommu-
 nicated by
 the p. 116,
 in 1520.

XIII. In the mean time, the religious dissensions in *Germany* increased, instead of diminishing. For while MILTITZ was treating with LUTHER in *Saxony*, in such a mild and prudent manner as offered the fairest prospect of an approaching accommodation, ECKIUS, inflamed with resentment and fury on account of his defeat at *Leipsic*, repaired with the utmost precipitation to *Rome*, to accomplish, as he imagined, the ruin of LUTHER. There, entering into a league with the Dominicans, who were in high credit at the papal court, and more especially with their two zealous patrons, DE PRIERIO and CAJETAN, he earnestly entreated LEO X. to level the thunder of his *anathemas* at the head of LUTHER, and to exclude him from the communion of the church. The Dominicans, desirous of revenging the affront that, in their opinion, their whole order had received by LUTHER's treatment of their brother TETZEL, and their patron CAJETAN, seconded the furious efforts of ECKIUS against the Saxon reformer, and used their utmost endeavours to have his request granted. The pontif, overcome by the importunity of these pernicious counsellors, imprudently issued [n] out a bull against LUTHER, dated the 15th of June, 1520,

[n] The wisest and best part of the Roman-catholics acknowledge, that LEO X. was chargeable with the most culpable imprudence in this rash and violent method of proceeding.
 See

1520, in which forty-one pretended heresies, extracted from his writings, were solemnly condemned, his writings ordered to be publicly burnt, and in which he was again summoned, on pain of excommunication, to confess and retract his pretended errors within the space of sixty days, and to cast himself upon the clemency and mercy of the pontif.

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XIV. As soon as the account of this rash sentence, pronounced from the papal chair, was brought to LUTHER, he thought it was high time to consult both his present defence and his future security; and the first step he took for this purpose, was the renewal of his appeal from the sentence of the Roman pontif, to the more respectable decision of a general council. But as he foresaw that this appeal would be treated with contempt at the court of *Rome*, and that when the time prescribed for his recantation was elapsed, the thunder of excommunication would be levelled at his devoted head, he judged it prudent to withdraw himself voluntarily from the communion of the church of *Rome*, before he was obliged to leave it by force; and thus to render this new bull of ejection a blow in the air, an exercise of authority without any object to act upon. At the same time, he was resolved to execute this wise resolution in a public manner, that his voluntary retreat from the communion of a corrupt and su-

Luther
withdraws
himself
from the
communion
of the
church of
Rome.

See a Dissertation of the learned JOHN FREDERICK MAYER, *De Pontificis Leonis X. processum adversus Lutherum improbanstibus*, which is part of a work he published at *Hamburg*, in 4to, in the year 1698, under this singular title: *Ecclesia Romana Reformationis Lutherane patrona et cliens*. There were several wise and thinking persons at this time about the Roman pontif, who declared openly, without the least ceremony, their disapprobation of the violent counsels of ECKIUS and the *Dominicans*; and gave it as their opinion, that it was both prudent and just to wait for the issue of the conference of MILTITZ with LUTHER, before such forcible measures were employed.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I. perfidious church might be universally known, before the lordly pontif had prepared his ghostly thunder. With this view, on the 10th of December, in the year 1520, he had a pile of wood erected without the walls of the city [e], and there, in presence of a prodigious multitude of people of all ranks and orders, he committed to the flames both the *bull* that had been published against him, and the decretals and canons relating to the pope's supreme jurisdiction. By this he declared to the world, that he was no longer a subject of the Roman pontif; and that, of consequence, the sentence of excommunication against him, which was daily expected from *Rome*, was entirely superfluous and insignificant. For the man who publicly commits to the flames the *code* that contains the laws of his sovereign, shews thereby that he has no longer any respect for his government, nor any design to submit to his authority; and the man who voluntarily withdraws himself from any society, cannot, with any appearance of reason or common sense, be afterwards forcibly and authoritatively excluded from it. It is not improbable, that LUTHER was directed, in this critical measure, by persons well skilled in the law, who are generally dextrous in furnishing a perplexed client with nice distinctions and plausible evasions. Be that as it may, he separated himself only from the church of *Rome*, which considers the pope as infallible, and not from the church, considered in a more extensive sense; for he submitted to the decision of the universal church, when that decision should be given in a general council lawfully assembled. When this judicious distinction is considered, it will not appear at all surprising, that many, even of the Roman catholics, who weighed matters with a certain degree of impartiality and wisdom, and were zealous for the main-

[e] Of *Wittenberg*.

tenance

tenance of the liberties of *Germany*, justified this bold resolution of LUTHER [o]. In less than a month after this noble and important step had been taken by the Saxon reformer, a second *bull* was issued out against him, on the 6th of January, 1521, by which he was expelled from the communion of the church, for having insulted the majesty, and disowned the supremacy, of the Roman pontif [p].

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XV. Such iniquitous laws, enacted against the person and doctrine of LUTHER, produced an effect different from what was expected by the imperious pontif. Instead of intimidating this bold reformer, they led him to form the project of founding a church upon principles entirely opposite to those of *Rome*, and to establish, in it, a system of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, agreeable to the spirit and precepts of the Gospel of truth. This, indeed, was the only resource LUTHER had left him; for to submit to the orders of a cruel and insolent enemy, would have been the greatest degree of imprudence imaginable; and to embrace, anew, errors that he had rejected with a just indignation, and exposed with the clearest evidence, would have discovered a want of integrity and principle, worthy only of the most

The rise of
the Luther-
an church.

☞ [o] This judicious distinction has not been sufficiently attended to, and the Romanists, some through artifice, others through ignorance, have confounded the *papacy* with the *catholic church*; though they be, in reality, two different things. The papacy indeed, by the ambitious dexterity of the Roman pontifs, incorporated itself by degrees into the church; but it was a preposterous supplement, and was really as foreign to its genuine constitution, as a new *citadel erected*, by a successful usurper, would be to an *ancient city*. LUTHER set out and acted upon this distinction; he went out of the *citadel*, but he meant to remain in the *city*, and, like a good patriot, designed to reform its corrupted government.

[p] Both these *bulls* are to be found in the *Bullarium Romanum*, and also in the learned PFAFF's *Histor. Theol. Literar.* tom. ii. p. 42.

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abandoned profligate. From this time, therefore, he applied himself to the pursuit of the truth with still more assiduity and fervour than he had formerly done; nor did he only review with attention, and confirm by new arguments, what he had hitherto taught, but went much beyond it, and made vigorous attacks upon the main strong-hold of popery, the power and jurisdiction of the Roman pontif, which he overturned from its very foundation. In this noble undertaking he was seconded by many learned and pious men, in various parts of *Europe*, by those of the professors of the academy of *Wittenberg*, who had adopted his principles; and in a more especial manner by the celebrated MELANCTHON. And as the fame of LUTHER's wisdom and MELANCTHON's learning had filled that academy with an incredible number of students, who flocked to it from all parts, this happy circumstance propagated the principles of the Reformation with an amazing rapidity through all the countries of *Europe* [q].

A die af-
ferbi u at
W m in
1521.

XVI. Not long after the commencement of these divisions, MAXIMILIAN I. had departed this life, and his grandson CHARLES V., king of *Spain*, had succeeded him in the empire in the year 1519. LEO X. seized this new occasion of venting and executing his vengeance, by putting the new emperor in mind of his character as *advocate and defender of the church*, and demanding the exemplary punishment of LUTHER, who had rebelled against its sacred laws and institutions. On the other hand, FREDERICK the *Wise* employed his credit with CHARLES to prevent the publication of any unjust edict against this reformer, and to have his cause tried by the canons of the Germanic church,

[q] There is a particular account of the rapid progress of the reformation in *Germany* given by the learned M. DANIEL GERDES, professor at *Groningen*, in his *Historia renovati Evangelii*, tom. ii.

and the laws of the empire. This request was so much the more likely to be granted, that CHARLES was under much greater obligations to FREDERICK, than to any other of the German princes, as it was chiefly by his zealous and important services that he had been raised to the empire, in opposition to the pretensions of such a formidable rival as FRANCIS I., king of *France*. The emperor was sensible of his obligations to the worthy elector, and was entirely disposed to satisfy his demands. That, however, he might do this without displeasing the Roman pontif, he resolved that LUTHER should be called before the council, that was to be assembled at *Worms* in the year 1521, and that his cause should be there publicly heard, before any final sentence should be pronounced against him. It may perhaps appear strange, and even inconsistent with the laws of the church, that a cause of a religious nature should be examined and decided in the public diet. But it must be considered, that these diets, in which the archbishops, bishops, and even certain abbots, had their places, as well as the princes of the empire, were not only political assemblies, but also provincial councils for *Germany*, to whose jurisdiction, by the ancient canon law, such causes as that of LUTHER properly belonged.

XVII. LUTHER, therefore, appeared at *Worms*, secured against the violence of his enemies by a safe-conduct from the emperor, and, on the 17th of April, and the day following, pleaded his cause before that grand assembly with the utmost resolution and presence of mind. The united power of threatenings and entreaties were employed to conquer the firmness of his purpose, to engage him to renounce the propositions he had hitherto maintained, and to bend him to a submission to the Roman pontif. But he refused all this with a noble obstinacy, and declared solemnly, that he

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The result
of this diet,
Luther's
banishment.

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would neither abandon his opinions, nor change his conduct, until he was previously convinced, by the word of God, or the dictates of right reason, that his opinions were erroneous, and his conduct unlawful. When therefore neither promises nor threatenings could shake the constancy of this magnanimous reformer, he obtained, indeed, from the emperor the liberty of returning, unmolested, to his home; but after his departure from the diet, he was condemned by the unanimous suffrages both of the emperor and the princes, and was declared an enemy to the holy Roman empire [r].

FREDERICK,

✂ [r] This sentence, which was dated the 8th of May, 1521, was excessively severe; and CHARLES V., whether through sincere zeal or political cunning, shewed himself in this affair an ardent abettor of the papal authority. For in this edict the pope is declared the only true judge of the controversy, in which he was evidently the party concerned; LUTHER is declared a *member cut off from the church*, a *schismatic*, a *notorious and obstinate heretic*; the severest punishments are denounced against those, who shall receive, entertain, maintain, or countenance him, either by acts of hospitality, by conversation or writing; and all his disciples, adherents, and followers, are involved in the same condemnation. This edict was, however, received with the highest disapprobation by all wise and thinking persons, 1st, because LUTHER had been condemned without being heard, at Rome, by the college of cardinals, and afterwards at Worms, where, without either examining or refusing his doctrine, he was only despotically ordered to abandon and renounce it; 2^{dly}, because CHARLES V., as emperor, had not a right to give an authoritative sentence against the doctrine of LUTHER, nor to take for granted the *infallibility* of the Roman pontiff, before these matters were discussed and decided by a general council; and 3^{dly}, because a considerable number of the German princes, who were immediately interested in this affair, such as the electors of *Cologne*, *Saxony*, and the *Palatinate*, and other sovereign princes, had neither been present at the diet, nor examined and approved the edict; and that, therefore, at best, it could only have force in the territories belonging to the house of *Austria*, and to such of the princes as had given their consent to its publication. But after all, the edict of *Worms* produced almost no effect, not only for the reasons now mentioned, but also because CHARLES V., whose presence, authority, and zeal, were necessary to render it

FREDERICK, who saw the storm rising against LUTHER, used the best precautions to secure him from its violence. For this purpose he sent three or four persons, in whom he could confide, to meet him on his return from the diet, in order to conduct him to a place of safety. These emissaries, disguised by masks, executed their commission with the utmost secrecy and success. Meeting with LUTHER, near *Eysenac*, they seized him, and carried him into the castle of *Wartenberg*, nor, as some have imagined upon probable grounds, was this done without the knowledge of his Imperial majesty. In this retreat, which he called his *Patmos*, the Saxon reformer lay concealed during the space of ten months, and employed this involuntary leisure in compositions that were afterwards useful to the world [s].

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XVIII. The

it respectable, was involved in other affairs of a civil nature, which he had more at heart. Obligated to pass successively into *Flanders*, *England*, and *Spain*, to quell the seditions of his subjects, and to form new alliances against his great enemy and rival FRANCIS I., he lost sight of the edict of *Worms*, while all who had any regard to the liberties of the empire and the rights of the Germanic church treated this edict with the highest indignation, or the utmost contempt.

[s] This precaution of the humane and excellent elector, being put in execution the 3d of May, five days before the solemn publication of the edict of *Worms*, the pope missed his blow; and the adversaries of LUTHER became doubly odious to the people in *Germany*, who, unacquainted with the scheme of FREDERICK, and, not knowing what was become of their favourite reformer, imagined he was imprisoned, or perhaps destroyed, by the emissaries of *Rome*. In the mean time, LUTHER lived in peace and quiet in the castle of *Wartenberg*, where he translated a great part of the *New Testament* into the German language, and wrote frequent letters to his trusty friends and intimates to comfort them under his absence. Nor was his confinement here inconsistent with amusement and relaxation; for he enjoyed frequently the pleasure of hunting in company with his keepers, passing for a country gentleman, under the name of *Yonker George*.

☞ If we cast an eye upon the conduct of LUTHER, in this first scene of his trials, we shall find a true spirit of rational zeal,

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The conduct of
Luther
after his
leaving the
castle of
Wartenberg.

XVIII. The active spirit of LUTHER could not, however, long bear this confinement; he therefore left his *Palmas* in the month of March, of the year 1522, without the consent, or even the knowledge, of his patron and protector FREDERICK, and repaired to *Wittemberg*. One of the principal motives that engaged him to take this bold step, was the information he had received of the inconsiderate conduct of CARLOSTADT, and some other friends of the Reformation, who had already ex-

zeal, generous probity, and Christian fortitude, animating this reformer. In his behaviour, before and at the diet of *Worms*, we observe these qualities shine with a peculiar lustre, and tempered, notwithstanding LUTHER's warm complexion, with an unexpected degree of moderation and decent respect both for his civil and ecclesiastical superiors. When some of his friends, informed of the violent designs of the Roman court, and alarmed by the *bull* that had been published against him by the rash pontif, advised him not to expose his person at the diet of *Worms*, notwithstanding the imperial safe-conduct (which, in a similar case, had not been sufficient to protect JOHN HUSS and JEROME of *Prague* from the perfidy and cruelty of their enemies), he answered with his usual intrepidity, that *were he obliged to encounter at Worms as many devils as there were tiles upon the houses of that city, this would not deter him from his fixed purpose of appearing there; that fear, in his case, could be only a suggestion of Satan, who apprehended the approaching ruin of his kingdom, and who was willing to avoid a public defeat before such a grand assembly as the diet of Worms.* The fire and obstinacy that appeared in this answer seemed to prognosticate much warmth and vehemence in LUTHER's conduct at the assembly before which he was going to appear. But it was quite otherwise. He exposed with decency and dignity the superstitious doctrines and practices of the church of *Rome*, and the grievances that arose from the over-grown power of its pontif, and the abuse that was made of it. He acknowledged the writings with which he was charged, and offered, both with moderation and humility, to defend their contents. He desired the pope's legates and their adherents to hear him, to inform him, to reason with him; and solemnly offered, in presence of the assembled princes and bishops, to renounce his doctrines, if they were shown to be erroneous. But to all these expostulations he received no other answer, than the despotic dictates of mere authority, attended with injurious and provoking language.

cited

cited tumults in *Saxony*, and were acting in a manner equally prejudicial to the tranquillity of the state, and the true interests of the church.

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CARLOSTADT, professor at *Wittenberg*, was a man of considerable learning, who had pierced the veil, with which papal artifice and superstition had covered the truth, and, at the instigation of ECKIUS, had been excluded with LUTHER from the communion of the church. His zeal, however, was intemperate; his plans laid with temerity, and executed without moderation. During LUTHER'S absence, he threw down and broke the images of the saints that were placed in the churches, and instead of restraining the vehemence of a fanatical multitude, who had already begun in some places to abuse the precious liberty that was dawning upon them, he encouraged their ill-timed violence, and led them on to sedition and mutiny. LUTHER opposed the impetuosity of this imprudent reformer with the utmost fortitude and dignity, and wisely exhorted him and his adherents first to eradicate error from the minds of the people, before they made war upon its external ensigns in the churches and public places; since, the former being once removed, the latter must fall of course [†], and since the destruction
of

[†] Dr. MOSHEIM'S account of this matter is perhaps more advantageous to LUTHER than the rigorous demands of historical impartiality will admit of; the defects at least of the great reformer are here shaded with art. It is evident from several passages in the writings of LUTHER, that he was by no means averse to the use of images, but that, on the contrary, he looked upon them as adapted to excite and animate the devotion of the people. But, perhaps the true reason of LUTHER'S displeasure at the proceedings of CARLOSTADT, was, that he could not bear to see another crowned with the glory of executing a plan which he had laid, and that he was ambitious of appearing the principal, if not the only, conductor of this great work. This is not a mere conjecture. LUTHER himself has not taken the least pains to conceal this instance of his ambition;

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SECT. I. of the latter alone could be attended with no lasting fruits. To these prudent admonitions this excellent reformer added the influence of example, by applying himself with redoubled industry and zeal, to his German translation of the Holy Scriptures, which he carried on with expedition and success [u], with the assistance of some learned and pious men, whom he consulted in this great and important undertaking. The event abundantly shewed the wisdom of LUTHER's advice. For the different parts of this translation, being successively and gradually spread abroad among the people, produced sudden and almost incredible effects, and extirpated, root and branch, the erroneous principles and superstitious doctrines of the church of Rome from the minds of a prodigious number of persons.

Leo X. succeeded by
Adrian VI.
in the year
1522.
Diet of Nuremberg.

XIX. While these things were transacting, LEO X. departed this life, and was succeeded in the pontificate by ADRIAN VI., a native of *Utrecht*. This pope, who had formerly been preceptor to CHARLES V., and who owed his new dignity to the good offices of that prince, was a man of probity and candor, who acknowledged ingenuously that the church laboured under the most fatal dif-

ambition; and it appears evidently in several of his letters. On the other hand, it must be owned, that CARLOSTADT was rash, violent, and prone to enthusiasm, as appears by the connexions he formed afterwards with the fanatical anabaptists, headed by MUNZER. His contests with LUTHER about the eucharist, in which he manifestly maintained the truth, shall be mentioned in their proper place.

[u] On this German translation of the Bible, which contributed more than all other causes, taken together, to strengthen the foundations of the Lutheran church, we have an interesting history composed by JO. FRID. MAYER, and published in 4to at *Hamburg*, in the year 1751. A more ample one, however, was expected from the labours of the learned J. MELCHIOR KRAFT, but his death has disappointed our hopes. See JO. ALB. FABRICII *Centifolium Lutheran.* par. I. p. 147. & par. II. p. 617.

orders,

orders, and declared his willingness to apply the remedies that should be judged the most adapted to heal them [w]. He began his pontificate by sending a legate to the diet, which was assembled at *Nuremberg* in 1522. FRANCIS CHÈREGATO, the person who was intrusted with this commission, had positive orders to demand the speedy and vigorous execution of the sentence that had been pronounced against LUTHER and his followers at the diet of *Worms*; but, at the same time, he was authorised to declare that the pontif was ready to remove the abuses and grievances that had armed such a formidable enemy against the see of *Rome*. The princes of the empire, encouraged by this declaration on the one hand, and by the absence of the emperor, who, at this time, resided in *Spain*, on the other, seized this opportunity of proposing the summoning a general council in *Germany*, in order to deliberate upon the proper methods of bringing about an universal reformation of the church. They exhibited, at the same time, an hundred articles, containing the heaviest complaints of the injurious treatment the Germans had hitherto received from the court of *Rome*, and, by a public law, prohibited all innovation in religious matters, until a general council should decide what was to be done in an affair of such high moment and importance [x]. As long as the German princes were unacquainted with, or inattentive to, the measures that were taken in *Saxony* for founding a new church in direct opposition to that of *Rome*, they were zealously unanimous in their endeavours to set bounds to the papal authority and jurisdiction, which they all looked

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[w] See CASPAR. BURMANNI *Adrianus VI., sive Analecta Historica de Adriano VI. Papa Romano*, published at *Utrecht* in 4to, in the year 1727.

[x] See JAC. FRID. GEORGII *Gravamina Germanorum adversus Sedem Romanam*, lib. ii. p. 327.

upon

CENT. XVI.
SECT. I. upon as overgrown and enormous; nor were they at all offended at LUTHER's contest with the Roman pontif, which they considered as a dispute of a private and personal nature.

Clement
VII. elected
pope in the
year 1524.

XX. The good pope ADRIAN did not long enjoy the pleasure of sitting at the head of the church. He died in the year 1523, and was succeeded by CLEMENT VII., a man of a reserved character, and prone to artifice [y]. This pontif sent to the imperial diet at *Nuremberg*, in the year 1524, a cardinal-legate, named CAMPEGIUS, whose orders, with respect to the affairs of LUTHER, breathed nothing but severity and violence, and who inveighed against the lenity of the German princes in delaying the execution of the decree of *Worms*, while he carefully avoided the smallest mention of the promise ADRIAN had made to reform the corruptions of a superstitious church. The emperor seconded the demands of CAMPEGIUS by the orders he sent to his minister to insist upon the execution of the sentence which had been pronounced against LUTHER and his adherents at the diet of *Worms*. The princes of the empire, tired out by these importunities and remonstrances, changed in appearance the law they had passed, but confirmed it in reality. For while they promised to observe, as far as was possible, the edict of *Worms*, they, at the same time, renewed their demands of a general council, and left all other matters in dispute to be examined and decided at the diet that was soon to be assembled at *Spire*. The pope's legate, on the other hand, perceiving by these proceedings, that the German princes in general were no enemies to the Reformation, retired to *Ratisbon*, with the bishops and those of the princes that adhered to the cause

[y] See JAC. ZIEGLERI *Historia Clementis VII.* in Jo. GEORGII SCHELHORNII *Annotates Histor. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 210.

of *Rome*, and there drew from them a new declaration, by which they engaged themselves to execute rigorously the edict of *Worms* in their respective dominions.

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XI. While the efforts of LUTHER towards the reformation of the church were daily crowned with growing success, and almost all the nations seemed disposed to open their eyes upon the light, two unhappy occurrences, one of a foreign, and the other of a domestic nature, contributed greatly to retard the progress of this salutary and glorious work. The domestic, or internal incident, was a controversy concerning the *manner* in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the eucharist, that arose among those whom the Roman pontif had publicly excluded from the communion of the church, and unhappily produced among the friends of the good cause the most deplorable animosities and divisions. LUTHER and his followers, though they had rejected the monstrous doctrine of the church of *Rome* with respect to the *transubstantiation*, or change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of CHRIST, were nevertheless of opinion, that the partakers of the Lord's supper received, along with the bread and wine, the real body and blood of Christ. This, in their judgment, was a mystery, which they did not pretend to explain [z]. CARLOSTADT, who was LUTHER's colleague, understood the matter quite otherwise, and his doctrine, which was afterwards illustrated and

Carlostadt
and Zuing-
le.

☞ [z] LUTHER was not so modest as Dr. MOSHEIM here represents him. He pretended to explain his doctrine of the *real presence*, absurd and contradictory as it was, and uttered much senseless jargon on this subject. As in a red-hot iron, *said he*, two distinct substances, *viz.* iron and fire, are united, so is the body of CHRIST joined with the bread in the eucharist. I mention this miserable comparison to shew into what absurdities the towering pride of system will often betray men of deep sense and true genius.

confirmed

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confirmed by ZWINGLI with much more ingenuity than he had proposed it, amounted to this :
 " That the body and blood of Christ were not
 " really present in the eucharist ; and that the
 " bread and wine were no more than external
 " signs, or symbols, designed to excite in the
 " minds of Christians the remembrance of the
 " sufferings and death of the divine Saviour, and
 " of the benefits which arise from it [a]." This
 opinion was embraced by all the friends of the
 Reformation in *Switzerland*, and by a considerable
 number of its votaries in *Germany*. On the
 other hand, LUTHER maintained his doctrine, in
 relation to this point, with the utmost obstinacy ;
 and hence arose, in the year 1524, a tedious and
 vehement controversy, which, notwithstanding
 the zealous endeavours that were used to reconcile
 the contending parties, terminated, at length,
 in a fatal division between those who had embarked
 together in the sacred cause of religion
 and liberty.

The war of
the Peasants.

XXII. To these intestine divisions were added
 the horrors of a civil war, which was the fatal effect
 of oppression on the one hand, and of enthusiasm
 on the other ; and, by its unhappy consequences,
 was prejudicial to the cause and progress
 of the Reformation. In the year 1525, a prodigious
 multitude of seditious fanatics arose like a
 whirlwind, all of a sudden, in different parts of
Germany, took arms, united their forces, waged war

[a] See VAL. ERN. LOSCHER *Historia motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, par. I. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 55.—See also, on the other side of the question, SCULTET'S *Annales Evangelii*, published by VON DER HART, in his *Historia Liter. Reformat* p. 74.—RUD. HOSPINIANUS, and other reformed writers, who have treated of the origin and progress of this dispute — It appears from this representation (which is a just one) of the sentiments of ZWINGLI concerning the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's supper, that they were the same with those maintained by Bishop HOADLEY, in his *Plain Account of the Nature and Design of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*.

against the laws, the magistrates, and the empire in general, laid waste the country with fire and sword, and exhibited daily the most horrid spectacles of unrelenting barbarity. The greatest part of this furious and formidable mob was composed of peasants and vassals, who groaned under heavy burthens, and declared they were no longer able to bear the despotic severity of their chiefs; and hence this sedition was called the *Rustic war*, or the war of the peasants [b]. But it is also certain, that this motley crowd was intermixed with numbers, who joined in this sedition from different motives, some impelled by the suggestions of enthusiasm, and others by the profligate and odious view of rapine and plunder, of mending fortunes ruined by extravagant and dissolute living. At the first breaking out of this war, it seemed to have been kindled only by civil and political views; and agreeable to this is the general tenor of the *Declarations* and *Manifestoes* that were published by these rioters. The claims they made in these papers related to nothing farther than the diminution of the tasks imposed upon the Peasants, and to their obtaining a greater measure of liberty than they had hitherto enjoyed. Religion seemed to be out of the question; at least, it was not the object of deliberation or debate. But no sooner had the enthusiast MUNZER [c] put himself at the head of this outrageous rab-

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[b] These kinds of wars, or commotions, arising from the impatience of the Peasants, under the heavy burthens that were laid on them, were very common long before the time of LUTHER. Hence the author of the *Danish Chronicle* (published by the learned LUDWIG, in the ninth volume of his *Reliq. Mstorum*, p. 59.) calls these insurrections a *commun evil*. This will not appear surprising to such as consider, that in most places the condition of the peasants was much more intolerable and grievous before the reformation, than it is in our times; and that the tyranny and cruelty of the nobility, before that happy period, were excessive and insupportable.

[c] Or MUNSTER, as some call him.

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ble, than the face of things changed entirely, and by the instigation of this man, who had deceived numbers before this time by his pretended visions and inspirations, the civil commotions in *Saxony* and *Thuringia* were soon directed towards a new object, and were turned into a religious war. The sentiments, however, of this seditious and dissolute multitude were greatly divided, and their demands were very different. One part of them pleaded for an exemption from all laws, a licentious immunity from every sort of government; another, less outrageous and extravagant, confined their demands to a diminution of the taxes they were forced to pay, and of the burthens under which they groaned [*d*]; another insisted upon a new form of religious doctrine, government, and worship, upon the establishment of a pure and unspotted church, and, to add weight to this demand, pretended, that it was suggested by the Holy Ghost, with which they were divinely and miraculously inspired; while a very considerable part of this furious rabble were without any distinct view or any fixed purpose at all, but, infected with the contagious spirit of sedition, and exasperated by the severity of their magistrates and rulers, went on headlong, without reflection or foresight, into every act of violence and cruelty which rebellion and enthusiasm could suggest. So that, if it cannot be denied that many of these rioters had perversely misunderstood the doctrine of LUTHER concerning Christian liberty, and took occasion from thence of committing the disorders that rendered them so justly odious, yet, on the other hand, it would be a most absurd instance of partiality and injustice to charge that doctrine with the blame of those extravagant outrages that

[*d*] These burthens were the duties of vassalage or feudal services, which, in many respects, were truly grievous.

arose only from the manifest abuse of it. LUTHER, himself, has indeed sufficiently defended both his principles and his cause against any such imputations by the books he wrote against this turbulent sect, and the advice he addressed to the princes of the empire to take arms against them. And, accordingly, in the year 1525, this odious faction was defeated and destroyed, in a pitched battle fought at *Mulhausen*; and MUNZER, their ring-leader, taken, and put to death [e].

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XXIII. While this fanatical insurrection raged in *Germany*, FREDERICK *the Wise*, elector of *Saxony*, departed this life. This excellent prince, whose character was distinguished by an uncommon degree of prudence and moderation, had, during his life, been a sort of a mediator between the Roman pontif and the reformer of *Wittenberg*, and had always entertained the pleasing hope of restoring peace in the church, and of so reconciling the contending parties as to prevent a separation either in point of ecclesiastical jurisdiction or religious communion. Hence it was, that while, on the one hand, he made no opposition to LUTHER's design of reforming a corrupt and superstitious church, but rather encouraged him in the execution of this pious purpose; yet, on the other, it is remarkable, that he was at no pains to introduce any change into the churches that were established in his own dominions, nor to subject them to his jurisdiction. The elector JOHN, his brother and successor, acted in a quite different manner. Convinced of the truth of LUTHER's doctrine, and persuaded that it must lose ground and be soon suppressed if the despotic authority of the Roman pontif remained undisputed and entire, he, with-

Frederick
the Wise
dies, and is
succeeded by
John, 1525
—1527.

[e] PETRI GNODALII *Historia de Seditione repentina Vulgi, præcipu Rusticorum*, A. 1525, tempore quo, no per universam fere Germaniam exorta, Basil. 1570, in 8vo.—See also G. I. LENZELII *Histor. Reform.* tom. II. p. 331.

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out hesitation or delay, assumed to himself that supremacy in ecclesiastical matters that is the natural right of every lawful sovereign, and founded and established a church in his dominions, totally different from the church of *Rome*, in doctrine, discipline, and government. To bring this new and happy establishment to as great a degree of perfection as was possible, this resolute and active prince ordered a body of laws, relating to the form of ecclesiastical government; the method of public worship, the rank, offices, and revenues of the priesthood, and other matters of that nature, to be drawn up by LUTHER and MELANCTHON, and promulgated by heralds throughout his dominions in the year 1527. He also took care that the churches should every where be supplied with pious and learned doctors, and that such of the clergy as dishonoured religion by their bad morals, or were incapable of promoting its influence by their want of talents, should be removed from the sacred functions. The illustrious example of this elector was followed by all the princes and states of *Germany*, who renounced the papal supremacy and jurisdiction, and a like form of worship, discipline, and government was thus introduced into all the churches, which dissented from that of *Rome*. Thus may the elector JOHN be considered as the second parent and founder of the Lutheran church, which he alone rendered a complete and independent body, distinct from the superstitious church of *Rome*, and fenced about with salutary laws, with a wise and well-balanced constitution of government. But as the best blessings may, through the influence of human corruption, become the innocent occasions of great inconveniencies, such particularly was the fate of those wise and vigorous measures which this elector took for the reformation of the church; for, from that time, the religious differences between

tween the German princes, which had been hitherto kept within the bounds of moderation, broke out into a violent and lasting flame. The prudence, or rather timorousness, of *FREDERICK the Wise*, who avoided every resolute measure that might be adapted to kindle the fire of discord, had preserved a sort of an external union and concord among these princes, notwithstanding their difference in opinion. But as soon as his successor, by the open and undisguised steps he took, made it glaringly evident, that he designed to withdraw the churches in his dominions from the jurisdiction of *Rome*, and to reform the doctrine, discipline, and worship that had been hitherto established, then indeed the scene changed. The union, which was more specious than solid, and which was far from being well cemented, was dissolved of a sudden, the spirits heated and divided, and an open rupture formed between the German princes, of whom one party embraced the Reformation, and the other adhered to the superstitions of their forefathers.

XXIV. Things being reduced to this violent and troubled state, the patrons of popery gave intimations, that were far from being ambiguous, of their intention to make war upon the Lutheran party, and to suppress by *force* a doctrine which they were incapable of overturning by *argument*; and this design would certainly have been put in execution, had not the troubles of *Europe* disconcerted their measures. The Lutherans, on the other hand, informed of these hostile intentions, began also to deliberate upon the most effectual methods of defending themselves against superstition armed with violence, and formed the plan of a confederacy that might answer this prudent purpose. In the mean time the diet assembled at *Spire*, in the year 1526, at which *FERDINAND*, the emperor's brother, presided, ended in a man-

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The diet of
Spire in
1526.

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ner more favourable to the friends of the Reformation, than they could naturally expect. The emperor's ambassadors at this diet were ordered to use their most earnest endeavours for the suppression of all farther disputes concerning religion, and to insist upon the rigorous execution of the sentence that had been pronounced at *Worms* against LUTHER and his followers. The greatest part of the German princes opposed this motion with the utmost resolution, declaring, that they could not execute that sentence, nor come to any determination with respect to the doctrines by which it had been occasioned, before the whole matter was submitted to the cognizance of a general council lawfully assembled; alleging farther, that the decision of controversies of this nature belonged properly to such a council, and to it alone. This opinion, after long and warm debates, was adopted by a great majority, and, at length, consented to by the whole assembly; for it was unanimously agreed to present a solemn address to the emperor, beseeching him to assemble, without delay, a free and a general council; and it was also agreed, that, in the mean time, the princes and states of the empire should, in their respective dominions, be at liberty to manage ecclesiastical matters in the manner they should think the most expedient; yet so as to be able to give to God and to the emperor an account of their administration, when it should be demanded of them.

The progress of the reformation after the diet at *Spire*, 1527

XXV. Nothing could be more favourable to those who had the cause of pure and genuine Christianity at heart, than a resolution of this nature. For the emperor was, at this time, so entirely taken up in regulating the troubled state of his dominions in *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, which exhibited, from day to day, new scenes of perplexity, that, for some years, it was not in his power

power to turn his attention to the affairs of *Germany* in general, and still less to the state of religion in particular, which was beset with difficulties, that, to a political prince like CHARLES, must have appeared peculiarly critical and dangerous. Besides, had the emperor really been possessed of leisure to form, or of power to execute, a plan that might terminate, in favour of the Roman pontif, the religious disputes which reigned in *Germany*, it is evident, that the inclination was wanting, and that CLEMENT VII., who now sat in the papal chair, had nothing to expect from the good offices of CHARLES V. For this pontif, after the defeat of FRANCIS I., at the battle of *Pavia*, filled with uneasy apprehensions of the growing power of the emperor in *Italy*, entered into a confederacy with the French and the Venetians against that prince. And this measure inflamed the resentment and indignation of CHARLES to such a degree, that he abolished the papal authority in his Spanish dominions, made war upon the pope in *Italy*, laid siege to *Rome* in the year 1527, blocked up CLEMENT in the castle of *St. Angelo*, and exposed him to the most severe and contumelious treatment. These critical events, together with the liberty granted by the diet of *Spire*, were prudently and industriously improved, by the friends of the Reformation, to the advantage of their cause, and to the augmentation of their number. Several princes, whom the fear of persecution and punishment had hitherto prevented from lending a hand to the good work, being delivered now from their restraint, renounced publicly the superstition of *Rome*, and introduced among their subjects the same forms of religious worship, and the same system of doctrine, that had been received in *Saxony*. Others, though placed in such circumstances as discouraged them from acting in an open manner against the inter-

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 XVI. discovering the smallest opposition to those who
 S E C T. I. withdrew the people from his despotic yoke; nor
 did they molest the private assemblies of those who
 had separated themselves from the church of *Rome*.
 And in general, all the Germans, who, before
 these *resolutions* of the diet of *Spire*, had rejected
 the papal discipline and doctrine, were now, in
 consequence of the liberty they enjoyed by these
 resolutions, wholly employed in bringing their
 schemes and plans to a certain degree of consist-
 ence, and in adding vigour and firmness to the
 glorious cause in which they were engaged. In
 the mean time, LUTHER and his fellow-labourers,
 particularly those who were with him at *Witten-
 berg*, by their writings, their instructions, their ad-
 monitions and counsels, inspired the timorous with
 fortitude, dispelled the doubts of the ignorant,
 fixed the principles and resolution of the floating
 and inconstant, and animated all the friends of
 genuine Christianity with a spirit suitable to the
 grandeur of their undertaking.

Another
 diet held at
Spire, in the
 year 1529
 Origin of
 the deno-
 mination of
 protestants.

XXVI. But the tranquillity and liberty they en-
 joyed, in consequence of the resolutions taken in
 the first diet of *Spire*, were not of a long duration.
 They were interrupted by a new diet assembled,
 in the year 1529, in the same place, by the em-
 peror, after he had appeased the commotions and
 troubles which had employed his attention in se-
 veral parts of *Europe*, and concluded a treaty of
 peace with CLEMENT VII. This prince, having
 now got rid of the burthen that had, for some
 time, overwhelmed him, had leisure to direct
 the affairs of the church; and this the reformers
 soon felt, by a disagreeable experience. For the
 power, which had been granted by the former
 diet to every prince, of managing ecclesiastical
 matters as they thought proper, until the meet-
 ing of a general council, was now revoked by a
 majority

majority of votes; and not only so, but every change was declared unlawful that should be introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the established religion, before the determination of the approaching council was known [f]. This decree was justly considered as iniquitous and intolerable by the elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the other members of the diet, who were persuaded of the necessity of a reformation in the church. Nor was any of them so simple, or so little acquainted with the politics of *Rome*, as to look upon the promises of assembling speedily a general council, in any other light, than as an artifice to quiet the minds of the people; since it was easy to perceive, that a lawful council, free from the despotic influence of *Rome*, was the very last thing that a pope would grant in such a critical situation of affairs. Therefore, when the princes and members now mentioned found that all their arguments and remonstrances against this unjust decree made no impression upon *Ferdinand* [g], nor upon the abettors of the ancient superstitions (whom the pope's legate animated by his presence and exhortations), they entered a solemn *protest* against this decree on the 19th of April, and appealed to the emperor and to a future council [h]. Hence arose the denomination

[f] The resolution of the first diet of *Spire*, which had been taken *unanimously*, was revoked in the second, and another substituted in its place by a *placitum of voice*, which, as several of the princes, then present, observed, could not give to any decree the force of a law throughout the empire.

[g] The emperor was at *Barcelona*, while this diet was held at *Spire*; so that his brother *Ferdinand* was president in his place.

[h] The princes of the empire, who entered this protest, and are consequently to be considered as the first protestant princes, were *John* elector of *Saxony*, *George* elector of *Brandenburg*, for *Francia*, *Ernest* and *Francis* dukes of *Lunenburg*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the prince of *Anhalt*. These

C E N T. nation of *Protestants*, which from this period has
 XVI. been given to those who renounce the superstitious
 S E C T. I. communion of the church of *Rome*.

Leagues
 formed be-
 tween the
 protestants,

XXVII. The dissenting princes, who were the protectors and heads of the reformed churches, had no sooner entered their *protest*, than they sent proper persons to the emperor, who was then upon his passage from *Spain* to *Italy*, to acquaint him with their proceedings in this matter. The ministers, employed in this commission, executed the orders they had received with the greatest resolution and presence of mind, and behaved with the spirit and firmness of the princes, whose sentiments and conduct they were sent to justify and explain. The emperor, whose pride was wounded by this fortitude in persons that dared to oppose his designs, ordered these ambassadors to be apprehended and put under arrest during several days. The news of this violent step was soon brought to the protestant princes, and made them conclude that their personal safety, and the success of their cause, depended entirely upon their courage and concord, the one animated, and the other cemented by a solemn confederacy. They, therefore, held several meetings at *Rot*, *Nuremberg*, *Smalcald*, and other places, in order to deliberate upon the means of forming such a powerful league as might enable them to repel the violence of their enemies [i]. But so different were

These princes were seconded by thirteen imperial towns, *viz.* *Strasbourg*, *Ulm*, *Nuremberg*, *Constance*, *Rottingen*, *Windheim*, *Memmingen*, *Northingen*, *Landau*, *Kempten*, *Heilbronn*, *Wiessemburg*, and *St. Gall*.

[i] See the history of the confession of *Augsburg*, wrote in German by the learned CHRIST. AUG. SALIG. tom. i. book II. ch. i. p. 128. and more especially another German work of Dr. JOACHIM MÜLLER, entituled, *Historie von der Evangelischen Stände Protestation gegen den Speyerschen Reichsabscheid von 1529, Appellation, &c.* published at *Jena* in 4to, in the year 1703.

their opinions and views of things, that they could come to no satisfactory conclusion.

XXVIII. Among the incidents that promoted animosity and discord between the friends of the Reformation, and prevented that union that was so much to be desired between persons embarked in the same good cause, the principal one was the dispute that had arisen between the divines of *Saxony* and *Switzerland*, concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the *eucharist*. To terminate this controvery, PHILIP, landgrave of *Hesse*, invited, in the year 1529, to a conference at *Marpurg*, LUTHER and ZUINGLE, together with some of the more eminent doctors, who adhered to the respective parties of these contending chiefs. This expedient, which was designed by that truly *magnanimous* prince, not so much to end the matter by keen debate, as to accomodate differences by the reconciling spirit of charity and prudence, was not attended with the salutary fruits that were expected from it. The divines that were assembled for this pacific purpose disputed, during four days, in presence of the landgrave. The principal champions in these debates were LUTHER, who attacked OECOLAMPADIUS, and MELANCTHON, who disputed against ZUINGLE; and the controvery turned upon several points of theology, in relation to which the Swiss doctors were supposed to entertain erroneous sentiments. For ZUINGLE was accused of heresy, not only on account of his explication of the nature and design of the Lord's Supper, but also in consequence of the false notions he was supposed to have adopted, relating to the divinity of Christ, the efficacy of the divine word, original sin, and some other parts of the Christian doctrine. This illustrious reformer cleared himself, however, from the greatest part of these accusations, with the most triumphant evidence, and in such a manner as appeared en-

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The conference at
Marpurg, in
the year
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tirely

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tirely satisfactory, even to LUTHER himself. Their diffension concerning the manner of CHRIST's presence in the eucharist still remained; nor could either of the contending parties be persuaded to abandon, or even to modify, their opinion of that matter [k]. The only advantage, therefore, that resulted from this conference, was, that the jarring doctors formed a sort of truce, by agreeing to a mutual toleration of their respective sentiments, and leaving to the disposal of Providence, and the effects of time, which sometimes cools the rage of party, the cure of their divisions.

The diet of
Augsburg.

XXIX. The ministers of the churches, which had embraced the sentiments of LUTHER, were preparing a new embassy to the emperor, when an account was received of a design formed by that prince to come into *Germany*, with a view to terminate, in the approaching diet at *Augsburg*, the religious disputes that had produced such animosities and divisions in the empire. CHARLES, though long absent from *Germany*, and engaged in affairs that left him little leisure for theological disquisitions, was nevertheless attentive to these disputes, and foresaw their consequences. He had also, to his own deliberate reflexions upon these disputes, added the councils of men of wisdom, sagacity, and experience, and was thus, at certain seasons, rendered more cool in his proceedings, and more moderate and impartial in his opinion both of the contending parties and of the merits of the cause. He therefore, in an interview with the pope at *Bologna*, insisted, in the

[k] VAL. ERN. LOESCHER *Historia motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, tom. i. lib. i. cap. vi. p. 143.—HENR. BULLINGER *Historia Colloquii Marpurgensis*, in JO. CONR. FUSSLIN'S compilation, intituled, *Beiträgen zur Schweizer Reformat. Geschichte*, tom. iii. p. 156. See also the *Preface*, p. 80.—ARR. SCUITERI *Annal. Reformat. ad A. 1529*.—RUDOLPH. HOSPINIANI *Hyist. Sacramentar.* par. II. p. 72, &c.

most serious and urgent manner, upon the necessity of assembling a general council. His remonstrances and expostulations could not, however, move CLEMENT VII., who maintained with zeal the papal prerogatives, reproached the emperor with an ill-judged clemency, and alleged that it was the duty of that prince to support the church, and to execute speedy vengeance upon the obstinate heretical faction, who dared to call in question the authority of *Rome* and its pontif. The emperor was as little affected by this haughty discourse, as the pope had been by his wise remonstrances, and looked upon it as a most iniquitous thing, a measure also in direct opposition to the laws of the empire, to condemn, unheard, and to destroy, without any evidence of their demerit, a set of men, who had always approved themselves good citizens, and had deserved well of their country in several respects. Hitherto, indeed, it was not easy for the emperor to form a clear idea of the matters in debate, since there was no regular system as yet composed, of the doctrines embraced by LUTHER and his followers, by which their real opinions, and the true causes of their opposition to the Roman pontif, might be known with certainty. As, therefore, it was impossible, without some declaration of this nature, to examine with accuracy, or decide with equity, a matter of such high importance as that which gave rise to the divisions between the votaries of *Rome* and the friends of the Reformation, the elector of *Saxony* ordered LUTHER, and other eminent divines, to commit to writing the chief articles of their religious system, and the principal points in which they differed from the church of *Rome*. LUTHER, in compliance with this order, delivered to the elector, at *Torgaw*, the seventeen articles, which had been drawn up and agreed on in the conference at *Sulzbach* in the year 1529;

and

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and hence they were called the *articles of Torgaw* [1]. Though these articles were deemed by LUTHER a sufficient declaration of the sentiments of the reformers, yet it was judged proper to enlarge them; and, by a judicious detail, to give perspicuity to their arguments, and thereby strength to their cause. It was this consideration that engaged the protestant princes, assembled at *Coburg* and *Augsburg*, to employ MELLANCHTHON in extending these *Articles*, in which important work he shewed a due regard to the counsels of LUTHER, and expressed his sentiments and doctrine with the greatest elegance and perspicuity. And thus came forth to public view the famous *confession of Augsburg*, which did such honour to the acute judgment and the eloquent pen of MELLANCHTHON.

The progress of the reformation in Sweden, about the year 1530.

XXX. During these translations in Germany, the dawn of truth arose upon other nations. The light of the reformation spread itself far and wide; and almost all the European states welcomed its salutary beams, and exulted in the prospect of an approaching deliverance from the yoke of superstition and spiritual despotism. Some of the most considerable provinces of Europe had already broke their chains, and openly withdrawn themselves from the discipline of Rome and the jurisdiction of its pontif. And thus it appears that CLEMENT VII. was not impelled by a false alarm to demand of the emperor the speedy extirpation of the reformers, since he had the justest reasons to apprehend the destruction of his ghostly empire. The reformed religion was propagated in Sweden, soon after LUTHER's rupture with Rome, by one of his disciples, whose name was OLAUS PETRI, and who

[1] See CHR. AUG. HEUMANNI *Diff. de lenitate Augstanae Confess.* in *Sylloge Dissert. theologicar.* tom. i. p. 14.—JO. JOACH. MULLER *Historia Protestationis*; and the other writers, who have treated either of the Reformation in general, or of the confession of *Augsburg* in particular.

was the first herald of religious liberty in that kingdom. The zealous efforts of this missionary were powerfully seconded by that valiant and public-spirited prince, GUSTAVUS VASA ERICSON, whom the Swedes had raised to the throne in the place of CHRISTIERN, king of *Denmark*, whose horrid barbarity lost him the sceptre that he had perfidiously usurped. This generous and patriotic hero had been in exile and in prison, while the brutish usurper, now mentioned, was involving his country in desolation and misery; but having escaped from his confinement and taken refuge at *Lubec*, he was there instructed in the principles of the Reformation, and looked upon the doctrine of LUTHER, not only as agreeable to the genius and spirit of the Gospel, but also as favourable to the temporal state and political constitution of the Swedish dominions. The prudence, however, of this excellent prince was equal to his zeal, and accompanied it always. And, as the religious opinions of the Swedes were in a fluctuating state, and their minds divided between their ancient superstitions, recommended by custom, and the doctrine of LUTHER, which attracted their assent by the power of conviction and truth, GUSTAVUS wisely avoided all vehemence and precipitation in spreading the new doctrine, and proceeded in this important undertaking with circumspection, and by degrees, in a manner suitable to the principles of the Reformation, which are diametrically opposite to compulsion and violence [*m*]. Accordingly,

✞ [*m*] This incomparable model of princes gave many proofs of his wisdom and moderation. Once, while he was absent from *Stockholm*, a great number of German anabaptists, probably the riotous disciples of *Munzer*, arrived in that city, carried their fanaticism to the highest extremities, pulled down with fury the images and other ornaments of the churches, while the *Lutherans* dissembled their sentiments of this riot in expectation that the storm would turn to their advantage. But

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ingly, the first object of his attention was the instruction of his people in the sacred doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, for which purpose he invited into his dominions several learned Germans, and spread abroad through the kingdom the Swedish translation of the Bible that had been made by OLAUS PETRI [n]. Some time after this, in the year 1526, he appointed a conference, at *Upsal*, between this eminent reformer and PETER GALILIUS, a zealous defender of the ancient superstition, in which these two champions were to plead publicly in behalf of their respective opinions, that it might thus be seen on which side the truth lay. The dispute, in which OLAUS obtained a signal victory, contributed much to confirm GUSTAVUS in his persuasion of the truth of LUTHER's doctrine, and to promote the progress of that doctrine in *Sweden*. In the year following, another event gave the finishing stroke to its propagation and success, and this was the assembly of the states at *Weslerraas*, where GUSTAVUS recommended the doctrine of the reformers with such zeal, wisdom, and piety, that, after warm debates fomented by the clergy in general, and much opposition on the part of the bishops in particular, it was unanimously resolved, that the plan of reformation proposed by LUTHER should have

GUSTAVUS no sooner returned to *Stockholm*, than he ordered the leaders of these fanatics to be seized and punished, and covered the Lutherans with bitter reproaches for not having opposed these fanatics in time.

☞ [n] It is very remarkable, and shews the equity and candour of GUSTAVUS in the most striking point of light, that while he ordered OLAUS to publish his literal translation of the sacred writings, he gave permission at the same time to the archbishop of *Upsal*, to prepare another version suited to the doctrine of the church of *Rome*; that, by a careful comparison of both translations with the original, an easier access might be opened to the truth. The bishops at first opposed this order, but were at length obliged to submit.

free

free admittance among the Swedes [o]. This resolution was principally owing to the firmness and magnanimity of GUSTAVUS, who declared publicly, that he would lay down his sceptre and retire from his kingdom, rather than rule a people enslaved to the orders and authority of the pope, and more controlled by the tyranny of their bishops, than by the laws of their monarch [p]. From this time the papal empire in Sweden was entirely overturned, and GUSTAVUS declared head of the church.

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XXXI. The light of the Reformation was also received in *Denmark*, and that so early as the year 1521, in consequence of the ardent desire discovered by CHRISTIAN or CHRISTIERN II., of having

In *Denmark*.

[o] It was no wonder indeed that the bishops opposed warmly the proposal of GUSTAVUS, since there was no country in *Europe*, where that order and the clergy in general drew greater temporal advantages from the superstition of the times than in *Sweden* and *Denmark*. The most of the bishops had revenues superior to those of the sovereign, they possessed castles and fortresses that rendered them independent on the crown, enabled them to excite commotions in the kingdom, and gave them a degree of power that was dangerous to the state. They lived in the most dissolute luxury and overgrown opulence, while the nobility of the kingdom were in misery and want.—The resolution formed by the states, assembled at *Weslergaas*, did not so much tend to regulate points of doctrine as to reform the discipline of the church, to reduce the opulence and authority of the bishops within their proper bounds, to restore to the impoverished nobility the lands and possessions that their superstitious ancestors had given to an all-devouring clergy, to exclude the prelates from the senate, to take from them their castles, and things of that nature. It was however resolved at the same time, that the church should be provided with able pastors, who should explain the pure word of God to the people in their native tongue; and that no ecclesiastical preferments should be granted without the king's permission. This was a tacit and gentle method of promoting the Reformation.

[p] BAZII *Inventarium Eccles. Sueco-Gothor.* published in 4to at *Lincoping*, in 1642.—SCULTERI *Annales Evangelii Renovati*, in VON DER HART *Hist. Liter. Reformat.* part V. p. 84 et 110.—RAYNAL, *Anecdotes Hist. Politiques et Militaires*, tom. i. part II. p. 1, &c.

C E N T. his subjects instructed in the principles and
 X V I doctrines of LUTHER. This monarch, whose
 S E C T . I. savage and infernal cruelty (whether it was the
 effect of natural temper, or of bad counsels) rendered his name odious and his memory execrable, was nevertheless desirous of delivering his dominions from the superstition and tyranny of *Rome*. For this purpose, in the year 1520, he sent for MARTIN REINARD, one of the disciples of CARLOSTADT, out of *Saxony*, and appointed him professor of divinity at *Hafnia*; and after his death, which happened the year following, he invited CARLOSTADT himself to fill that important place, which he accepted indeed, but nevertheless, after a short residence in *Denmark*, returned into *Germany*. These disappointments did not abate the reforming spirit of the Danish monarch, who used his utmost endeavours, though in vain, to engage LUTHER to visit his dominions, and took several steps that tended to the diminution, and, indeed, to the suppression of the jurisdiction exercised over his subjects by the Roman pontif. It is, however, proper to observe, that in all these proceedings CHRISTIERN II. was animated by no other motive than that of ambition. It was the prospect of extending his authority, and not a zeal for the advancement of true religion, that gave life and vigour to his reforming projects. His very actions, independently of what may be concluded from his known character, evidently shew that he protected the religion of LUTHER with no other view than to rise by it to supremacy both in church and state; and that it might afford him a pretext for depriving the bishops of that overgrown authority and those ample possessions which they had gradually usurped [q], and of ap-

[q] See JO. GRAMMII *Diff. de Reformatione Danicæ à Christiismo tentata*, in the third volume of the *Scriptores Societ. Scientiar. Hafniens.* p. 1.—90.

appropriating them to himself. A revolution produced by his avarice, tyranny, and cruelty, prevented the execution of this bold enterprize. The States of the kingdom exasperated, some by the schemes he had laid for destroying the liberty of *Denmark*, others by his attempts to abolish the superstition of their ancestors [r], and all by his savage and barbarous treatment of those who dared to oppose his avarice or ambition, formed a conspiracy against him in the year 1523, by which he was deposed and banished from his dominions, and his uncle, *FREDERIC* duke of *Holstein* and *Sleswic*, placed on the throne of *Denmark*.

XXXII. This prince conducted matters with much more equity, prudence, and moderation, than his predecessor had done. He permitted the protestant doctors to preach publicly the opinions of *LUTHER* [s], but did not venture so far as to change the established government and discipline of the church. He contributed, however, greatly to the progress of the Reformation, by his successful attempts in favour of religious liberty, at the assembly of the states that was held at *Odense* in the year 1527. For it was here that he procured the publication of that famous edict, which declared every subject of *Denmark* free, either to adhere to the tenets of the church of *Rome*, or to

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The progress of the Reformation under the reign of *FREDERIC* and *CHRISTIAN* III.

[r] See for a confirmation of this part of the accusation, a curious piece, containing the reasons that induced the states of *Denmark* to renounce their allegiance to *CHRISTIAN* II. This piece is to be found in the fifth volume of *LUDEWIG*'s compilation, entitled *Reliquiæ Mstorum*, p. 515. in which (p. 321.) the states of *Denmark* express their displeasure at the royal favour shown to the Lutherans, in the following terms; *Lutheranæ hæresis pullatores, contra jus pietatemque, in regnum nostrum catholicum introduxit, acoriorem Caroleostadium, fortissimum Lutheri athletam, enutrivit.*

[s] See *JO. MOLLER* *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 386.—*CARIST. OLIVARI* *Vita Pauli Eliæ*, p. 108.—*ERICI PONTOPPIDANI Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ*, tom. iii. p. 139.

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embrace the doctrine of LUTHER [1]. Encouraged by this resolution, the protestant divines exercised the functions of their ministry with such zeal and success, that the greatest part of the Danes opened their eyes upon the auspicious beams of sacred liberty, and abandoned gradually both the doctrines and jurisdiction of the church of *Rome*. But the honour of finishing this glorious work, of destroying entirely the reign of superstition, and breaking asunder the bonds of papal tyranny, was reserved for CHRISTIERN III., a prince equally distinguished by his piety and prudence. He began by suppressing the despotic authority of the bishops, and by restoring to their lawful owners a great part of the wealth and possessions which the church had acquired by the artful stratagems of the crafty and designing clergy. This step was followed by a wise and well-judged settlement of religious doctrine, discipline, and worship, throughout the kingdom, according to a plan laid down by BUGENHAGIUS, whom the king had sent for from *Wittenberg* to perform that arduous task, for which his eminent piety, learning, and moderation rendered him peculiarly proper. The assembly of the states at *Odense*, in the year 1539, gave a solemn sanction to all these transactions; and thus the work of the Reformation was brought to perfection in *Denmark* [u].

XXXIII. It

☞ [1] It was farther added to this edict, that no person should be molested on account of his religion, that a royal protection should be granted to the Lutherans to defend them from the insults and malignity of their enemies; and that ecclesiastics, of whatever rank or order, should be permitted to enter into the married state, and to fix their residence wherever they thought proper, without any regard to monasteries or other religious societies.

[u] ERICI PONTOPPIDANI, see a German work of the learned PONTOPPIDAN, entitled, *A Compendious view of the History of the Reformation in Denmark*, published at *Lubec* in 8vo, in 1734; as also the *Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ*, of the same

XXXIII. It is however to be observed, that, in the history of the reformation of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, we must carefully distinguish between the reformation of religious opinions and the reformation of the episcopal order. For though these two things may appear to be closely connected, yet, in reality, they are so far distinct, that either of the two might have been completely transacted without the other. A reformation of doctrine might have been effected without diminishing the authority of the bishops, or suppressing their order; and, on the other hand, the opulence and power of the bishops might have been reduced within proper bounds, without introducing any change into the system of doctrine that had been so long established, and that was generally received [w]. In the measures taken in these northern kingdoms, for the reformation of a corrupt doctrine and a superstitious discipline, there was nothing that deserved the smallest censure: neither fraud nor violence were employed for this purpose; on the contrary, all things were conducted with wisdom and moderation, in a manner suitable to the dictates of equity and the spirit of Christianity. The same judgment cannot easily be pronounced with respect to the methods of proceeding in the reformation of the clergy, and more especially of the episcopal order. For here,

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A distinction to be observed when we speak of the reformation of *Sweden* and *Denmark*.

same author, tom. ii. p. 790. tom. iii. p. 1. — HENR. MUHLIUS *de Reformat. religionis in vicinis Daniæ regionibus et potissimum in Cimbrica*, in ejus *Dissertationibus Historico-Theologicis*, p. 24. *Kilia*, 1715, in 4to.

[w] This observation is not worthy of Dr. MOSHEIM's sagacity. The strong connexion, that there naturally is between superstitious ignorance among the people, and influence and power in their spiritual rulers, is too evident to stand in need of any proof. A good clergy will or ought to have an influence, in consequence of a respectable office adorned with learning, piety, and morals; but the power of a licentious and despotic clergy can be only supported by the blind and superstitious credulity of their flock.

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certainly, violence was used, and the bishops were deprived of their honours, privileges, and possessions, without their consent; and, indeed, notwithstanding the greatest struggles and the warmest opposition [x]. The truth is, that so far as the reformation in *Sweden* and *Denmark* regarded the privileges and possessions of the bishops, it was rather a matter of political expediency than of religious obligation; nay, a change here was become so necessary, that, had LUTHER and his doctrine never appeared in the world, it must have been nevertheless attempted by a wise legislator. For the bishops, by a variety of perfidious stratagems, had got into their hands such

☞ [x] What does Dr. MOSHEIM mean here? did ever a usurper give us his unjust possessions without reluctance? does rapine constitute a right, when it is maintained by force? is it unlawful to use violence against extortioners? The question here is, whether or no the bishops deserved the severe treatment they received from CHRISTIERN III.? and our author seems to answer this question in the affirmative, and to declare this treatment both just and necessary in the following part of this section. Certain it is, that the bishops were treated with great severity, deposed from their sees, imprisoned on account of their resistance; all the church-lands, towns, and fortresses, annexed to the crown, and the temporal power of the clergy for ever abolished. It is also certain, that LUTHER himself looked upon these measures as violent and excessive, and even wrote a letter to CHRISTIERN, exhorting him to use the clergy with more lenity. It is therefore proper to decide with moderation on this subject, and to grant, that, if the insolence and licentiousness of the clergy were enormous, the resentment of the Danish monarch may have been excessive. Nor indeed was his political prudence here so great as Dr. MOSHEIM seems to represent it; for the equipoise of government was hurt, by a total suppression of the power of the bishops. The nobility acquired by this a prodigious degree of influence, and the crown lost an order, which, under proper regulations, might have been rendered one of the strongest supports of its prerogative. But disquisitions of this nature are foreign to our purpose. It is only proper to observe, that, in the room of the bishops, CHRISTIERN created an order of men, with the denomination of *superintendants*, who performed the spiritual part of the episcopal office, without sharing the least shadow of temporal authority.

enormous treasures, such ample possessions, so many castles and fortified towns, and had assumed such an unlimited and despotic authority, that they were in a condition to give law to the sovereign himself, to rule the nation as they thought proper; and, in effect, already abused their power so far as to appropriate to themselves a considerable part of the royal patrimony, and of the public revenues of the kingdom. Such therefore was the critical state of these northern kingdoms, in the time of LUTHER, that it became absolutely necessary, either to degrade the bishops from that rank which they dishonoured, and to deprive them of the greatest part of those possessions and prerogatives which they had so unjustly acquired and so licentiously abused, or to see, tamely, royalty rendered contemptible by its weakness, the sovereign deprived of the means of protecting and succouring his people, and the commonwealth exposed to rebellion, misery, and ruin.

XXXIV. The kingdom of *France* was not inaccessible to the light of the Reformation. MARGARET queen of *Navarre*, sister to FRANCIS I., the implacable enemy and perpetual rival of CHARLES V., was extremely favourable to the new doctrine, which delivered pure and genuine Christianity from a great part of the superstitions under which it had so long lain disguised. The auspicious patronage of this illustrious princess encouraged several pious and learned men, whose religious sentiments were the same with her's, to propagate the principles of the Reformation in *France*, and even to erect several protestant churches in that kingdom. It is manifest from the most authentic records, that, so early as the year 1523, there were, in several of the provinces of that country, multitudes of persons, who had conceived the utmost aversion both against the

The rise and
progress of
the reformation
in
France.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I. doctrine and tyranny of *Rome*, and among these, many persons of rank and dignity, and even some of the episcopal order. As their numbers increased from day to day, and troubles and commotions were excited in several places on account of religious differences, the authority of the monarch and the cruelty of his officers intervened, to support the doctrine of *Rome* by the edge of the sword and the terrors of the gibbet; and on this occasion many persons, eminent for their piety and virtue, were put to death with the most unrelenting barbarity [y]. This cruelty, instead of retarding, accelerated rather the progress of the Reformation. It is nevertheless true, that, under the reign of FRANCIS I., the restorers of genuine Christianity were not always equally successful and happy. Their situation was extremely uncertain, and it was perpetually changing. Sometimes they seemed to enjoy the auspicious shade of royal protection; at others they groaned under the weight of persecution, and at certain seasons they were forgot, which oblivion rendered their condition tolerable. FRANCIS, who had either no religion at all, or, at best, no fixed and consistent system of religious principles, conducted himself towards the protestants in such a manner as answered his private and personal views, or as reasons of policy and a public interest seemed to require. When it became necessary to engage in his cause the German protestants, in order to foment sedition and rebellion against his mortal enemy CHARLES V., then did he treat the protestants in *France* with the utmost equity, humanity, and gentleness; but so soon as he had gained his point, and had no more occasion for their services, then he threw

[y] See BEZE, *Histoire des Eglises Reformées de France*, tom. i. livr. i. p. 5.—BENOÎT, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, livr. i. p. 6.—CHRIST. AUG. SALIG. *Hist. August. Confession*, vol. ii. p. 190.

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

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About this time the famous CALVIN, whose character, talents, and religious exploits, we shall have occasion to dwell upon more amply in the course of this history, began to draw the attention of the public, but more especially of the queen of *Navarre*. He was born at *Noyon* in *Picardy*, on the 10th of July 1509, and was bred up to the law [a], in which, as well as in all the other branches of literature, then known, his studies were attended with the most rapid and amazing success. Having acquired the knowledge of religion, by a diligent perusal of the holy scriptures, he began early to perceive the necessity of reforming the established system of doctrine and worship. His zeal exposed him to various perils, and the connexions he had formed with the friends of the Reformation, whom FRANCIS I. was daily committing to the flames, placed him more than once in imminent danger, from which he was delivered by the good offices of the excellent queen

☞ [z] The inconsistency and contradiction that were visible in the conduct of FRANCIS I. may be attributed to various reasons. At one time, we see him resolved to invite ME-LANTHON into *France*, probably with a view to please his sister the queen of *Navarre*, whom he loved tenderly, and who had strongly imbibed the principles of the protestants. At another time, we behold him exercising the most infernal cruelty towards the friends of the Reformation, and hear him making that mad declaration, *that, if he thought the blood in his arm was tainted with the Lutheran heresy, he would have it cut off; and that he would not spare even his own children, if they entertained sentiments contrary to those of the catholic church.* See FLOR. DE REMOND, *Hist. de la Naissance et du Progres de l'Herese*, livr. vii.

☞ [a] He was originally designed for the church, and had actually obtained a benefice: but the light that broke in upon his religious sentiments, as well as the preference given by his father to the profession of the law, induced him to give up his ecclesiastic vocation, which he afterwards resumed in a purer church.

of

G E N T. of Navarre. To escape the impending storm, he
XVI. retired to *Basil*, where he published his *Christian*
S E C T. I. *institutions*; and prefixed to them that famous
dedication to FRANCIS I. which has attracted
universally the admiration of succeeding ages,
and which was designed to soften the unrelenting
fury of that prince, against the protestants [b].

And in the
other states
of Europe.

XXXV. The instances of an opposition to the doctrine and discipline of *Rome* in the other European states, were few in number, before the diet of *Augsburg*, and were too faint, imperfect, and ambiguous to make much noise in the world. It, however, appears from the most authentic testimonies, that, even before that period, the doctrine of LUTHER had made a considerable, though perhaps a secret, progress in *Spain*, *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Britain*, *Poland*, and the *Netherlands*, and had, in all these countries, many friends, of whom several repaired to *Wiltemberg*, to improve their knowledge and enlarge their views under such an eminent master. Some of these countries openly broke asunder the chains of superstition, and withdrew themselves, in a public and constitutional manner, from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontif. In others, a prodigious number of families received the light of the blessed Reformation, rejected the doctrines and authority of *Rome*; and, notwithstanding the calamities and persecutions they have suffered, on account of their sentiments, under the sceptre of bigotry and

✎ [b] This paragraph, relating to CALVIN, is added to Dr. MOSHEIM's text by the translator, who was surprized to find, in a History of the Reformation, such late mention made of one of its most distinguished and remarkable instruments; a man whose extensive genius, flowing eloquence, immense learning, extraordinary penetration, indefatigable industry, and fervent piety, placed him at the head of the reformers; all of whom he surpassed, at least, in learning and parts, as he also did the most of them, in obstinacy, asperity, and turbulence.

superstition,

superstition, continue still in the profession of the pure doctrine of Christianity; while in other, still more unhappy, lands, the most barbarous tortures, the most infernal spirit of cruelty, together with penal laws adapted to strike terror into the firmest minds, have extinguished, almost totally, the light of religious truth. It is, indeed, certain, and the Roman catholics themselves acknowledge it without hesitation, that the papal doctrines, jurisdiction, and authority, would have fallen into ruin in all parts of the world, had not the force of the secular arm been employed to support this tottering edifice, and fire and sword been let loose upon those who were assailing it only with reason and argument.

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C H A P. III.

The History of the Reformation, from the time that the confession of Augsburg was presented to the emperor, until the commencement of the war which succeeded the league of Smalcald.

I. CHARLES V. arrived at *Augsburg* the 15th of June 1530, and on the 20th day of the same month, the diet was opened. As it was unanimously agreed, that the affairs of religion should be brought upon the carpet before the deliberations relating to the intended war with the Turks, the protestant members of this great assembly received from the emperor a formal permission to present to the diet, on the 25th of June, an account of their religious principles and tenets. In consequence of this, CHRISTIAN BAYER, chancellor of *Saxony*, read, in the German language, in presence of the emperor and the assembled princes, the famous confession, which has been since

The confession of *Augsburg* presented to Charles V.

CENT. since distinguished by the denomination of the
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 SECT. I. *confession of Augsburg*. The princes heard it with
 the deepest attention and recollection of mind ;
 it confirmed some in the principles they had embraced, surprised others, and many, who, before this time, had little or no idea of the religious sentiments of LUTHER, were now not only convinced of their innocence, but were, moreover, delighted with their purity and simplicity. The copies of this *confession*, which, after being read, were delivered to the emperor, were signed and subscribed by JOHN, elector of *Saxony*, by four princes of the empire, GEORGE, marquis of *Brandenburg*, ERNEST, duke of *Lunenbourg*, PHILIP, landgrave of *Hesse*, WOLFGANG, prince of *Anhalt*, and by the imperial cities of *Nuremburg* and *Reutlingen*, who all thereby solemnly declared their assent to the doctrines contained in it [c].

The nature
 and contents
 of the confession
 of
Augsburg.

II. The tenor and contents of the confession of *Augsburg* are well known ; at least, by all who have the smallest acquaintance with ecclesiastical history ; since that confession was adopted by the whole body of the *protestants* as the rule of their faith. The style that reigns in it is plain, elegant, grave, and perspicuous, such as becomes the nature of the subject, and such as might be expected from the admirable pen of MELANCTHON. The *matter* was, undoubtedly, supplied by LUTHER, who, during the diet, resided at *Coburg*, a town

[c] There is a very voluminous history of this diet, which was published in the year 1577, in *folio*, at *Francfort on Oder*, by the laborious GEORGE CELESTINE. The history of the *Confession of Augsburg* was composed, in *Latin*, by DAVID CHYTRÆUS, and more recently, in *German*, by ERN. SOLOM. CYPRIAN and CHRISTOPHER AUG. SALIG. The performance of the latter is rather, indeed, a history of the *Reformation* in general, than of the *Confession of Augsburg* in particular. That of CYPRIAN is more concise and elegant, and is confirmed by original pieces, which are equally authentic and curious.

in the neighbourhood of *Augsburg*; and, even the *form* it received from the eloquent pen of his colleague, was authorised in consequence of his approbation and advice. This *confession* contains twenty-eight chapters, of which the greatest part [*d*] are employed in representing, with perspicuity and truth, the religious opinions of the protestants, and the rest in pointing out the errors and abuses that occasioned their separation from the church of *Rome* [*e*].

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III. The creatures of the Roman pontif, who were present at this diet, employed JOHN FABER, afterwards bishop of *Vienna*, together with ECKIUS and another doctor, named COCHLÆUS, to draw up a refutation of this famous confession. This pretended refutation having been read publicly in the assembly, the emperor demanded of the protestant members that they would acquiesce in it, and put an end to their religious debates by an unlimited submission to the doctrines and opinions contained in this answer. But this demand was

The Roman catholics attempt a refutation of the confession of *Augsburg*.

[*d*] Twenty-one chapters were so employed; the other seven contained a detail of the errors and superstitions of the church of *Rome*.

[*e*] It is proper to observe here, that, while the Lutherans presented their *Confession* to the diet, another excellent *Remonstrance* of the same nature was addressed to this august assembly by the cities of *Straßburg*, *Constance*, *Memingen*, and *Lindaw*, which had rejected the errors and jurisdiction of *Rome*, but did not enter into the Lutheran league, because they adopted the opinions of ZUINGLE in relation to the eucharist. The declaration of these four towns (which was called the *Tetrapolitan Confession*, on account of their number) was drawn up by the excellent MARTIN BUCER, and was considered as a masterpiece of reasoning and eloquence, not only by the protestants, but even by several of the Roman-catholics; and among others by Mr. DUPIN. ZUINGLE also sent to this diet a private confession of his religious opinions. It is however remarkable, that though BUCER composed a separate *Remonstrance*, yet his name appears among the subscribers at *Smalcald*, in the year 1537, to the confession of *Augsburg*, and to MELANCTHON'S defence of it.

far

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far from being complied with. The protestants declared, on the contrary, that they were by no means satisfied with the reply of their adversaries, and earnestly desired a copy of it, that they might demonstrate more fully its extreme insufficiency and weakness. This reasonable request was refused by the emperor, who, on this occasion, as well as on several others, shewed more regard to the importunity of the pope's legate and his party, than to the demands of equity, candour, and justice. He even interposed his supreme authority to suspend any further proceeding in this matter, and solemnly prohibited the publication of any new writings or declarations that might contribute to lengthen out these religious debates. This, however, did not reduce the *protestants* to silence. The divines of that communion, who had been present at the diet, endeavoured to recollect the arguments and objections employed by FABER, and had again recourse to the pen of MELANCTHON, who refuted them, in an ample and satisfactory manner, in a learned piece that was presented to the emperor on the 22d of September, but which that prince refused to receive. This *answer* was afterwards enlarged by MELANCTHON, when he had obtained a copy of FABER's reply, and was published in the year 1531, with the other pieces that related to the doctrine and discipline of the Lutheran church, under the title of *A defence of the confession of Augsburg*.

Deliberations concerning the method to be used in terminating these religious dissensions.

IV. There were only three ways left of bringing to a conclusion these religious differences, which, it was, in reality, most difficult to reconcile. The first and the most rational method was, to grant to those who refused to submit to the doctrine and jurisdiction of *Rome*, the liberty of following their private judgment in matters of a religious nature, the privilege of serving God according

according to the dictates of their conscience, and all this in such a manner that the public tranquillity should not be disturbed. The second, and, at the same time, the shortest and most iniquitous expedient, was to end these dissensions by military apostles, who, sword in hand, should force the protestants to return to the bosom of the church, and to court the papal yoke, which they had so magnanimously thrown off their necks. Some thought of a middle way, which lay equally remote from the difficulties that attended the two methods now mentioned, and proposed that a reconciliation should be made upon fair, candid, and equitable terms, by engaging each of the contending parties to temper their zeal with moderation, to abate reciprocally the rigour of their pretensions, and remit some of their respective claims. This method, which seemed agreeable to the dictates of reason, charity, and justice, was highly approved of by several wise and good men, on both sides; but it was ill-suited to the arrogant ambition of the Roman pontif, and the superstitious ignorance of the times, which beheld with horror, whatever tended to introduce the sweets of religious liberty, or the exercise of private judgment. The second method, even the use of violence, and the terrors of the sword, was more agreeable to the spirit and sentiments of the age, and was peculiarly suited to the despotic genius and sanguine counsels of the court of *Rome*; but the emperor had prudence and equity enough to make him reject it, and it appeared shocking to those who were not lost to all sentiments of justice or moderation. The third expedient was therefore most generally approved of; it was peculiarly agreeable to all who were zealous for the interests and tranquillity of the empire, nor did the Roman pontif seem to look upon it either with aversion or contempt. Hence various conferences

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CENT. ferences were held between persons of eminence,
 XVI. piety, and learning, who were chosen for that
 SECT. I. purpose from both sides, and nothing was omitted
 ————— that might have the least tendency to calm the animosity, heal the divisions, and unite the hearts of the contending parties [f]; but all to no purpose, since the difference between their opinions was too considerable, and of too much importance, to admit of a reconciliation. It was in these conferences that the spirit and character of MELANCTHON appeared in their true and genuine colours; and it was here that the votaries of *Rome* exhausted their efforts to gain over to their party this pillar of the Reformation, whose abilities and virtues added such a lustre to the protestant cause. This humane and gentle spirit was apt to sink into a kind of yielding softness under the influence of mild and generous treatment. And, accordingly, while his adversaries soothed him with fair words and flattering promises, he seemed to melt as they spoke, and, in some measure, to comply with their demands: but when they so far forgot themselves as to make use of imperious language and menacing terms, then did MELANCTHON appear in a very different

☞ [f] As in the confession of *Augsburg* there were three sorts of articles, one sort orthodox, and adopted by both sides; another that consisted of certain propositions, which the papal party considered as ambiguous and obscure; and a third, in which the doctrine of LUTHER was entirely opposite to that of *Rome*; this gave some reason to hope that, by the means of certain concessions and modifications, conducted mutually by a spirit of candour and charity, matters might be accommodated at last. For this purpose, select persons were appointed to carry on this salutary work, at first seven from each party, consisting of princes, lawyers, and divines, which number was afterwards reduced to three. LUTHER's obstinate, stubborn, and violent temper, rendering him unfit for healing divisions, he was not employed in these conferences, but he was constantly consulted by the protestant party; and it was with a view to this that he resided at *Coburg*.

point

point of light; then a spirit of intrepidity, ardor, and independence animated all his words and actions, and he looked down with contempt on the threats of power, the frowns of fortune, and the fear of death. The truth is, that, in this great and good man, a soft and yielding temper was joined with the most inviolable fidelity, and the most invincible attachment to the truth.

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V. This reconciling method of terminating the religious debates, between the friends of liberty and the votaries of *Rome*, proving ineffectual, the latter had recourse to other measures, which were suited to the iniquity of the times, though they were equally disavowed by the dictates of reason and the precepts of the gospel. These measures were, the force of the secular arm, and the authority of imperial edicts. On the 19th day of November, a severe decree was issued out, by the express order of the emperor, during the absence of the Hessian and Saxon princes, who were the chief supporters of the protestant cause; and, in this decree, every thing was manifestly adapted to deject the friends of religious liberty, if we except a faint and dubious promise of engaging the pope to assemble (in about six months after the separation of the diet) a general council. The dignity and excellence of the papal religion are extolled, beyond measure, in this partial decree, a new decree of severity and force added to that which had been published at *Worms* against LUTHER and his adherents; the changes that had been introduced into the doctrine and discipline of the protestant churches, severely censured; and a solemn order addressed to the princes, states, and cities, that had thrown off the papal yoke, to return to their duty and their allegiance to *Rome*, on pain of incurring the indignation and vengeance of the em-

The result
of these
conferences.

CENT. peror, as the patron and protector of the
XVI. church [g].
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The league
of Smalcald.

VI. No sooner were the elector of *Saxony* and the confederate princes informed of this deplorable issue of the diet of *Augsburg*, than they assembled in order to deliberate upon the measures that were proper to be taken on this critical occasion. In the year 1530, and the year following, they met, first at *Smalcald*, afterwards at *Frankfort*, and formed a solemn alliance and confederacy, with the intention of defending vigorously their religion and liberties against the dangers and encroachments with which they were menaced by the edict of *Augsburg*, without attempting, however, any thing, properly speaking, offensive against the votaries of *Rome*. Into this confederacy they invited the kings of *England*, *France*, and *Denmark*, with several other republics and states, and left no means unemployed that might tend to corroborate and cement this important alliance [b]. Amidst these emotions and preparations,

[g] To give the greater degree of weight to this edict it was resolved, that no judge, who refused to approve and subscribe its contents, should be admitted into the imperial chamber of *Spire*, which is the supreme court in *Germany*. The emperor also and the popish princes engaged themselves to employ their united forces in order to maintain its authority, and to promote its execution.

[b] LUTHER, who at first seemed averse to this confederacy, from an apprehension of the calamities and troubles it might produce, perceiving at length its necessity, consented to it; but, uncharitably, as well as imprudently, refused comprehending in it the followers of ZWINGLE among the Swiss, together with the German states or cities, which had adopted the sentiments and confession of BUCER. And yet we find that the cities of *Ulm* and *Augsburg* had embraced the Reformation on the principles of ZWINGLE.—In the invitation addressed to HENRY VIII. king of *England*, whom the confederate princes were willing to declare the head and protector of their league, the following things were expressly stipulated among several others: *viz.* That the king should encourage, promote, and maintain the true doctrine of CHRIST, as it was contained

rations, which portended an approaching rupture, the elector Palatine, and the elector of *Mentz*, offered their mediation, and endeavoured to reconcile the contending princes. With respect to the emperor, various reasons united to turn his views towards peace. For, on the one hand, he stood in need of succours against the Turk, which the protestant princes refused to grant as long as the edicts of *Worms* and *Augsburg* remained in force; and, on the other, the election of his brother FERDINAND to the dignity of king of the Romans, which had been concluded by a majority of votes,

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contained in the confession of *Augsburg*, and defend the same at the next general council;—that he should not agree to any council summoned by the bishop of *Rome*, but protest against it, and neither submit to its decrees, nor suffer them to be respected in his dominions;—that he should never allow the Roman pontif to have any pre-eminence or jurisdiction in his dominions;—that he should advance 100,000 crowns for the use of the confederacy, and double that sum if it became necessary; all which articles the confederate princes were obliged equally to observe on their part. To these demands the king answered, immediately, in a manner that was not satisfactory. He declared, that he would maintain and promote the true doctrine of CHRIST; but, at the same time, as the true ground of that doctrine lay only in the Holy Scriptures, he would not accept, at any one's hand, what should be his faith, or that of his kingdoms, and therefore desired they would send over learned men to confer with him, in order to promote a religious union between him and the confederates. He moreover declared himself of their opinion with respect to the meeting of a free general council, promised to join with them, in all such councils, for the defence of the true doctrine; but thought the regulation of the ceremonial part of religion, being a matter of indifference, ought to be left to the choice of each sovereign for his own dominions. After this, the king gave them a second answer more full and satisfactory; but upon the fall of queen ANNE, this negotiation came to nothing. On the one hand, the king grew cold, when he perceived that the confederates could be of no longer service to him in supporting the validity of his marriage; and, on the other, the German princes were sensible that they could never succeed with HENRY, unless they would allow him an absolute dictatorship in matters of religion.

C E N T. at the diet of *Cologne*, in the year 1531, was con-
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 S E C T I. tested by the same princes as contrary to the fun-
 ————— damental laws of the empire.

The peace
 of *Nurem-*
berg.

VII. In this troubled state of affairs many projects of reconciliation were proposed; and, after various negotiations, a treaty of peace was concluded at *Nuremberg*, in the year 1532, between the emperor and the protestant princes, on the following conditions; that the latter should furnish a subsidy for carrying on the war against the Turk, and acknowledge FERDINAND lawful king of the Romans; and that the emperor, on his part, should abrogate and annul the edicts of *Worms* and *Augsborg*, and allow the Lutherans the free and unmolested exercise of their religious doctrine and discipline, until a rule of faith was fixed either in the free general council that was to be assembled in the space of six months, or in a diet of the empire. The apprehension of an approaching rupture was scarcely removed by this agreement, when JOHN, elector of *Saxony*, died, and was succeeded by his son JOHN FREDERICK, a prince of invincible fortitude and magnanimity, whose reign was little better than a continued scene of disappointments and calamities.

A council
 expected in
 vain.

VIII. The religious truce, concluded at *Nuremberg*, inspired with new vigour and resolution all the friends of the reformation. It gave strength to the feeble, and perseverance to the bold. Encouraged by it, those who had been hitherto only secret enemies to the Roman pontif, spurned now his yoke publicly, and refused to submit to his imperious jurisdiction. This appears from the various cities and provinces in *Germany*, which, about this time, boldly enlisted themselves under the religious standards of LUTHER. On the other hand, as all hope of terminating the religious debates that divided *Europe* was founded in the meeting of the general council, which had been

so

so solemnly promised, the emperor renewed his earnest requests to CLEMENT VII., that he would hasten an event that was expected and desired with so much impatience. The pontif, whom the history of past councils filled with the most uneasy and discouraging apprehensions, endeavoured to retard what he could not, with any decency, absolutely refuse [i]. He formed innumerable pretexts to put off the evil day; and his whole conduct evidently shewed, that he was more desirous of having these religious differences decided by the force of arms, than by the power of argument. He indeed, in the year 1533, made a proposal, by his legate, to assemble a council at *Mantua*, *Piacentia*, or *Bologna*; but the protestants refused their consent to the nomination of an Italian council, and insisted, that a controversy, which had its rise in the heart of *Germany*, should be decided within the limits of the empire. The pope, by his usual artifices, eluded his own promise, disappointed their expectations, and was cut off by death, in the year 1534, in the midst of his stratagems [k].

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IX. His successor PAUL III. seemed to shew less reluctance to the assembling a general council, and appeared even disposed to comply with the desires of the emperor in that respect. Accordingly, in the year 1535, he expressed his inclination to convoke one at *Mantua*; and, the

[i] Besides the fear of seeing his authority diminished by a general council, another reason engaged CLEMENT VII. to avoid an assembly of that nature; for being conscious of the illegitimacy of his birth, as FRAO PAULO observes, he had ground to fear that the COLONNAS, or his other enemies, might plead this circumstance before the council, as a reason for his exclusion from the pontificate; since it might be well questioned, whether a *bastard* could be a pope, though it is known, from many instances, that a *profligate* may.

[k] See an ample account of every thing relative to this council, in FRA. PAULO's *History of the Council of Trent*, book I.

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year following, actually sent circular letters for that purpose through all the kingdoms and states under his jurisdiction [1]. The protestants, on the other hand, fully persuaded, that, in such a council [m], all things would be carried by the votaries of *Rome*, and nothing concluded but what should be agreeable to the sentiments and ambition of the pontif, assembled at *Smalcald* in the year 1537. And there they protested solemnly against such a partial and corrupt council as that which was convoked by PAUL III.; but, at the same time, had a new *summary* of their doctrine drawn up by LUTHER, in order to present it to the assembled bishops, if it was required of them. This summary, which was distinguished by the title of the *Articles of Smalcald*, is generally joined with the creeds and confessions of the Lutheran church.

New out-
rages com-
mitted by
the anabap-
tists.

X. During these transactions, two remarkable events happened, of which the one was most detrimental to the cause of religion in general, to that of the Reformation in particular, and produced, in *Germany*, civil tumults and commotions of the most horrid kind; while the other was more salutary in its consequences and effects, and struck at the very root of the papal authority and dominion. The former of these events was

☞ [1] This council was summoned, by PAUL III., to assemble at *Murcia*, on the 23d of May, 1537, by a bull issued out the 2d of June of the preceding year. Several obstacles prevented its meeting. Frederick, duke of *Mantua*, was not much inclined to receive at once so many guests, and some of them turbulent ones, into the place of his residence.

☞ [m] That is, in a council assembled by the authority of the pope alone, and that also in *Italy*; two circumstances that must have greatly contributed to give PAUL III. an undue influence in that assembly. The protestants maintained, that the emperor and the other Christian princes of *Europe* had a right to be *authoritatively* concerned in calling a general council; and that so much the more, as the Roman pontif was evidently one of the parties in the present debate.

a new

a new sedition, kindled by a fanatical and outrageous mob of the *anabaptists*; and the latter, the rupture between HENRY VIII. king of *England*, and the Roman pontif, whose jurisdiction and spiritual supremacy were publicly renounced by that rough and resolute monarch.

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In the year 1533, there came to *Munster*, a city in *Westphalia*, a certain number of *anabaptists*, who surpassed the rest of that fanatical tribe in the extravagance of their proceedings, the frenzy of their disordered brains, and the madness of their pretensions and projects. They gave themselves out for the messengers of heaven, invested with a divine commission to lay the foundations of a new government, a holy and spiritual empire, and to destroy and overturn all temporal rule and authority, all human and political institutions. Having turned all things into confusion and uproar in the city of *Munster* by this seditious and extravagant declaration, they began to erect a new republic [n], conformable to their absurd and chimerical notions of religion, and committed the administration of it to JOHN BOCKHOLT, a taylor by profession, and a native of *Leyden*. Their reign, however, was of a short duration; for, in the year 1535, the city was besieged and taken by the bishop of *Munster*, assisted by other German princes; this fanatical king and his wrong-headed associates put to death in the most terrible and ignominious manner, and the new hierarchy destroyed with its furious and extravagant founders. This disorderly and outrageous conduct of an handful of *anabaptists*, drew upon the whole body heavy marks of displeasure from the greatest part of the European princes. The severest laws were enacted against them for the second time, in consequence of which the innocent and the guilty were involved in the

[n] This fanatical establishment they distinguished by the title of the *New Jerusalem*.

CEN T. same terrible fate, and prodigious numbers de-
 XVI. voted to death in the most dreadful forms [o].
 S & C T. I.

Great Bri-
 tain re-
 nounces the
 spiritual ju-
 risdiction
 and supre-
 macy of the
 Roman pon-
 tif.

XI. The pillars of papal despotism were at this time 'shaken in *England* by an event, which, at first, did not seem to promise such important consequences. HENRY VIII., a prince who in vices and in abilities was surpassed by none who swayed the sceptre in this age, and who, in the beginning of these religious troubles, had opposed the doctrine and views of LUTHER with the utmost vehemence, was the principal agent in this great revolution [p]. Bound in the chains of matrimony to CATHARINE of *Arragon*, aunt to CHARLES V., but, at the same time, captivated by the charms of an illustrious virgin, whose name was ANNA BOLEYN, he ardently desired to be divorced from the former, that he might render lawful his passion for the latter [q]. For this purpose, he addressed himself

[o] HERMANNI HAMMELMANNI *Historia Eccles. renati Evangelii per inferiorem Saxoniam et Westphal.* part II. p. 1196. opp.—DE PRINZ *Specimen Historiæ Analapt.* c. x, xi, xii. p. 94.

☞ This sect was, in process of time, considerably reformed by the ministry of two Frieslanders, UERO and MENNON, who purified it from the enthusiastic, fictitious, and atrocious principles of its first founders, as will be seen in the progress of this history.

☞ [p] Among the various portraits that have been given by historians of HENRY VIII., there is none that equals the masterly one drawn by Mr. HUME, in his *History of England*, under the house of TUDOR. This great painter, whose colouring, in other subjects, is sometimes more artful than accurate, has caught from nature the striking lines of HENRY's motley character, and thrown them into a composition, in which they appear with the greatest truth, set out with all the powers of expression.

☞ [q] From Dr. MOSHEIM's manner of expressing himself, an uninformed reader might be led to conclude, that the charms of ANNA BOLEYN were the *only* motive that engaged HENRY to dissolve his marriage with CATHARINE. But this representation of the matter is not accurate. The king had entertained scruples concerning the legitimacy of his marriage, before his acquaintance with the beautiful and unfortunate ANNA. Con-
 versant

himself to the Roman pontif CLEMENT VII., in order to obtain a dissolution of his marriage with CATHARINE, alleging, that a principle of religion restrained him from enjoying any longer the sweets of connubial love with that princess, as she had been previously married to his elder brother, ARTHUR, and as it was repugnant to the divine law to contract wedlock with a brother's widow. CLEMENT was greatly perplexed upon this occasion, by the apprehension of incurring the indignation of the emperor in case his decision was favourable to HENRY; and therefore he contrived various pretexts to evade a positive answer, and exhausted all his policy and artifice to cajole and deceive the English monarch. Tired with the pretexts, apologies, vain promises, and tardy proceedings of the Roman pontif, HENRY had recourse, for the accomplishment of his purposes, to an expedient which was suggested by the famous THOMAS CRANMER, who was a secret friend to LUTHER and his cause, and who was afterwards raised to the see of *Canterbury*. This expedient was, to demand the opinions of the most learned European universities concerning the subject of his scruples. The result of this measure was favourable to his views. The greatest part of the universities de-

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versant in the writings of THOMAS AQUINAS and other schoolmen, who looked upon the Levitical law as of moral and permanent obligation, and attentive to the remonstrances of the bishops, who declared his marriage unlawful, the king was filled with anxious doubts, that had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen, before his affections had been engaged by any other. This appears by Cardinal WOLSEY's proposing a marriage between his majesty and the sister of FRANCIS I., which that pliant counsellor would never have done, had he known that the king's affections were otherwise engaged. After all, it is very possible, that the age and infirmities of CATHARINE, together with the blooming charms of ANNA BOLEYN, tended much to animate HENRY's remorse, and to render his conscience more scrupulous. See BURNET's *History of the Reformation*. HUME's *History of the House of Tudor*, p. 150.

CENT. XVI.
SECT. I. clared the marriage with a brother's widow unlawful. CATHARINE was consequently divorced; ANNA conducted by a formal marriage into the royal bed, notwithstanding the remonstrances of CLEMENT; and the English nation delivered from the tyranny of *Rome*, by HENRY's renouncing the jurisdiction and supremacy of its imperious pontif. Soon after this, HENRY was declared by the parliament and people *supreme head, on earth, of the church of England*, the monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues applied to other purposes; and the power and authority of the pope were abrogated and entirely overturned [r].

The nature and effects of this first step towards the Reformation in England.

XII. It is however carefully to be observed here, that this downfall of the papal authority in *England* was not productive of much benefit either to the friends or to the cause of the Reformation. For the same monarch, who had so resolutely withdrawn himself from the dominion of *Rome*, yet superstitiously retained the greatest part of its errors, along with its imperious and persecuting spirit. He still adhered to several of the most monstrous doctrines of popery, and frequently presented the terrors of death to those who differed from him in their religious sentiments. Besides, he considered the title of *Head of the English church*, as if it transferred to him the enormous power which had been claimed, and indeed usurped, by the Roman pontiffs; and, in consequence of this interpretation of his title, he looked upon himself as master of the religious sentiments of his subjects, and as authorized to prescribe

[r] Besides the full and accurate account of this and other important events that is to be found in Bishop BURNET's excellent *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, the curious reader will do well to consult the records of this memorable revolution in WILKINS's *Concil. Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae*, tom. iii. p. 424.—RAYNAL, *Anecdotes Historiques, Politiques, Militaires*, tom. i. part II. p. 90.—*Gen. Dictionary*, at the article BOLEYN.

modes

modes of faith according to his fancy. Hence it came to pass, that, during the life and reign of this prince, the face of religion was constantly changing, and thus resembled the capricious and unsteady character of its new chief. The prudence, learning, and activity of CRANMER, archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was the favourite of the king, and the friend of the Reformation, counteracted, however, in many instances, the humour and vehemence of this inconstant and turbulent monarch. The pious productions and wise counsels of that venerable prelate diminished daily the influence of the ancient superstitions, dispelled by degrees the mists of ignorance that blinded the people in favour of popery, and increased considerably the number of those who wished well to the Reformation [s].

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XIII. After the meeting of the council of *Mantua* was prevented, various measures were taken, and many schemes proposed, by the emperor on the one hand, and the protestant princes on the other, for the restoration of concord and union, both civil and religious. But these measures and projects were unattended with any solid or salutary fruit, and were generally disconcerted by the intrigues and artifice of *Rome*, whose legates and creatures were always lying in wait to blow the flame of discord in all those councils that seemed unfavourable to the ambition of its pontiffs. In the year 1541, the emperor, regardless of the bishop of *Rome*, appointed a conference at *Worms*, on the subject of Religion, between persons of piety and learning chosen out of each of the contending parties. It was here that MELANCTHON and ECKIUS disputed during the space of three

A new project of pacification.

Conference of Worms.

[s] Besides BURNET's *History of the Reformation*, see NEAL's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. chap. i. p. 11.

days.

C E N T. days [t]. This conference was, for certain reasons, removed to the diet which was held at *Ratisbon* that same year, and in which the principal subject of deliberation was a memorial, presented by a person unknown, containing a project of peace, with the terms of accommodation that were proper to terminate these religious differences [u]. This conference, however, produced no other effect, than a mutual agreement of the contending parties to refer the decision of their pretensions and debates to a general council; or, if the meeting of such a council should be prevented by any unforeseen obstacles, to the next German diet.

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Diet of *Ra-*
tisbon.

All things
tend to an
open rup-
ture.

XIV. This resolution was rendered ineffectual by the period of perplexity and trouble that succeeded the diet of *Ratisbon*; and by various incidents that widened the breach, and put off to a farther day the deliberations that were designed to heal it. It is true, the Roman pontif ordered his legate to declare in the diet, which was assembled at *Spire* in the year 1542, that he would, according to the promise he had already made, assemble a general council, and that *Trent* should be the place of its meeting, if the diet had no objection to that city. FERDINAND, king of the Romans, and the princes who adhered to the papal cause, gave their consent to this proposal; while the protestant members of the diet objected both against a council summoned by the papal authority alone, and also against the place appointed for its meeting, and demanded a free and lawful council, which should not be biassed by the dictates, nor awed by the proximity of the Roman pontif. This protestation produced no effect; PAUL III. persisted in his purpose, and issued out his circular

[t] See JO. ANDR. ROEDERI *Libellus de Colloquio Wormatiensi Norimb.* 1744, in 4to.

[u] See JO. ERDMANN BIECKII *Triplex Interim*, cap. i. p. i.
letters

letters for the convocation of the council [w], C E N T.
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S E C T. I. with the approbation of the emperor; while this prince endeavoured, at the diet of *Worms*, in the year 1545, to persuade the protestants to consent

☞ [w] It is proper to observe here, that, having summoned successively a council at *Mantua*, *Vicenza*, and *Venice*, without any effect *, this pontif thought it necessary to shew the protestants that he was not averse to every kind of reformation; and therefore appointed four cardinals, and five other persons eminent for their learning, to draw up a plan for the reformation of the church in general, and of the church of *Rome* in particular, knowing full well, by the spirit which reigned in the conclave, that this project would come to nothing. A plan, however, was drawn up by the persons appointed for that purpose. The reformation proposed in this plan was indeed extremely superficial and partial; yet it contains some particulars, which scarcely could have been expected from the pens of those that composed it. They complained, for instance, of the pride and ignorance of the bishops, and proposed that none should receive orders but learned and pious men; and that, therefore, care should be taken to have proper masters to instruct the youth. They condemned translations from one benefice to another, grants of reservation, non-residence, and pluralities. They proposed, that some convents should be abolished; that the liberty of the press should be restrained and limited; that the colloquies of *ERASMUS* should be suppressed; that no ecclesiastic should enjoy a benefice out of his own country; that no cardinal should have a bishopric; that the questors of *St. ANTHONY*, and several other saints, should be abolished; and, which was the best of all their proposals, that the effects and personal estate of ecclesiastics should be given to the poor. They concluded with complaining of the prodigious number of indigent and ragged priests that frequented *St. PETER's* church; and declared, that it was a great scandal to see the whores lodged so magnificently at *Rome*, and riding through the streets on fine mules, while the cardinals and other ecclesiastics accompanied them in a most courteous and familiar manner. The several articles of this plan of reformation (which *LUTHER* and *STURMIUS* of *Strasbourg* turned into ridicule, and which indeed left unredressed the most intolerable grievances of which the protestants complained) were published at *Antwerp* in or about the year 1535, with the answer of *COCHLÆUS* to the objections of *STURMIUS*. They are likewise prefixed to the *History of the Council of Trent*, by *CRAVÈRE*, and were afterwards published at *Paris* in 1612 †.

* This council was never assembled.

† See *PAULIN*, in *Paul III. Stud.* l. xii, *Unvers. Med. Hist.* vol. xx. i. p. 30.

CENT. XVI. to the meeting of this council at *Trent*. But the
 SECT. I. protestants were fixed in their resolution, and the
 efforts of CHARLES were vain. Upon which the
 emperor, who had hitherto disapproved of the
 violent measures which were incessantly sug-
 gested by the court of *Rome*, departed from his
 usual prudence and moderation, and, listening to
 the sanguine counsels of PAUL, formed, in con-
 junction with that subtle pontif, the design of ter-
 minating the debates about religion by the force
 of arms. The landgrave of *Hesse*, and the elector
 of *Saxony*, who were the chief protectors of the
 protestant cause, were no sooner informed of this,
 than they took the proper measures to prevent
 their being surprised and overwhelmed unawares
 by a superior force, and, accordingly, raised an
 army for their defence. While this terrible storm
 was rising, LUTHER, whose aversion to all methods
 of violence and force in matters of religion was
 well known, and who recommended prayer and
 patience as the only arms worthy of those who had
 the cause of genuine Christianity at heart, was re-
 moved by Providence from this scene of tumult,
 and the approaching calamities that threatened
 his country. He died in peace, on the 18th of
 February, in the year 1546, at *Aysleben*, the place
 of his birth.

C H A P. IV.

*The History of the Reformation, from the commence-
 ment of the war of Smalcald to the famous Pacifi-
 cation, commonly called the PEACE OF RELIGION,
 concluded at Augsburg.*

The com-
 mencement
 of the war
 of *Smalcald*.

I. THE emperor and the pope had mutually
 resolved the destruction of all who should
 dare to oppose the council of *Trent*. The meeting
 of that assembly was to serve as a signal for their
 taking

taking arms; and, accordingly, its deliberations were scarcely begun, in the year 1546, when the protestants perceived undoubted marks of the approaching storm, and of a formidable union between the emperor and the pontif to overwhelm and crush them by a sudden blow. There had been, it is true, a new conference this very year, at the diet of *Ratisbon*, between some eminent doctors of both parties, with a view to the accommodation of their religious differences; but it appeared sufficiently, both from the nature of this dispute, the manner it was carried on, and its issue and result, that the matters in debate would, sooner or later, be decided in the field of battle. In the mean time, the fathers, assembled in the council of *Trent*, promulgated their decrees: while the protestant princes in the diet of *Ratisbon* protested against their authority, and were, in consequence of this, proscribed by the emperor, who raised an army to reduce them to obedience.

II. The elector of *Saxony* and the landgrave of *Hesse* led their forces into *Bavaria* against the emperor, and cannonaded his camp at *Ingolstadt* with great spirit. It was supposed that this would bring the two armies to a general action, but several circumstances prevented a battle, which was expected by the most of the confederates, and, probably, would have been advantageous to their cause. Among these we may reckon, principally, the perfidy of *MAURICE*, duke of *Saxony*, who, seduced by the promises of the emperor on the one hand, and by his own ambition and avarice on the other, invaded the electoral dominions of his uncle *JOHN FREDERICK*, while that worthy prince was maintaining against the emperor the sacred cause of religion and liberty. Add to this the divisions that were fomented by the dissimulation of the emperor among the confederate princes; the failure of *France* in furnishing the subsidy that
had

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The affairs
of the pro-
testants take
an unfavour-
able turn.

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had been promised by its monarch; and other incidents of less moment. All these things discouraged so the heads of the protestant party, that their army was soon dispersed, and the elector of *Saxony* directed his march homewards. But he was pursued by the emperor, who made several forced marches, with a view to destroy his enemy, before he should have time to recover his vigour; in which design he was assisted by the ill-grounded security of the elector, and, as there is too much reason to think, by the treachery of his officers. The two armies drew up in order of battle near *Muhlberg* on the *Elbe*, on the 24th of April, 1547; and, after a bloody action, that of the elector, being inferior in numbers, was entirely defeated, and himself taken prisoner. PHILIP, landgrave of *Hesse*, the other chief of the protestants, was persuaded by the entreaties of his son-in-law, MAURICE, now declared elector of *Saxony* [x], to throw himself upon the mercy of the emperor, and to implore his pardon. To this he consented, relying on the promise of CHARLES for obtaining forgiveness, and being restored to liberty; but, notwithstanding these expectations, he was unjustly detained prisoner by a scandalous violation of the most solemn convention. It is said, that the emperor retracted his promise, and deluded this unhappy prince by the ambiguity of two German words, which resemble each other [y]; but this point

☞ [x] In the room of JOHN FREDERICK, whom he had so basely betrayed.

☞ [y] There is scarcely in history any instance of such a mean, perfidious, and despotic behaviour as that of the emperor to the landgrave in the case now before us. After having received in public the humble submissions of that unhappy prince, made upon his knees, and that in the most respectful and affecting terms, and after having set him at liberty by a solemn treaty, he had him arrested anew, without alleging any reason, nay any pretext, and kept him for several years in a close and severe confinement. When MAURICE remonstrated

point of history has not been hitherto so far cleared up, as to enable us to judge with certainty concerning the confinement of this prince, and the real causes to which it was owing [z].

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III. This revolution seemed every way adapted to complete the ruin of the protestant cause, and to crown the efforts of the Roman pontif with the most triumphant success. In the diet of *Augsburg*, which was assembled soon after, with an imperial army at hand to promote union and dispatch, the emperor required of the protestants, that they would leave the decision of these religious contests to the wisdom of the council that was to meet at *Trent*. The greatest part of the members consented to this proposal; and, among others, MAURICE, the new elector of *Saxony*, who owed both his electorate and his dominions to the emperor, and who was ardently desirous of obtaining the liberty of his father-in-law the landgrave of *Hesse*. This general submission to the will of the emperor did not, however, produce the fruits that were expected from such a solemn and almost universal approbation of the council of *Trent*. A plague, which manifested itself, or was said to do so, in that city, engaged the greatest part of the assembled fathers to retire to *Bologna*, and thereby the council was, in effect, dissolved; nor could all the entreaties and remonstrances of the emperor prevail upon the pope to re-assemble it again

The famous temporary truce, called the *Interim*.

strated to the emperor against this new imprisonment, the emperor answered, that he had never promised that the landgrave should not be *imprisoned anew*, but only that he should be exempted from *perpetual imprisonment*; and, to support this assertion, he produced the treaty, in which his ministers, in order to elude the true meaning of the accommodation, had perfidiously soisted in *ewiger gefangnis*, which signifies a *perpetual prison*, instead of *iniger gefangnis*, which means *any prison*. This matter is, however, contested by some historians.

[z] See a German work, entitled, BENI GROSCH *Vertheidigung der Evangelischen Kirchen gegen Gaisfr. Arnold*. p. 29.

C E N T. without delay. While things were in this situa-
 XVI. tion, and the prospect of seeing a council assembled
 S E C T. I. was cast at a distance, the emperor judged it necessary, during this *interval*, to fall upon some method of maintaining peace in religious matters, until the decision, so long expected, should be finally obtained. It was with this view that he ordered JULIUS PFLUGIUS, bishop of *Naumburg*, MICHAEL SIDONIUS, a creature of the pontif, and JOHN AGRICOLA, a native of *Aylleben*, to draw up a *Formulary*, which might serve as a rule of faith and worship to both of the contending parties, until a council should be summoned. As this was only a temporary appointment, and had not the force of a permanent or perpetual institution, the rule in question was called the *Interim* [a].

IV. This

[a] This project of CHARLES was formed, partly to vent his resentment against the pope, and partly to answer other purposes of a more political kind. Be that as it may, the *Formula ad Interim*, or *Temporary Rule of Faith and Worship*, here mentioned, contained all the essential doctrines of the church of *Rome*, though considerably softened and mitigated by the moderate, prudent, and artful terms in which they were expressed; terms quite different from those that were employed, before and after this period, by the council of *Trent*. There was even an affected ambiguity in many expressions, which rendered them susceptible of different senses, applicable to the sentiments of both communions, and therefore disagreeable to both. The *Interim* was composed with that fraudulent, specious, and seducing dexterity, that in afterwards appeared in the deceitful *Exposition of the Catholic Faith*, by M. BOSSUET, bishop of *Meaux*, and it was almost equally rejected by the protestants and Roman catholics. The cup was allowed, by this Imperial Creed, to the protestants in the administration of the Lord's supper, and priests and clerks were permitted by it to enter into the married state. These grants were, however, accompanied with the two following conditions: 1. *That every one should be at liberty to use the cup, or to abstain from it, and to choose a state of marriage, or a state of celibacy, as he should judge most fitting.* 2. *That these grants should remain in force no longer than the happy period when a general council should terminate all religious differences.* This second condition was adapted to produce the greatest disorder and

IV. This temporary rule of faith and discipline, though it was extremely favourable to the interests and pretensions of the court of *Rome*, had yet the fate to which schemes of reconciliation are often exposed; it pleased neither of the contending parties, but was equally offensive to the followers of LUTHER, and to the Roman pontif. It was, however, promulgated with solemnity by the emperor, at the diet of *Augsburg*; and the elector of *Mentz*, without even deigning to ask the opinions of the assembled princes and states, rose with an air of authority, and, as if he had been commissioned to represent the whole diet, gave a formal and public approbation to this famous *Interim*. Thus were many princes of the empire, whose silence, though it proceeded from want of courage, was interpreted as the mark of a tacit consent, engaged against their will to receive this *book* as a body of ecclesiastical law. The greatest part of those, who had the resolution to dispute the authority of this Imperial Creed, were obliged to submit to it by the force of arms, and hence arose deplorable scenes of violence and bloodshed, which involved the empire in the greatest calamities. MAURICE, elector of *Saxony*, who, for some time, had held a neutral conduct, and neither declared himself for those who rejected, nor for those who had adopted the *rule* in question, assembled, in the year 1548, the Saxon nobility and clergy, with MELANCTHON at the head of the latter, and, in several conferences held at *Leipsic* and other places, took counsel concerning what was to be

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The troubles to which this edict gave rise.

and confusion, in case the future council should think proper to enjoin celibacy on the clergy, and declare, as it did in effect, their marriage unchristian and unlawful.

[a] See JO. ERDM. BIECKII *Triplex Interim*, published in 8vo. at *Leipsic*, in the year 1721.—LUC. OSIANDER *Centuria XVI. Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. lxxviii. p. 425.—For an account of the authors and editions of the book called *Interim*, see *Die Dänische Biblioth.* part V. p. 1. & part VI. p. 185.

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done in this critical affair. The deliberations, on this occasion, were long and tedious, and their result was ambiguous; for MELANCTHON, whose opinion was respected as a law by the reformed doctors, fearing the emperor on the one hand, and attentive to the sentiments of his sovereign on the other, pronounced a sort of a reconciling sentence, which, he hoped, would be offensive to no party. He gave it as his opinion, that the whole of the book called *Interim* could not, by any means, be adopted by the friends of the Reformation; but he declared, at the same time, that he saw no reason, why this book might not be approved, adopted, and received, as an authoritative rule, in things that did not relate to the essential points of religion, in things that might be considered as accessory or *indifferent* [b]. This decision, instead of pacifying matters, produced, on the contrary, new divisions, and formed a schism among the followers of LUTHER, of which farther mention shall be made hereafter, in the *History of the Church* established by that reformer. I shall only observe, that this schism placed the cause of the Reformation in the most perilous and critical circumstances, and might have contributed either to ruin it entirely, or to retard considerably its progress, had the pope and the emperor been dexterous enough to make the proper use of these divisions, and to seize the favourable occasion that was presented to them, of turning the force of the protestants against themselves.

The project
of a council
at Trent re-
newed.

V. Amidst these contests PAUL III. departed this life in the year 1549, and was succeeded, the year following, by JULIUS III., who, yielding to

[b] By things *indifferent*, MELANCTHON understood particularly the rites and ceremonies of the popish worship, which, superstitious as they were, that reformer, yielding to the softness and flexibility of his natural temper, treated with a singular and excessive indulgence upon this occasion.

the repeated and importunate solicitations of the emperor, consented to the assembling a council at *Trent*. Accordingly, in the diet of *Augsburg*, which was again held under the canon of an Imperial army, CHARLES laid this matter before the states and princes of the empire. The greatest part of the princes gave their consent to the convocation of this council, to which also MAURICE, elector of *Saxony*, submitted upon certain conditions [c]. The emperor then concluded the diet in the year 1551, desiring the assembled princes and states to prepare all things for the approaching council, and promising that he would use his most zealous endeavours towards the promoting moderation and harmony, impartiality and charity, in the deliberations and transactions of that assembly. Upon the breaking up of the diet, the protestants took the steps they judged most prudent to prepare themselves for what was to happen. The Saxons employed the pen of MELANCTHON, and the Wurtemberghers that of BREDTIUS, to draw up *confessions* of their faith, that were to be laid before the new council. Besides the ambassadors of the duke of *Wurtemberg*, several doctors of that city repaired to *Trent*. The Saxon divines, with MELANCTHON at their head,

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☞ [c] MAURICE (who was desirous of regaining the esteem of the protestants of *Saxony*, which he had lost by his perfidious behaviour to the late elector JOHN FREDERICK, his benefactor and friend) gave his consent to the re-establishing the council of *Trent*, upon the following conditions: 1st, That the points of doctrine, which had been already decided there, should be re-examined, and discussed anew: 2^{dly}, That this examination should be made in presence of the protestant divines, or their deputies. 3^{dly}, That the Saxon protestants should have a liberty of *voting*, as well as of *deliberating*, in the council: and 4^{thly}, That the pope should not pretend to preside in that assembly, either in person or by his legates. This declaration of MAURICE was read in the diet, and his deputies insisted upon its being entered into the registers, which the archbishop of *Mentz*, however, obstinately refused.

C E N T. ^{XVI.} set out also for that place, but proceeded in their journey no further than *Nuremberg*. They had received secret orders to stop there; for MAURICE had no intention of submitting to the emperor's views; on the contrary, he hoped to reduce that prince to a compliance with his own projects. He therefore yielded in appearance, that he might carry his point, and thus command in reality.

Maurice
disconcerts
the schemes
of the em-
peror.

VI. The real views of CHARLES V., amidst the divisions and troubles of *Germany* (which he fomented by negociations that carried the outward aspect of a reconciling spirit), will appear evidently to such as consider attentively the nature of the times, and compare the transactions of this prince, the one with the other. Relying on the extent of his power, and the success that frequently accompanied his enterprizes, with a degree of confidence that was highly imprudent, CHARLES proposed to turn these religious commotions and dissensions to the confirmation and increase of his dominion in *Germany*, and by sowing the seeds of discord among the princes of the empire, to weaken their power, and thereby the more easily to encroach upon their rights and privileges. On the other hand, ardently desirous of reducing within narrower limits the jurisdiction and dominion of the Roman pontiffs, that they might not set bounds to his ambition, nor prevent the execution of his aspiring views, he flattered himself that this would be the natural effect of the approaching council. He was confirmed in this pleasing hope, by reflecting on what had happened in the councils of *Constance* and of *Basil*, in which the lust of papal ambition had been opposed with spirit, and restrained within certain limits. He also persuaded himself, that, by the dexterity of his agents, and the number of the Spanish and German bishops that were devoted to his interests, he should be able to influence and direct the deliberations of the

the approaching council in such a manner, as to make its decisions answer his expectations, and contribute effectually to the accomplishment of his views. Such were the specious dreams of ambition that filled the imagination of this restless prince; but his views and projects were disconcerted by that same MAURICE of *Saxony*, who had been one of the principal instruments of that violence and oppression which he had exercised against the protestant princes, and of the injury he had done to the protestant cause.

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VII. The most considerable princes, not only of *Germany*, but even of all *Europe*, had, for a long time, addressed to the emperor their united entreaties for the deliverance of PHILIP, landgrave of *Hesse*, and JOHN FREDERICK, elector of *Saxony*, from their confinement; and MAURICE had solicited, with peculiar warmth and assiduity, the liberty of the former, who was his father-in-law. But all these solicitations produced no effect. MAURICE, perceiving at length that he was duped by the emperor, and also convinced that this ambitious monarch was forming insidious designs upon the liberties of *Germany*, and the jurisdiction of its princes, entered, with the utmost secrecy and expedition, into an alliance with the king of *France* and several of the German princes, for the maintenance of the rights and liberties of the empire. Encouraged by this respectable confederacy, the active Saxon marched a powerful army against the emperor, in the year 1552; and that with such astonishing valour and rapidity, that he surprised CHARLES at *Inspruk*, where he lay with a handful of troops in the utmost security, and without the least apprehension of danger. This sudden and unforeseen event alarmed and dejected the emperor to such a degree, that he was willing to make peace on almost any conditions; and consequently, in a little time after this, he not only concluded at

A war kindled between the emperor and Maurice of *Saxony*.

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Passau the famous treaty of *Pacification* with the protestants [*d*], but also promised to assemble, in the space of six months, a diet, in which all the tumults and dissensions that had been occasioned by a variety of sentiments in religious matters should be entirely removed. Thus did the same prince, who stands foremost in the list of those that oppressed the protestants, and reduced their affairs to the greatest extremities, restore their expiring hopes, support and render triumphant their desperate cause, and procure them a bulwark of peace and liberty, which still remains. MAURICE, however, did not live to see this happy issue of his glorious expedition; for he lost his life the year following, by a wound received at the battle of *Sieverhausen*, while he was fighting against ALBERT of *Brandenburg* [*e*].

☞ [*d*] As this treaty is considered by the German protestants as the basis of their religious liberty, it will not be amiss to insert here some of its principal articles. By the three first articles it was stipulated, that MAURICE and the confederates should lay down their arms, and should lend their troops to FERDINAND to defend him against the Turks, and that the landgrave of *Hesse* should be set at liberty. By the fourth it was agreed, that the rule of faith called *Interim*, should be considered as null and void; that the contending parties should enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion, until a diet should be assembled to determine amicably the present disputes (which diet was to meet in the space of six months); and that this religious liberty should continue always, in case that it should be found impossible to come to an uniformity in doctrine and worship. It was also resolved, that all those who had suffered banishment, or any other calamity, on account of their having been concerned in the league or war of *Smalcald*, should be re-instated in their privileges, their possessions, and employments; that the Imperial chamber at *Spire* should be open to the protestants as well as to the catholics; and that there should be always a certain number of the Lutheran persuasion in that high court.

☞ [*e*] ALBERT, marquis of *Brandenburg*, after the pacification of *Passau*, to which he refused to subscribe, continued the war against the Roman catholics; and afterwards committed such ravages in the empire, that a confederacy was formed against him, at the head of which MAURICE was placed.

VIII. The troubles of *Germany*, with several other incidents, rendered it impossible to assemble the Diet, which the emperor had promised at the pacification of *Passau*, so soon as the period mentioned in the articles of that treaty. This famous Diet met, however, at *Augsburg*, in the year 1555, was opened by FERDINAND in the name of the emperor, and terminated those deplorable scenes of bloodshed, desolation, and discord, that had so long afflicted both church and state, by that *religious peace*, as it is commonly called, which secured to the protestants the free exercise of their religion, and established this inestimable liberty upon the firmest foundations. For, after various debates, the following memorable acts were passed on the 25th of September: that the protestants who followed the confession of *Augsburg*, should be for the future considered as entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontif, and from the authority and superintendence of the bishops; that they were left at perfect liberty to enact laws for themselves, relating to their religious sentiments, discipline, and worship; that all the inhabitants of the German empire should be allowed to judge for themselves in religious matters, and to join themselves to that church whose doctrine and worship they thought the purest and the most consonant to the spirit of true Christianity; and that all those who should injure or persecute any person under religious pretexts, and on account of their opinions, should be declared, and proceeded against, as public enemies of the empire, invaders of its liberty, and disturbers of its peace [f]. The difficulties that were to be surmounted before this equitable decision could be procured, the tedious deliberations,

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The Diet of
Augsburg,
and the
peace of
religion.

[f] See JO. SCHILTERI *Liber de Pace Religiosa*, published in 4to. in the year 1700.—CHRIST. LEHMANNI *Acta publica et originalia de Pace Religiosa*. *Francf.* 1707.

C E N T. the warm debates, the violent animosities and
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 S E C T. I. bloody wars, that were necessary to engage the
 ————— greatest part of the German states to consent to
 conditions so agreeable to the dictates of right
 reason, as well as to the sacred injunctions of the
 gospel, shew us, in a shocking and glaring point
 of light, the ignorance and superstition of these
 miserable times, and stand upon record as one of
 the most evident proofs of the necessity of the Re-
 formation.

The Re-
 formation
 gains ground
 in England.

IX. While these things were transacting in Ger-
 many, the friends of genuine Christianity in Eng-
 land deplored the gloomy reign of superstition,
 and the almost total extinction of true religion;
 and, seeing before their eyes the cause of popery
 maintained by the terrors of bloody persecution,
 and daily victims brought to the stake, to expiate
 the pretended crime of preferring the dictates of
 the Gospel to the despotic laws of Rome, they es-
 teemed the Germans happy, in having thrown off
 the yoke of an imperious and superstitious church.
 HENRY VIII., whose personal vices, as well as his
 arbitrary and capricious conduct, had greatly re-
 tardated the progress of the Reformation, was now
 no more. He departed this life in the year 1547,
 and was succeeded by his only son EDWARD VI.
 This amiable prince, whose early youth was
 crowned with that wisdom, sagacity, and virtue,
 that would have done honour to advanced years,
 gave new spirit and vigour to the protestant cause,
 and was its brightest ornament, as well as its most
 effectual support. He encouraged learned and
 pious men of foreign countries to settle in Eng-
 land, and addressed a particular invitation to
 MARTIN BUCER and PAUL FAGIUS, whose mode-
 ration added a lustre to their other virtues, that,
 by the ministry and labours of these eminent men,
 in concert with those of the friends of the Re-
 formation in England, he might purge his domi-
 nions

nions from the sordid fictions of popery, and establish the pure doctrines of Christianity in their place. For this purpose he issued out the wisest orders for the restoration of true religion; but his reign was too short to accomplish fully such a glorious purpose. In the year 1553, he was taken from his loving and afflicted subjects, whose sorrow was inexpressible, and suited to their loss. His sister MARY (the daughter of CATHARINE of Arragon, from whom HENRY had been separated by the famous divorce), a furious bigot to the church of *Rome*, and a princess whose natural character, like the spirit of her religion, was despotic and cruel, succeeded him on the British throne, and imposed anew the arbitrary laws and the tyrannical yoke of *Rome* upon the people of *England*. Nor were the methods she employed, in the cause of superstition, better than the cause itself, or tempered by any sentiments of equity or compassion. Barbarous tortures, and death in the most shocking forms, awaited those who opposed her will, or made the least stand against the restoration of popery. And among many other victims, the learned and pious CRANMER, archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had been one of the most illustrious instruments of the Reformation in *England*, fell a sacrifice to her fury. This odious scene of persecution was happily concluded, in the year 1558, by the death of the queen, who left no issue; and, as soon as her successor the lady ELIZABETH ascended the throne, all things assumed a new and a pleasing aspect. This illustrious princess, whose sentiments, councils, and projects breathed a spirit superior to the natural softness and delicacy of her sex, exerted this vigorous and manly spirit in the defence of oppressed conscience and expiring liberty, broke anew the despotic yoke of papal authority and superstition, and, delivering her people from the bondage of

C E N T. '
 X V I
 S E C T. I.
 —————

Rome,

C E N T. *Rome*, established that form of religious doctrine
 XVI
 S E C T. I. and ecclesiastical government which still subsists
 in *England*. This religious establishment differs,
 in some respects, from the plan that had been
 formed by those whom EDWARD VI. had em-
 ployed for promoting the cause of the Reforma-
 tion, and approaches nearer to the rites and dis-
 cipline of former times; though it is widely dif-
 ferent, and in the most important points entirely
 opposite, to the principles of the Roman hierarchy.

In *Scotland*. X. The seeds of the Reformation were very
 early sown in *Scotland*, by several noblemen of that
 nation, who had resided in *Germany* during the
 religious disputes that divided the empire. But
 the power of the Roman pontif, supported and
 seconded by inhuman laws and barbarous execu-
 tions, choked, for many years, these tender seeds,
 and prevented their taking root. The first and
 most eminent opposer of the papal jurisdiction
 was JOHN KNOX [g], a disciple of CALVIN, whose
 eloquence

[g] It will not be improper to insert here the character of
 this famous Scottish reformer, as it is drawn by the elegant,
 spirited, accurate, and impartial pen of Dr. ROBERTSON, in
 his *History of Scotland*, book VI. “Zeal, intrepidity, dis-
 “interestedness (says that incomparable writer) were virtues
 “which he possessed in an eminent degree. He was ac-
 “quainted, too, with the learning cultivated in that age;
 “and excelled in that species of eloquence which is calculated
 “to rouse and to inflame. His maxims, however, were often
 “too severe, and the impetuosity of his temper excessive.
 “Rigid and uncompromising himself, he shewed no indulgence
 “to the infirmities of others. Regardless of the distinctions
 “of rank and character, he uttered his admonitions with an
 “acrimony and vehemence more apt to irritate than to re-
 “claim. This often betrayed him into indecent and undu-
 “tiful expressions with respect to the queen’s person and con-
 “duct. Those very qualities, however, which now ren-
 “dered his character less amiable, fitted him to be the in-
 “strument of Providence for advancing the Reformation
 “among a fierce people, and enabled him to face dangers,
 “and to surmount opposition, from which a person of a more
 “gentle spirit would have been apt to shrink back. By an
 “unwearied

eloquence was persuasive, and whose fortitude was invincible [b]. This resolute reformer set out from *Geneva* for *Scotland* in the year 1559, and, in a very short space of time, inspired the people, by his private exhortations and his public discourses, with such a violent aversion to the superstitions of *Rome*, that the greatest part of the Scotch nation abandoned them entirely, and aimed at nothing less than the total extirpation of popery [i]. From this period to the present times, the form of doctrine, worship, and discipline, that had been established at *Geneva* by the ministry of CALVIN, has been maintained in *Scotland* with invincible obstinacy and zeal, and every attempt to introduce into that kingdom the rites and government of the church of *England* has proved impotent and unsuccessful [k].

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XI. The

“unwearied application to study and to business, as well as
“by the frequency and fervour of his public discourses, he
“had worn out a constitution naturally strong. During a
“lingering illness, he discovered the utmost fortitude, and
“met the approaches of death with a magnanimity inseparable from his character. He was constantly employed in
“acts of devotion, and comforted himself with those prospects of immortality, which not only preserve good men
“from desponding, but fill them with exultation in their last
“moments.

☞ [b] The earl of MORTON, who was present at his funeral, pronounced his eulogium in a few words, the more honourable for KNOX, as they came from one whom he had often censured with peculiar severity: *There lies He who never feared the face of man.*

[i] See NEAL's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 165, 232, 234, 569.—CALDERWOOD's *History of Scotland's Reformation*, published in folio at London, in the year 1680.—GEORG. BUCHANANI *Rerum Scotticar. Hist.* lib. xvi. p. 313. edit. Rudimann. folio.—MELVIL's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 73.

☞ [k] The indignation of the people, which had been excited by the *vices* of the clergy, was soon transferred to their *persons*, and settled at last, by a transition not unusual, upon the *offices* they enjoyed; and thus the effects of the Reformation extended not only to the doctrine, but also to the government of the popish church. But in *Germany*, *England*, and the

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In Ireland.

XI. The cause of the Reformation underwent, in Ireland, the same vicissitudes and revolutions that

the northern kingdoms, its operations were checked by the power and policy of their princes, and episcopal hierarchy (which appears to be the most conformable to the practice of the church, since Christianity became the established religion of the Roman empire), was still continued, in these countries, under certain limitations. The ecclesiastical government was copied after the civil; and the dioceses and jurisdiction of patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, corresponded with the division and constitution of the empire. In *Switzerland* and the *Low Countries*, the nature and spirit of a republican policy gave fuller scope to the reformers; and thus all pre-eminence of order in the church was destroyed, and that form of ecclesiastical government established, which has been since called *Presbyterian*. The situation of the primitive church (oppressed by continual persecutions, and obliged by their sufferings to be contented with a form of government extremely simple, and with a parity of rank for want of ambition to propose, or power to support, a subordination) suggested, without doubt, the idea of this latter system; though it would be unfair to allege this consideration, as a victorious argument in favour of *presbyterianism*; because a change of circumstances will sometimes justify a change in the methods and plans of government. Be that as it may, the church of *Geneva*, which received the decisions of CALVIN with an amazing docility, restored this *Presbyterian*, or republican form of ecclesiastical policy; KNOX studied, admired, and recommended it to his countrymen, and he was seconded by many of the Scotch nobles, of whom some hated the persons, while others coveted the wealth of the dignified clergy. But, in introducing this system, the Scottish reformer did not deem it expedient to depart altogether from the ancient form; but instead of *bishops*, proposed the establishment of ten *superintendents*, to inspect the life and doctrine of the other clergy, to preside in the inferior judicatories of the church, without pretending to claim either a seat in parliament, or the revenues and dignity of the former bishops. This proposal was drawn up and presented to a convention of estates, which was held in the year 1561; and what it contained, in relation to ecclesiastical jurisdiction and discipline, would have easily obtained the sanction of that assembly, had not a design to recover the patrimony of the church, in order to apply it to the advancement of religion and learning, been insinuated in it. After this, at certain periods, the name of bishops was revived, but without the prerogatives, jurisdiction, or revenues, that were formerly appropriated to that order. They were made subject to the
general

that had attended it in *England*. When HENRY C E N T. VIII., after the abolition of the papal authority, XVI. was declared *supreme head, upon earth, of the church of England*, GEORGE BROWN, a native of S E C T. I. *England*, and a monk of the Augustine order, whom that monarch had created, in the year 1535, archbishop of *Dublin*, began to act with the utmost vigour in consequence of this change in the hierarchy. He purged the churches of his diocese from superstition in all its various forms, pulled down images, destroyed relicks, abolished absurd and idolatrous rites, and, by the influence, as well as authority, he had in *Ireland*, caused the king's *supremacy* to be acknowledged in that nation [1]. HENRY shewed soon after, that this supremacy was not a vain title; for he banished the monks out of that kingdom, confiscated their revenues, and destroyed their convents. In the

general assemblies of the clergy, and their power was diminished from day to day, until their name, as well as their order, was abolished, at the Revolution in 1688, and *presbyterianism* established in *Scotland* by the laws of the state. See ROBERTSON'S *History of Scotland*, passim.

¶ [1] The learned and pious primate USHER, in his *Memoirs of the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland*, speaks of bishop BROWN in the following manner: "GEORGE BROWN was a man of a cheerful countenance, in his acts and deeds plain downright, to the poor merciful and compassionate, pitying the state and condition of the souls of the people, and advising them, when he was provincial of the Augustine order in *England*, to make their application solely to CHRIST; which advice coming to the ears of HENRY VIII., he became a favourite, and was made archbishop of *Dublin*. Within five years after he enjoyed that see, he caused all superstitious relicks and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in *Dublin*, and out of all the churches in his diocese; and caused the *Ten Commandments*, the *Lord's Prayer*, and the *Creed*, to be placed in gilded frames about the altars. He was the first that turned from the Romish religion of the clergy here in *Ireland*, to embrace the Reformation of the church of *England*." See a very curious pamphlet in the fifth volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*, p. 558. intitled, *Historical Collections of the Church of Ireland*, &c.

reign

C E N T. ^{XVI.} reign of EDWARD VI., still farther progress was
S E C T. I. made in the removal of popish superstitions, by
the zealous labours of bishop BROWN, and the
auspicious encouragement he granted to all who
exerted themselves in the cause of the reformation.
But the death of this excellent prince, and the
accession of his sister to the throne, changed the
face of things in *Ireland*, as it had done in *Eng-
land* [m]. MARY pursued with fire and sword,
and

☞ [m] Here Dr. MOSHEIM has fallen into a mistake, by not distinguishing between the *designs* of the queen, which were indeed cruel, and their *execution*, which was happily and providentially prevented. This appears from a very singular and comical adventure, of which the account, as it has been copied from the papers of RICHARD, earl of CORK, and is to be found among the manuscripts of Sir JAMES WARE, is as follows :

“ Queen MARY, having dealt severely with the protestants
“ in *England*, about the latter end of her reign signed a com-
“ mission for to take the same course with them in *Ireland*;
“ and, to execute the same with greater force, she nominates
“ Dr. COLF one of the commissioners. This doctor coming
“ with the commission to *Chester* on his journey, the mayor of
“ that city, hearing that her majesty was sending a messenger
“ into *Ireland*, and he being a churchman, waited on the
“ doctor, who, in discourse with the mayor, taketh out
“ of a clokebag a leather box, saying unto him, *Here is a com-
“ mission that shall lose the heretics of Ireland* (calling the pro-
“ testants by that title). The good woman of the house, being
“ well affected to the protestant religion, and also having a
“ brother named JOHN EDMONDS of the same, then a citizen
“ in *Dublin*, was much troubled at the doctor’s words; but
“ watching her convenient time, while the mayor took his
“ leave, and the doctor complimented him down the stairs,
“ she opens the box, takes the commission out, and places in
“ lieu thereof a sheet of paper, with a pack of cards wrapt
“ up therein, the knave of clubs being faced uppermost.
“ The doctor coming up to his chamber, suspecting nothing
“ of what had been done, put up the box as formerly. The
“ next day going to the water-side, wind and weather serving
“ him, he sails towards *Ireland*, and landed on the 7th of
“ October, 1558, at *Dublin*. Then coming to the castle, the
“ lord FITZ-WALTERS, being lord-deputy, sent for him to
“ come before him and the privy-council: who, coming in,
“ after he had made a speech relating upon what account he
“ came over, he presents the box unto the lord deputy, who,
“ causing it to be opened, that the secretary might read the
“ com-

and all the marks of unrelenting vengeance, the promoters of a pure and rational religion, and deprived BROWN and other protestant bishops of their dignities in the church. But the reign of ELIZABETH gave a new and a deadly blow to popery, which was again recovering its force, and arming itself anew with the authority of the throne; and the Irish were obliged again to submit to the form of worship and discipline established in *England* [n].

C E N T.
XVI.
S E C T. I.

XII. The Reformation had not been long established in *Britain*, when the Belgic provinces, united by a respectable confederacy, which still subsists, withdrew from their spiritual allegiance to the Roman pontif. PHILIP II., king of *Spain*, apprehending the danger to which the religion of *Rome* was exposed from that spirit of liberty and independence which reigned in the inhabitants of the *Low-Countries*, took the most violent measures to dispel it. For this purpose he augmented the number of the bishops, enacted the most severe

The Reformation takes place in the United Provinces.

" commission, there was nothing save a pack of cards with the
" knave of clubs uppermost; which not only startled the lord-
" deputy and council, but the doctor, who assured them he had
" a commission, but knew not how it was gone, then the lord-
" deputy made answer, *Let us have another commission, and we*
" *will shuffle the cards in the mean while.* The doctor, being
" troubled in his mind, went away, and returned into *England*;
" and, coming to the court, obtained another commission;
" but, staying for a wind on the water side, news came to him
" that the queen was dead; and thus God preserved the pro-
" testants of *Ireland*."

Queen ELIZABETH was so delighted with this story, which was related to her by LORD FITZ WALTER on his return to *England*, that she sent for ELIZABETH EDMONDS, whose husband's name was MATTERSHEAD, and gave her a pension of forty pounds during her life. See COV., *Hibernia Anglicana*, or *History of Ireland*, &c. vol. ii. p. 308.—*Harlesian Miscellany*, vol. v. p. 568

[n] See *The Life of Dr. GEORGE BROWN, Archbishop of Dublin*, published at London in 4to, in the year 1681, and which has been reprinted in the fifth volume of the *Harlesian Miscellany*. No. LXXIX.

CENT. and barbarous laws against all innovators in
 XVI. matters of religion, and erected that unjust and
 SECT. I. inhuman tribunal of the *inquisition*, which would
 ————— intimidate and tame, as he thought, the manly
 spirit of an oppressed and persecuted people. But
 his measures, in this respect, were as unsuccessful
 as they were absurd; his furious and intemperate
 zeal for the superstitions of *Rome* accelerated their
 destruction, and the papal authority, which had
 only been in a critical state, was reduced to a
 desperate one, by the very steps that were designed
 to support it. The nobility formed themselves
 into an *association*, in the year 1566, with a view
 to procure the repeal of these tyrannical and bar-
 barous edicts; but, their solicitations and requests
 being treated with contempt, they resolved to ob-
 tain by force, what they hoped to have gained
 from clemency and justice. They addressed
 themselves to a free and an abused people, spurned
 the authority of a cruel yoke, and with an impe-
 tuosity and vehemence that were perhaps excessive,
 trampled upon whatever was held sacred or re-
 spectable by the church of *Rome* [o]. To quell
 these

☞ [o] Dr. MOSHEIM seems here to distinguish too little
 between the spirit of the nobility and that of the multitude.
 Nothing was more *temperate* and *decent* than the conduct of the
 former; and nothing could be more *tumultuous* and *irregular*
 than the behaviour of the latter. While the multitude de-
 stroyed churches, pulled down monasteries, broke the images
 used in public worship, abused the officers of the inquisition,
 and committed a thousand enormities, the effects of furious
 resentment and brutish rage; the nobility and more opulent
 citizens kept within the bounds of moderation and prudence.
 Though justly exasperated against a despotic and cruel govern-
 ment, they dreaded the consequences of popular tumults as the
 greatest of misfortunes. Nay, many of them united their
 councils and forces with those of the governors (the dukes of
Parma) to restrain the seditious and turbulent spirit of the
 people. The prince of *Orange* and count *Egmont* (whose me-
 mories will live for ever in the grateful remembrance of the
 Dutch nation, and be dear to all the lovers of heroic patriotism
 and

these tumults, a powerful army was sent from *Spain*, under the command of the duke of ALVA, whose horrid barbarity and sanguinary proceedings kindled that long and bloody war from which the powerful republic of the United Provinces derive its origin, consistence, and grandeur. It was the heroic conduct of WILLIAM of *Nassau*, prince of *Orange*, seconded by the succours of *England* and *France*, that delivered this state from the Spanish yoke. And no sooner was this deliverance obtained, than the reformed religion, as it was professed in *Switzerland*, was established in the United Provinces [*p*]; and, at the same time, an universal toleration granted to those whose religious sentiments were of a different nature, whether they retained the faith of *Rome*, or embraced the Reformation in another form [*q*], provided still that they made no attempts against the authority of the government, or the tranquillity of the public [*r*].

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XIII. The

and sacred liberty throughout the world) signalized their moderation upon this occasion, and were the chief instruments of the repose that ensued. Their opposition to the government proceeded from the dictates of humanity and justice, and not from a spirit of licentiousness and rebellion; and such was their influence and authority among the people, that, had the imperious court of *Spain* condescended to make any reasonable concession, the public tranquillity might have been again restored, and the affections of the people entirely regained. See LE CLERC, *Histoire des Prov. Un.* livr. i. p. 18.

[*p*] In the year 1573.

[*q*] It is necessary to distinguish between the toleration that was granted to the Roman catholics, and that which the *Anabaptists*, *Lutherans*, and other protestant sects, enjoyed. They were all indiscriminately excluded from the civil employments of the state; but though they were equally allowed the exercise of their religion, the latter were permitted to enjoy their religious worship in a more open and public manner than the former, from whom the churches were taken, and whose religious assemblies were confined to private conventicles, which had no external resemblance of the edifices usually set apart for divine worship.

[*r*] See a farther account of this matter in GERARD BRANDT's *History of the Reformation in the Netherlands*, of which

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XVI.

SECT. I.

The progress of the Reformation in Spain and Italy.

XIII. The Reformation made a considerable progress in *Spain* and *Italy* soon after the rupture between LUTHER and the Roman pontif. In all the provinces of *Italy*, but more especially in the territories of *Venice*, *Tuscany*, and *Naples*, the religion of *Rome* lost ground, and great numbers of persons, of all ranks and orders, expressed an aversion to the papal yoke. This gave rise to violent and dangerous commotions in the kingdom of *Naples* in the year 1546, of which the principal authors were BERNARD OCHINO and PETER MARTYR, who, in their public discourses from the pulpit, exhausted all the force of their irresistible eloquence in exposing the enormity of the reigning superstition. These tumults were appeased with much difficulty by the united efforts of CHARLES V., and his viceroy DON PEDRO DI TOLEDO [s]. In several places the popes put a stop to the progress of the Reformation, by letting loose, upon the pretended heretics, their bloody *inquisitors*, who spread the marks of their usual barbarity through the greatest part of *Italy*. These formidable ministers of superstition put so many to death, and perpetrated, on the friends of religious liberty, such horrid acts of cruelty and oppression, that most of the reformists consulted their safety by a voluntary exile, while others returned to the religion of *Rome*, at least in external appearance. But the terrors of the *inquisition*, which frightened back into the profession of popery several protestants in other parts of *Italy*, could not penetrate into the kingdom of *Naples*, nor could either the authority or entreaties of the

which there was a French abridgment published at *Amsterdam*, in three volumes 12mo, in the year 1730. The original work was published in Dutch, in four volumes 4to.

[s] See GIANNONE, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 108.—VITA GALEACII in *Museo Helvetico*, tom. ii. p. 524.

Roman

Roman pontiffs engage the Neapolitans to admit within their territories either a court of inquisition, or even visiting inquisitors [1].

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The eyes of several persons in *Spain* were opened upon the truth, not only by the spirit of inquiry, which the controversies between LUTHER and

[1] It was an attempt to introduce a Roman inquisitor into the city of *Naples*, that, properly speaking, produced the tumult and sedition which Dr. MOSHEIM attributes in this section to the pulpit discourses of OCHINO and MARTYR; for these famous preachers, and particularly the former, taught the doctrines of the Reformation with great art, prudence, and caution, and converted many secretly, without giving public offence. The emperor himself, who heard him at *Naples*, declared, that he preached with such spirit and devotion as was sufficient to make the very stones weep. After OCHINO's departure from *Naples*, the disciples he had formed gave private instructions to others, among whom were some eminent ecclesiastics and persons of distinction, who began to form congregations and conventicles. This awakened the jealousy of the viceroy TOLEDO, who published a severe edict against heretical books, ordered some productions of MELANCTHON and ERASMUS to be publicly burnt, looked with a suspicious eye on all kinds of literature, suppressed several academies, which had been erected about this time by the nobility for the advancement of learning; and, having received orders from the emperor to introduce the inquisition, desired pope PAUL III. to send from *Rome* to *Naples* a deputy of that formidable tribunal. It was this that excited the people to take up arms in order to defend themselves against this branch of spiritual tyranny, which the Neapolitans never were patient enough to suffer, and which, on many occasions, they had opposed with vigour and success. Hostilities ensued, which were followed by an accommodation of matters and a general pardon; while the emperor and viceroy, by this resolute opposition, were deterred from their design of introducing this despotic tribunal into the kingdom of *Naples*. Several other attempts were afterwards made, during the reign of PHILIP II., III., IV., and CHARLES II., to establish the inquisition in *Naples*; but, by the jealousy and vigilance of the people, they all proved ineffectual. At length the emperor CHARLES VI., in the beginning of this present century, published an edict, expressly prohibiting all causes, relating to the holy faith, to be tried by any persons, except the archbishops and bishops as ordinaries. See GIANNONE, *Histoire de Naples*, livr. xxxii. sect. 2 and 3.—*Modern Univ. History*, vol. xxviii. p. 273, &c. edit. octavo.

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Rome had excited in *Europe*, but even by those very divines, which CHARLES V. had brought with him into *Germany*, to combat the pretended *heresy* of the reformers. For these Spanish doctors imbibed this heresy instead of refuting it, and propagated it more or less, on their return home, as appears evidently from several circumstances [*u*]. But the *inquisition*, which could not gain any footing in the kingdom of *Naples*, reigned triumphant in *Spain*; and by racks, gibbets, stakes, and other such formidable instruments of its method of persuading, soon terrified the people back into popery, and suppressed the vehement desire they had of changing a superstitious worship for a rational religion [*w*].

What judgment we are to form concerning the Reformation, and the means by which it was produced.

XIV. I shall not pretend to dispute with those writers, whatever their secret intentions may be, who observe, that many unjustifiable proceedings may be charged upon some of the most eminent promoters of this great change in the state of religion. For every impartial and attentive observer of the rise and progress of the Reformation will

[*u*] This appears from the unhappy end of all the ecclesiastics that had attended CHARLES V. and followed him into his retirement. No sooner was the breath of that monarch out, than they were put into the inquisition, and were afterwards committed to the flames, or sent to death in other forms equally terrible. Such was the fate of AUGUSTIN CASAL, the emperor's preacher; of CONSTANTINE PONTIUS, his confessor; of the learned EGIDIUS, whom he had nominated to the bishopric of *Tortosa*; of BARTHOLOMEW DE CARANZA, a Dominican, who had been confessor to king PHILIP and queen MARY, with above twenty more of less note. All this gave reason to presume that CHARLES V. died a protestant. Certain it is, that he knew well the corruptions and frauds of the church of *Rome*, and the grounds and reasons of the protestant faith; though business, ambition, interest, and the prejudices of education, may have blinded him for a while, until leisure, retirement, the absence of worldly temptations, and the approach of death, removed the veil, and led him to wise and serious reflexions. See BURNET's *History of the Reformation*, and the book cited in the following note.

[*w*] See GEDDES, his *Spanish Martyrology*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, tom. i. p. 445.

ingenuously

ingenuously acknowledge, that wisdom and prudence did not always attend the transactions of those that were concerned in this glorious cause; that many things were done with violence, temerity, and precipitation; and, what is still worse, that several of the principal agents in this great revolution were actuated more by the impulse of passions, and views of interest, than by a zeal for the advancement of true religion. But, on the other hand, the wise and candid observer of things will own, as a most evident and incontestable truth, that many things which, when stripped of the circumstances and motives that attended them, appear to us at this time as real crimes, will be deprived of their enormity, and even acquire the aspect of noble deeds, if they be considered in one point of view with the times and places in which they were transacted, and with the frauds and crimes of the Roman pontifs and their creatures, by which they were occasioned. But after all, in defending the cause of the Reformation, we are under no obligation to defend, in all things, the moral characters of its promoters and instruments. These two objects are entirely distinct. The most just and excellent cause may be promoted with low views and from sinister motives, without losing its nature, or ceasing to be just and excellent. The true state of the question here, is, whether the opposition made, by LUTHER and the other reformers, to the Roman pontif, was founded on just and solid reasons? and this question is entirely independent of the virtues or vices of particular persons [x]. Let many of these persons be supposed as odious, nay, still more detestable, than they are pleased to represent them, provided the cause in which they were embarked be allowed to have been just and good.

☞ [x] The translator has added here some paragraphs, to render more palpable the important observation of the learned author.

APPENDIX I.

*Concerning the SPIRIT and CONDUCT of the
first Reformers, and the charge of ENTHUSIASM
(i. e. fanaticism), that has been brought against
them by a celebrated Author.*

THE candour and impartiality, with which Dr. MOSHEIM represents the transactions of those who were agents and instruments in bringing about the Reformation, are highly laudable. He acknowledges, that imprudence, passion, and even a low self-interest, mingled sometimes their rash proceedings and ignoble motives in this excellent cause; and, in the very nature of things, it could not be otherwise. It is one of the most inevitable consequences of the subordination and connexions of civil society, that many improper instruments and agents are set to work in all great and important revolutions, whether of a religious or political nature. When great men appear in these revolutions, they draw after them their dependants; and the unhappy effects of a party-spirit are unavoidably displayed in the best cause. The subjects follow their prince; the multitude adopt the system of their leaders, without entering into its true spirit, or being judiciously attentive to the proper methods of promoting it; and thus irregular proceedings are employed in the maintenance of the truth. Thus it happened in the important revolution that delivered a great part of *Europe* from the ignominious yoke of the Roman pontif. The sovereigns, the ecclesiastics, the men of weight,
piety,

piety, learning; who arose to assert the rights of human nature, the cause of genuine Christianity, and the exercise of religious liberty, came forth into the field of controversy with a multitude of dependants, admirers, and friends, whose motives and conduct cannot be entirely justified. Besides, when the eyes of whole nations were opened upon the iniquitous absurdities of popery, and upon the tyranny and insolence of the Roman pontiffs, it was scarcely possible to set bounds to the indignation of an incensed and tumultuous multitude, who are naturally prone to extremes, generally pass from blind submission to lawless ferocity, and too rarely distinguish between the use and abuse of their undoubted rights. In a word, many things, which appear to us extremely irregular in the conduct and measures of *some* of the instruments of our happy reformation, will be entitled to a certain degree of indulgence, if the spirit of the times, the situation of the contending parties, the barbarous provocations of popery, and the infirmities of human nature, be duly and attentively considered.

The question here is, what was the *spirit* which animated the *first* and *principal reformers*, who arose in times of darkness and despair to deliver oppressed kingdoms from the dominion of *Rome*, and upon what principles a LUTHER, a ZUINGLE, a CALVIN, a MELANCTHON, a BUCER, &c. embarked in the arduous cause of the Reformation? This question, indeed, is not at all necessary to the defence of the Reformation, which rests upon the strong foundations of scripture and reason, and whose excellence is absolutely independent on the virtues of those who took the lead in promoting it. Bad men may be, and often are, embarked in the best causes; as such causes afford the most specious mask to cover mercenary views, or to disguise ambitious purposes. But, until the
more

more than Jesuitical and disingenuous PHILIPS resumed the trumpet of calumny [a], even the voice of popery had ceased to attack the moral characters of the leading reformers.

These eminent men were, indeed, attacked from another quarter, and by a much more respectable writer. The truly ingenious Mr. HUME, so justly celebrated as one of the first favourites of the historical Muse, has, in his History of *England*, and more especially in the History of the houses of TUDOR and STUART, represented the character and temper of the *first reformers* in a point of view, which undoubtedly shews, that he had not considered them with that close and impartial attention that ought always to precede personal reflexions. He has laid it down as a principle, that SUPERSTITION and ENTHUSIASM are *two species of religion* that stand in *diametrical opposition* to each other; and seems to establish it as a fact, that the *former* is the genius of popery, and the *latter* the characteristic of the Reformation. Both the *principle* and its *application* must appear extremely singular; and three sorts of persons must be more especially surprised at it.

First, Persons of a philosophical turn, who are accustomed to study human nature, and to describe with precision both its regular and excentric movements, must be surprised to see *superstition* and *fanaticism* [b] represented as opposite and jarring qualities. They have been seen often together,

[a] See the various answers that were made to this biographer by the ingenious Mr. PYLE, the learned Dr. NEVE, and other commendable writers, who have appeared in this controversy.

[b] I use the word *fanaticism* here instead of *enthusiasm*, to prevent all ambiguity; because, as shall be shewn presently, Mr. HUME takes *enthusiasm*, in its worst sense, when he applies it to the reformers; and in that sense it is not only equivalent to, but is perfectly synonymous with, fanaticism. Besides, this latter term is used indiscriminately with enthusiasm, by this celebrated historian, in characterising the Reformation.

holding with each other a most friendly correspondence; and, indeed, if we consider their nature and their essential characters, their union will appear not only possible, but in some cases natural, if not necessary. *Superstition*, which consists in *false* and *abject* notions of the Deity, in the gloomy and groundless *fears* of invisible beings, and in the absurd rites, that these notions and these fears naturally produce, is certainly at the root of various branches of fanaticism. For what is *fanaticism*, but the visions, illuminations, impulses, and dreams of an over-heated fancy, converted into rules of faith, hope, worship, and practice? This fanaticism, as it springs up in a melancholy or a cheerful complexion, assumes a variety of aspects, and its morose and gloomy forms are certainly most congenial with superstition, in its proper sense. It was probably this consideration that led the author of the article *Fanaticism*, in the famous *Dictionnaire Encyclopedique*, published at *Paris*, to define it [c] as *a blind and passionate zeal, which ariseth from SUPERSTITIOUS opinions, and leads its votaries to commit ridiculous, unjust, and cruel actions, not only without shame, but even with certain internal feelings of joy and comfort*; from which the author concludes, that *FANATICISM is really nothing more than SUPERSTITION set in motion*. This definition unites perhaps too closely these two kinds of *false* religion, whose enormities have furnished very ill-grounded pretexts for discrediting and misrepresenting the *true*. It is however a testimony, from one of the pretended oracles of modern philosophy, in favour of the compatibility of *fanaticism* with *superstition*. These two principles are evidently

[c] The words of the original are : *Le fanatisme est un zele aveugle et passionné, qui nait des opinions superstitieuses, et fait commettre des actions ridicules, injustes et cruelles, non seulement sans honte, mais avec une sorte de joye et de consolation. Le fanatisme*

distinct ;

distinct; because *superstition* is, generally speaking, the effect of ignorance, or of a judgment perverted by a sour and splenetic temper; whereas *fanaticism* is the offspring of an inflamed *imagination*, and may exist where there is no superstition, *i. e.* no false or gloomy notions of the Divinity. But though distinct, they are not opposite principles; on the contrary, they lend, on many occasions, mutual strength and assistance to each other.

If persons accustomed to philosophical precision will not relish the maxim of the celebrated writer which I have been now considering, so neither, in the *second place*, can those who are versed in ecclesiastical history look upon *superstition* as a more predominant characteristic of popery than *fanaticism*; and yet this is a leading idea, which is not only visible in many parts of this author's excellent History, but appears to be the basis of all the reflexions he employs, and of all the epithets he uses, in his speculations upon the Romish religion.

And nevertheless it is manifest, that the multitudes of fanatics, which arose in the church of *Rome* before the Reformation, are truly innumerable; and the operations of fanaticism in that church were, at least, as visible and frequent, as the restless workings of superstition; they went, in short, hand in hand, and united their visions and their terrors in the support of the papacy. It is, more especially, well known, that the greatest part of the monastic establishments (that alternately insulted the benignity of Providence by their austerities, and abused it by their licentious luxury), were originally founded in consequence of pretended illuminations, miraculous dreams, and such like wild delusions of an overheated fancy. Whenever a new doctrine was to be established, that could augment the authority of the pope, or fill the coffers of the clergy; whenever a new
convent

convent was to be erected, there was always a vision or a miracle ready to facilitate the business; nor must it be imagined, that forgery and imposture were the only agents in this matter;—by no means;—imposture there was; and it was frequently employed; but impostures made use of fanatics; and in return fanatics found impostors, who spread abroad their fame, and turned their visions to profit. Were I to recount with the utmost simplicity, without the smallest addition of ludicrous embellishment, the extasies, visions, seraphic amours, celestial apparitions, that are said to have shed such an odour of sanctity upon the male and female saints of the Romish church; were I to pass in review the famous *conformities* of St. FRANCIS, the illuminations of St. IGNA-TIUS, and the enormous cloud of fanatical witnesses that have dishonoured humanity in bearing testimony to popery, this dissertation would become a voluminous history. Let the reader cast an eye upon Dr. MOSHEIM's account of those ages that more immediately preceded the Reformation, and he will see what a number of sects, *purely fanatical*, arose in the bosom of the Romish church.

But this is not all—for it must be carefully observed, that even these extravagant fanatics, who produced such disorders in *Germany* about the commencement of the Reformation, were nursed in the bosom of popery, were professed papists before they adopted the cause of LUTHER, nay, many of them passed directly from popery to fanaticism, without even entering into the outward profession of Lutheranism. It is also to be observed, that besides the fanatics, who exposed themselves to the contempt of the wise upon the public theatre of popery, SECKENDORF speaks of a sect that merits of this denomination, which had spread in the *Netherlands*, before LUTHER raised

his voice against popery, and whose members were engaged, by the terror of penal laws, to dissemble their sentiments; nay, even affected a devout compliance with the external rites of the established worship, until religious liberty, introduced by the reformation, encouraged them to pull off the mask, and propagate their opinions, several of which were licentious and profane.

But, in the *third place*, the friends of the Reformation must naturally be both surprised and displeased to find *enthusiasm*, or *fanaticism*, laid down by Mr. HUME as the character and spirit of its founders and abettors, without any exception, or distinction, made in favour of any one of the reformers. That *fanaticism* was visible in the conduct and spirit of many who embraced the Reformation, is a fact which I do not pretend to deny; and it may be worthy of the reader's curiosity to consider, for a moment, how this came to pass. That religious liberty, which the Reformation introduced and granted (in consequence of its essential principles) indiscriminately to all, to learned and unlearned, rendered this eruption of enthusiasm inevitable. It is one of the imperfections annexed to all human things, that our best blessings have their inconveniencies, or, at least, are susceptible of abuse. As liberty is a *natural right*, but not a *discerning principle*, it could not open the door to truth without letting error and delusion come in along with it. If *reason* came forth with dignity, when delivered from the despotism of authority, and the blind servitude of implicit faith; *imagination*, also set free, and less able to bear the prosperous change, came forth likewise, but with a different aspect, and exposed to view the reveries it had been long obliged to conceal.

Thus many fanatical phantoms were exhibited, which neither arose from the spirit of the Reformation,

formation, nor from the principles of the reformers, but which had been engendered in the bosom of popery, and which the fostering rays of liberty had disclosed; similar in this, to the enlivening beams of the sun, which fructifies *indiscriminately* the *salutary plant* in the well-cultivated ground, and the *noxious weed* in a rank and neglected soil. And as the Reformation had no such miraculous influence (not to speak of the imperfection that attended its infancy, and that has not entirely been removed from its more advanced stages) as to cure human nature of its infirmities and follies, to convert irregular passions into regular principles, or to turn men into angels before the time, it has still left the field open, both for fanaticism and superstition to sow their *tares* among the *good seed*; and this will probably be the case until the *end of the world*. It is here, that we must seek for the true cause of all that condemnable enthusiasm that has dishonoured the christian name, and often troubled the order of civil society, at different periods of time since the Reformation; and for which the Reformation is no more responsible, than a free government is for the weakness or corruption of those who abuse its lenity and indulgence. The Reformation established the sacred and unalienable right of private judgment; but it could not hinder the private judgment of many from being wild and extravagant.

The Reformation, then, which the multiplied enormities of popery rendered so necessary, must be always distinguished from the abuses that might be, and were often made, of the liberty it introduced. If you ask, indeed, what was the *temper* and *spirit* of the *first* heralds of this happy Reformation, Mr. HUME will tell you, *that they were universally* inflamed with the highest *enthusiasm*. This assertion, if taken singly, and not compared with other passages relating to the reformers,

might

might be understood in a sense consistent with truth, nay, even honourable to the character of these eminent men. For, if by *enthusiasm* we understand that spirit of ardor, intrepidity, and generous zeal, which leads men to brave the most formidable obstacles and dangers in defence of a cause, whose excellence and importance have made a deep impression upon their minds; the first reformers will be allowed by their warmest friends to have been enthusiasts. This species of *enthusiasm* is a noble affection, when fitly placed and wisely exerted. It is this generous sensibility, this ardent feeling of the *great* and the *excellent*, that forms heroes and patriots; and without it, nothing difficult and arduous, that is attended with danger or prejudice to our temporal interests, can either be attempted with vigour, or executed with success. Nay, had this ingenious writer observed, that the ardor of the first reformers was more or less violent, that it was more or less blended with the warmth and vivacity of human passions, candour would be obliged to avow the charge.

But it is not in any of these points of view, that our eminent historian considers the spirit, temper, and enthusiasm of the first reformers. The enthusiasm he attributes to them is fanaticism in its worst sense. He speaks indeed of the *inflexible intrepidity, with which they braved dangers, torments, and even death itself*; but he calls them *the fanatical and enraged reformers*: he indicates, through the whole course of his history, fanaticism as the characteristic of the protestant religion and its glorious founders; the terms *protestant fanaticism—fanatical churches* are interpersed in various parts of this work; and we never meet with the least appearance of a distinction between the *rational* and *enthusiastic*, the *wise* and *indiscreet* friends of the Reformation. In short, we find a phraeo-

logy

logy constantly employed upon this subject, which discovers an intention to confound protestantism with enthusiasm, and to make reformers and fanatics synonymous terms. We are told, that while absurd rites and burthensome superstitions reigned in the Romish church, the reformers were *thrown, by a spirit of opposition, into an enthusiastic strain of devotion*; and in another place, that these latter placed all merit in a *mysterious species of faith, in INWARD VISION, RAPTURE and EXTACY*. It would be endless to quote the passages in which this representation of things is repeated in a great variety of phrases, and artfully insinuated into the mind of the reader, by dextrous strokes of a seducing pencil; which, though scattered here and there, yet gradually unite their influence on the imagination of an uninstructed and unwary reader, and form, imperceptibly, an unfavourable impression of that great event, to which we owe at this day our civil and religious liberty, and our deliverance from a yoke of superstitious and barbarous despotism. Protestants, in all ages and places, are stigmatized by Mr. HUME with very dishonourable titles; and it struck me particularly to see even the generous opposers of the Spanish inquisition in *Holland*, whose proceedings were so moderate, and whose complaints were so humble, until the barbarous yoke of superstition and tyranny became intolerable; it struck me, I say, to see these generous patriots branded with the general character of *bigots*. This is certainly a severe appellation; and were it applied with much more equity than it is, I think it would still come with an ill grace from a lover of freedom, from a man who lives and writes with security under the auspicious shade of that very liberty which the Reformation introduced, and for which the Belgic heroes (or *bigots*—if we must call them so) shed their blood. I observe with pain, that the

phraseology employed perpetually by Mr. HUME, on similar occasions, seems to discover a keen dislike of every opposition made to power in favour of the Reformation. Nay, upon the too general principle which this eminent writer has diffused through his history, we shall be obliged to brand with the opprobrious mark of fanaticism, those generous friends of civil and religious liberty, who, in the Revolution in 1688, opposed the measures of a popish prince and an arbitrary government; and to rank the BURNETS, TILLOTSONS, STILLINGFLEETS, and other *immortal* ornaments of the protestant name, among the enthusiastic tribe; it is a question, whether even a BOYLE, a NEWTON, or a LOCKE, will escape a censure, which is lavished without mercy and without distinction.—But my present business is with the *first reformers*, and to them I return.

Those who more especially merit that title were LUTHER, ZUINGLE, CALVIN, MELANCTHON, BUCER, MARTYR, BULLINGER, BEZA, OECOLAMPADIUS, and others. Now these were *all men* of learning, who came forth into the field of controversy (in which the fate of future ages, with respect to liberty, was to be decided) with a kind of arms that did not at all give them the aspect of persons agitated by the impulse, or seduced by the delusions, of fanaticism. They pretended not to be called to the work they undertook by visions, or internal illuminations and impulses;—they never attempted to work miracles, nor pleaded a Divine commission;—they taught no new religion, nor laid claim to any extraordinary vocation;—they respected government, practised and taught submission to civil rulers, and desired only the liberty of that conscience which God has made free, and which ceases to be conscience if it be not free. They maintained, that the faith of Christians was to be determined by the word of God alone;—
they

they had recourse to reason and argument, to the rules of sound criticism, and to the authority and light of history.—They translated the scriptures into the popular languages of different countries, and appealed to them as the only test of religious truth. They exhorted Christians to judge for themselves, to search the scriptures, to break asunder the bonds of ignorant prejudice and lawless authority, and to assert that liberty of conscience to which they had an unalienable right as reasonable beings. Mr. HUME himself acknowledges, that they offered to submit *all religious doctrines to private judgment, and exhorted every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon him.* In short, it was their great and avowed purpose to oppose the gross corruptions and the spiritual tyranny of Rome [d], of which Mr. HUME himself complains with a just indignation, and which he censures in as keen and vehement terms, as those which were used by LUTHER and CALVIN in their warmest moments.

I have already insinuated, and I acknowledge it here again, that the zeal of the reformers was sometimes intemperate; but I cannot think this circumstance sufficient to justify the aspersions of *Fanaticism*, which is cast both on the spirit of the Reformation, and the principal agents concerned in it. A man may be over-zealous in the advancement of, what he supposes to be, the true religion, without being entitled to the denomination of a *fanatic*; unless we depart from the usual sense of this word, which is often enough employed to have acquired, before this time, a determinate signification. The intemperate zeal

[d] See the sensible and judicious *Letters on Mr. HUME's History of Great Britain* (such is the title), that were published at *Edinburgh* in the year 1756; and in which some points, which I have barely mentioned here, are enlarged upon, and illustrated, in an ample and satisfactory manner.

of the reformers was the result of that ardour, which takes place in all divisions and parties that are founded upon objects of real or supposed importance; and it may be affirmed, that, in such circumstances, the most generous minds, filled with a persuasion of the goodness of their end and of the uprightness of their intentions, are the most liable to transgress the exact bounds of moderation, and to adopt measures, which, in the calm hour of deliberate reflexion, they themselves would not approve. In all great divisions, the warmth of natural temper,—the provocation of unjust and violent opposition,—a spirit of sympathy, which connects, in some cases, the most dissimilar characters, renders the mild violent, and the phlegmatic warm—nay, frequently the pride of conquest, which mingles itself, imperceptibly, with the best principles and the most generous views, all these produce or nourish an intemperate zeal; and this zeal is, in some cases, almost inevitable. On the other hand, it may be suspected, that some writers, and Mr. HUME among others, may have given too high colours to their descriptions of this intemperate zeal. There is a passage of Sir ROBERT COTTON, that has much meaning, “most men (*says he*) grew to be frozen in zeal and benumbed, so that whosoever pretended a little *spark of earnestness*, he seemed no less than red fire hot, in comparison of the other.”

Nothing can be more foreign from my temper and sentiments, than to plead the cause of an excessive zeal; more especially, every kind of zeal that approaches to a spirit of intolerance and persecution ought to be regarded with aversion and horror by all who have at heart the interest of genuine Christianity, and the happiness of civil society. There may be, nevertheless, cases, in which a zeal (not that breathes a spirit of persecution, but) that mounts to a certain degree of intemperance,

temperance, may be not only inevitable, but useful; nay, not only *useful*, but *necessary*. This assertion I advance almost against my will—because it is susceptible of great and dangerous abuse—the assertion however is true, though the cases must be singularly important and desperate to which such zeal may be applied. It has been observed, that the Reformation was one of these cases, and, all things attentively considered, the observation appears to be entirely just; and the violence of expression and vehement measures employed by some of the reformers, *might have been* (I do not say that they *really were*) as much the effect of provident reflexion, as of natural fervour and resentment. To a calculating head, which considered closely, in these times of corruption and darkness, the strength of the court of *Rome*, the luxury and despotism of the pontiffs, the ignorance and licentiousness of the clergy, the superstition and stupidity of the people; in a word, the deep root which the papacy had gained through all these circumstances combined, what was the first thought that must naturally have occurred? No doubt, the improbability that cool philosophy, dispassionate reason and affectionate remonstrances would ever triumph over these multiplied and various supports of popery. And, if a calculating head must have judged in this manner, a generous heart, which considered the blessings that must arise upon mankind with religious liberty and a reformation of the church, would naturally be excited to apply even a violent remedy, if that were *necessary*, to remove such a desperate and horrible disease. It would really seem, that LUTHER acted on such a view of things. He began mildly, and did not employ the fire of his zeal, before he saw that it was essential to the success of his cause. Whoever looks into Dr. MOSHEIM's history, or any other impartial ac-

count of the XVth century, will find, that LUTHER's opposition to the infamous traffic of indulgences, was carried on, at first, in the most submissive strain, by humble remonstrances addressed to the pope, and the most eminent prelates of the church. These remonstrances were answered, not only by the despotic voice of authority, but also by opprobrious invectives, perfidious plots against his person, and the terror of penal laws. Even under these he maintained his tranquillity; and his conduct at the famous diet of *Worms*, though resolute and steady, was nevertheless, both respectful and modest. But when all gentle measures proved ineffectual; then, indeed, he acted with redoubled vigour, and added a new degree of warmth and impetuosity to his zeal; and (I repeat it) reflexion might have dictated those animated proceedings, which were owing, perhaps, merely to his resentment, and the natural warmth of his temper inflamed by opposition. Certain it is, at least, that neither the elegant satires of ERASMUS (had he even been a friend to the cause of liberty), nor the timid remonstrances of the gentle MELANCTHON (who was really such), would ever have been sufficient to bring about a reformation of the church. The former made many *laugh*, the latter made some *reason*; but neither of the two could make them *act*, or set them in motion. In such a crisis, bold speech and ardent resolution were necessary to produce that happy change in the face of religion, which has crowned with inestimable blessings one part of *Europe*, and has been productive of many advantages even to the other, which censures it.

As to CALVIN, every one, who has any acquaintance with history, knows how he set out in promoting the Reformation. It was by a work composed with a classic elegance of style; and which, though finctured with the scholastic theology of

the times, breathes an uncommon spirit of good sense and moderation. This work was the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, in which the learned writer shews, that the doctrine of the reformers was founded in scripture and reason. Nay, one of the designs of this book was to shew, that the reformers ought not to be confounded with certain *fanatics*, who, about the time of the Reformation, sprung from the bosom of the church of *Rome*, and excited tumults and commotions in several places. The French monarch (*FRANCIS I.*), to cover with a specious pretext his barbarous persecution of the friends of the Reformation, and to prevent the resentment of the protestants in *Germany*, with whom it was his interest to be on good terms, alleged, that his severity fell, *only*, upon a sect of enthusiasts, who, under the title of *Anabaptists*, substituted their visions in the place of the doctrines and declarations of the Holy Scriptures. To vindicate the Reformers from this reproach, CALVIN wrote the book now under consideration; and though the theology that reigns in it be chargeable with some defects, yet it is as remote from the spirit and complexion of fanaticism, as any thing can be. Nor indeed is this spirit visible in any of the writings of CALVIN that I have perused. His commentary upon the Old and New Testament is a production that will always be esteemed, on account of its elegant simplicity, and the evident marks it bears of an unprejudiced and impartial inquiry into the plain sense of the sacred writings, and of sagacity and penetration in the investigation of it.

If we were to pass in review the writings of the other eminent reformers, whose names have been already mentioned, we should find abundant matter to justify them in the same respect. They were men of letters, nay, several of them men of taste for the age in which they lived; they culti-

vated the study of languages, history, and criticism, and applied themselves with indefatigable industry to these studies, which, of all others, are the least adapted to excite or nourish a spirit of *fanaticism*. They had, indeed, their errors and prejudices; nor perhaps were they few in number; but who is free from the same charge? We have ours too, though they may turn on a different set of objects. Their theology favoured somewhat of the pedantry and jargon of the schools;—how could it be otherwise, considering the dismal state of philosophy at that period? The advantages we enjoy above them, give them, at least, a title to our candour and indulgence; perhaps to our gratitude, as the instruments who prepared the way through which these advantages have been conveyed to us. To conclude, let us regret their infirmities; let us reject their errors; let us even condemn any instances of ill-judged severity and violence they may have been chargeable with;—but let us never forget, that, through perils and obstacles almost unsurmountable, they open the path to that religious liberty, which we cannot too highly esteem, nor be too careful to improve to rational and worthy purposes.

SECTION II.

The GENERAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

I. **T**HE Spaniards and Portuguese, if we may give credit to their historians, exerted themselves, with the greatest vigour and success, in the propagation of the gospel among the darkened nations [a]. And it must, indeed, be confessed, that they communicated some notions, such as they were, of the Christian religion to the inhabitants of *America*, to those parts of *Africa* where they carried their arms, and to the islands and maritime provinces of *Asia*, which they reduced under their dominion. It is also true, that considerable numbers of these savage people, who had hitherto lived, either under the bondage of the most extravagant superstitions, or in a total ignorance of any object of religious worship, embraced, at least in outward appearance, the doctrines of the Gospel. But when we consider the methods of conversion that were employed by the Spanish missionaries among these wretched nations, the barbarous laws and inhuman tortures that were used to force them into the profession of Christianity; when it is considered, farther, that the denomination of Christians was conferred upon such of those poor wretches as discovered a blind

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The borders
of the
church en-
larged,

[a] See JOS. FRANC. LAFITAU, *Histoire des Decouvertes et Conquêtes des Portugais dans le nouveau Monde*, tom. iii. p. 420. All the relations given by this eloquent writer (who was afterwards created bishop of *Sisteron*) are taken from the Portuguese historians—The other writers who have cast light upon this part of Ecclesiastical History, are enumerated by FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Salutar. Evangelii toti orbi exorientis*, cap. 42, 43. 48. and 49.

C E N T. and excessive veneration for their stupid instructors, and were able, by certain gestures, and the repetition of a little jargon, to perform a few superstitious rites and ceremonies; then, instead of rejoicing at, we shall be tempted to lament, such a propagation of the gospel, and to behold the labours of such miserable apostles with indignation and contempt. Such is the judgment passed upon these missionaries, not only by those whom the church of *Rome* places in the list of *heretics*, but also by many of the most pious and eminent of her own doctors, in *France*, *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Italy*.

The zeal of the Roman pontiffs in the propagation of Christianity.

II. When the Roman pontiffs saw their ambition checked by the progress of the Reformation, which deprived them of a great part of their spiritual dominion in *Europe*, they turned their lordly views towards the other parts of the globe, and became more solicitous than ever about the propagation of the gospel among the nations that lay yet involved in the darkness of paganism. This they considered as the best method of making amends for the loss they had sustained in *Europe*, and the most specious pretext for assuming to themselves, with some appearance of justice, the titles of heads or parents of the universal church. The famous society, which, in the year 1540, took the denomination of *jesuits*, or, *the company of Jesus*, seemed every way proper to assist the court of *Rome* in the execution of this extensive design. And accordingly, from their first rise, this peculiar charge was given them, that they should form a certain number of their order for the propagation of Christianity among the unenlightened nations, and that these missionaries should be at the absolute disposal of the Roman pontiff, and always ready, at a moment's warning, to repair to whatever part of the world he should

fix for the exercise of their ministry [b]. The many histories and relations which mention the labours, perils, and exploits of that prodigious multitude of jesuits, who were employed in the conversion of the African, American, and Indian infidels, abundantly shew, with what fidelity and zeal the members of this society executed the orders of the Roman pontifs [c]. And their labours would have undoubtedly crowned them with immortal glory, had it not appeared evident, from the most authentic records, that the greatest part of these new apostles had more in view the promoting the ambitious views of *Rome*, and the advancing the interests of their own society, than the propagation of the Christian religion, or the honour of its divine Author [d]. It may also be

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✠ [b] When the fanatic IGNATIUS first solicited the confirmation of his order by the Roman pontif, PAUL III., the learned and worthy cardinal GUIDICIONI opposed his request with great vehemence. But this opposition was vanquished by the dexterity of IGNATIUS, who, changing the articles of his institution, in which he had promised obedience to the pope with certain restrictions, turned it in such a manner as to bind his order by a solemn vow of implicit, blind, and unlimited submission and obedience to the Roman pontif. This change produced the desired effect, and made the popes look upon the jesuits as the chief support of their authority; and hence the zeal which *Rome* has ever shewn for that order, and that even at present, when their secret enormities have been brought to light, and procured the suppression of their society in *Portugal* and in *France*, where their power was so extensive. It is indeed remarkable, that IGNATIUS and his company, in the very same charter of their order in which they declare their implicit and blind allegiance to the court of *Rome*, promise a like implicit and unlimited allegiance to the general of their society, notwithstanding the impossibility of serving two absolute masters, whose commands may be often contradictory. See *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, printed at *Utrecht* in 1741, tom. i. p. 77, &c.

[c] See JO. ALB. FABRICII *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exorientis*, cap. xxxiii. p. 550.

[d] B. CHRIST. EBERH. WEISMANNI *Oratio de virtutibus et vitis Mission. Romanar. in Orat. ejus Academ.* p. 286.

affirmed,

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affirmed, from records of the highest credit and authority, that the *inquisition* erected by the jesuits at Goa, and the penal laws whose terrors they employed so freely in propagation of the gospel, contributed, much more than their arguments and exhortations, which were but sparingly used, to engage the Indians to embrace Christianity [e]. The converting zeal of the Franciscans and Dominicans, which had, for a long time, been not only cooled, but almost totally extinguished, was animated anew by the example of the jesuits. And several other religious orders, that slumbered in their cells, were roused from their lethargy, if not by a principle of envy, at least by a spirit of emulation.

The propa-
gation of
the gospel
in India,
Japan, and
China.

III. Of all the jesuits who distinguished themselves by their zealous and laborious attempts to extend the limits of the church, none acquired a more shining reputation than FRANCIS XAVIER, who is commonly called the *Apostle of the Indians* [f]. An undaunted resolution, and no small degree of genius and sagacity, rendered this famous missionary one of the properest persons that could be employed in such an arduous task. Accordingly, in the year 1522, he set sail for the Portuguese settlements in *India*, and, in a short space of time, spread the knowledge of the Christian, or, to speak more properly, of the popish

[e] See the *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. ii. p. 171. 207.

[f] The late king of Portugal obtained for XAVIER, or rather for his memory, the title of *Protector of the Indians*, from BENEDICT XIV., in the year 1747. See the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses des Missions Etrangères*, tom. xliii. *Pref.* p. 36. The body of this sainted missionary lies interred at Goa, where it is worshipped with the highest marks of devotion. There is also a magnificent church at Cotati dedicated to XAVIER, to whom the inhabitants of that Portuguese settlement pay the most devout tribute of veneration and worship. See *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c. tom. iii. p. 85. 89. 203. tom. v. p. 38—48. tom. vi. p. 78.

religion,

religion, over a great part of the continent, and in several of the islands of that remote region. From thence, in the year 1529, he passed into Japan, and laid there with amazing rapidity the foundations of the famous church, which flourished, during so many years, in that vast empire. His indefatigable zeal prompted him to attempt the conversion of the Chinese; and with this view he embarked for that extensive and powerful kingdom, in sight of which he ended his days in the year 1552 [g]. After his death, other members of his insinuating order penetrated into China. The chief of these was MATTHEW RICCI, an Italian, who, by his skill in the Mathematics, became so acceptable to the Chinese nobility, and even to their emperor, that he obtained, both for himself and his associates, the liberty of explaining to the people the doctrines of the gospel [h]. This famous missionary may, therefore, be considered as the parent and founder of the Christian churches, which, though often dispersed and tossed to and fro by the storms of persecution, subsist, nevertheless, still in China [i].

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IV. The jurisdiction and territories of those princes, who had thrown off the papal yoke, being confined within the limits of Europe, the churches that were under their protection could contribute but little to the propagation of the gospel in those

The attempts of the protestants towards the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts.

[g] See the writers enumerated by FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii*, &c. cap. xxxix. p. 677. Add to these, LAFITAU, *Histoire des Decouvertes des Portugais dans le nouveau Monde*, tom. iii. p. 419. 424. tom. iv. p. 63. 102.—*Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. i. p. 92.

[h] B. DU HALDE, *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, tom. iii. p. 84. edit. Holland.

[i] It appears however, that before the arrival of RICCI in China, some of the Dominicans had already been there, though to little purpose. See LE QUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 1354.

distant

CENT. distant regions of which we have been speaking. It
 XVI. is, however, recorded in history, that, in the year
 SECT. II. 1556, fourteen protestant missionaries were sent
 from *Geneva* to convert the Americans [k], though
 it is not well known who was the promoter of this
 pious design, nor with what success it was carried
 into execution. The English also, who, towards
 the conclusion of this century, sent colonies into
 the northern parts of *America*, transplanted with
 them the reformed religion, which they themselves
 professed; and, as their possessions were extended
 and multiplied from time to time, their religion
 also made a considerable progress among that
 rough and uncivilized people. We learn, more-
 over, that about this time the Swedes exerted their
 religious zeal in converting to Christianity many
 of the inhabitants of *Finland* and *Lapland*, of
 whom a considerable number had hitherto retained
 the impious and extravagant superstitions of their
 Pagan ancestors.

The ene-
 mies of
 Christia-
 nity.

V. It does not appear, from authentic records
 of history, that the sword of persecution was
 drawn against the Gospel, or any public opposi-
 tion made to the progress of Christianity, during
 this century. And it would betray a great ig-
 norance, both of the situation, opinions, and
 maxims of the Turks, to imagine, that the war
 they waged against the Christians was carried on
 upon religious principles, or with a view to main-
 tain and promote the doctrines of MAHOMET.
 On the other hand, it is certain, that there lay
 concealed, in different parts of *Europe*, several

[k] PICTETI *Oratio de Trophæis Christi*, in *Orat. ejus*,
 p. 570.—There is no doubt, but that the doctors here men-
 tioned were those which the illustrious admiral COLIGNI
 invited into *France*, when, in the year 1555, he had formed
 the project of sending a colony of protestants into *Brazil* and
America. See CHARLEVOIX, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*,
 tom. i. p. 22.

persons,

persons, who entertained a virulent enmity against religion in general, and, in a more especial manner, against the religion of the gospel; and who, both in their writings and in private conversation, sowed the seeds of impiety and error, and instilled their odious principles into weak, unsteady, and credulous minds. In this pernicious and unhappy class are generally placed several of the Peripatetic philosophers, who adorned *Italy* by their erudition, and particularly POMPONATIUS; several French wits and philosophers, such as JOHN BODIN, RABELAIS, MONTAGNE, BONAVENTURE DES PERIERES, DOLET, CHARRON; several Italians, at whose head appears the Roman pontiff LEO X, followed by PETER BEMBO, POLITIAN, JORDANO BRUNO, OCHINO; and some Germans, such as THEOPHRASTUS PARACELSUS, NICHOLAS TAURELLUS, and others [1]. It is even reported, that, in certain provinces of *France* and *Italy*, schools were erected, from whence whole swarms of these impious doctors soon issued out to deceive the simple and unwary. This accusation will not be rejected in the lump, by such as are acquainted with the spirit and genius of these times; nor can it be said with truth, that all the persons charged with this heavy reproach were entirely guiltless. It is nevertheless certain, on the other hand, that, upon an accurate and impartial examination of this matter, it will appear, that the accusation brought against many of them is entirely groundless; and that, with respect to several who may be worthy of censure in a certain degree, their errors are less pernicious and criminal, than they are uncharitably or rashly represented to be.

[1] See REIMANNI *Historia Atheismi et Atheorum*. *Hildesf.* 1725, in 2vo.—JO. FRANC. BUDDEUS, *Thesibus de Atheismo et Superstitione*, cap. i.—*Dictionnaire de BAYLE*, passim.

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SECT. II.

The public
advantage
that arose
from the
restoration
of letters.

VI. It is, at the same time, evident, that, in this century, the arts and sciences were carried to a degree of perfection unknown to preceding ages; and from this happy renovation of learning, the European churches derived the most signal and inestimable advantages, which they also transmitted to the most remote and distant nations. The benign influence of true science, and its tendency to improve both the form of religion and the institutions of civil policy, were perceived by many of the states and princes of *Europe*. Hence large sums were expended, and great zeal and industry employed, in promoting the progress of knowledge, by founding and encouraging literary societies, by protecting and exciting a spirit of emulation among men of genius, and by annexing distinguished honours and advantages to the culture of the sciences. And it is particularly worthy of observation, that this was the period, when the wise and salutary law, which excludes ignorant and illiterate persons from the sacred functions of the Christian ministry, acquired, at length, that force which it still retains in the greatest part of the Christian world. There still remained, however, some seeds of that ancient discord between religion and philosophy, that had been sown and fomented by ignorance and fanaticism; and there were found, both among the friends and enemies of the Reformation, several well-meaning, but inconsiderate men, who, in spite of common sense, maintained with more vehemence and animosity than ever, that vital religion and piety could never flourish until it was totally separated from learning and science, and nourished by the holy simplicity that reigned in the primitive ages of the church.

The flourishing
state
of philosophy.

VII. The first rank in the literary world was now held by those, who consecrated their studious hours and their critical sagacity to the publication,

tion, correction, and illustration of the most famous Greek and Latin authors of ancient times, to the study of antiquity and the languages, and to the culture of eloquence and poetry. We see by the productions of this age (that yet remain, and continue to excite the admiration of the learned), that in all the provinces of *Europe* these branches of literature were cultivated with a kind of enthusiasm, by such as were most distinguished by their taste and genius; nay, what is still more extraordinary (and perhaps not a little extravagant), the welfare of the church, and the prosperity of the state, was supposed to depend upon the improvement of these branches of erudition, which were considered as the very essence of true and solid knowledge. If such encomiums were swelled beyond the bounds of truth and wisdom by enthusiastical philologists, it is, nevertheless, certain, that the species of learning, here under consideration, was of the highest importance, as it opened the way that led to the treasures of solid wisdom, to the improvement of genius, and thus undoubtedly contributed, in a great measure, to deliver both reason and religion from the prepossessions of ignorance, and the servitude of superstition [m]. And, therefore, we ought not to be

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[m] Many vehement debates have been carried on concerning the respective merit of *Literature* and *Philosophy*. But these debates are almost as absurd, as a comparison that should be made between the *means* and the *end*, the *instrument* and its *effect*. *Literature* is the key by which we often open the treasures of wisdom, both human and divine. But as the sordid miser converts absurdly the means into an end, and acquires a passion for the shining metal, considered abstractedly from the purposes it was designed to serve, so the pedantic philologist erects literature into an independent science, and contemns the divine treasures of philosophy, which it was designed both to discover and to illustrate. Hence that wretched tribe of *word-catchers that live on syllables* (as *POPE*, I think, happily expresses their tasteless pursuits), who make the republic of

CENT. XVI. be surprised, when we meet with persons who
 SECT. II. exaggerate the merit, and dwell beyond measure
 on the praises, of those who were our first guides
 from the regions of darkness and error, into the
 luminous paths of evidence and truth.

The state
 of philoso-
 phy.

VIII. Though the lovers of philology and Belles Lettres were much superior in number to those who turned their principal views to the study of philosophy, yet the latter were far from being contemptible either in point of number or capacity. The philosophers were divided into two classes, of which the one was wholly absorbed in contemplation, while the other was employed in the investigation of truth, and endeavoured by experience, as well as by reasoning, to trace out the laws and operations of Nature. The former were subdivided into two sects, of which the one followed certain leaders, while the other, unrestrained by the dictates of authority, struck out a new way for themselves, following freely their own inventions. Those who submitted to the direction of certain philosophical guides, enlisted themselves under the standards of ARISTOTLE, or those of PLATO, who continued still to have many admirers, especially in *Italy*. Nor were the followers of ARISTOTLE agreed among themselves; they all acknowledged the Stagirite as their chief, but they followed him through very different paths. Some were for retaining the ancient method of proceeding in philosophical pursuits, which their doctors falsely called the Peripatetic system. Others pleaded for the pure and unmixed philosophy of ARISTOTLE, and recommended the writings of that Grecian sage as

letters groan under their commentaries, annotations, various readings, &c. and forget that the knowledge of words and languages was intended to lead us to the improvement of the mind, and to the knowledge of things.

the

the source of wisdom, and as the system which was most adapted, when properly illustrated and explained, to the instruction of youth. A third sort of Aristotelians, who differed equally from those now mentioned, and of whom the celebrated MELANCTHON was the chief, pursued another method. They extracted the marrow out of the lucubrations of ARISTOTLE, illustrated it by the aids of genuine literature and the rules of good criticism, and corrected it by the dictates of right reason and the doctrines and principles of true religion.

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Of those who struck out a path to themselves in the regions of philosophy, without any regard to that which had been opened by ancient sages, and pursued by their followers, CARDAN [n], TELESIOUS [o], and
CAMPA-

✎ [n] CARDAN was a man of a bold, irregular, enterprising genius, who, by a wild imagination, was led into the study of astrology and magic, by which he excited the astonishment and attracted the veneration of the multitude, while his real merit as a philosopher was little known. He was accused of atheism, but seems much rather chargeable with superstition. His life and character was an amazing mixture of wisdom and folly, and nothing can give a more unfavourable idea of his temper and principles, than the hideous portrait he has drawn of himself in his book *De geometria*. His knowledge of physic and mathematics was considerable, and his notions of natural philosophy may be seen in his famous book *De subtilitate et veritate rerum*, in which some important truths and discoveries are mixed with the most fanatical visions, and the most extravagant and delirious effusions of mystical folly. See the ample and judicious account that has been given of the character and philosophy of this writer (whose voyage to *England* and *Scotland* is well known) by the learned BRUCKER, in his *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. part II. lib. i. cap. iii.

✎ [o] This philosopher, less known than the former, was born A. D. 1508, at *Cosenza*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, and was the restorer of the philosophy formerly taught by *PARMENIDES*, upon whose principles he built a new system, or, at least, a system which appeared new, by the elegant connexion

CENT. CAMPANELLA [p], hold, deservedly, the first
 XVI.
 SECT. II. rank, as they were undoubtedly men of superior
 genius,

which TELESÍUS gave to its various parts, and the arguments used to maintain and support it against the philosophy of ARISTOTLE. It was the vague and uncertain method of reasoning, which the Stagirite had introduced into natural philosophy, that engaged TELESÍUS to compose his famous book *De principiis rerum naturalium*. In this work, after having refuted the visionary principles of the Aristotelian philosophy, he substitutes in their place, such as are immediately derived from the testimony of the senses, even *heat* and *cold*, from which, like PARMENIDES, he deduces the nature, origin, qualities, and changes of all material beings. To these two principles he adds a third, *viz.* Matter, and on these three builds, with dexterity enough, his physical system; for a part of which he seems also to have been indebted to a book of PLUTARCH, *De primo frigido*. It will be entertaining to the philosophical reader to compare this work of TELESÍUS, with Lord BACON's physical account of the story of CUPID and COELUS, in his book *De principiis et originibus*, &c.

[p] CAMPANELLA, a native of Calabria, made a great noise in the seventeenth century, by his innovations in philosophy. Shocked at the atheism and absurdities of the Aristotelian system, he acquired early a contempt of it, and turned his pursuits towards something more solid, perusing the writings of all the ancient sages, and comparing them with the great volume of Nature, to see whether the pretended copies resembled the original. The sufferings that this man endured are almost incredible; but they were said to be inflicted on him in consequence of the treasonable practices that were imputed to him, partly against the court of Spain, and partly against the kingdom of Naples, which he had formed the design of delivering into the hands of the Turks. He was freed from his prison and tortures by the interposition of pope URBAN VIII., who gave him particular marks of his favour and esteem; and, finding that he was not safe at Rome, had him conveyed to Paris, where he was honoured with the protection of LEWIS XIII. and cardinal RICHELIEU, and ended his days in peace. As to the writings and philosophy of this great man, they are tinged, indeed, with the colour of the times, and bear, in many places, the marks of a chimerical and undisciplined imagination; but, among a few visionary notions, they contain a great number of important truths. He undertook an entire reformation of philosophy, but was unequal to the task. For an account of his principles of logic, ethics, and natural philosophy, see BRUCKER's *Hist. Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. part II. p. 127, &c. He was accused of atheism,

genius, though too much addicted to the suggestions and visions of an irregular fancy. To these may be added PETER RAMUS, that subtle and ingenious French philosopher, who, by attempting to substitute in the place of ARISTOTLE's logic, a method of reasoning more adapted to the use of rhetoric and the improvement of eloquence, excited such a terrible uproar in the Gallic schools. Nor must we omit here the mention of THEOPHRASTUS PARACELSUS, who, by an assiduous observation of nature, by a great number of experiments indefatigably repeated, and by applying the penetrating force of fire [q] to discover the first principles of elements of bodies, endeavoured to cast new light and evidence on the important science of natural philosophy. As the researches of this industrious inquirer into nature excited the admiration of all, his example was consequently followed by many; and hence arose a new sect of philosophers, who assumed the denomination of *Theosophists* [r], and who, placing little confidence in the decisions of human reason,

atheism, but unjustly; he was also accused of suggesting cruel measures against the protestants, and not without reason.

☞ [q] The principal merit of PARACELSUS consisted in inventing, or at least restoring from oblivion and darkness, the important science of *Chemistry*, giving it a regular form, reducing it into a connected system, and applying it most successfully to the art of healing, which was the peculiar profession of this philosopher, whose friends and enemies have drawn him in the falsest colours. His application to the study of *Magic*, which he treats of in the tenth volume of his works, under the denomination of the *Sagacious Philosophy*, is a circumstance dishonourable to his memory, and nothing can discover a more total absence of common sense and reason than his discourses on that subject. As to his philosophical system, it is so obscure and so contradictory, that we shall not pretend to delineate it here.

[r] See, for an ample account of the lives, transactions, and systems of these philosophers, BRUCKER's *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*.

C E N T. or the efforts of speculation, attributed all to divine
XVI. illumination and repeated experience.
S E C T. II.

The method of
teaching
theology
improved,

IX. This revolution in philosophy and literature, together with the spirit of emulation that animated the different sects or classes into which the learned men of this age were divided, produced many happy effects of various kinds. It, in a more particular manner, brought into disrepute, though it could not at once utterly eradicate, that intricate, barbarous, and insipid method of teaching theology, that had universally prevailed hitherto in all the schools and pulpits of Christendom. The sacred writings, which, in the preceding ages, had been either entirely neglected, or very absurdly explained, were now much more consulted and respected in the debates and writings of the Christian doctors than they had formerly been; the sense and language of the inspired writers were more carefully studied and more accurately unfolded; the doctrines and precepts of religion taught with more method, connexion, and perspicuity; and that dry, barren, and unaffecting language, which the ancient schoolmen affected so much in their theological compositions, was wholly exploded by the wiser part of the divines of this century. It must not however be imagined, that this reformation of the schools was so perfect, as to leave no new improvements to be made in succeeding ages; this, indeed, was far from being the case. Much imperfection yet remained in the method of treating theology, and many things, which had great need of a correcting hand, were left untouched. It would, nevertheless, be either an instance of ingratitude, or a mark of great ignorance, to deny this age the honour of having begun what was afterwards more happily finished, and of having laid the foundations of that striking superiority, which the divines

divines of succeeding ages obtained over those of ancient times.

X. Nor did the improvements, which have been now mentioned, as proceeding from the restoration of letters and philosophy, extend only to the method of conveying theological instruction, but purified moreover the science of theology itself. For the true nature, genius, and design of the Christian religion, which even the most learned and pious doctors of antiquity had but imperfectly comprehended, were now unfolded with evidence and precision, and drawn, like truth, from an abyss in which they had hitherto lain too much concealed. It is true, the influence of error was far from being totally suppressed, and many false and absurd doctrines are still maintained and propagated in the Christian world. But it may nevertheless be affirmed, that the Christian societies, whose errors at this day are the most numerous and extravagant, have much less absurd and perverse notions of the nature and design of the gospel, and the duties and obligations of those that profess it, than were entertained by those doctors of antiquity, who ruled the church with an absolute authority, and were considered as the chief oracles of theology. It may further be observed, that the Reformation contributed much to soften and civilize the manners of many nations, who, before that happy period, were sunk in the most savage stupidity, and carried the most rude and unfocial aspect. It must indeed be confessed, that a variety of circumstances combined to produce that lenty of character, and that milder temperature of manners, maxims, and actions, that discovered themselves gradually, and increased, from day to day, in the greatest part of the European nations after the period that LUTHER rendered so famous. It is nevertheless evident beyond all contradiction, that the disputes con-

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and the ge-
nius and
spirit of the
Christian
religion
letter ex-
plained.

C E N T. cerning religion, and the accurate and rational in-
XVI. quires into the doctrines and duties of Christianity,
SECT. II. to which these disputes gave rise, had a great ten-
— dency to eradicate out of the minds of men that
ferocity that had been so long nourished by the bar-
barous suggestions of unmanly superstition. It is
also certain, that at the very dawn of this happy
revolution in the state of Christianity, and even
before its salutary effects were manifested in all their
extent, pure religion had many sincere and fervent
votaries, though they were concealed from public
view by the multitudes of fanatics with which they
were surrounded on all sides.

S E C T I O N III.

The PARTICULAR HISTORY of the CHURCH.

P A R T I.

The HISTORY of the ANCIENT CHURCHES.

C H A P. I.

The HISTORY of the ROMAN or LATIN CHURCH.

I. **T**HE Roman or Latin church is a system of government, whose jurisdiction extends to a great part of the known world, though its authority has been circumscribed within narrower limits since the happy revolution that, in many places, delivered Christianity from the yoke of superstition and spiritual tyranny. This system of ecclesiastical policy, extensive as it is, is under the direction of the bishop of *Rome* alone, who, by virtue of a sort of *hereditary succession*, claims the authority, prerogatives, and rights of St. PETER, the *supposed* prince of the apostles, and gives himself out for the *supreme head* of the universal church, the *vicegerent* of Christ upon earth. This lordly ruler of the church is, at this time, elected to his high office by the chosen members of the Roman clergy, who bear the ancient denomination of *cardinals*. Of these, *six* are *bishops* within the precincts of *Rome*; *fifty* are ministers of the Roman churches, and are called *priests* or presbyters; and *fourteen* are inspectors of the hospitals and charity-houses, and are called *deacons*. These *cardinals*, while the papal chair is vacant,

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The Roman
pontiff,—
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and they are employed in the choice of a successor to the deceased pontif, are shut up, and closely confined in a certain sort of prison, called the *Conclave*, that they may thus be engaged to bring this difficult matter to a speedy conclusion. No person that is not an Italian by birth, and has not already obtained a place in the college of cardinals, is capable of being raised to the head of the church; nor have all the Italian cardinals the privilege of aspiring to this high office [a]. Some are rendered incapable of filling the papal chair by the place of their birth, others by their manner of life, and a few by other reasons of a more incidental nature [b]. It is also to be observed, that the emperor and the kings of *France* and *Spain* have acquired, whether expressly by stipu-

[a] See Jo. FRID. MAYERI *Commentarius de Electione Pontif. Romani*, published in 4to at Hamburg, in the year 1691. The ceremonial observed in the election and installation is amply described by MÜSCHENIUS, in a work published at *Frankfurt* in the year 1732, under the following title: *Ceremoniale Electionis et Coronationis Pontificis Romani*.

[b] The great obstacle that prevents several cardinals from aspiring at the pontificate, is what they call at *Rome*, *il peccato originale*, or *original sin*. This mark of exclusion belongs to those who are born subjects of some crown, or republic, which is not within the bounds of *Italy*, or which are upon a footing of jealousy with the court of *Rome*. Those also who were made cardinals by the nomination of the kings of *France* or *Spain*, or their adherents, are also included in this imputation of *original sin*, which excludes from the papal chair. The accidental circumstances that exclude certain cardinals from the pontificate, are their being born princes or independent sovereigns, or their declaring themselves openly in favour of certain courts, or their family's being too numerous, or their morals being irregular. Even youth, and a good complexion and figure, are considered as obstacles. But all these maxims and rules vary and change according to the inconstant and precarious impulse of policy and faction.

For an account of the different methods of electing the pope, whether by *compromise*, *inspiration*, *scrutiny*, or *access*, (by which latter is meant a *second election*, employed when the other methods fail;) see AYMON, *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, edit. 2de, p. 40, &c,

lation,

lation, or imperceptibly through custom, the privilege of excluding from the number of the candidates for this high office, such as they think proper to oppose or dislike. Hence it often happens, that, in the numerous college of cardinals, a very small number are permitted, upon a vacancy, to aspire at the papacy; the greatest part being generally prevented by their birth, their character, their circumstances, and by the force of political intrigues, from flattering themselves with the pleasing hope of ascending that towering summit of ecclesiastical power and dominion.

II. It must not be imagined, that the personal power and authority of the Roman pontif are circumscribed by no limits; since it is well known, that, in all his decisions relating to the government of the church, he previously consults the *brethren*, i. e. the cardinals, who compose his ministry or privy council. Nay more, in matters of religious controversy and doctrine, he is obliged to ask the advice and opinion of eminent divines, in order to secure his pretended infallibility from the suggestions of error. Besides this, all matters, that are not of the highest moment and importance, are divided, according to their respective nature, into certain classes, and left to the management of certain colleges, called *Congregations* [c],
in

The power
of the pope
limited.

☞ [c] These congregations are as follow: I. *The congregation of the Pope*, instituted first by SIXTUS V., to prepare the matters that were to be brought before the *consistory*, at which the pontif is always present. Hence this is called the *consistorial congregation*, and in it are treated all affairs relative to the erection of bishoprics and cathedral churches, the reunion or suppression of episcopal sees, the alienation of church goods, and the taxes and *annates* that are imposed upon all benefices in the pope's giving. The cardinal-dean presides in this assembly. II. *The congregation of the Inquisition*, or (as it is otherwise called) *of the Holy Office*, instituted by PAUL III., which takes cognizance of heresies, apostacy, magic, and profane writings, which assemble thrice in the week, and every Thursday in presence of the pope, who presides in it. The office of *grand inquisitor*, which encroached upon the prerogatives

CENT. in every one of which, one or more cardinals pre-
XVI. side.

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gatives of the pontif, has been long suppressed, or rather distributed among the cardinals who belong to this congregation, and whose decisions come under the supreme cognizance of his Holiness. III. *The congregation for the propagation of the Roman Catholic Faith*, founded under the pontificate of GREGORY XV., composed of eighteen cardinals, one of the secretaries of state, a prothonotary, a secretary of the inquisition, and other members of less rank. Here it is, that the deliberations are carried on, which relate to the extirpation of heresy, the appointment of missionaries, &c. This congregation has built a most beautiful and magnificent palace in one of the most agreeable situations that could be chosen at Rome, where proselytes to popery from foreign countries are lodged and nourished gratis in a manner suitable to their rank and condition, and instructed in those branches of knowledge to which the bent of their genius points. The prelates, curates, and vicars also, who are obliged, without any fault of theirs, to abandon the places of their residence, are entertained charitably in this noble edifice in a manner proportioned to their station in the church. IV. *The congregation designed to explain the decisions of the council of Trent*. V. *The congregation of the Index*, whose principal business is to examine manuscripts and books that are designed for publication, to decide whether the people may be permitted to read them, to correct those books whose errors are not numerous, and which contain useful and salutary truths, to condemn those whose principles are heretical and pernicious, and to grant the peculiar privilege of perusing heretical books to certain persons. This congregation, which is sometimes held in the presence of the pope, but generally in the palace of the cardinal-president, has a more extensive jurisdiction than that of the inquisition, as it not only takes cognizance of those books that contain doctrines contrary to the Roman catholic faith, but of those also that concern the duties of morality, the discipline of the church, and the interests of society. Its name is derived from the alphabetical Tables, or *Indexes*, of heretical books and authors, which have been composed by its appointment. VI. *The congregation for maintaining the rights and immunities of the clergy, and of the Knights of Malta*. This congregation was formed by URBAN VIII., to decide the disputes and remove the difficulties and inconveniencies that arose from the trials of ecclesiastics, before princes, or other lay-judges. VII. *The congregation relating to the Bishops and regular Clergy*, instituted by SIXTUS V., to decide the debates which arise between the bishops and their diocesans, and to compose the differences that happened so frequently among the Monastic orders.

VIII. *The*

side [d]. The decisions of these societies are generally approved of by the Roman pontif, who has not a right, without alleging the most

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VIII. *The congregation*, appointed by GREGORY XIV., for examining into the capacity and learning of the bishops. IX. Another for enquiring into their lives and morals. X. A third for obliging them to reside in their dioceses, or to dispense them from that obligation. XI. *The congregation for suppressing monasteries*, i. e. such whose revenues are exhausted, and who thereby become a charge upon the public. XII. *The congregation of the Apostolic Visitation*, which names the visitors, who perform the duties and visitations of the churches and convents within the district of Rome, to which the pope is obliged as archbishop of that city. XIII. *The congregation of Relics*, designed to examine the marks, and to augment the number of these instruments of superstition. XIV. *The congregation of Indulgences*, designed to examine the case of those who have recourse to this method of quieting the conscience. XV. *The congregation of Rites*, which SIXTUS V. appointed to regulate and invent the religious ceremonies that are to be observed in the worship of each new saint that is added to the Kalendar.

These are the congregations of cardinals, set apart for administering the spiritual affairs of the church; and they are undoubtedly, in some respects, a check upon the power of the pontif, enormous as it may be. There are six more, which relate to the temporal government of the papal territories. In these congregations, where the pope is never present, all things are transacted which relate to the execution of public justice in civil or criminal matters, the levying of taxes, the providing the cities and provinces with good governors, the relieving those who are unjustly oppressed by subordinate magistrates, the coinage, the care of the rivers, aqueducts, bridges, roads, churches, and public edifices.

[d] The court of Rome is very particularly and accurately described by ARMON (who had been, before his conversion to the protestant religion, domestic chaplain to INNOCENT XI.) in a book, entitled, *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, of which the first edition was published at the Hague, in 8vo, in the year 1707, and the second in 1726.—See also *Relation de la Cour de Rome, et des Ceremonies qui s'y observent*, which father-LABAT has translated into French, from the Italian of JEROM LIMADORO, and subjoined to his *Voyages en Espagne et Italie*, tom. viii. p. 105.—For an account of the Roman congregations, &c. see DOROTH. ASCIAN. *De Montibus Pietatis Romanis*, p. 510. as also HUNOLD. PLETTENBERG, *Notitia Tribunal. et Congregat. Curie Romanæ, Hildesæ*, in 8vo, 1693.

weighty

SENT. weighty and evident reasons, to reverse what they
XVI. pronounce to be just and expedient. This form of
SECT. III. ecclesiastical government is, doubtless, a check to
PART I. the authority of the pope; and hence it is, that
 many things are transacted at *Rome* in a manner
 that is in direct opposition to the sentiments of its
 spiritual ruler. This may serve to shew us, that
 those persons are little acquainted with the nature
 and limits of the papal hierarchy, who pretend,
 that all the iniquitous proceedings of the court of
Rome, the calamities it has occasioned, the conten-
 tions, rebellions, and tumults it has excited, are to
 be entirely and wholly laid to the charge of the
 Roman pontif [e].

Debates
 arise con-
 cerning the
 power of
 the Roman
 pontif.

III. The power of the Roman pontif hath ex-
 cited debates even among those that are under the
 papal hierarchy; and the spiritual subjects of this
 pretended head of the church, are very far from
 being agreed with respect to the extent of his au-
 thority and jurisdiction. Hence it happens, that
 this authority and dominion are not the same
 in all places, having a larger scope in some pro-
 vinces, and being reduced within narrower bounds
 in others. If, indeed, we consider only the pre-
 tensions of the pontif, then we shall find that his
 power is unlimited and supreme; for there are no
 prerogatives that can flatter ambition, which he
 does not claim for himself and his court. He not
 only pretends, that the whole power and majesty

[e] Hence arises that important distinction, frequently em-
 ployed by the French and other nations in their debates with
 the Roman pontif; I mean, the distinction between the *Pope of*
Rome and the *Court of Rome*. The latter is often loaded with
 the bitterest reproaches and the heaviest accusations, while the
 former is spared, and in some measure excused. Nor is this
 distinction by any means groundless; since the cardinals and
 congregations, whose rights and privileges are held sacred,
 undertake and execute many projects without the knowledge,
 and sometimes against the will and consent, of the Roman
 pontif.

of the church reside in his person, and are transmitted into certain portions, from him to the inferior bishops, but moreover asserts the absolute infallibility of all decisions and decrees that he pronounces from his lordly tribunal. These arrogant pretensions are, however, opposed by many, and chiefly by the French nation, which expressly maintains, that every bishop receives immediately from Christ himself a portion of that spiritual power which is imparted to the church; that the collective sum, or whole of this power, is lodged in the collective body of its pastors, or, which is the same thing, in a general council, lawfully assembled; and that the pontif, considered personally, and as distinct from the church, is liable to error. This complicated and important controversy may be easily brought within narrower bounds, and may be reduced to the following plain question: *viz. Is the Roman pontif, properly speaking, the LAWGIVER of the church, or, is he no more than the GUARDIAN and DEPOSITARY of the laws enacted by Christ and by the church?* There is no prospect of seeing this question decided, nor the debates terminated to which it has given rise; since the contending parties are not even agreed about the proper and lawful judge of this important controversy [f]. Some great revolution can only effect the decision of this matter.

IV. The church of *Rome* lost much of its ancient splendor and majesty, as soon as LUTHER,

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The declension of the church of *Rome*.

[f] The arguments employed by the creatures of the Roman pontif in defence of his unlimited authority, may be seen in BELLARMINE and other writers, of which an enormous collection has been made by ROCCABERTI; and, what is not a little extraordinary, a French writer, named PETITDIDIER, appeared in defence of the pope's pretensions, in a book published at *Luxemburg*, in the year 1724, *Sur l'Autorité et l'Infallibilité des Papes*. The sentiments of the Gallican church, and the arguments by which it opposes the pretensions of *Rome*, may be seen in the writings of RICHER and LAUNOY.

and