



AN
Ecclesiastical History
ANTIENT AND MODERN,
FROM
THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,
TO THE
BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY
VOL. V.





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

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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.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. V.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.
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XV.d.U

T H

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

SECTION I.

The GENERAL HISTORY of the CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

I. **T**HE arduous attempts made by the pontiffs, in the preceding century, to advance the glory and majesty of the See of Rome, by extending the limits of the Christian Church, and spreading the gospel through the distant nations, met with much opposition; and, as they were neither well conducted nor properly supported, their fruits were neither abundant nor permanent. But in this century the same attempts were renewed with vigour, crowned with success, and contributed not a little to give a new degree of stability to the tottering grandeur of the papacy. They were begun by GREGORY XV., who, by the advice of his confessor NARNI, founded at Rome, in the year 1622, the famous *Congregation for the propagation of the faith*, and enriched it with ample revenues. This congregation, which consists of thirteen cardinals, two priests, one monk, and a secretary [a], is designed to propagate

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The College de propagatione fidei founded at Rome.

[a] Such is the number of members belonging to this Congregation as they stand in the original Bull of GREGORY XV.; see *Bullarium Roman.* tom. iii. p. 472. edit. Luxemburg.—CERRI mentions the same number, in his *État Présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 259. But a different account is given by

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gate and maintain the religion of *Rome* in all parts and corners of the world. Its riches and possessions were so prodigiously augmented by the munificence of *URBAN VIII.*, and the liberality of an incredible number of donors, that its funds are, at this day, adequate to the most expensive and magnificent undertakings. And, indeed, the enterprises of this *Congregation* are great and extensive. By it a vast number of missionaries are sent to the remotest parts of the world; books of various kinds published, to facilitate the study of foreign and barbarous languages; the sacred writings and other pious productions sent abroad to the most distant corners of the globe, and exhibited to each nation and country in their own language and characters; seminaries founded for the sustenance and education of a prodigious number of young men, set apart for the foreign missions; houses erected for the instruction and support of the Pagan youths that are yearly sent from abroad to *Rome*, that they may return from thence into their respective countries, and become the instructors of their blinded Brethren: not to mention the charitable establishments, that are designed for the relief and support of those who have suffered banishment, or been involved in other calamities, on account of their stedfast attachment to the religion of *Rome*, and their zeal for promoting the glory of its pontif. Such are the arduous and complicated schemes, with the execution of which this congregation is charged; but these, though the principal, are not the only objects of its attention; its views, in a word, are vast, and its exploits almost incredible. Its

AYMON, in his *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, part III. chap. iii. p. 279. for he makes this *Congregation* to consist of *eighteen* cardinals, *one* of the pope's secretaries, *one* apostolic protonotary, *one* referendary, and *one* of the assessors, or secretaries of the inquisition.

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members hold their assemblies in a splendid and magnificent palace, whose delightful situation adds a singular lustre to its beauty and grandeur [b].

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II. To this famous establishment, another less magnificent indeed, but highly useful, was added, in the year 1627, by pope Urban VIII., under the denomination of a *College* or *Seminary for the propagation of the faith*. This seminary is set apart for the instruction and education of those who are designed for the foreign missions; and they are here brought up, with the greatest care, in the knowledge of all the languages and sciences that are necessary to prepare them for propagating the Gospel among the distant nations. This excellent foundation was due to the zeal and munificence of JOHN BAPTIST VILES, a Spanish nobleman, who resided at the court of *Rome*, and who began by presenting to the pontif all his ample possessions, together with his house, which was a noble and beautiful structure, for this pious and generous purpose. His liberality excited a spirit of pious emulation, and is followed with zeal even to this day. The *Seminary* was at first committed by URBAN to the care and direction of three *canons* of the *patriarchal* churches; but this appointment was afterwards changed, and, ever since the year 1641, it is governed by the *Congregation* founded by GREGORY XV. [c].

The College
propaganda,
Sec. instituted
by Urban VIII.

[b] The authors, who have given an account of this Congregation, are mentioned by FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exorientis*, cap. xxxiii. p. 566. Add to these, DOROTHEUS ASCANIUS, *De Montibus Pietatis Ecclesiæ Romanæ*, p. 522. where there is a complete list of the books that have been published by this Congregation, from its first institution until the year 1667.

[c] HELLOT, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, Religieux et Militaires*, tom. viii. cap. xii. p. 78. URB. CERRI *État présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 293. where, however, the first founder of this College is called, by mistake, VIVES.

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Congregations of Colleges of the same nature founded in France.

III. The same zealous spirit reached France, and produced there several pious foundations of a like nature. In the year 1663, the *Congregation of priests of the foreign missions* was instituted by royal authority, while an association of bishops and other ecclesiastics found the *Parisian Seminary for the missions abroad*, designed for the education of those who were set apart for the propagation of Christianity among the Pagan nations. From hence, apostolical vicars are still sent to *Siam, Tonquin, Cochin China, and Persia*, bishops to *Babylon*, and missionaries to other Asiatic nations; and all these spiritual envoys are supported by the ample revenues and possessions of the *Congregation and Seminary* [d]. These *priests of the foreign missions* [e], and the apostles they send into foreign countries, are almost perpetually involved in altercations and debates with the Jesuits and their missionaries. The former are shocked at the methods that are ordinarily employed by the latter, in converting the Chinese and other Asiatics to the Christian religion. And the Jesuits, in their turn, absolutely refuse obedience to the orders of the *apostolical vicars* and *bishops*, who receive their commission from the *Congregation* above-mentioned; though this commission be issued out with the consent of the pope, or of the *College de propaganda fide* residing at Rome. There was also another religious establishment formed in France, during this century, under the title of the *Congregation of the Holy Sacrament*, whose founder was AUTHERIUS, bishop of *Bethlehem*, and which, in the year 1644, received an order from URBAN VIII., to have always a

[d] See the *Gallia Christiana Benedictinorum*, tom. vii. p. 1024.—Hélyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. viii. chap. xii. p. 84.

[e] These ecclesiastics are commonly called in France, *Mes-sieurs des Missions Etrangères*.

number of ecclesiastics ready to exercise their ministry among the Pagan nations, whenever they should be called upon by the pope, or the *Congregation de propaganda*, for that purpose [f]. It would be endless to mention other associations of less note, that were formed in several countries for promoting the cause of Christianity among the darkened nations; as also the care taken by the Jesuits, and other religious communities, to have a number of missionaries always ready for that purpose.

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IV. These congregations and colleges sent forth those legions of missionaries, who, in this century, covered, in a manner, the whole face of the globe, and converted to the profession of Christianity at least, if not to its temper and spirit, multitudes of persons in the fiercest and most barbarous nations. The religious orders, that make the greatest figure in these missions, are the *Jesuits*, the *Dominicans*, the *Franciscans*, and the *Capuchins*, who, though concerned in one common cause, agree, nevertheless, very ill among themselves, accusing each other publicly and reciprocally, and that with the most bitter reproaches and invectives, of want of zeal in the service of CHRIST, nay of corrupting the purity of the Christian doctrine to promote their ambitious purposes. But none are so universally accused of sinister views and unworthy practices, in this respect, as the *Jesuits*, who are singularly odious in the eyes of all the other missionaries, and are looked upon as a very dangerous and pernicious set of apostles by a considerable part of the Romish church. Nor, indeed, can they be viewed in any other light, if the general report be true, that, instead of instructing their proselytes in the genuine doctrines of Christianity, they teach them a corrupt system of religion and

Missionaries multiply, more especially those of the Jesuits.

[f] HALLAM, *loc. cit.* cap. xiii. p. 87. 100.

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morality that sits easy upon their consciences, and is reconcileable with the indulgence of their appetites and passions;—that they not only tolerate, but even countenance, in these new converts, several profane opinions and superstitious rites and customs;—that, by commerce, carried on with the most rapacious avidity, and various other methods little consistent with probity and candour, they have already acquired an overgrown opulence, which they augment from day to day;—that they burn with the thirst of ambition, and are constantly gaping after worldly honours and prerogatives;—that they are perpetually employing the arts of adulation, and the seductions of bribery, to insinuate themselves into the friendship and protection of men in power;—that they are deeply involved in civil affairs, in the cabals of courts, and the intrigues of politicians;—and finally, that they frequently excite intestine commotions and civil wars, in those states and kingdoms, where their views are obstructed or disappointed, and refuse obedience to the Roman pontif, and to the vicars and bishops that bear his commission. These accusations are indeed grievous, but they are perfectly well attested, being confirmed by the most striking circumstantial evidence, as well as by a prodigious number of unexceptionable witnesses. Among these we may reckon many of the most illustrious and respectable members of the church of *Rome*, whose testimony cannot be imputed to the suggestions of envy, on the one hand, nor considered as the effect of temerity or ignorance on the other: such are the cardinals, the members of the *Congregation de propaganda fide*, and even some of the popes themselves. These testimonies are supported and confirmed by glaring facts, even by the proceedings of the Jesuits in *China*, *Abyssinia*, *Japan*, and *India*, where they have dishonoured the cause of Christianity,

Christianity, and hurt the interest of *Rome*, in the most sensible manner by their corrupt practices [g].

V. The Jesuits exhausted all the resources of their peculiar artifice and dexterity to impose silence upon their accusers, to confound their adversaries, and to give a specious colour to their own proceedings. But, all their stratagems were ineffectual. The court of *Rome* was informed of their odious frauds; and this information was, by no means, looked upon as groundless. Many circumstances concur to prove this, and among others the conduct of the Congregation at *Rome*, by which the foreign missions are carried on and directed. For it is remarkable, that, during many years past, the Jesuits have been much less employed by that Congregation, than in former times, and are also treated, on almost every occasion, with a degree of circumspection that manifestly implies suspicion and diffidence. Other religious orders have evidently gained the ascendant they formerly held; and, in the nice and critical affairs of the church, and more especially in what relates to the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, much more confidence is placed in the austere sobriety, poverty, industry, and patience of the *Capuchins* and *Carmelites*, than in the opulence, artifice, genius, and fortitude of the disciples of *LOYOLA*. On the other hand it is certain, that if the Jesuits are not much trusted, they are, however, more or less feared; since neither the powerful *Congregation*, now mentioned, nor even the Roman pontiffs themselves, venture to reform all the abuses, which they silently disapprove, or openly blame, in the conduct of this

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The Jesuits
ill-looking
upon.

[g] The reader will find an ample relation of these facts, supported by a cloud of witnesses, in the Preface to the *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, published at *Utrecht* in the year 1741.

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insidious order. This connivance, however involuntary, is become a matter of necessity. The opulence of the Jesuits is so excessive, and their credit and influence are grown so extensive and formidable, in all those parts of the world that embrace the religion of *Rome*, that they carry their insolence so far as to menace often the pontif on his throne, who cannot, without the utmost peril, oblige them to submit to his orders, where they are disposed to be refractory. Nay more, the decisions of the pope are frequently suggested by this powerful society, and it is only in such a case that the society treats them with unlimited respect. When they come from any other quarter, they are received in a very different manner by the Jesuits, who trample upon some of them with impunity, and interpret others with their usual dexterity in such a manner, as to answer the views and promote the interests of their ambitious order. Such, at least, are the accounts that are generally given of their proceedings; accounts which, though contradicted by them, are nevertheless supported by striking and palpable evidence.

The methods of converting practised by the Jesuits procure them enemies.

VI. The rise of these dissensions between the Jesuits and the other Roman missionaries is owing to the methods of conversion used by the former, which are entirely different from those that are employed by the latter. The crafty disciples of *LOVOLA* judge it proper to attack the superstition of the *Indian* nations by artifice and stratagem, and to bring them only gradually, with the utmost caution and prudence, to the knowledge of Christianity. In consequence of this principle, they interpret and explain the ancient doctrines of Paganism, and also those that *CONFUCIUS* taught in *China*, in such a manner as to soften and diminish, at least in appearance, their opposition to the truths of the Gospel; and whenever they find

find, in any of the religious systems of the Indians, tenets or precepts that bear even the faintest resemblance of certain doctrines or precepts of Christianity, they employ all their dexterity and zeal to render this resemblance more plausible and striking, and to persuade the Indians that there is a great conformity between their ancient theology and the new religion they are exhorted to embrace. They go still further; for they indulge their proselytes in the observance of all their national customs and rites, except such as are glaringly inconsistent with the genius and spirit of the Christian worship. These rites are modified a little by the Jesuits, and are directed towards a different set of objects, so as to form a sort of coalition between Paganism and Christianity. To secure themselves an ascendant over the untutored minds of these simple Indians, they study their natural inclinations and propensities, comply with them on all occasions, and carefully avoid whatever may shock them. And as in all countries the clergy, and men of eminent learning, are supposed to have a considerable influence on the multitude, so the Jesuits are particularly assiduous in courting the friendship of the Indian priests, which they obtain by various methods, in the choice of which they are far from being scrupulous. But the protection of men in power is the great object they principally aim at, as the surest method of establishing their authority, and extending their influence. And hence they study all the arts that can render them agreeable or useful to great men; hence their application to the mathematics, physic, poetry, to the theory of painting, sculpture, architecture, and the other elegant arts; and hence their perseverance in studying men and manners, the interests of princes, and the affairs of the world, in order to prepare them for giving counsel in critical situations, and suggesting

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suggesting expedients in perplexing and complicated cases. It would be endless to enumerate all the circumstances that have been complained of in the proceedings of the Jesuits. These that have been now mentioned, have ruined their credit in the esteem of the other missionaries, who consider their artful and insidious dealings as every way unsuitable to the character and dignity of the ambassadors of CHRIST, whom it becomes to plead the cause of God with an honest simplicity, and an ingenuous openness and candour, without any mixture of dissimulation or fraud. And, accordingly, we find the other religious orders, that are employed in the foreign missions, proceeding in a very different method in the exercise of their ministry. They attack openly the superstitions of the Indians, in all their connexions and in all their consequences, and are studious to remove whatever may seem adapted to nourish them. They shew little regard to the ancient rites and customs in use among the blinded nations, and little respect for the authority of those by whom they were established. They treat with a certain indifference and contempt the Pagan priests, grandees, and princes, and preach, without disguise, the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, while they attack, without hesitation or fear, the superstitions of those nations they are called to convert.

Christianity
propagated
in India.

VII. These missionaries of the court of *Rome* spread the fame of the Christian religion through the greatest part of *Asia* during this century. To begin with *India*; it is observable, that the ministerial labours of the *Jesuits*, *Theatins*, and *Augustinians* contributed to introduce some rays of divine truth, mixed, indeed, with much darkness and superstition, into those parts of that vast region that had been possessed by the *Portuguese* before their expulsion from thence by the *Dutch*.

But

But of all the missions that were established in these distant parts of the globe, none has been more constantly and universally applauded than that of *Madura*, and none is said to have produced more abundant and permanent fruit. It was undertaken and executed by ROBERT DE NOBILI [b], an Italian Jesuit, who took a very singular method of rendering his ministry successful. Considering, on the one hand, that the Indians beheld with an eye of prejudice and aversion all the Europeans, and, on the other, that they held in the highest veneration the order of *Brachmans*, as descended from the Gods; and that, impatient of other rulers, they paid an implicit and unlimited obedience to them alone, he assumed the appearance and title of a *Brachman*, that had come from a far country, and, by besmearing his countenance and imitating that most austere and painful method of living that the *Sanianes* or Penitents observe, he at length persuaded the credulous people that he was, in reality, a member of that venerable Order [i]. By this stratagem, he

[b] Others call this famous missionary ROBERT DE NOBILIBUS.

[i] URBAN CERRI, *État présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 173.

NOBILI, who was looked upon by the Jesuits as the chief apostle of the Indians after FRANÇOIS XAVIER, took incredible pains to acquire a knowledge of the religion, customs, and language of *Madura*, sufficient for the purposes of his ministry. But this was not all: for, to stop the mouths of his opposers, and particularly of those who treated his character of *Brachman* as an impostor, he produced an old, dirty parchment, in which he had forged, in the ancient Indian characters, a deed, shewing that the *Brachmans* of *Rome* were of much older date than those of *India*, and that the Jesuits of *Rome* descended, in a direct line, from the God *Brama*. Nay, Father JOUVENCI, a learned jesuit, tells us, in the history of his Order, something yet more remarkable; even that ROBERT DE NOBILI, when the authenticity of his smoky parchment was called in question by some Indian unbelievers, declared upon oath, before the assembly of the *Brachmans*

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he gained over to Christianity twelve eminent Brachmans, whose example and influence engaged a prodigious number of the people to hear the instructions, and to receive the doctrine, of this famous missionary. On the death of ROBERT, this singular mission was for some time at a stand, and seemed even to be neglected [k]. But it was afterwards renewed, by the zeal and industry of the Portuguese Jesuits, and is still carried on by several missionaries of that Order, from *France* and *Portugal*, who have inured themselves to the terrible austerities that were practised by ROBERT, and that are thus become, as it were, the appendages of that mission. These fictitious *Brachmans*, who boldly deny their being Europeans or *Franks* [l], and only give themselves out for inhabitants of the northern regions, are said to have converted a prodigious number of Indians to Christianity; and, if common report may be trusted to, the congregations they have already founded in those countries grow larger and more numerous from year to year. Nor, indeed, do these accounts appear, in the main, unworthy of credit [m]; though we must not be too ready to receive,

Brachmans of *Madura*, that he (NOBILI) derived really and truly his origin from the God *Brama*. Is it not astonishing that this Reverend Father should acknowledge, is it not monstrous that he should applaud, as a piece of pious ingenuity, this detestable instance of perjury and fraud? See JOUVENCI *Histoire des Jesuites*.—NORBERT, *Memoires Historiques sur les Missions des Malab.* tom. ii. p. 145.

[k] URBAN CERRI *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 173.

[l] The Indians distinguish all the Europeans by the general denomination of *Franks*, or (as they pronounce the word) *Pranghis*.

[m] The Jesuits seem to want words to express the glory that has accrued to their Order from the remarkable success and the abundant fruits of this famous mission, as also the dreadful sufferings and hardships their missionaries have sustained in the course of their ministry. See the *Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes ecrites des Missions Etrangeres*, tom. i. p. 9. 32. 46.

receive, as authentic and well attested, the relations that have been given of the intolerable hardships

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50. 55. where father MARTIN observes (p. 9.) that this mission surpasses all others; that each missionary baptizes, at least, a thousand converts every year (p. 11.); that, nevertheless, Baptism is not indiscriminately administered, or granted with facility and precipitation to every one that demands it (p. 12.); that those who present themselves to be baptized, are accurately examined until they exhibit sufficient proofs of their sincerity, and are carefully instructed during the space of four months in order to their reception; that, after their reception, they live like angels rather than like men; and that the smallest appearance of mortal sins is scarcely, if ever, to be found among them. If any one is curious enough to inquire into the causes that produce such an uncommon degree of sanctity among these new converts, the Jesuits allege the two following; the first is modestly drawn from the holy lives and examples of the missionaries, who (p. 15.) pass their days in the greatest austerity, and in acts of mortification that are terrible to nature (see tom. xii. p. 206. tom. xv. p. 211.); who are not allowed, for instance, the use of bread, wine, fish, or flesh, but are obliged to be satisfied with water and vegetables, dressed in the most insipid and disgusting manner, and whose clothing, with the other circumstances of life, are answerable to their miserable diet. The second cause of this unusual appearance, alleged by the Jesuits, is the situation of these new Christians, by which they are cut off from all communication and intercourse with the Europeans, who are said to have corrupted, by their licentious manners, almost all the other Indian profelytes to Christianity. Add to all this, other considerations, which are scattered up and down in the *Letters* above cited, tom. i. p. 16. 17. tom. ii. p. 1. tom. iii. p. 217. tom. v. p. 2. tom. vi. p. 119. tom. ix. p. 126.—*Madura* is a separate kingdom, situated in the midst of the Indian Peninsula beyond the *Ganges* *. There is an accurate map of the territory comprehended in the mission of *Madura*, published by the Jesuits in the xvth tome of the *Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes*, p. 60. The French Jesuits set on foot, in the kingdom of *Carnate* and in the adjacent provinces, a mission like that of *Madura* (*Lettres Cur.* tom. v. p. 3. 240.); and, towards the conclusion of this century, other missionaries of the same Order formed an enterprise of the same nature in the dominions of the king of *Marava*

* This is a mistake. *Madura* is in the Indian Peninsula within *Ganges*, and not beyond it. Its principal produce is rice, which is one of the principal instruments made use of by the rich Jesuits in the conversion of the poor Indians.

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ships and sufferings that have been sustained by these *Jesuit-Brachmans* in the cause of CHRIST. Many imagine, and not without good foundation, that their austerities are, generally speaking, more dreadful in appearance than in reality; and that, while they outwardly affect an extraordinary degree of self-denial, they indulge themselves privately in a free and even luxurious use of the creatures, have their tables delicately served, and their cellars exquisitely furnished, in order to refresh themselves after their labours.

In the king-
doms of Si-
am, Tonquin,
&c.

VIII. The knowledge of Christianity was first conveyed to the kingdoms of *Siam*, *Tong-king*, and *Kochinchina*, by a mission of Jesuits, under the direction of ALEXANDER of RHODES, a native of *Avignon* [n], whose instructions were received with uncommon docility by a prodigious number of the inhabitants of these countries. An

(tom. ii. p. 1. tom. x. p. 79.). The Jesuits themselves however acknowledge (tom. vi. p. 3. 15. 66. 107.), that this latter establishment succeeded much better than that of *Carnate*. The reason of this may perhaps be, that the French Jesuits, who founded the mission of *Carnate*, could not endure, with such constancy and patience, the austere and mortified manner of living which an institution of this nature required, nor imitate the rigid self-denial of the Brachmans, so well as the missionaries of *Spain* and *Portugal*.—Be that as it may, all these missions, that formerly made such a noise in the world, were suspended and abandoned, in consequence of a papal mandate issued out, in the year 1744, by BENEDICT XIV. who declared his disapprobation of the mean and perfidious methods of converting the Indians that were practised by the Jesuits, and pronounced it unlawful to make use of frauds or insidious artifices in extending the limits of the Christian church. See NORBERT, *Memoires Historiques pour les Missions Orientales*, tom. i. & iv. MAMMACHIUS has given an account of this matter, and also published the mandate of BENEDICT, in his *Orig. et Antiq. Christian.* tom. ii. p. 245. See also LOCKMAN's *Travels of the Jesuits*, &c. translated from the *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c. vol. i. p. 4. 9. 2d edit.

[n] See the *Writings* of ALEXANDER DE RHODES, who was undoubtedly a man of sense and spirit, and more especially his *Travels*, which were published in 4to. at *Paris*, in the years 1666 and 1682.

account

account of the success of this spiritual expedition being brought to ALEXANDER VII. in the year 1658, determined that pontif to commit this new church to the inspection and government of a certain number of bishops, and chose for this purpose some French priests out of the *Congregation of foreign missions*, to carry his orders to the rising community, and to rule over it as his representatives and vicegerents. But the Jesuits, who can bear no superiors, and scarcely an equal, treated these pious men with the greatest indignity, loaded them with injuries and reproaches, and would not permit them to share their labours, nor to partake of their glory [o]. Hence arose, in the court of Rome, a long and tedious contest, which served to shew, in the plainest manner, that the Jesuits were ready enough to make use of the

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[o] There were several Pamphlets and Memorials published at Paris, in the years 1666, 1674, and 1681, in which these French missionaries, whom the Jesuits refused to admit as fellow-labourers in the conversion of the Indians, relate, in an eloquent and affecting strain, the injuries they had received from that jealous and ambitious Order. The most ample and accurate narration of that kind was published at Paris, in the year 1688, by FRANCIS PALLU, whom the pope had created bishop of Heliopolis. The same matter is largely treated in the *Gallia Christiana* of the learned Benedictines, tom. vii. p. 1027. and a concise account of it is also given by URBAN CERRI, in his *État présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 199. This latter author, though a secretary of the *Congregation de propaganda fide*, yet inveighs with a just severity and a generous warmth against the perfidy, cruelty, and ambition of the Jesuits, and laments it as a most unhappy thing, that the *Congregation*, now mentioned, has not power enough to set limits to the rapacity and tyranny of that arrogant society. He further observes, towards the end of his *Narrative*, which is addressed to the pope, that he was not at liberty to reveal all the abominations which the Jesuits had committed, during the course of this contest, but, by the order of his Holiness, was obliged to pass them over in silence. His words are: *Votre Sainteté a ordonné, qu'elles demeurassent sous le secret.*—See also on this subject, HELYOT, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. viii. chap. xii. p. 84.

authority

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authority of the pope, when it was necessary to promote their interests, or to extend their influence and dominion; but that they did not hesitate, on the other hand, to treat the same authority with indifference and contempt in all cases, where it appeared in opposition to their private views and personal interests. After this, LEWIS XIV. sent a solemn embassy [p], in the year 1684, to the

[p] The French bishops of *Helioopolis*, *Berytus*, and *Metellopolis*, that had been sent into *India* about the year 1663, had prepared the way for this embassy, and by an account of the favourable dispositions of the monarch, then reigning at *Siam*, had encouraged the French king to make a new attempt for the establishment of Christianity in these distant regions. A fixed residence had been formed at *Siam* for the French missionaries, together with a seminary for instructing the youth in the languages of the circumjacent nations, who had all settlements, or *camps*, as they are called, at the capital. A church was also erected there, by the king's permission, in the year 1667, and that prince proposed several questions to the missionaries, which seemed to discover a propensity to inform himself concerning their religion. The bishop of *Helioopolis*, who had gone back to *Europe* on the affairs of the mission, returned to *Siam* in the year 1673, with letters from LEWIS XIV., and Pope CLEMENT IX., accompanied with rich presents, to thank his Siamese majesty for the favours bestowed on the French bishops. In a private audience to which he was admitted, he explained, in answer to a question proposed to him by the king of *Siam*, the motive that had engaged the French bishops to cross so many seas, and the French king to send his subjects to countries so far from home, observing, that *a strong desire in his prince, to extend the kingdom of the true God, was the sole reason of their voyage*. Upon this we are told, that the king of *Siam* offered a port in any part of his dominions, where a city might be built to the honour of LEWIS THE GREAT, and where, if he thought fit, he might send a viceroy to reside; and declared afterwards, in a public assembly of the grandees of his court, that he would leave all his subjects at liberty to embrace the Romish faith.—All this raised the hopes of the missionaries to a very high pitch; but the expectations they derived from thence of converting the king himself were entirely groundless, as may be seen from a very remarkable declaration of that monarch in the following note. See the *Relation des Missions et des Voyages des Eveques François*, passim.

king

king of *Siam*, whose prime minister, at that time, was a Greek Christian, named CONSTANTINE FAULKON, a man of an artful, ambitious, and enterprising spirit. The design of this embassy was to engage the Pagan prince to embrace Christianity, and to permit the propagation of the Gospel in his dominions. The ambassadors were attended by a great retinue of priests and Jesuits, some of whom were well acquainted with those branches of science that were agreeable to the taste of the king of *Siam*. It was only, however, among a small part of the people, that the labours of these missionaries were crowned with any degree of success; for the monarch himself, and the great men of his kingdom, remained unmoved by their exhortations, and deaf to their instructions [9]. The king, indeed, though he chose
to

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[9] When Monsieur DE CHAUMONT, who was charged with this famous embassy, arrived at *Siam*, he presented a long memorial to the monarch of that country, intimating how solicitous the king of *France* was to have his *Siamese* majesty of the same religion with himself. CHAW NARAYA (for so was the latter named), who seems to have always deceived the French by encouraging words, which administered hopes that he never intended to accomplish, answered this memorial in a very acute and artful manner. After asking who had made the king of *France* believe that he entertained any such sentiments, he desired his minister FAULKON to tell the French ambassador, "That he left it to his most Christian majesty to judge, whether the change of a religion that had been followed in his dominions, without interruption, for 229 years, could be a matter of small importance to him, or a demand with which it was easy to comply;—that besides, he was much surprised to find the king of *France* concern himself so zealously and so warmly in a matter which related to God, and not to him; and in which, though it related to God, the Deity did not seem to meddle at all, but left it entirely to human discretion." The king asked, at the same time, "Whether the true God, that created heaven and earth, and had bestowed on mankind such different natures and inclinations, could not, when he gave to men the same bodies and souls, have also, if he had pleased, inspired
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to persevere in the religion of his ancestors, yet discovered a spirit of condescension and toleration towards the conductors of this mission; and his favourite CONSTANTINE had secretly invited the French to *Siam*, to support him in his authority, which was beheld with an envious eye by several of the grandees. So that as long as this prince and his minister lived, the French still retained some hopes of accomplishing their purpose, and of converting the inhabitants of *Siam* to the faith. But these hopes entirely vanished in the year 1688, when, in a popular sedition, excited and fomented by some prince of the blood, both king and minister were put to death [r]; and then the missionaries returned home.

In China,

IX. *China*, the most extensive and opulent of all the Asiatic kingdoms, could not but appear

“them with the same religious sentiments, and have made all nations live and die in the same laws. He added, “That, since order among men, and unity in religion, depend absolutely on Divine Providence, who could as easily introduce them into the world as that diversity of sects that prevails in it, it is natural to conclude from thence, that the true God takes as much pleasure to be honoured by different modes of religion and worship, as to be glorified by a prodigious number of different creatures, who praise him every one in his own way.” He moreover asked, “Whether that beauty and variety, which we admire in the order of nature, be less admirable in the order of supernatural things, or less becoming in the wisdom of God?—However that be (continued the king of *Siam*) since we know that God is the absolute master of the world, and that we are persuaded nothing comes to pass contrary to his will, I resign my person and dominions into the arms of his providence, and beseech his eternal wisdom to dispose thereof according to his good will and pleasure.” See TACHARD, *Prem. Voyage de Siam*, p. 218; as also the *Journal of the Abbé CHOISI*, who was employed in that embassy.

[r] An account of this embassy, and of the transactions of both ambassadors and missionaries, is given by TACHARD, CHAUMONT, and LA LOUBERT. The relations, however, of the author last mentioned, who was a man of learning and candour, deserve undoubtedly the preference.

to the missionaries and their constituents an object worthy of their pious zeal and ghostly ambition. And accordingly a numerous tribe of *Jesuits*, *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, and *Capuchins*, set out, about the commencement of this century, with a view to enlighten that immense region with the knowledge of the Gospel. All these, however they differ in other matters, agree in proclaiming the astonishing success of their ministerial labours. It is nevertheless certain, that the principal honour of these religious exploits belongs to the *Jesuits*, who, with a peculiar degree of dexterity and address, removed the obstacles that were the most adapted to retard the progress of Christianity, among a people whose natural acuteness and pride were accompanied with a superstitious attachment to the religion and manners of their ancestors. These artful missionaries studied the temper, character, taste, inclinations, and prejudices of the Chinese with incredible attention; and perceiving that their natural sagacity was attended with an ardent desire of improvement in knowledge, and that they took the highest pleasure in the study of the arts and sciences, and more especially in the mathematics, they lost no occasion of sending for such members of their Order as, besides their knowledge of mankind, and prudence in transacting business, were also masters of the different branches of learning and philosophy. Some of these learned *Jesuits* acquired, in a very short space of time, such a high degree of credit and influence by their sagacity and eloquence, the insinuating sweetness and facility of their manners, and their surprizing dexterity and skill in all kinds of transactions and affairs, that they came at length to the knowledge of the emperor, were loaded by him with the most honourable marks of distinction, and were employed in the most se-

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The pro-
gress of
Christianity
in China.

cret and important deliberations and affairs of the cabinet. Under the auspicious protection of such powerful patrons, the other missionaries, though of a lower rank and of inferior talents, were delivered from all apprehension of danger in the exercise of their ministry, and thus encouraged to exert themselves with spirit, vigour, and perseverance, in the propagation of the Gospel, in all the provinces of that mighty empire.

X. This promising aspect of things was clouded for some time, when XUN-CHI, the first Chinese emperor of the Mogol race, died, and left a son under age as his only heir. The grandees of the empire, to whose tuition and care this young prince was committed, had long entertained an aversion to Christianity, and only sought for a convenient occasion of venting their rage against it. This occasion was now offered and greedily embraced. The guardians of the young prince abused his power to execute their vindictive purposes, and, after using their utmost efforts to extirpate Christianity wherever it was professed, they persecuted its patrons, more especially the Jesuits, with great bitterness, deprived them of all the honours and advantages they had enjoyed, and treated them with the utmost barbarity and injustice. JOHN ADAM SCHAAL, their chief, whose advanced age and extensive knowledge, together with the honourable place he held at court, seemed to demand some marks of exemption from the calamities that pursued his brethren, was thrown into prison, and condemned to death, while the other missionaries were sent into exile. These dismal scenes of persecution were exhibited in the year 1664; but, about five years after this gloomy period, when KANG-HI assumed the reins of government, a new face of things appeared. The Christian cause, and the labours of its ministers, not only resumed their former credit and vigour,

vigour, but, in process of time, gained ground, and received such distinguished marks of protection from the throne, that the Jesuits usually date from this period the commencement of the golden age of Christianity in *China*. The new emperor, whose noble and generous spirit [s] was equal to the uncommon extent of his genius, and to his ardent curiosity in the investigation of truth, began his reign by recalling the Jesuits to his court, and restoring them to the credit and influence which they had formerly enjoyed. But his generosity and munificence did not stop here; for he sent to *Europe* for a still greater number of the members of that Order, such of them particularly as were eminent for their skill in the arts and sciences. Some of these he placed in the highest offices of the state, and employed in civil negotiations and transactions of the greatest importance. Others he chose for his private friends and counsellors, who were to assist him with their advice in various matters, and to direct his philosophical and mathematical studies. These private friends and counsellors were principally chosen from among the French Jesuits. Thus the Order was raised, in a little time, to the very summit of favour, and clothed with a degree of authority and lustre to which it had not hitherto attained. In such a state of things, it is but natural to conclude, that the Christian religion would not want powerful patrons, nor its preachers be left destitute and unsupported. And

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[s] See JOACH. BOUVETI *Icon Regia Monarchæ Sinarum*, translated into Latin by the famous LEIBNITZ, and published in the year 1699, in the second part of his *Novissima Sinica*. See also DU HALDE's *Description de la Chine*, and the *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c. in which the Jesuits give an account of the success of their missions. In these productions, the virtues and talents of this emperor, which seem indeed to be universally acknowledged, are described and celebrated with peculiar encomiums.

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accordingly a multitude of spiritual labourers from all parts of Europe repaired to China, allured by the prospect of a rich, abundant, and glorious harvest. And, indeed, the success of their ministry seemed to answer fully the extent of their expectations; since it is well known that, with very little pains, and still less opposition, they made a prodigious number of converts to the profession of the Gospel. The triumph of Christianity seemed to be complete, when, in the year 1692, the emperor, from an excessive attachment to the Jesuits, issued out that remarkable edict, by which he declared, that the Christian religion was in no wise detrimental to the safety or interests of the monarchy, as its enemies pretended, and by which also he granted to all his subjects an entire freedom of conscience, and a full permission to embrace the Gospel. This triumph was still further confirmed, when the same prince, in the year 1700, ordered a magnificent church to be built for the Jesuits within the precincts of the imperial palace [1].

The Jesuits
accused of
fraudulent
practices.

XI. This surprising success of the Christian cause was undoubtedly owing to the dexterity and perseverance of the Jesuits, as even the greatest enemies of that artful Order are obliged to acknowledge. But it is quite another question,

[1] There is a concise, but interesting account of these revolutions, given by DU HALDE, in his *Description de la Chine*, tom. iii. p. 128. and by the Jesuit FONTANEY, in the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, tom. viii. p. 176.—They are related in a more diffuse and ample manner by other writers. See SUAREZ, *De Libertate Religionum Christianarum apud Sinas propagandi Narratio*, published in the year 1698, by LEIBNITZ, in the first part of his *Novissima Sinica*. The other authors who have treated this branch of history are mentioned by FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii toti Orbi exorientis*, cap. xxxix. p. 664. See also an *Ecclesiastical History of China*, which I published in German in the year 1748. This History was translated into English, and published in the year 1750, with this title: *Authentic Memoirs of the Christian Church in China*.

whether this success was obtained by methods agreeable to the dictates of reason and conscience, and consistent with the dignity and genius of the Christian religion? This latter point has been long debated, with great animosity and vehemence, on both sides; and the contention is not yet ended. The adversaries of the Jesuits, whose opposition is as keen as their numbers are formidable, and more especially the Jansenists and Dominicans, assert boldly, that the success above mentioned was obtained by the most odious frauds, nay, even in many cases, by the most detestable crimes. They charge the Jesuits with having given a false exposition and a spurious account of the ancient religion of the Chinese, and with having endeavoured to persuade the emperor and the Chinese nobility, that the primitive theology of their nation, and the doctrine of their great instructor and philosopher CONFUCIUS, differed almost in nothing from the doctrine of the Gospel. They are further charged with having invented a variety of historical fictions, in order to persuade the Chinese (who are vehemently attached to whatever carries the air of a remote antiquity), that JESUS CHRIST had been known and worshipped in their nation many ages ago; and these fictions are supposed to have prejudiced the emperor in favour of Christianity, and to have engaged certain grandees of the kingdom not only to grant their protection and favour to the Jesuits, but even to become members of their society. Nor do the accusations brought against the disciples of LOYOLA end here; for they are said to have entirely lost sight of all the duties and obligations that are incumbent on the ministers of CHRIST, and the heralds of a spiritual kingdom, by not only accepting of worldly honours and places of civil authority and power, but even aspiring after them with all the ardor

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of an insatiable ambition, by boasting, with an arrogant vanity, of the protection and munificence of the emperor, by deserting the simplicity of a frugal and humble appearance, and indulging themselves in all circumstances of external pomp and splendor, such as costly garments, numerous retinues, luxurious tables, and magnificent houses. To all which it is added, that they employed much more zeal and industry in the advancement of human science, especially the mathematics, than in promoting Christian knowledge and virtue; and that they even went so far as to meddle in military matters, and to concern themselves both personally and by their counsels in the bloody scenes of war. While these heavy crimes are laid to the charge of those Jesuits, who, by their capacity and talents, had been raised to a high degree of credit in the empire, the more obscure members of that same Order, who were appointed more immediately to instruct the Chinese in the truths of the Gospel, are far from being considered as blameless. They are accused of spending in the practice of usury, and in various kinds of traffic, the precious moments which ought to have been consecrated to the functions of their ministry, and of using low and dishonourable methods of advancing their fortunes, and insinuating themselves into the favour of the multitude. The Jesuits acknowledge, that a part of these accusations are founded upon facts; but they give a specious colour to those facts, and use all their artifice and eloquence to justify what they cannot deny. Other articles of these complaints they treat as groundless, and as the fictions of calumny, that are invented with no other design than to cast a reproach upon their Order. An impartial inquirer into these matters will perhaps find, that if, in several points, the Jesuits defend themselves in a very weak and unsatisfactory

satisfactory manner, there are others, in which their misconduct seems to have been exaggerated by envy and prejudice in the complaints of their adversaries.

XII. The grand accusation that is brought against the Jesuits in *China*, is this: That they make an impious mixture of light and darkness, of Chinese superstition and Christian truth, in order to triumph with the greater speed and facility over the prejudices of that people against the doctrine of the Gospel; and that they allow their converts to retain the profane customs and the absurd rites of their Pagan ancestors. Ricci, who was the founder of the Christian Church in that famous monarchy, declared it as his opinion, that the greatest part of those rites, which the Chinese are obliged by the laws of their country to perform, might be innocently observed by the new converts. To render this opinion less shocking, he supported and explained it upon the following principle: that these rites were of a *civil* and not of a *sacred* nature; that they were invented from views of policy, and not for any purposes of religion; and that none but the very dregs of the populace in *China*, considered them in any other light [u]. This opinion was not only rejected by the Dominicans and Franciscans, who were associated with the Jesuits in this important mission, but also by some even of the most learned Jesuits both in *China* and *Japan*, and particularly by NICHOLAS LOMBARD, who published a memorial, containing the reasons [v] upon which

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An account
of the prin-
cipal charge
brought a-
gainst the
Jesuits.

[u] See MAMMACHI *Origin. et Antiquit. Christian.* tom. ii. p. 373.

[v] See CHR. KORTHOLTI *Præfatio ad Volumen II. Epistolar. Leibnitian.* § vi. p. 18. who has likewise subjoined to this work the pieces composed against the Jesuits by LOMBARD and ANTHONY DE S. MARIA, with the remarks of LEIBNITZ. There is also inserted in this collection (p. 413.) an ample dissertation on the Chinese philosophy, drawn up by LEIBNITZ, who pleads therein the cause of the Jesuits.

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C E N T. his dissent was founded. This contest, which
 XVII. was long carried on in a private manner, was
 SECT. I. brought, by the Dominicans, before the tribunal
 of the pontif, in the year 1645, and from that period continued to produce great divisions, commotions, and caballing, in the church of *Rome*. INNOCENT X. in the year now mentioned, pronounced in favour of the Dominicans, and highly condemned the indulgence which the Jesuits had shewn to the Chinese superstitions. But, about eleven years after, this sentence, though not formally reversed, was nevertheless virtually annulled by ALEXANDER VII. at the instigation of the Jesuits, who persuaded that pontiff to allow the Chinese converts the liberty of performing several of the rites to which they had been accustomed, and for which they discovered a peculiar fondness. This, however, did not hinder the Dominicans from renewing their complaints in the year 1661; and again, in 1674, under the pontificate of INNOCENT XI.; though the power and credit of the Jesuits seemed to triumph over all their remonstrances. This fatal dispute, which had been suspended for several years in *China*, broke out there again, in the year 1684, with greater violence than ever; and then the victory seemed to incline to the side of the Dominicans, in consequence of a decision pronounced in the year 1693, by CHARLES MAIGROT, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who acted as the delegate or vicar of the Roman pontif, in the province of *Fokien*, and who was afterwards consecrated titular bishop of *Conon*. This ecclesiastic, by a public edict, declared the opinions and practices of the Jesuits, in relation to the affairs of the Chinese mission, absolutely inconsistent with the purity and simplicity of the Christian religion.— But the pope, to whose supreme cognizance and decision MAIGROT had submitted this important edict,

edict, refused to come to a determination on either side, before the matter in debate had been carefully examined, and the reasons of the contending parties weighed with the utmost attention; and therefore, in the year 1699, he appointed a congregation of chosen doctors to examine and decide this tedious controversy. This resolution of the Roman pontif was no sooner made public, than all the enemies of the Jesuits, in all quarters of the church of *Rome*, and more especially those who wished ill to the Order in *France*, came forth with their complaints, their accusations, and invectives; and loaded the transactions and reputation of the whole society with the most bitter reproaches [w]. The Jesuits, on the other hand, were neither silent nor inactive. They attacked their adversaries with vigour, and defended themselves with dexterity and spirit [x].—But the conclusion of this critical and momentous contest belongs to the history of the following century.

[w] See the *Lettres de Messieurs des Missions Etrangères au Pape, sur les Idolatries et les Superstitions Chinoises—Revocation de l'Approbation donnée en 1787, par M. Brisacier, Supérieur des Missions Etrangères, au Livre de la Défense des nouveaux Chrétiens et des Missionnaires de la Chine.—Deux Lettres d'un Docteur de l'Ordre de St. Dominique au R. P. Dez, Provincial des Jésuites, sur les Cérémonies de la Chine.* These tracts are all printed together in one volume 12°, without any date, or name of the place where published, though the treatises themselves are all dated 1700. N.

[x] DU HALDE, *Description des la Chine*, tom. iii. p. 142.—See the enumeration of other writers on the same subject, given by FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii toti Orbi exorientis*, cap. xxxix. p. 665.—See also VOLTAIRE, *Siecle de Louis XIV.*, tom. ii. p. 318.—But the most ingenious patron of the Jesuits, on this occasion was Father DANIEL, himself a member of that famous order: see his *Histoire Apologétique de la Conduite des Jésuites de la Chine*, in the third volume of his *Opuscules*, p. 1.

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The subject
of the dis-
pute be-
tween the
Chinese
Missionaries
reducible
to two great
points:

XIII. If, in considering this controversy, which employed the ablest pens of the Romish church, we confine our attention to the merits of the cause (passing over what personally concerns the Jesuits, with some other questions of a minute and incidental kind), it will appear, that the whole dispute turns essentially upon two great points; the one relating to the *Chinese* notion of the *Supreme Being*; and the other to the *nature* of those honours, which that people offered to *certain persons deceased*.

First point.

As to the first of these points, it is to be observed, that the Chinese call the supreme object of their religious worship TIEN and SHANG-TI, which, in their language, signify the *Heavens*; and that the Jesuits employ the same terms when they speak of the true God, who is adored by the Christians. From hence it is inferred, that they make no sort of distinction between the supreme God of the Chinese, and the infinitely perfect Deity of the Christians; or (to express the same thing in other words) that they imagine the Chinese entertain the same notions concerning their TIEN, or *Heaven*, that the Christians do concerning the God they adore. The question then relative to this first point is properly as follows: "Do the Chinese understand, by the denominations above-mentioned, the *visible and material Heavens*? or are these terms, on the contrary, employed by them to represent the *Lord of these Heavens*, i. e. an eternal and all-perfect Being, who presides over universal nature, and, from heaven, the immediate residence of his glory, governs all things with unerring wisdom?" or, to express this question in fewer words, "Do the Chinese mean, by their TIEN, such a Deity as the Christians adore?" This question the Jesuits answer in the affirmative. They maintain, that the ancient Chinese philosophers, who had
an

an accurate knowledge of the great principles of natural religion, represented the Supreme Being almost under the very same characters that are attributed to him by Christians; and hence they not only allow their Chinese disciples to employ the terms already mentioned, in their prayers to the Deity, and in their religious discourse, but even use these terms themselves, when they pronounce the name of God in their public instructions, or in private conversation. The adversaries of the Jesuits maintain the negative of this question, regard the ancient philosophy of the Chinese as an impure source of blasphemy and impiety, and affirm, that it confounded the Divine Nature with that of the universe. They assert further, that the famous CONFUCIUS, whose name and writings are held in such veneration by the people of *China*, was totally ignorant of divine truth, destitute of religious principle, and traced the origin of all things that exist from an *internal* and *inevitable necessity*. This contest, concerning the first point that divided the Chinese missionaries, produced a multitude of learned dissertations on the manners, laws, and opinions of the ancient inhabitants of *China*, and gave rise to several curious discoveries. But all these were insufficient to serve the chief purpose they were designed to accomplish, since they were far from giving a satisfactory and clear decision of the matter in debate. It still remained a question, which were most to be believed,—the Jesuits or their adversaries? and the impartial inquirer, after long examination, thought it prudent to trust entirely to neither; since if it appeared on the one hand, that the TIEN, or supreme God of the Chinese, was much inferior, in perfection and excellence, to the God of the Christians, it was equally evident, on the other, that this Chinese Deity was looked upon by his worshippers as entirely distinct

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SECT. 2.

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Second
point.

ting from the material *ÆTHER* and the visible Heavens.

XIV. As to the other great point in dispute, it must be previously observed, that the ancient laws of *China* oblige the natives of that vast region to perform, annually, at a stated time, in honour of their ancestors, certain rites; which seem to be of a religious nature. It is to be observed further, that it is a custom among the learned to pay likewise, at stated times, to the memory of *CONFUCIUS*, whom the Chinese consider as the oracle of all wisdom and knowledge, certain marks of veneration that have undoubtedly a religious aspect, and that are, moreover, performed in a kind of temples erected to that great and illustrious philosopher. Hence then ariseth a second question, which is thus proposed: "Are those honours that the Chinese, in general, pay to the memory of their ancestors, and which the learned, in particular, offer at the shrine of *CONFUCIUS*, of a *civil* or *sacred* nature? Are they to be considered as *religious offerings*, or are they no more than *political institutions* designed to promote some public good?" The Jesuits affirm, that the ancient Chinese lawgivers established these rites with no other view than to keep the people in order, and to maintain the tranquillity of the state; and that the Chinese did not pay any religious worship either to the memory of *CONFUCIUS*, or to the departed souls of their ancestors, but only declared, by the performance of certain rites, their gratitude and respect to both, and their solemn resolution to imitate their virtues and follow their illustrious examples. From hence these missionaries conclude, that the Chinese converts to Christianity might be permitted to perform these ceremonies according to the ancient custom of their country, provided they understood their true nature, and kept always

ways in remembrance the political views with which they were instituted, and the civil purposes they were designed to serve. By this specious account of things, the conduct of the Jesuits is, in some measure, justified. But let this representation be true or false, it will still remain evident, that, in order to render the Christian cause triumphant in *China*, some such concessions and accommodations as those of the Jesuits seem almost absolutely necessary; and they who desire the *end*, must submit to the use of the *means* [y]. The necessity of these concessions arises from this remarkable circumstance, that by a solemn law, of ancient date, it is positively declared, that no man shall be esteemed a good citizen, or be looked upon as qualified to hold any public office in the state, who neglects the observance of the rites and ceremonies now under consideration. On the other hand, the Dominicans, and the other adversaries of the Jesuits, maintain, that the rites in question form an important branch of the Chinese religion; that the honours paid by the Chinese to CONFUCIUS, and to the souls of their ancestors, are not of a civil, but of a religious nature [z]; and consequently, that all who perform these

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☞ [y] True: if the *means* be not either criminal in themselves, pernicious in their consequences, or of such a nature as to defeat, in a great measure, the benefits and advantages proposed by the *end*. And it is a very nice and momentous question, whether the concessions pleaded for in behalf of the Chinese converts, by the Jesuits, are not to be ranked among the means here characterised. See the following note.

☞ [z] The public honours paid to CONFUCIUS twice a year, used to be performed before his statue, erected in the great hall or temple that is dedicated to his memory. At present they are performed before a kind of *Tablet*, placed in the most conspicuous part of the edifice, with the following inscription: *The Throne of the Soul of the most Holy and the most Excellent Chief-teacher CONFUCIUS*. The *literati*, or learned, celebrate this famous festival in the following manner:—The chief

C E N T. these rites are chargeable with insulting the ma-
 XVII. jesty of God, to whom alone all divine worship is
 S E C T. I. due, and cannot be looked upon as true Christians.

chief mandarin of the place exercises the office of priest, and the others discharge the functions of deacons, sub-deacons, and so on. A certain sacrifice, called *Cr*, which consists of wine, blood, fruits, &c. is offered, after the worshippers have prepared themselves for this ceremony by fasting and other acts of abstinence and mortification. They kneel before the *inscription*, prostrate the body nine times before it, until the head touches the ground, repeat a great variety of prayers; after which the priest, taking in one hand a cup full of wine, and in the other a like cup filled with blood, makes a solemn libation to the deceased, and dismisses the assembly with a blessing. The rites performed by families, in honour of their deceased parents, are pretty much of the same nature.

Now in order to know, with certainty, whether this festival and these rites be of a *civil* or *religious* nature, we have only to inquire, whether they be the same with those ceremonies that are performed by the Chinese, in the worship they pay to certain celestial and terrestrial *spirits* or *genii*, which worship is undoubtedly of a religious kind. The learned LEIBNITZ* undertook to affirm, that the services now mentioned were not of the same kind, and, consequently, that the Jesuits were accused unjustly. But that great man does not appear to have examined this matter with his usual sagacity and attention: for it is evident, from a multitude of relations every way worthy of credit, and, particularly, from the observations made on the Chinese missions by that learned and candid Franciscan ANTONIO DE S. MARIA †, not only that CONFUCIUS was worshipped among the *idols*, and the *celestial and terrestrial spirits* of the Chinese, but that the oblations and ceremonies, observed in honour of him, were perfectly the same with those that were performed as acts of worship to these *idols and spirits*. Those that desire a more ample account of this matter may consult the following authors: BUDÆI *Annal. Hist. Philos.* p. 287. where he treats *De superstitione Demontuorum apud Sineses Cultu.*—WOLFII *Not. ad Casaubon.* p. 342.—NIC. CHARMOS, *Annot. ad Maigrotti Historiam Cultus Sineses.*—But more especially ARNAUD, *Morale Pratique des Jesuites*, tom. iii. vi. vii. and a collection of historical relations, published at *Cologne*, in 8vo, in the year 1700, under the following title: *Historia Cultus Sinesum, seu varia Scripta de Cultibus Sinarum inter Vicarios Apostolicos, & P. P. S. I. Controversiis.*

* See *Præf. Novissim. Sinarum.*

† See vol. ii. *Epp. Leibnitz.*

This account of matters is so specious and probable, and the consequences deducible from it are so natural and just, that the more equitable and impartial among the Jesuits have acknowledged the difficulties that attend the cause they maintain; and taking, at length, refuge in the plea of necessity, allege, that certain evils and inconveniences may be lawfully submitted to, when they are requisite in order to the attainment of extensive, important, and salutary purposes.

XV. The ministerial labours of the Romish missionaries, and, more especially, of the Jesuits, were crowned in *Japan* with surprising success, towards the commencement of this century, and made an incredible number of converts to the Christian religion [a]. But this prosperous and flourishing

The state of
Christianity
in *Japan*.

[a] Two peculiar circumstances contributed to facilitate the progress of the Romish religion in *Japan*. The first was the uncharitable severity and cruelty of the Japanese priests or *bonzas* towards the sick and indigent, compared with the humanity, zeal, and beneficence of the missionaries. These *bonzas* represented the poor and infirm not as objects of pity, but as wretches loaded with the displeasure of the Gods, and abandoned to present and future misery by the judgments of heaven; and inspired the rich with a contempt and abhorrence of them. The Christian religion, therefore, which declares that poverty and afflictions are often surer marks of the divine favour than grandeur and prosperity, and that the transitory evils which the righteous endure here, shall be crowned with everlasting glory and felicity hereafter, was every way proper to comfort this unhappy class of persons, and could not but meet with a most favourable reception among them. Add to this, that the missionaries were constantly employed in providing them with food, physic, and habitations. A second circumstance that was advantageous to Christianity (that is, to such a form of Christianity as the Popish missionaries preached in *Japan*), was a certain resemblance or analogy between it and some practices and sentiments that prevailed among the Japanese. These Indians look for present and future felicity only through the merits of *Xaca Amida*, and other of their Deities, who, after a long course of severe mortifications freely undertaken, had voluntarily, also, put an end to their lives. They sainted many melancholy persons who had been guilty of suicide.

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flourishing state of the church was somewhat interrupted by the prejudices that the priests and grandees of the kingdom had conceived against the new religion, prejudices which proved fatal, in many places, both to those who embraced it, and to those who taught it. The cause of Christianity did not, however, suffer only from the virulence and malignity of its enemies; it was wounded in the house of its friends, and received, no doubt, some detriment from the intestine quarrels and contentions of those to whom the care of the rising church was committed. For the same scenes of fraternal discord, that had given such offence in the other Indian provinces, were renewed in *Japan*, where the *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, and *Augustinians* were at perpetual variance with the *Jesuits*. This variance produced, on both sides, the heaviest accusations, and the most bitter reproaches. The *Jesuits* were charged, by the missionaries of the three Orders now mentioned, with insatiable avarice, with shewing an excessive indulgence both to the vices and superstitions of the *Japanese*, with crafty and low practices unworthy of the ministers of CHRIST, with an ambitious thirst after

cide, celebrated their memories, and implored their intercession and good offices. They used processions, statues, candles, and perfumes, in their worship; as also prayers for the dead, and auricular confession; and had monasteries founded for certain devout persons of both sexes, who lived in celibacy, solitude, and abstinence: so that the *Japanese* religion was no bad preparation for Popery. Besides these two circumstances, another may be mentioned, which we take from the letters of the *Jesuits* themselves, who inform us, that the maritime princes of *Japan* were so fond of this new commerce with the *Portuguese*, that they strove who should oblige them most, and encouraged the missionaries, less perhaps from a principle of zeal, than from views of interest. See VARENIUS, *Descript. Japon.* lib. iii. cap. vi. x. *Modern Univ. History*, vol. ix. p. 24. edit. 8vo.

authority

authority and dominion, and other misdemeanours of a like nature. These accusations were not only exhibited at the court of *Rome*, but were spread abroad in every part of *Christendom*. The disciples of *LOVOLA* were by no means silent under these reproaches; but, in their turn, charged their accusers with imprudence, ignorance of the world, obstinacy, asperity of manners, and a disgusting rusticity in their way of living, adding, that these circumstances rendered their ministry rather detrimental than advantageous to the cause of Christianity, among a people remarkable for their penetration, generosity, and magnificence. Such then were the contests that arose among the missionaries in *Japan*; and nothing but the amazing progress that Christianity had already made, and the immense multitude of those that had embraced it, could have prevented these contests from being fatal to its interests. As the case stood, neither the cause of the Gospel, nor its numerous professors, received any essential damage from these divisions; and, if no other circumstance had intervened to stop its progress, an expedient might have probably been found out, either to heal these divisions, or, at least, to appease them so far as to prevent their noxious and fatal consequences [*b*].

XVI. But a new and dreadful scene of opposition arose, in the year 1615, to blast the hopes of those who wished well to the cause of Christianity in *Japan*. For, in that year, the emperor issued out, against the professors and ministers of that divine religion, a persecuting edict, which was executed with a degree of barbarity unparalleled in the annals of the Christian history. This

its downfall
and extirpa-
tion there.

[*b*] See the writers on this subject enumerated by FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii toti Orbi exorients*, p. 678. as also CHARLEVOIX, *Histoire de Japon*, tom. ii. livr. xi. p. 57.

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cruel persecution raged, during the space of many years, with unrelenting fury, and only ended with the total extinction of Christianity throughout that mighty empire. That religion, which had been suffered to make such a rapid and triumphant progress in *Japan*, was at length considered as detrimental to the interests of the monarchy, inconsistent with the good of the people, derogatory from the majesty of their high priest, whom they revered as a person descended from the Gods, and, on these accounts, was judged unworthy not only of protection, but even of toleration. This judgment was followed with the fatal Order, by which all foreigners, that were Christians, and more especially the Spanish and Portuguese, were commanded to depart the kingdom; and the natives, who had embraced the Gospel, to renounce the name and doctrine of CHRIST, on pain of death presented to them in the most dreadful forms. This tremendous Order was the signal for the perpetration of such horrors as the most sanguine and atrocious imagination will scarcely be able to conceive. Innumerable multitudes of the Japanese Christians of each sex, and of all ages, ranks, and stations, expired, with magnanimous constancy, amidst the most dreadful torments, rather than apostatize from the faith they had embraced. And here it may not be amiss to observe, that both the Jesuits and their adversaries in the missions expired, in some measure, if I may so express myself, by the agonies they endured, and the fortitude with which they suffered, the faults they had committed in the exercise of their ministry. For it is well known, that the greatest part of them died magnanimously for the cause of CHRIST by the hands of the executioner, and that some of them even expired with triumphant feelings of satisfaction and joy.

Historians

Historians are not entirely agreed with respect to the real causes of this merciless persecution. The Jesuits consider it as owing, in part, to the imprudence of the Dominicans and Franciscans; while these latter impute it, in a great measure, to the covetous, arrogant, and factious spirit of the Jesuits [c]. Both parties accuse the English and Dutch of having excited in the emperor of Japan a strong prejudice against the Spaniards, Portuguese, and the Roman pontif, to the end that they alone might engross the commerce of that vast monarchy, and be unrivalled in their credit among that powerful people. The English and Dutch allege, on the other hand, that they never attempted to undermine, by any false accusations, the credit of the Roman-catholics in that kingdom, but only detected the perfidious plots the Spaniards had laid against it. Almost all the historians, who have given accounts of this country, unanimously inform us, that certain letters, intercepted by the Dutch, and other circumstances of a very striking and alarming kind, had persuaded the emperor, that the Jesuits, as also the other missionaries, had formed seditious

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[c] There is a concise and sensible account of this tedious dispute in the sixth discourse that is subjoined to the English edition of KAEMPFER's *History of Japan*, § iv. p. 64—75. But it will also be proper to see what is said on the other side, by an author, who, in his long and circumstantial narration, has not omitted any incident, however minute, that tends, in the least, to disculpate the Jesuits, or to procure them indulgence; that author is CHARLEVOIX; see his *Histoire Generale de Japon*, tom. ii. livr. xii. p. 136. The other historians that may be consulted, with utility, on this subject, are enumerated by FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii toti Orbi exposita*, cap. x. p. 678. Add to these the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. *Mens. Februar.* p. 723, where there is not only a history of the commencement and progress of Christianity in Japan, but also an account of the lives and martyrdom of those who first suffered for the cause of the Gospel in that kingdom. See likewise MAMMACHI, *Origines et Antiquitat. Christian.* tom. ii. p. 376.

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designs against his government, and aimed at nothing less than exciting their numerous disciples to rebellion, with a view to reduce the kingdom of *Japan* under the dominion of *Spain* [d]. A discovery of this nature could not but make the most dreadful impressions upon a prince naturally suspicious and cruel, such as the emperor then reigning was; and indeed so it happened; for the moment he received this information, he concluded, with equal precipitation and violence, that he could not sit secure on his throne, while the smallest spark of Christianity remained unextinguished in his dominions, or any of its professors breathed under his government. It is from this remarkable period, that we must date the severe edict by which all Europeans are forbidden to approach the Japanese dominions, and in consequence of which all the terrors of fire and sword are employed, to destroy whatever carries the remotest aspect or shadow of the Christian doctrine. The only exception to this universal law is made in favour of an handful of Dutch merchants, who are allowed to import annually a certain quantity of European commodities, and have a factory, or rather a kind of prison, allowed them, in one of the extremities of the kingdom, where they are strictly watched, and rigorously confined from all communication with the natives, but what is essentially necessary to the commerce they are permitted to carry on.

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missions in
Asia.

XVII. The example of the Roman-catholic states could not but excite a spirit of pious emulation in Protestant countries, and induce them to propagate a still purer form of Christianity

[d] The discoveries made by the Dutch were against the Portuguese, with whom they were then at war; so that instead of *Spain* our author should have said *Portugal*. See KAEMPFER *loc. cit.* as also the *Universal Modern History*, vol. ix. p. 145, note (z) edit, 8vo.

among

among those unhappy nations that lay groveling in the darkness of paganism and idolatry. Accordingly the Lutherans were, on several occasions, solicited by persons of eminent merit and rank in their communion, to embark in this pious and generous undertaking. JUSTINIAN ERNEST, baron of WELLS, distinguished himself by the zealous appearance he made in this good cause, having formed the plan of a society that was to be intrusted with the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, and that was to bear the name of JESUS, the divine founder of the religion they were to promote [e]. But several circumstances concurred to prevent the execution of this pious design, among which we may reckon, principally, the peculiar situation of the Lutheran princes, of whom very few have either territories, forts, or settlements beyond the limits of Europe.

This was by no means the case with the princes and states who professed the Reformed religion. The English and Dutch, more especially, whose ships covered the ocean, and sailed to the most distant corners of the globe, and who, moreover, in this century, had sent colonies to *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, had abundant opportunities of spreading abroad the knowledge of Christianity among the unenlightened nations. Nor were these opportunities entirely neglected, or misimproved, notwithstanding the reports that have generally prevailed, of their being much more zealous in engrossing the riches of the Indians than in bringing about their conversion; though it may, perhaps, be granted, that neither of these nations exerted themselves, to the extent of their power, in this salutary undertaking. In the year 1647,

[e] See MOLLER *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 75. as also a German work of the learned ARNOLD, entitled, *Kirchen und Ketzer Historie*, part II., book xvii. c. xv. § 23. p. 1066. part III., cap. xv. § 18. p. 150.

CENT. the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts
 XVII. was committed, by an act of the English parlia-
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 posed of persons of eminent rank and merit. The civil wars that ensued suspended the execution of the plans that were laid for carrying on this salutary work. In the year 1661, under the reign of CHARLES II., the work was resumed, and the society re-established. In the year 1701, this respectable society received singular marks of protection and favour from King WILLIAM III., who enriched it with new donations and privileges [f]. Since that period, even to the present time, it has been distinguished by ample marks of the munificence of the kings of *England*, and of the liberality of persons of all ranks and orders, and has been, and continues to be, eminently useful in facilitating the means of instruction to the nations that lie in Pagan darkness, and more especially to the Americans. Nor are the laudable efforts of the United Provinces, in the advancement and propagation of Christian knowledge, to be passed over in silence; since they also are said to have converted to the Gospel a prodigious number of Indians, in the islands of *Ceylon* and *Formosa*, the coasts of *Malabar*, and other Asiatic settlements, which they either had acquired by their own industry, or obtained by conquest from the Portuguese [g]. Some historians, perhaps, may have exaggerated, in their relations, the numbers of proselytes made by the Dutch; it is nevertheless most certain, that as soon as that nation had got a sufficient footing in the *East-Indies*, they laid with wisdom, and

[f] See HUMPHREY'S *Account of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*.

[g] See *Epist. de Successu Evangelii apud Indos Orientales ad Johan. Leusdenium scriptas et Ultrajecti*. 1699, in 8vo. editas.

executed at a great expence, various schemes for instructing the natives of those distant regions in the doctrines of the Gospel [b].

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The African
missions.

XVIII. The inward parts of *Africa* remain still in the darkness of Paganism, as they have been hitherto inaccessible to the most adventurous of the Europeans. But in the maritime provinces of that great *peninsula*, and more especially in those where the Portuguese have their settlements, there are several districts in which the religion of *Rome* has prevailed over the savage superstitions of that barbarous region. It is nevertheless acknowledged, by the more ingenuous historians, even among the Roman Catholics, who have given accounts of the African colonies, that, of the profelytes made there to the Gospel, a very small number deserve the denomination of Christians; since the greatest part of them retain the abominable superstitions of their ancestors, and the very best among them dishonour their profession by various practices of a most vicious and corrupt nature. Any progress that Christianity made in these parts must be chiefly attributed to the zealous labours of the Capuchin missionaries, who, in this century, suffered the most dreadful hardships and discouragements in their attempts to bring the fierce and savage Africans under the Christian yoke. These attempts succeeded so far, as to gain over to the profession of the Gospel the kings of *Benin* and *Awerri* [i], and also to engage the cruel and intrepid ANNA ZINGHA, queen of *Metamba*, and all her subjects, to embrace, in the

[b] See BRAUN'S *Veritable Religion des Hollandois*, p. 71. 267, &c. This *Traité*, which was published at *Amsterdam* in the year 1675, was designed as an answer to a malignant libel of one *Group*, entitled *La Religion des Hollandois*, in which that writer proposed to persuade the world that the Dutch had almost no religion at all.

[i] Called by some *Ouverne*,

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year 1652, the Christian faith [k]. The African missions were allotted to this austere Order by the court of Rome, and by the society *de propagandâ fide*, for wise reasons; since none were so proper to undertake an enterprise attended with such dreadful hardships, difficulties, and perils, as a set of men whose monastic institute had rendered familiar to them the severest acts of mortification, abstinence, and penance, and thus prepared them for the bitterest scenes of trial and adversity. The *Capuchins* also seem to have been alone honoured with this sacred, but arduous commission; nor does it appear that the other Orders beheld, with the smallest sentiment of envy, their dear-bought glory.

The American missions.

XIX. The extensive continent of America swarms with colonies from Spain, Portugal, and France [l], all which profess the Christian religion,

[k] For a more ample account of this Queen, and her conversion, Dr. MOSHEIM refers the reader (in his note [r]) to URBAN CERRI's *État Présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 222. and to the third and fourth volumes of FATHER LABAT's *Relation Historique de l'Afrique Occidentale*, in the former of which he tells us, there is a French translation of ANT. GAVAZZI's account of *Africa*. All these citations are inaccurate. CERRI makes no mention of ZINGHA, nor of METAMBA; nor are they mentioned by LABAT, in any of the five volumes of his *Historical Relation*, here quoted; nor is GAVAZZI's account translated in that work.—In general it may be observed, that the missions in *Africa* were greatly neglected by the Portuguese, and that the few missionaries sent thither were men absolutely void of learning, and destitute almost of every qualification that was necessary to the carrying on such an important undertaking. See LABAT's Preface to his *Relation Historique de l'Afrique Occidentale*; as also the *Modern Universal History*, vol. xiv. p. 10, II. edit. 8vo.

[l] See the authors mentioned by FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii Orbem Terrarum collustrans*, cap. xlviii. xlix. p. 769.—There is a cursory account of the state of the Romish religion, in that part of *America* which is possessed by the European Roman Catholics, in URBAN CERRI's *État Présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 245.

as it has been disfigured by the church of *Rome*. But it is abundantly known, that these colonists, more especially the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, are the most worthless and profligate set of men that bear the Christian name; and this fact is confirmed by the testimonies of several Roman-Catholic writers of great merit and authority, who cannot be suspected of partiality in this matter. Nay, the clergy themselves are not excepted in this general condemnation; but, as we learn from the same credible testimonies, surpass even the idolatrous natives in the ridiculous rites which they perform in the worship of God, as well as in the licentiousness of their manners, and the enormity of the crimes they commit without reluctance. Those of the ancient inhabitants of *America*, who either have submitted to the European yoke, or live near their colonies, have imbibed some faint knowledge of the Romish religion from the Jesuits, Franciscans, and other ecclesiastics; but these feeble rays of instruction are totally clouded by the gloomy suggestions of their native superstition, and the corrupt influence of their barbarous customs and manners. As to those Indians who live more remote from the European settlements, and wander about in the woods without any fixed habitation, they are absolutely incapable either of receiving or retaining any adequate notions of the Christian doctrine, unless they be previously reclaimed from that vagrant manner of life, and civilized by an intercourse with persons, whose humane and insinuating manners are adapted to attract their love, and excite their imitation. This the Jesuits, and other ecclesiastics of different Orders in the church of *Rome*, who have been sent in later times to convert these wandering savages, have found by a constant and uniform

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CENT. XVII. SECT. I. uniform experience [m]. Hence the former have erected cities, and founded civil societies, cemented by government and laws, like the European states, in several Indian provinces both in *South* and *North America*; and it is on this account that they discharge the double functions of magistrates and doctors among these their new subjects and disciples, whose morals and sentiments, it is said, they endeavour to preserve pure and uncorrupted, by permitting few or no Europeans to approach them [n]. These arduous and difficult attempts have furnished to the disciples of LOYOLA ample matter of boasting, and a lucky occasion of extolling the zeal, the dexterity, and industry of their Order. But it has appeared, from relations worthy of credit, that these exploits of the Jesuits, in the internal and more inaccessible provinces of *America*, are not so much carried on with a view to the propagation of Christianity, as with an intention to gratify their own insatiable avarice and boundless ambition. And, accordingly, they are reported to send yearly to the members of their Order, in *Europe*, immense quantities of gold, drawn from several American provinces where they have power and property, but chiefly from *Paraguay*, which belongs to them alone [o].

XX. The

[m] A great variety of facts are alleged as a proof of this, in the *Letters* in which the French Jesuits gave their friends in *Europe* an account of the success and fruits of their mission, and which are regularly published at *Paris*.

[n] That this was by no means the only, nor even the principal reason of cutting off all communication between the Indians and Europeans, will appear evident from the contents of the following note :

[o] While Father LABAT was at *Rome*, Father TAMBURINI, at that time general of the Jesuits, asked him several questions relating to the progress of Christianity in *America*; to which, with equal courage and candour, he gave immediately this general

XX. The cause of Christianity was promoted with more wisdom, and consequently with better success, in those parts of *America* where the English formed settlements during this century; and, though

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America.

general answer: "that the Gospel had made little or no real progress in that country; that he had never met with one adult person among the Americans who could be esteemed a true proselyte to Christianity; and that the missionaries could scarcely pretend to any other exploits (*of a spiritual kind*) than their having baptized some children at the point of death *." He added, at the same time, "that, in order to make the Americans *Christians*, it was previously necessary to make them *men*." This bold Dominican, who had been himself a missionary in the American islands, had a great mind to give TAMBURINI some seasonable advice concerning the immense wealth and authority that the Jesuits had acquired in these parts of the world; but the cunning old man eluded artfully this part of the conversation, and turned it upon another subject. LABAT gave, upon another occasion, a still greater proof of his undaunted spirit and presence of mind; for when, in an audience granted him by CLEMENT XI., that pontiff praised, in pompous terms, the industry and zeal of the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries in promoting the salvation of the Americans, and reproached the French with inactivity and indifference in a matter of such high importance, our resolute Dominican told him plainly, "that the Spaniards and Portuguese boasted of the success of their labours without any sort of foundation; since it was well known, that, instead of *converts*, they had only made *hypocrites*, all their disciples among the Indians having been forced, by the dread of punishment and the terrors of death, to embrace Christianity;" adding moreover, "that such as had received baptism continued as open and egregious idolaters as they had been before their profession of Christianity †." To this account we might add the relations of a whole cloud of witnesses, whose testimonies are every way worthy of credit, and who declare unanimously the same thing. See, among others, a remarkable piece, entitled, *Memoire touchant l'Etablissement considerable des Peres Jesuites dans les Indes d'Espagne*, which is subjoined to FREZIER's *Relation du Voyage de la Mer du Sud*, p. 577. See also *Voyage aux Indes Occidentales*, par FRANC. COREAL, tom. ii. p. 67. 43. and MAMMACHIUS, *Orig. et Antiquit. Christian.* tom. ii. p. 337. There

* See LABAT, *Voyage en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. viii. p. 7.

† Id. ib. tom. viii. p. 12.

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though it had the greatest ignorance, stupidity, and indolence to conquer, made, in a little time, a considerable progress. The English *Independents*, who retired to *America* on account of their dissention

is a particular account of the Jesuits of *Paraguay* given by DON ULLOA, in his *Voyage d'Amerique*, tom. 1. p. 540; but this account is partial in their favour. They are also zealously and artfully defended in an account of the mission of *Paraguay*, published by MURATORI in the year 1743. ¶ When Dr. MOSHEIM wrote this note, the important discovery that placed the ambitious, despotic, and rebellious proceedings of the Jesuits in *Paraguay* in the plainest and most striking light, had not been yet made. The book of MURATORI, which was published at *Venice* in the year 1743, and republished in a French translation at *Paris* in 1754*, deceived, for some time, the over-credulous, nay, induced even the enemies of the Jesuits to suspect that their conduct at *Paraguay* was not so criminal as it had been represented. So that, notwithstanding the accusations that had been brought against these missionaries by the writers mentioned by Dr. MOSHEIM; notwithstanding a memorial sent to the court of *Spain* in the year 1730, by DON MARTIN DE BARUA, at that time Spanish governor of *Paraguay*, in which the Jesuits are charged with the most ambitious projects and the most rebellious designs, represented as setting up an independent government, accused of carrying on a prodigious trade, and other things of that nature; and notwithstanding the circumstantial evidence of various known facts that supported these accusations in the strongest manner: notwithstanding all this, the public was more or less deceived. The illusion, however, did not last long. In the year 1750, the courts of *Madrid* and *Lisbon* entered into a treaty for fixing the limits of their respective dominions in *South-America*. The Jesuits, who had formed an independent republic in the heart of these dominions, composed of the Indians, whom they had gained by the insinuating softness and affected mildness, humility, and generosity of their proceedings, were much alarmed at this treaty. It was one of the fundamental laws of this new state (which was founded under the mask of a Christian mission), that neither bishop, governor, nor any officer, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, nay, nor even any individual, Spaniard or Portuguese, should be admitted into its territories, to

* MURATORI's account of the Mission of *Paraguay* was translated from the French edition into English, and published in 8vo in the year 1759.

diffention from the established religion of their country, claimed the honour of carrying thither the first rays of divine truth, and of beginning a work that has been since continued with such pious zeal and such abundant fruit; and indeed this claim is founded in justice. Several families of this sect, that had been settled in *Holland*, re-

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the end that the proceedings and projects of the Jesuits might still remain an impenetrable secret. The members of their order were alone to be instructed in this profound and important mystery. The use of the Spanish language was prohibited throughout the extent of this new territory, in order to prevent more effectually all communication between the Indians and that nation. The Indians were trained to the use of arms, furnished with artillery, instructed in the art of war, taught to behold the Jesuits as their sovereigns and their Gods, and to look upon all *white* people, except the Jesuits, as demoniacs, atheists, and, moreover, as their barbarous and mortal enemies. Such was the state of things when, in the year 1752, the united troops of *Spain* and *Portugal* marched towards the eastern borders of the river *Uragai*, to make the exchanges of certain villages that had been agreed upon in the treaty above mentioned. Upon this the Jesuits, not being sufficiently prepared for their defence, demanded a delay of the execution of the treaty under various pretexts. This delay was granted: but as the Spanish General, *Gomez Freire Andrada*, perceived that these *Holy Fathers* employed this delay in arming the Indians, and confirming them in their rebellion, he wrote to his court, and received new orders from thence to proceed to the execution of the treaty. A war ensued between the Spanish and Portuguese on one side, and the Indians, animated by the Jesuits, on the other, in which the Spanish General lost his life, and of which the other circumstances are well known. This was the real and original cause of the disgrace of the Jesuits at the court of *Portugal*. Those who desire a more particular account of this matter will find it in a famous pamphlet, drawn from an authentic memorial, published by the court of *Lisbon*, and printed at the *Hague*, in the year 1758, under the following title: *La Republique des Jesuites au Paraguay renversée, ou Relation Authentique de la Guerre que ces Religieux ont eue soutenir contre les Monarques d'Espagne et de Portugal en Amerique, pour y defendre les domaines dont ils avoient usurpé le Souveraineté au Paraguay sous pretexte de Religion.*

C. P. T. moved from thence into America [p] in the year
 XVII. 1620, in order, as they alleged, to transmit their
 SECT. I. doctrine pure and undefiled to future ages; and
 there they laid the foundations of a new state [q].
 The success that attended this first emigration
 engaged great numbers of the people called Pu-
 ritans, who groaned under the oppression of the
 bishops, and the severity of a court, by which
 this oppression was authorized, to follow the for-
 tunes of these religious adventurers [r]; and this
 produced a second emigration in the year 1629.
 But notwithstanding the success that in process of
 time crowned this enterprize, its first beginnings
 were unpromising, and the colonists, immediately
 after their arrival, laboured under such hardships
 and difficulties in the dreary and uncultivated
 wilds of this new region, that they could make
 but little progress in instructing the Indians:
 their whole zeal and industry being scarcely suf-
 ficient to preserve the infant settlement from the
 horrors of famine. But towards the year 1633 [r],
 things put on a better aspect: the colony began
 to flourish, and the new-comers, among whom
 the Puritans MAYHEW, SHEPPARD, and ELLIOT,
 made an eminent figure, had the leisure, courage,
 and tranquillity of mind, that were necessary to
 the execution of such an important and ardu-
 ous design. All these devout exiles were re-
 markably zealous, laborious, and successful in

[p] This colony settled in that part of America that was afterwards called *New Plymouth*.

[q] See NEAL'S *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 128.—As also a German work, entitled, ANT. WILH. BOHM, *Englische Reformations Historie*, b. vi. c. v. p. 807.

[r] See MATHER'S *History of New England*, p. 126.—NEAL'S *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 208.

[s] Dr. MOSHEIM says in the year 1623, but this is probably an error of the press; since it is well known, that the emigration of Sheppard and Elliot happened between 1631 and 1634.

the conversation of the Indians; but none acquired such a shining reputation, in this pious career, as JOHN ELLIOT, who learned their language, into which he translated the BIBLE, and other instructive and edifying books, gathered together the wandering savages, and formed them into regular congregations, instructed them in a manner suited to the dulness of their comprehension, and the measure of their respective capacities; and, by such eminent displays of his zeal, dexterity, and indefatigable industry, merited, after his death, the honourable title of the *Apostle of the Indians* [†].

The unexpected success that attended these pious attempts towards the propagation of Christian knowledge, drew the attention of the parliament and people of *England*; and the further advancement of this good cause appeared an object of sufficient importance to employ the deliberations, and to claim the protection of the great council of the nation. Thus was formed that illustrious society, which derives its title from the great purpose of its institution, even the *Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts*, and which, in proportion to the increase of its number, influence, revenues, and prerogatives, has still renewed and augmented its efforts for the instruction of the Pagans in all parts of the world, particularly those on the American continent. It is true, that after all its efforts, much is yet to be done; but it is also true, and must be acknowledged by all that have examined these matters

[†] HORNBECKIUS, *De Conversione Indorum et Gentil.* lib. ii. cap. xv. p. 260.—CRESCENTII MATHERI *Epistola de Successu Evangelii apud Indos Occidentales, ad Job. Leusdenium, Tux. &c.* 1699, in 8vo. ☞ INCREASE MATHER's *Letter, to Leusden* is translated into English, and inserted into COTTON MATHER's *Life of Elliot*, p. 94. 3d London edit. and in his *History of New England*, book III. p. 194. N.

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with attention and impartiality, that much has been done, and that the pious undertakings of this respectable society have been followed with unexpected fruit. With respect to the province of *Pennsylvania*, which receives in its bosom, without distinction, persons of all sects and all opinions, we shall have occasion to speak of its religious state in another place. The American provinces that were taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch, under the command of Count MAURICE of *Nassau*, became immediately an object of the pious zeal of their new masters, who began, with great ardour and remarkable success, to spread the light of the Gospel among the wretched inhabitants of those benighted regions [*u*]. But this fair prospect was afterwards clouded in the year 1644, when the Portuguese recovered the territories they had lost. As to the Dutch colony that is settled in *Surinam*, we cannot say much, having never received the smallest information of any attempts made by them to instruct the neighbouring Indians in the knowledge of Christianity [*w*].

The ene-
mies of
Christianity
in England.

XXI. Religion in general, and the Christian religion in particular, had many enemies to encounter in this century, though their number has been studiously diminished in the accounts of some, and greatly exaggerated in the representations of others. The English complain of the reign of CHARLES II. as the fatal period, when corruption of manners, and vice, in the most licentious and profligate forms, over-ran their na-

[*u*] JO. HENR. HOTTINGERI *Topographia Ecclesiastica*, p. 47.—JANICON, *Etat Present des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 396. The same author gives an account of *Surinam*, and of the state of religion in that colony, chap. xiv. p. 407.

*[*w*] There are three churches in that settlement for the use of the colonists; but no attempt has been made to spread the knowledge of the Gospel among the natives.

tion,

tion, engendered a spirit of scepticism and infidelity, and formed a set of unhappy men, who employed all the wantonness of inconsiderate wit, all the fallies of imagination, and even all the force of real talent and genius, to extinguish a sense of religion in the minds of mankind. That this complaint is far from being groundless, appears, on the one hand, from the number of those writers among the English, whose productions were levelled either against all religion, or designed to confine the belief of men to natural religion alone; and, on the other, from the still superior number of learned and ingenious treatises, in which the divinity, dignity, and intrinsic excellence of the Gospel, were demonstrated and displayed in the most striking and conspicuous manner. But nothing is more adapted to confirm the accounts that have been given of the progress of infidelity and licentiousness at the period now under consideration, than the famous *Lectures*, founded by that illustrious ornament of religion and humanity Mr. ROBERT BOYLE, who, in the year 1691, consecrated a considerable part of his large fortune to the service of Christianity, by leaving, in his last will, a sum to be distributed, successively, to a number of learned divines, who were to preach, in their turns, eight sermons every year, in defence of natural and revealed religion [x]. This pious and honourable task has

[x] See RICOTIER's *Preface* to his French translation of Dr. CLARKE's *Discourses on the Being and Attributes of God*. For an account of the pious, learned, and illustrious Mr. BOYLE, see BUDGELL's *Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the illustrious Family of the BOYLES*, published in 8vo at London, in the year 1737.—See also the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, tom. xii. p. 144. But, above all, the late learned Dr. BIRCH's *Life of BOYLE*, published in 8vo in the year 1744; and that very valuable Collection of Lives, the *Biographia Britannica*, Article BOYLE (Robert) note [x]. See also Article HOBBS, in the same collection. N.

C E N T. XVII. SECT. I. been committed always to men of the most eminent genius and abilities, and is still undertaken with zeal, and performed with remarkable dignity and success. The discourses that have been delivered in consequence of this admirable institution have been always published; and they form at this day a large and important collection, which is known throughout all *Europe*, and has done eminent service to the cause of religion and virtue [y].

Hobbes,
Rochester,
&c.

XXII. The leader of the impious band in *England*, which, so early as the reign of CHARLES II., attempted to obscure the truth, and to dissolve the solemn obligations of religion, was THOMAS HOBBS of *Malmesbury*,—a man whose audacious pride was accompanied with an uncommon degree of artifice and address, whose sagacity was superior to his learning, and whose reputation was more owing to the subtilty and extent of his genius, than to any progress he had made either in sacred or profane erudition [z]. This man, notwithstanding the pernicious nature and tendency of his principles, had several adherents in *England*; and not only so, but has found, in foreign countries, more than one apologist, who, though they acknowledge that his sentiments were erroneous, yet deny that he went such an

[y] There is a complete list of these learned discourses in the *Bibliothèque Angloise*, tom. xv. part II. p. 416.—The late Reverend Mr. GILBERT BURNET published in four volumes in 8vo, a judicious, comprehensive, and well-digested *Abridgment* of such of the BOYLE's *Lectures* as had been preached before the year 1737. This abridgment, which has been translated into the French and German languages, comprehends the discourses of Bentley, Kidder, Williams, Gastrell, Harris, Bradford, Blackball, Stanhope, Clarke, Hancock, Whiston, Turner, Butler, Woodward, Derham, Ibbot, Long, J. Clarke, Gurdon, Burnet, Berriman.

[z] See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article HOBBS.—WOOD's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 641. last edition.

impious

impious length as to introduce the disbelief, or to overturn the worship of a Supreme Being [a]. But if it should be granted, on the one hand, that HOBBS was not totally destitute of all sense of a Deity, nor of all impressions of religion; yet it must be allowed, on the other, by all who peruse his writings, with a proper degree of attention, that his tenets lead, by natural consequences, to a contempt of religion and of divine worship; and that, in some of his productions, there are visible marks of an extreme aversion to Christianity. It has, indeed, been said of him, that, being advanced in years, he returned to a better mind, and condemned publicly the opinions and tenets he had formerly entertained [b]; but how far this recantation was sincere, we shall not pretend to determine, since the reality of his repentance has been greatly questioned.

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[a] Among the patrons and defenders of HOBBS, we may reckon NIC. HIER. GUNDLINGIUS, in his *Observationes Selectæ*, tom. i. n. ii. p. 30. and in his *Gundlingiana*, p. 304. and also ARNOLD, in his German work entitled, *Kirchen und Ketzer Historie*, p. II. b. xvii. c. xvi. § 25. p. 1082.—These writers are refuted by the learned BUDÆUS, in his *Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione*, cap. 1. p. 187.

[b] This recantation of HOBBS depends upon the testimony of WOOD, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 646. This writer informs us, that HOBBS composed an apology for himself and his writings, in which he declared, that the opinions he had published in his *Leviathan* were by no means conformable to his real sentiments: that he had only proposed them as a matter of debate, to exercise his mind in the art of reasoning: that, after the publication of that book, he had never maintained them either in public or in private, but had left them entirely to the judgment and decision of the church: more especially, that the tenets, in this and his other writings, that seemed inconsistent with the doctrines concerning God and religion that are commonly received, were never delivered by him as *truths*, but proposed as *questions*, that were decided by divines and ecclesiastical judges endued with a proper authority.—Such is the account that WOOD gives of the *apology* now under consideration; but he does not tell us the

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The same thing cannot be said of JOHN WILMOT, earl of ROCHESTER, who had insulted the majesty of God, and trampled upon the truths of religion and the obligations of morality with a profane sort of frenzy, that far surpassed the impiety of HOBBS, but whose repentance and conversion were also as palpable as had been his folly, and much more unquestionable than the dubious recantation of the philosopher of *Malmesbury*. ROCHESTER was a man of uncommon sagacity and penetration, of a fine genius, and an elegant taste; but these natural talents were accompanied with the greatest levity and licentiousness, and the most impetuous propensity to unlawful pleasures. So that, as long as health enabled him to answer the demands of passion, his life was an uninterrupted scene of debauchery.

year in which it was published, which is a proof that he himself had never seen it, nor does he inform us whether it appeared during the life of HOBBS, or after his death. As indeed it is placed in the catalogue of his writings, with a date posterior to the year 1682, it is natural to suppose that it was not published during his life, since he died in the year 1679. It is, therefore, no easy matter to determine what stress is to be laid upon this recantation of HOBBS, or what sentiments we are to form concerning his supposed repentance. That the *apology* under consideration exists, we do not pretend to deny; but it may possibly have been composed by some of his friends, to diminish the *odium* that, it was natural to think, his licentious principles would cast on his memory. But should it be granted, that it was drawn up and published by HOBBS himself, even this concession would contribute but little to save, or rather to recover, his reputation: since it is well known, that nothing is more common among those who, by spreading corrupt principles and pernicious opinions, have drawn upon themselves the just indignation of the public, than, like HOBBS, to deceive the world by insidious and insincere declarations of the soundness of their belief, and the uprightness of their intention. It is thus that they secure themselves against the execution of the laws that are designed to fence religion, while they persevere in their licentious sentiments, and propagate them, wherever they can do it with security.

ry [c]. He was, however, so happy in the last years of a very short life, as to see the extreme folly and guilt of his past conduct, in which salutary view he was greatly assisted by the wise and pathetic reasonings and exhortations of doctor BURNET, afterwards bishop of *Sarum*. This conviction of his guilt produced a deep contrition and repentance, an ardent recourse to the mercy of God, as it is manifested in the Gospel of JESUS CHRIST, and a sincere abhorrence of the offences he had committed against the Best of Beings. In these pious sentiments he departed this life in the year 1680 [d].

In this list we may also place ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, earl of SHAFTESBURY, who died of a consumption at *Naples* in the year 1703; not that this illustrious writer attacked openly and professedly the Christian religion, but that the most seducing strokes of wit and raillery, the most enchanting eloquence, and the charms of a genius, in which amenity, elegance, copiousness, and elevation were happily blended, rendered him one of its most dangerous, though secret enemies; nay, so much the more dangerous, because his opposition was carried on under a mask. His works have been published, and have passed through several editions. They are remarkable for beauty of diction, and contain very noble and sublime senti-

[c] See an account of his life and writings in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 654.—His poetical genius is justly celebrated by VOLTAIRE, in his *Mélanges de Littérature et de Philosophie*, chap. xxxiv. vol. iv. of his works.

[d] Bishop BURNET has given a particular account of this last and very affecting scene of the life of this nobleman, in a pamphlet written expressly on that subject, and entitled, *Some Passages of the Life and Death of John Earl of Rochester, written, at his desire, on his death-bed, by GILBERT BURNET, D. D. containing more amply their Conversations on the great Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion.*

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[e] His works were first collected and published under the title of *Characteristicks*, in three volumes in 8vo. in the year 1711, and, since that time, have passed through several editions. See LE CLERC's account of them in his *Bibliothèque Choïse*, tom. xxiii. The learned and ingenious LEIBNITZ's Critical Reflections on the Philosophy of Lord SHAFTESBURY were published by DES MAIZEAUX, in the second volume of his *Recueil des diverses Pieces sur la Philosophie*, p. 245.—There are some writers who maintain, that this noble philosopher has been unjustly charged, by the greatest part of the clergy, with a contempt for revealed religion; and it were to be wished, that the arguments they employ to vindicate him from this charge were more satisfactory and solid than they really are. But, if I am not much mistaken, whoever peruses his writings, and more especially his famous letter concerning *Enthusiasm*, will be inclined to adopt the judgment that has been formed of him by the ingenious Dr. BERKLEY, late bishop of Cloyne, in his *Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher*, vol. i. p. 200.—Nothing is more easy than to observe, in the writings of Lord SHAFTESBURY, a spirit of railery, mingling itself with even those of his reflexions upon religious subjects that seem to be delivered with the greatest seriousness and gravity. But, at the same time, this unseemly mixture of the solemn and the ludicrous renders it difficult for those that are not well acquainted with his manner, to know whether the man is in jest or in earnest. It may also be added, that this author has perniciously endeavoured to destroy the influence and efficacy of some of the great motives that are proposed in the Holy Scriptures to render men virtuous, by representing these motives as mercenary, and even turning them into ridicule. He substitutes, in their place, the intrinsic excellence and beauty of virtue as the great source of moral obligation, and the true incentive to virtuous deeds. But however alluring this sublime scheme of morals may appear to certain minds of a refined, elegant, and ingenuous turn, it is certainly little adapted to the taste, the comprehension, and character of the multitude. Take away from the lower orders of mankind the prospect of reward and punishment, that leads them to virtue and obedience, by the powerful suggestions of hope and fear, and the great supports of virtue, and the most effectual motives to the pursuits of it, will be then removed with respect to them.

☞ Since Dr. MOSHEIM wrote this note, the very learned and judicious Dr. LELAND published his *View of the principal Dristical*

tal rusticity and uncouth turn of JOHN TOLAND, 3 C. ENT. XVII. SECT. B native of Ireland, who, towards the conclusion of this century, was rendered infamous by several injurious libels against Christianity, must naturally appear doubly disgusting, when compared with the amiable elegance and specious refinement of the writer now mentioned. However, as those writers, who flatter the passions by endeavouring to remove all the restraints that religion imposes upon their excessive indulgence, will never want patrons among the licentious part of mankind; so this man, who was not destitute of learning, imposed upon the ignorant and unwary; and, notwithstanding the excess of his

Deistical Writers that have appeared in England during the last and present Century, &c. in which there is a full account of the Free-thinkers and Deists mentioned by our historian, and a review of the writings of the Earl of SHAFTESBURY. This review merits a particular attention, as it contains an impartial account, an accurate examination, and a satisfactory refutation, of the erroneous principles of that great man. Lord SHAFTESBURY, like all other eminent innovators, has been misrepresented both by his friends and his enemies. Dr. LELAND has steered a middle course, between the blind enthusiasm of the former, and the partial malignity of the latter. He points out, with singular penetration and judgment, the errors, inconsistencies, and contradictions, of that illustrious author; does justice to what is good in his ingenious writings; separates carefully the wheat from the chaff; and neither approves nor condemns in the lump, as too many have done. In a more particular manner he has shewn, with his usual perspicuity and good sense, that the being influenced by the hope of the reward promised in the Gospel has nothing in it *disingenuous* and *flavish*, and is so far from being inconsistent with loving virtue *for its own sake*, that it tends, on the contrary, to heighten our esteem of its *amiableness* and *worth*.—The triumphant manner in which the learned Dr. WARBURTON has refuted SHAFTESBURY's representation of railery and ridicule as a test of truth, is too well known to be mentioned here. See also Dr. BROWN's *Three Essays on the Characteristics*, in which that sensible author treats of *Ridicule*, considered as a *Test of Truth*; of the obligations of men to virtue, and of the necessity of religious principle, and of revealed religion and Christianity.

arrogance

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arrogance and vanity, and the shocking rudeness and ferocity of his manners, acquired a certain measure of fame [f]. It is not necessary to mention

✠ [f] Dr. MOSHEIM quotes here, in a short note, an account he had given of the *Life and Writings of Toland*, prefixed to his confutation of the NAZARENUS of that contemptible author. He also quotes a *Life of TOLAND*, prefixed to his posthumous works, printed in 8vo at London, in 1726, by DES MAIZEAUX.—Dr. MOSHEIM says, that this man *was not destitute of learning*. Should that be granted, it must, nevertheless, be acknowledged, that this learning lay quite indigested in his head, and that the use he made of it in his works was equally injudicious and impudent. His conference with M. BEAUSOBRE concerning the *authenticity* of the Holy Scriptures, which was held at *Berlin*, in the year 1701, in presence of the queen of *Prussia*, and in which he made such a despicable figure, is a proof of the former; and his writings to all but half-scholars and half-thinkers will be a proof (as long as they endure) of the latter.—It is remarkable that, according to that maxim of JUVENAL, *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*, TOLAND arrived only gradually, and by a progressive motion, at the summit of infidelity. His first step was Socinianism, which appeared in his book entitled, *Christianity not mysterious*. This book procured him hard treatment from the Irish Parliament; and was answered by Mr. BROWN, afterwards Bishop of *Cork*, who, unhappily, did not think good arguments sufficient to maintain a good cause, unless they were seconded by the secular arm, whose ill-placed succours he solicited with ardor. The second step that TOLAND made in the devious fields of religion was in the publication of his *Amyntor*, which, in appearance, was designed to vindicate what he advanced in his *Life of MILTON*, to prove that king CHARLES I. was not the real author of the *Eikon Basilike*, but, in reality, was intended to invalidate the *Canon of the New Testament*, and to render it uncertain and precarious. This piece, in as far as it attacked the authenticity of the Holy Scriptures, was answered in a triumphant manner by Dr. CLARKE, in his *Reflections on that part of the Book called AMYNTOR, which relates to the writings of the Primitive Fathers, and the Canon of the New Testament*; by Mr. RICHARDSON, in his learned and judicious *Vindication of the Canon of the New Testament*; and by Mr. JONES, in his *new and full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament*. These learned writers have exposed, in the most striking manner, the dissingenuity, the blunders, the false quotations, the insidious fictions and ridiculous mistakes of TOLAND, who, on various accounts, may pass for one of the most

mention other authors of this class, who appeared in England during this century, but are long since consigned to oblivion; the reader may, however, add to those that have been already named, Lord HERBERT of CHERBURY, a philosopher of some note, who, if he did not absolutely deny the divine origin of the Gospel [g], maintained,

harmless writers against the Christian religion. For an account of the *Adeisdemon*, the *Nazarenus*, the *Letters to Serena*, the *Pantheisticon*, and the other irreligious works of this author, with the excellent answers that have been made to them, see his Life in the *General Dictionary*, or rather in CHAUFFEPRIED's Supplement to BAYLE's *Dictionary*, entitled, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, as this author has not only translated the articles added to BAYLE's *Dictionary* by the English editors of that work, but has augmented and improved them by several interesting anecdotes drawn from the Literary History of the Continent.

[g] Lord HERBERT did not pretend to deny the divinity of the Gospel; he even declared, that he had no intention to attack Christianity, which he calls, in express terms, the *Best Religion*, and which, according to his own confession, tends to establish the five great articles of that universal, sufficient, and absolutely perfect religion, which he pretends to deduce from reason and nature. But notwithstanding these fair professions, his lordship loses no occasion of throwing out insinuations against all revealed religion, as absolutely uncertain, and of little or no use. But this same deist, who was the first, and, indeed, the least contemptible of that tribe in England, has left upon record one of the strongest instances of fanaticism and absurdity that perhaps ever has been heard of, and of which he himself was guilty. This instance is preserved in a manuscript life of Lord HERBERT, drawn up from memorials penned by himself, which is now in the possession of a gentleman of distinction, and is as follows: That lord having finished his book *De Veritate*, apprehended that he should meet with much opposition, and was, consequently, dubious for some time whether it would not be prudent to suppress it. "Being thus doubtful, says his lordship, in my chamber (as Paris, where he was ambassador in the year 1624), one fair day in the summer, my casement being open, towards the south, the sun shining clear, and no wind stirring, I took my book *De Veritate* in my hands, and, kneeling on my knees, devoutly said these words: O thou Eternal God, author of this light that now shines upon me, and giver of all in-

"ward

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maintained, at least, that it was not essentially necessary to the salvation of mankind [b]; and CHARLES BLOUNT, who composed a book, en-

"ward illuminations, I do beseech thee, of thine infinite goodness, to pardon a greater request than a sinner ought to make: I am not satisfied enough whether I shall publish this book; if it be for thy glory, I beseech thee to give me some sign from HEAVEN; if not, I shall suppress it." What does the reader now think of this corner-stone of Deism, who demands a *supernatural revelation* from heaven in favour of a book that was designed to prove *all revelation uncertain and useless*? But the absurdity does not end here, for our Deist not only *sought* for this revelation, but also *obtained* it, if we are to believe him. Let us, at least, hear him. "I had no sooner, says he, spoken these words, but a loud, though yet gentle noise came forth from the heavens (for it was like nothing on earth), which did so cheer and comfort me, that I took my petition as granted." Rare credulity this in an unbeliever! but these gentlemen can believe even against reason, when it answers their purpose. His lordship continues, "This, however strange it may seem, I protest, before the Eternal God, is true; neither am I superstitiously deceived herein," &c. See LELAND's *View of the Deistical Writers*, &c. vol. i. p. 470, &c.

[b] This is sufficiently known to those who have perused Lord HERBERT's book *De Causis Errorum*, as also his celebrated work *De Religione Gentilium*. This author is generally considered as the chief and founder of the sect or society that are called *Naturalists*, from their attachment to Natural Religion alone. See ARNOLDI *Historia Ecclesiastica et Hæret.* part II. p. 1083.—The peculiar tenets of this famous Deist have been refuted by MUSÆUS and KORTHOLT, two German divines of eminent learning and abilities.—GASSENDI also composed an answer to Lord HERBERT's book *De Veritate*. In England it was refuted by Mr. RICHARD BAXTER, in a treatise entitled, *More Reasons for the Christian Religion, and no Reason against it*. Mr. LOCKE, in his *Essay on Human Understanding*, shews, with great perspicuity and force of evidence, that the *Five Articles of Natural Religion* proposed by this noble author are not, as he represents them, *Common Notions*, clearly *inscribed* by the hand of God in the minds of all men, and that a Divine Revelation is necessary to indicate, develop, and enforce them. Dr. WHITBY has also treated the same matter amply in his learned work, entitled, *The Necessity and Usefulness of the Christian Revelation, by reason of the Corruptions of the Principles of Natural Religion among the Jews and Heathens*, 8vo, 1705.

titled,

titled, *The Oracles of Reason*, and, in the year 1693, died by his own hand [i].

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XXIII. Infidelity and even Atheism shewed themselves also on the continent during this century. In France, JULIUS CÆSAR VANINI, the author of two books, the one entitled, *The Amphitheatre of Providence* [k], and the other, *Dialogues concerning Nature* [l], was publicly burnt at Toulouse in the year 1629, as an impious and obstinate Atheist. It is nevertheless to be observed, that several learned and respectable writers consider this unhappy man rather as a victim to bigotry and envy, than as a martyr to impiety and Atheism, and maintain, that neither his life nor

Vanini,
Rugger,
Letzynski,
Knutzen.

[i] See CHAUFFEPÉD, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique & Crit.* though this author has omitted the mention of this gentleman's unhappy fate, out of a regard, no doubt, to his illustrious family. ☞ Mr. CHAUFFEPÉD has done no more than translated the article CHARLES BLOUNT from that of the English continuators of BAYLE.

☞ [k] This book was published at Lyons in the year 1615, was approved by the clergy and magistrates of that city, and contains many things absolutely irreconcilable with atheistical principles: its title is as follows: *Amphitheatrum Eternæ Providentiæ, Divino-Magicum, Christiano-Physicum, Astrologico-Catholicum, adversus Veteres Philosophos, Atheos, Epicureos, Peripateticos, Stoicos, &c.* This book has been esteemed innocent by several writers, impious by others, but, in our judgment, it would have escaped reproach, had VANINI published none of his other productions, since the impieties it may contain, according to the intention of its author, are carefully concealed. This is by no means the case of the book mentioned in the following note.

☞ [l] This book, concerning the *Secrets of Queen Nature the Goddess of Mortals*, was published with this suspicious title at Paris, in the year 1616, and contains glaring marks of impiety and atheism; and yet it was published with the king's permission, and the approbation of the Faculty of Theology at Paris. This scandalous negligence or ignorance is unaccountable in such a reverend body. The Jesuit GARASSE pretends that the faculty was deceived by VANINI, who substituted another treatise in the place of that which had been approved. See a wretched book of GARASSE, entitled, *Doctrinè Curieuse*, p. 998. as also DURAND, *Vie de Vanini*, p. 116.

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SECT. I. his writings were so absurd or blasphemous as to entitle him to the character of a despiser of God and religion [m]. But if VANINI had his apologists, this was by no means the case of COSMO RUGGERI, a native of *Florence*, whose Atheism was as impudent as it was impious, and who died in the most desperate sentiments of irreligion at *Paris* in the year 1615, declaring, that he looked upon all the accounts that had been given of the existence of a Supreme Being and of evil spirits as idle dreams [n]. CASIMIR LESZYNSKI, a Polish knight, was capitally punished, suffering death at *Warsaw*, in the year 1689, for denying the Being and Providence of God; but whether or no this accusation was well founded, can only be known by reading his trial, and examining the nature and circumstances of the evidence that was produced against him [o]. In *Germany*, a senseless and frantic sort of a man, called MATTHEW KNUTZEN, a native of *Holstein*, attempted to found a new sect, whose members, laying aside all consideration of *God* and *Religion*, were to follow the dictates of *reason* and *conscience* alone, and from thence were to assume the title of *Conscientiarists*. But this wrong-headed sectary was easily

[m] See BUDÆUS's *Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione*, p. 120. The author of the *Apologia pro VANINO*, which appeared in *Holland* in the year 1712, is PETER FREDERICK ARP, a learned lawyer, who, in his *Ferie æstivales seu Scriptorum suorum Historia*, p. 28. has promised a new edition of this Apology, with considerable additions. We may also place among the defenders of VANINI, the learned ELIAS FREDERICK HEISTER, in his *Apologia pro Medicis*, sect. xviii. p. 93.

[n] See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article RUGGERI.

[o] See the German work of ARNOLD, entitled *Kirchen en Ketner Historie*, p. 1077.—There was formerly in the famous library of UFFENBACH, a complete collection of all the papers relating to the trial of LESZYNSKI, and a full account of the proceedings against him.

obliged to abandon his extravagant undertakings ; and thus his idle attempt came to nothing [p].

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XXIV. The most accurate and eminent of the Atheists of this century, whose system represented the Supreme Author of all things as a Being bound by the eternal and immutable laws of necessity or fate, was BENEDICT SPINOZA, a Portuguese Jew. This man, who died at the *Hague* in 1677, observed, in his conduct, the rules of wisdom and probity, much better than many who profess themselves Christians, nor did he ever endeavour to pervert the sentiments, or to corrupt the morals of those with whom he lived, or to inspire, in his discourse, a contempt of religion or virtue [q]. It is true indeed, that, in his writings, more especially in those that were published after his death, he maintains openly, that *God* and the *Universe* are one and the same Being, and that all things happen by the eternal and immutable law of *nature*, i. e. of an all-comprehending and infinite Being, that exists and acts by an *invincible necessity*. This doctrine leads directly to consequences equally impious and absurd ; for if the principle now mentioned be true, each individual is his own God, or, at least, a *part* of the

Benedict
Spinoza.

[p] See MOLLERI *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 304. & *Isagoge ad Historiam Cbersones. Cimbr.* part II. cap. vi. § viii. p. 164.—LA CROZE, *Entretiens sur divers sujets d'Histoire*, p. 400.

[q] The Life of SPINOZA has been accurately written by COLERUS, whose performance was published at the *Hague* in 8vo, in the year 1706. But a more ample and circumstantial account of this singular man has been given by LENGLET DU FRESNOY, and is prefixed to BOULAINVILLIER's Exposition of the Doctrine of SPINOZA, which was published at *Amsterdam*, under the title of *Brussels*, in 12mo, in the year 1731. See also BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article SPINOZA. LENGLET DU FRESNOY republished the work of COLERUS, and added to it several anecdotes and circumstances, borrowed from a *Life of Spinoza*, written by an infamous profligate, whose name was LUCAS, and who practised physic at the *Hague*. See below the notes [x] and [y].

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universal Deity, and is, therefore, impeccable and perfect [r]. Be that as it may, it is evident that SPINOZA was seduced into this monstrous system by the Cartesian philosophy, of which he was a passionate admirer, and which was the perpetual subject of his meditation and study. Having

[r] The learned FABRICIUS, in his *Bibliotheca Græca*, lib. v. part III. p. 119. and JENICHEN, in his *Historia Spinozismi Leibnhoisani*, p. 58—72. has given us an ample list of the writers who have refuted the system of SPINOZA. The real opinion which this subtle sophist entertained concerning the Deity, is to be learned in his *Ethicks*, that were published after his death, and not in his *Traâtatus Theologico-Politicus*, which was printed during his life. For in this latter *Treatise* he reasons like one who was persuaded that there exists an eternal Deity, distinct from matter and the universe, who has sent upon earth a religion designed to form men to the practice of benevolence and justice, and has confirmed that religion by events of a wonderful and astonishing, though not of a supernatural kind. But in his *Ethicks* he throws off the mask, explains clearly his sentiments, and endeavours to demonstrate, that the Deity is nothing more than the universe, producing a series of necessary movements or acts, in consequence of its own intrinsic, immutable, and irresistible energy. This diversity of sentiments that appears in the different productions of SPINOZA, is a sufficient refutation of those who, forming their estimate of his system from his *Traâtatus Theologico-Politicus* alone, pronounce it less pernicious, and its author less impious, than they are generally supposed to be. But, on the other hand, how shall this diversity be accounted for? Are we to suppose that SPINOZA proceeded to atheism by gradual steps, or is it rather more probable, that, during his life, he prudently concealed his real sentiments? Which of these two is the case, it is not easy to determine; it appears, however, from testimonies every way worthy of credit, that he never, during his whole life, either made, or attempted to make, converts to irreligion; never said any thing in public that tended to encourage disrespectful sentiments of the Supreme Being, or of the worship that is due to him; nay, it is well known, on the contrary, that, when subjects of a religious nature were incidentally treated in the course of conversation where he was present, he always expressed himself with the utmost decency on the occasion, and often with an air of piety and seriousness that was more adapted to edify than to give offence. See DES MAIZEAUX, *Vie de M. de S. Evremond*, p. 117. tom. i. of his works. This appears also evident from the Letters that are published in his posthumous works.

adopted

adopted that general principle, about which philosophers of all sects are agreed; that all realities are possessed by the Deity in the most eminent degree; and having added to this principle, as equally evident, the opinion of DESCARTES, that there are only two realities in nature, *thought and extension*, the one essential to spirit, and the other to matter [s.]; the natural consequence of this was, that he should attribute to the Deity both these realities, even *thought and extension*, in an eminent degree; or, in other words, should represent them as *infinite and immense* in God. Hence the transition seemed easy enough to that enormous system, which confounds God with the *Universe*, represents them as one and the same Being, and supposes only one *substance* from whence all things proceed, and into which they all return. It is natural to observe here, what even the friends of SPINOZA are obliged to acknowledge, that this system is neither attended with that luminous perspicuity, nor that force of evidence, that are proper to make profelytes. It is too dark, too intricate, to allure men from the belief of those truths relating to the Deity, which the works of nature, and the plainest dictates of reason, are perpetually enforcing upon the human mind. Accordingly, the followers of SPINOZA tell us, without hesitation, that it is rather by the suggestions of a certain *sense*, than by the investigations of reason, that his doctrine is to be comprehended; and that it is of such a nature, as to be easily misunder-

☞ [s.] The hypothesis of DES CARTES is not, perhaps, represented with sufficient accuracy and precision, by saying that he looked upon *thought* as *essential to spirit*, and *extension* as *essential to matter*; since it is well known, that this philosopher considered *thought* as the very *essence* or *substance* of the *soul*, and *extension* as the very *essence* and *substance* of *matter*.

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stood even by persons of the greatest sagacity and penetration [r]. The disciples of SPINOZA assume the denomination of Pantheists, choosing rather to derive their distinctive title from the nature of their doctrine, than from the name of their mas-

[r] There is certainly no man so little acquainted with the character of BAYLE, as to think him void of discernment and sagacity; and yet this most subtle metaphysician has been accused, by the followers of SPINOZA, of misunderstanding and misrepresenting the doctrine of that Pantheist, and consequently of answering it with very little solidity. See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article SPINOZA. This charge is brought against BAYLE, with peculiar severity, by L. MEIER, in his Preface to the Posthumous Works of SPINOZA, in which, after complaining of the misrepresentations that have been given of the opinions of that writer, he pretends to maintain, that his system was, in every point, conformable to the doctrines of Christianity. BOULAINVILLIERS also, another of SPINOZA's commentators and advocates, declares, in his preface to a book, whose perfidious title is mentioned below in note [y], that all the antagonists of that famous Jew either ignorantly misunderstood, or maliciously perverted his true doctrine; his words are: *Les Réfutations de Spinoza m'ont induit à juger, ou que leurs Auteurs n'avoient pas voulu mettre la doctrine, qu'ils combattent, dans une évidence suffisante, ou qu'ils l'avoient mal entendue*, p. 153.—But now, if this be true, if the doctrine of SPINOZA be not only far beyond the comprehension of the vulgar, but also difficult to be understood, and liable to be mistaken and misrepresented by men of the most acute parts and the most eminent abilities, what is the most obvious conclusion deducible from this fact? It is plainly this, that the greatest part of the Spinofists, whose sect is supposed by some to be very numerous in Europe, have adopted the doctrine of that famous Atheist, not so much from a conviction of its truth founded on an examination of its intricate contents, as from the pleasure they take in a system that promises impunity to all transgressions that do not come within the cognizance of the civil law, and thus lets loose the reins to every irregular appetite and passion. For it would be senseless, in the highest degree, to imagine, that the pretended multitude of the Spinofists, many of whom never once dreamed of exercising their minds in the pursuit of truth, or accustoming them to philosophical discussion, should all accurately comprehend a system, which, according to their own accounts, has escaped the penetration and sagacity of the greatest geniuses.

ter.

ter [u]. The most noted members of this strange sect were a physician, whose name was LEWIS MEIER. [w], a certain person called LU-

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CAS,

[u] TOLAND, unable to purchase himself a dinner, composed and published, in order to supply the sharp demands of hunger, an infamous and impious book under the following title: *Pantheisticon; five, Formule celebrande Societatis Socratice, in Tres Particulas divise; quæ PANTHEISTARUM, five fidulum continent, I. Mores et Axiomata; II. Numen et Philosophiam; III. Libertatem et non fallentem legem neque fallendam*, &c. The design of this book, which was published in 8vo at London in the year 1720, appears by the title. It was intended to draw a picture of the licentious morals and principles of his brethren the *Pantheists* under the fictitious description of a *Socratical Society*, which they are represented as holding in all the places where they are dispersed. In the Socratical, or rather Bacchanalian Society, described in this pernicious work, the president and members are said to converse freely on several subjects. There is also a *Form* or *Liturgy* read by the president, who officiates as priest, and is answered by the assembly in suitable *responses*. He recommends earnestly to the members of the society the care of truth, liberty, and health; exhorts them to guard against superstition, that is religion; and reads aloud to them, by way of *Lesson*, certain select passages out of CICERO and SENECA which seem to favour irreligion. His colleagues promise solemnly to conform themselves to his injunctions and exhortations. Sometimes the whole fraternity is so animated with enthusiasm and joy, that they all raise their voices together, and sing certain verses out of the ancient Latin poets, that are suitable to the laws and principles of their sect. See DES MAIZEAUX, *Life of John Toland*, p. 77.—*Bibliothèque Angloise*, tom. viii. part II. p. 285. If the *Pantheistical* community be really such as it is here represented, it is not so much the duty of wise and good men to dispute with or refute its members, as it is the business of the civil magistrate to prevent such licentious and turbulent spirits from troubling the order of society, and seducing honest citizens from their religious principles, and the duties of their respective stations.

[w] This MEIER was the person who translated into Latin the pieces that SPINOZA had composed in the Dutch language; who assisted him in his last moments, after having attempted, in vain, to remove his disorder; and who published his *Posthumous Works* with a *Preface*, in which, with great impudence and little success, he endeavours to prove, that the doctrine of SPINOZA differs in nothing from that of the Gospel. MEIER

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SECT. I. CAS [x], Count BQUAINVILLIERS [y], and some others, equally contemptible on account of their sentiments and morals.

XXV. The

is also the author of a well-known treatise, thus entitled, *Philosophia Scripturae Interpres*, Eleutheropoli, 1666, in 4to, in which the merit and authority of the sacred writings are examined by the dictates of philosophy, that is to say, of the philosophy of Mr. MEIER.

[x] LUCAS was a physician at the *Hague*, and was as famous for what he called his Quintessences, as he was infamous on account of the profligacy of his morals. He left behind him a *Life of Spinoza*, from whence LENGLET DU FRESNOY took all the additions that he made to the *Life* of that Atheist written by COLERUS. He also composed a work which is still handed about and bought, at an extravagant price, by those in whose judgment rarity and impiety are equivalent to merit. This work is entitled, *L'Esprit de Spinoza*, and surpasses infinitely, in atheistical profaneness, even those productions of SPINOZA that are looked upon as the most pernicious; so far has this miserable writer lost sight of every dictate of prudence, and triumphed even over the restraints of shame.

[y] This fertile and copious, but paradoxical and inconsiderate writer, is abundantly known by his various productions relating to the History and Political State of the French Nation, by a certain prolix Fable entitled, *The Life of Mahomet*, and by the adverse turns of fortune that pursued him. His character was so made up of inconsistencies and contradictions, that he is almost equally chargeable with superstition and atheism: for though he acknowledged no other Deity than the universe, or nature, yet he looked upon MAHOMET as authorised, by a divine commission, to instruct mankind; and he was of opinion, that the fate of nations, and the destiny of individuals, could be foreknown by an attentive observation of the stars. Thus the man was, at the same time, an atheist and an astrologer. Now this medley of a man was greatly concerned, in consequence, forsooth, of his ardent zeal for the public good, to ~~be~~ the admirable doctrine of SPINOZA so generally misunderstood, and therefore he formed the laudable design of expounding, illustrating, and accommodating it, as is done with respect to the doctrines of the Gospel in books of piety to ordinary capacities. This design, indeed, he executed, but not so fortunately for his master as he might fondly imagine; since it appeared most evidently, from his own account of the system of SPINOZA, that BAYLE, and the other writers who had represented his doctrine as repugnant to the plainest dictates of reason, and utterly destructive of all religions, had judged

XXV. The progressive and flourishing state of the arts and sciences in the seventeenth century is abundantly known; and we see the effects, and enjoy the fruits, of the efforts then made for the advancement of learning. No branch of literature seemed to be neglected. Logic, philosophy, history, poetry, and rhetoric; in a word, all the sciences that belong to the respective provinces of reason, experience, observation, genius, memory, and imagination, were cultivated and improved

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The sciences cultivated and improved.

judged rightly, and were neither misled by ignorance nor temerity. In short, the book of BOULAINVILLIERS set the atheism and impiety of SPINOZA in a much more clear and striking light than ever they had appeared before. This infamous book, which was worthy of eternal oblivion, was published by LENGLET DU FRESNOY, who, that it might be bought with avidity, and read without reluctance, prefixed to it the attracting, but perfidious, title of *A Refutation of the Errors of Spinoza*; adding, indeed, to it some separate pieces, to which this title may, in some measure, be thought applicable: the whole title runs thus: *Refutation des Erreurs de Benoît de Spinoza, par M. de Fenelon, Archevêque de Cambray, par le Pere Lami Benedictin, et par M. le Comte de Boulainvilliers, avec la Vie de Spinoza, écrite par Jean Colerus, ministre de l'Eglise Lutherienne de la Haye, augmentée de beaucoup de particularités tirées d'une Vie Manuscrite de ce Philosophe, fait par un de ses Amis* (this friend was LUCAS, the atheistical physician mentioned in the preceding note) *à Bruxelles, chez François Foppens, 1731, in 12mo.* Here we see the poison and the antidote joined together, but the latter perfidiously distributed in a manner and measure every way insufficient to remove the noxious effects of the former: in a word, the wolf is shut up with the sheep. The account and defence of the philosophy of SPINOZA, given by BOULAINVILLIERS under the insidious title of a *Refutation*, takes up the greatest part of this book, and is placed first, and not last in order, as the title would insinuate. Besides, the whole contents of this motley collection are not enumerated in the title; for at the end of it we find a Latin Treatise, entitled, *Certamen Philosophicum propugnata Veritas divina et naturalis, adversus JO. BREDENBURGH principia, in fine annexa.* This philosophical controversy contains a Defence of the Doctrine of SPINOZA, by BREDENBURG; and a Refutation of that Defence by ISAAC OROBIO, a learned Jewish physician at Amsterdam, and was first published in 8vo in the year 1703.

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with remarkable success throughout the Christian world. While the learned men of this happy period discovered such zeal for the improvement of science; their zeal was both inflamed and directed by one of the greatest and rarest geniuses that ever arose for the instruction of mankind. This was FRANCIS BACON, Lord VERULAM, who, towards the commencement of this century, opened the paths that lead to true philosophy in his admirable works [z]. It must be acknowledged indeed, that the rules he prescribes, to direct the researches of the studious, are not all practicable, amidst the numerous prejudices and impediments to which the most zealous enquirers are exposed in the pursuit of truth; and it appears plainly that this great man, to whose elevated and comprehensive genius all things seemed easy, was at certain times so far carried away by the vastness of his conceptions, as to require from the application and abilities of men more than they were capable of performing, and to desire the *end*, without always examining whether the *means* of attaining it were possible. At the same time it must be confessed, that a great part of the improvements in learning, and of the progress in science that were made in *Europe*, during this century, was owing to the counsels and directions of this extraordinary man. This is more especially true of the improvements that were made in natural philosophy, to which noble science

[z] More especially in his *Treatise De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum*, and in his *Novum Organum*. See the Life of that great man that is prefixed to the last edition of his Works, published by Millar, in four volumes in folio.—*Bibliothèque Britannique*, tom. xv. p. 128.—In Mr. Mallet's Life of Bacon, there is a particular and interesting account of his noble attempt to reform the miserable philosophy that prevailed before his time. See also VOLTAIRE, *Mélanges de Littérature*, &c. in the fourth volume of his Works, chap. xiv, p. 225.

BACON

BACON did such important service, as is alone sufficient to render his name immortal. He opened the eyes of those who had been led blindfold by the dubious authority of traditionary systems, and the uncertain directory of hypothesis and conjecture. He led them to Nature, that they might consult that oracle directly and near at hand, and receive her answers; and, by the introduction of experimental inquiry, he placed philosophy upon a new and solid basis. It was thus undoubtedly that he removed the prejudices of former times, which led men to consider all human knowledge as circumscribed within the bounds of Greek and Latin erudition, and an acquaintance with the more elegant and liberal arts; and thus, in the vast regions of nature, he opened scenes of instruction and science, which, although hitherto unknown or disregarded, were infinitely more noble and sublime, and much more productive of solid nourishment to the minds of the wise, than that kind of learning that was in vogue before his time.

XXVI. It is remarkable, in general, that the sciences of *natural philosophy*, *mathematics*, and *astronomy*, were carried in this century, in all the nations of *Europe*, to such a high degree of perfection, that they seemed to rise, all of a sudden, from the puny weakness of infancy to a state of full maturity. There is certainly no sort of comparison between the philosophers, mathematicians, and astronomers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The former look like pigmies, when compared with the gigantic stature of the latter. At the head of these latter appears GALILEI, the ornament of natural science in *Italy*, who was encouraged, in his astronomical researches and discoveries, by the munificence and protection of the Grand Dukes of *Tuscany* [a]. After this arose

More especially the Mathematics.

[a] See HEUMAN'S *Acta Philosoph.* part XIV. p. 261. part XV. p. 467. part XVII. p. 803.

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in France DESCARTES and GASSENDI, who left behind them a great number of eminent disciples; in Denmark TYCHO BRAHE; in England BOYLE and NEWTON; in Germany KEPLER, HEVELIUS, and LEIBNITZ; and in Switzerland the two BERNOLLI. These philosophers of the first magnitude, if I may use that expression, excited such a spirit of emulation in Europe, and were followed by such a multitude of admirers and rivals, that, if we except those countries that had not yet emerged from a state of ignorance and barbarism, there was scarcely any nation that could not boast of possessing a profound mathematician, a famous astronomer, or an eminent philosopher. Nor were the dukes of Tuscany, however distinguished by their hereditary zeal for the sciences, and their liberality to the learned, the only patrons of philosophy at this time; since it is well known that the monarchs of Great Britain and France, CHARLES II., and LEWIS XIV., honoured the sciences, and those that cultivated them, with their protection and encouragement. It is to the munificence of these two princes that the Royal Society of London, and the Academy of Sciences at Paris, owe their origin and establishment, their privileges, honours, and endowments; and that we, of consequence, are indebted for the interesting discoveries that have been made by these two learned bodies, the end of whose institution is the study and investigation of nature, and the culture of all those arts and sciences that lead to truth, and are useful to mankind [b]. These establish-

[b] The History of the Royal Society of London was published by Dr. SPRAT in 4to, in the year 1722 *. See the *Biblioth. Angloise*, tom. xi, p. 1. The History of the Academy of Pillars has been composed by FONTENELLE. The reader will find a comparison between these two learned bodies in the fourth volume of the Works of VOLTAIRE, entitled, *Mélanges de Littérature et de Philosophie*, cap. xxvi. p. 317.

* A much more interesting and ample history of this respectable society has lately been composed and published by Dr. BROWN, its learned secretary.

ments, and the enquiries they were so naturally adapted to encourage and promote, proved not only beneficial, in the highest degree, to the civil interests of mankind, but were also productive of inestimable advantages to the cause of the true religion. By these enquiries, the empire of superstition, which is always the bane of genuine piety, and often a source of rebellion and calamity in sovereign states, was greatly shaken; by them the fictitious prodigies, that had so long held miserable mortals in a painful state of servitude and terror, were deprived of their influence; by them natural religion was built upon solid foundations, and illustrated with admirable perspicuity and evidence; as by them the infinite perfections of the Supreme Being were demonstrated with the utmost clearness and force from the frame of the universe in general, and also from the structure of its various parts.

XXVII. The improvements made in History, and more especially the new degrees of light that were thrown upon the ancient History of the church, were of eminent service to the cause of genuine Christianity. For thus the original sources and reasons of many absurd opinions and institutions, which antiquity and custom had rendered sacred, were discovered and exposed in their proper colours; and innumerable errors that had possessed and perplexed the anxious spirits of the credulous and superstitious multitude, were happily deprived of their authority and influence. Thus, of consequence, the cheerful light of Truth, and the calm repose and tranquillity that attend it, arose upon the minds of many; and human life was delivered from the crimes that have been sanctified by superstition, and from the tumults and agitations in which it has so often involved unhappy mortals. The advantages that flowed from the improvement of historical knowledge are both

C E N T. both innumerable and inestimable. By this
 XVII. many pious and excellent persons, whom igno-
 S E C T. I. rance or malice had branded with the ignomi-
 nious title of *Heretics*, were delivered from re-
 proach, recovered their good fame, and thus were
 secured against the malignity of superstition. By
 this it appeared, that many of those religious con-
 troversies, which had divided nations, friends, and
 families, and involved so often sovereign states in
 bloodshed, rebellion, and crimes of the most
 horrid kind, were owing to the most trifling and
 contemptible causes, to the ambiguity and ob-
 scurity of certain theological phrases and terms,
 to superstition, ignorance, and envy, to ghostly
 pride and ambition. By this it was demonstrated,
 with the fullest evidence, that many of those re-
 ligious rites and ceremonies, which had been long
 considered as of divine institution, were derived
 from the most inglorious sources, being either
 borrowed from the manners and customs of bar-
 barous nations, or invented with a design to de-
 ceive the ignorant and credulous, or dictated by
 the idle visions of senseless enthusiasm. By this
 the ambitious intrigues of the bishops and other
 ministers of religion, who, by perfidious arts, had
 encroached upon the prerogatives of the throne,
 usurped a considerable part of its authority and
 revenues, and held princes in subjection to their
 yoke by terrors of the church, were brought to
 light. And, to mention no more instances, it
 was by the lamp of History that those councils,
 whose decrees had so long been regarded as infal-
 lible and sacred, and revered as the dictates of
 celestial wisdom, were exhibited to the attentive
 observer as assemblies, where an odious mixture of
 ignorance and knavery very frequently presided.
 Our happy experience, in these latter times, fur-
 nishes daily instances of the salutary effects of
 these important discoveries on the state of the
 Christian

Christian church, and on the condition of all its members. Hence flow that lenity and moderation that are mutually exercised by those who differ from one another in their religious sentiments; that prudence and caution that are used in estimating opinions and deciding controversies; that protection and support that are granted to men of worth, when attacked by the malice of bigotry; and that visible diminution of the errors, frauds, crimes, and cruelties, with which superstition formerly embittered the pleasures of human life, and the enjoyments of social intercourse.

XXVIII. Many of the doctors of this century applied themselves, with eminent success, to the study of Hebrew and Greek literature, and of the Oriental languages and antiquities. And, as their progress in these kinds of erudition was rapid, so, in many instances, was the use they made of them truly excellent and laudable. For, by these succours, they were enabled to throw light on many difficult passages of the sacred writings that had been ill understood and injudiciously applied, and which some had even employed in supporting erroneous opinions, and giving a plausible colour to pernicious doctrines. Hence it happened, that many patrons and promoters of popular notions, and visionary and groundless fancies, were deprived of the fallacious arguments by which they maintained their errors. It cannot also be denied, that the cause of religion received considerable benefit from the labours of those, who either endeavoured to preserve the purity and elegance of the Latin language, or who, beholding with emulation the example of the French, employed their industry in improving and polishing the languages of their respective countries. For it must be evidently both honourable and advantageous to the Christian church to have always in its bosom men of learning, qualified to

The Study
of elo-
quence and
the lan-
guages.

write

CENT. XVII. SECT. I. write and discourse upon theological subjects with precision, elegance, ease, and perspicuity, that so the ignorant and perverse may be altered to receive instruction, and also be able to comprehend with facility the instructions they receive.

The law of nature is studied with attention.

XXIX. The rules of morality and practice, which were laid down in the sacred writings by CHRIST and his apostles, assumed an advantageous form, received new illustrations, and were supported upon new and solid principles, when that great system of law, that results from the constitution of nature, and the dictates of right reason, began to be studied with more diligence, and investigated with more accuracy and perspicuity than had been the case in preceding ages. In this sublime study of the *law of nature*, the immortal GROTIUS led the way in his excellent book *Concerning the Rights of War and Peace*; and such was the dignity and importance of the subject, that his labours excited the zeal and emulation of men of the most eminent genius and abilities [c], who turned their principal attention to this noble science. How much the labours of these great men contributed to assist the ministers of the Gospel, both in their discourses and writings concerning the duties and obligations of Christians, may be easily seen by comparing the books of a practical kind that have been published since the period now under consideration, with those that were in vogue before that time. [d] There is scarcely a discourse upon any subject of Christian morality, how inconsiderable soever it may be, that does not bear some marks of the improvement which was introduced into the science of morals by these great men, who studied

[c] See ADAM FRID. GLAFEY, *Historia Juris Naturæ*; to which is subjoined his *Bibliotheca Juris Naturæ et Gentium*.

that science in the paths of nature, in the frame and constitution of rational and moral beings, and in the relations by which they are rendered members of one great family, under the inspection and government of one common and universal [d] Parent.] It is unquestionably certain, that since this period the dictates of natural law, and the duties of Christian morality, have been more accurately defined; certain evangelical precepts, whose nature and foundations were but imperfectly comprehended in the times of old, more clearly illustrated; the superiority which distinguishes the morality of the Gospel from that course of duty that is deducible from the mere light of nature, more fully demonstrated; and those common notions and general principles, which are the foundations of moral obligation, and are every way adapted to dispel all doubts that may arise, and all controversies that may be started, concerning the nature of evangelical righteousness and virtue, established with greater evidence and certainty. It may also be added, that the impiety of those infidels who have had the effrontery to maintain, that the precepts of the Gospel are contrary to the dictates of sound reason, repugnant to the constitution of our nature, inconsistent with the interests of civil society, adapted to enervate the mind, and to draw men off from the business, the duties, and enjoyments of life [e], has been much more triumphantly refuted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, than in any other period of the Christian church.

[d] This sentence, beginning with *There is scarcely a discourse*, and ending with *Universal Parent*, is added by the translator.

[e] ROUSS. *Contr. Soc.*

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The state of
the Aristot-
elian and
Paracelsistic
philosophy.

XXX. To these reflections upon the state of learning and science in general, it may not be improper to add a particular and separate account of the progress and revolutions of philosophy in the Christian schools. At the beginning of this century almost all the European philosophers were divided into two classes, one of which comprehended the *Peripatetics*, and the other the *Chemists*, or *Fire-philosophers*, as they were often styled. These two classes contended warmly for many years which should have the pre-eminence; and a great number of laboured and subtle productions were published during the course of this philosophical contest. The *Peripatetics* were in possession of the professorships in almost all the schools of learning, and looked upon all such as presumed, either to reject, or even amend the doctrines of ARISTOTLE, as objects of indignation, little less criminal than traitors and rebels. It is however observable, that the greatest part of these supercilious and persecuting doctors, if we except those of the academies of *Tubingen*, *Altorf*, *Juliers*, and *Leipsic*, were less attached to ARISTOTLE himself than to his modern interpreters and commentators. The *Chemists* spread themselves through almost all *Europe*, and assumed the obscure and ambiguous title of *Rosecrucian Brethren* [f], which drew at first some degree of respect,

[f] The title of *Rosecrucians* evidently denotes the *chemical* philosophers, and those who blended the doctrines of religion with the secrets of chemistry. The denomination itself is drawn from the science of chemistry; and they only who are acquainted with the peculiar language of the chemists can understand its true signification and energy. It is not compounded, as many imagine, of the two words *rosa* and *crux*, which signify *rose* and *cross*, but of the latter of these words, and the Latin word *ros*, which signifies *dew*. Of all natural bodies, *dew* is the most powerful dissolvent of gold. The *cross*, in the chemical style, is equivalent to *light*; because the figure of the cross X exhibits, at the same time, the three letters of which the

spect, as it seemed to be borrowed from the arms of LUTHER, which were a *cross* placed upon a *rose*. They inveighed against the *Peripatetics* with a singular degree of bitterness and animosity, represented them as corrupters both of religion and philosophy, and published a multitude of treatises against them, which discovered little else than their folly and their malice. At the head of these fanatics were ROBERT FLUDD [g], a native of *England*, and a man of surprising genius; JACOB BEHMEN, a shoe-maker, who lived at *Gorlitz*; and MICHAEL MAYER [b]. These leaders of

the word *lux*, i. e. *light* is compounded. Now *lux* is called by this sect the *seed* or *menstrum* of the *red dragon*; or, in other words, that gross and corporeal light, which, when properly digested and modified, produces gold. From all this it follows, that a *Rosacruzian* philosopher is one who, by the intervention and assistance of the dew, seeks for light, or, in other words, the substance called the *Philosopher's stone*. All other explications of this term are false and chimerical. The interpretations that are given of it by the chemists, who love, on all occasions, to involve themselves in intricacy and darkness, are invented merely to deceive those who are strangers to their mysteries. The true energy and meaning of this denomination of *Rosacruzians* did not escape the penetration and sagacity of GASSENDI, as appears by his *Examen Philosophiæ Fluddianæ*, § xv. tom. iii. opp. p. 261. It was, however, still more fully explained by RENAUDOT, a famous French physician, in his *Conférences Publiques*, tom. 4. p. 87. There is a great number of materials and anecdotes relating to the fraternity, rules, observances, and writings of the *Rosacruzians* (who made such a noise in this century), to be found in AARNOLDI's *Kirchen-und Ketzer Historie*, part II. p. 1114.

[g] See for an account of this singular man, from whose writings JACOB BEHMEN derived all his mystical and rapturous doctrine, WOOD's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i. p. 610, and *Histor. et Antiq. Academiæ Oxoniensis*, lib. ii. p. 308.—For an account of HELMONT, father and son, see HEN. WITTE, *Memor. Philosoph.*—JOACH. FRID. FELLER, in *Miscellan. Leibnizian.*—Several writers besides ARNOLDI have given an account of JACOB BEHMEN *.

[b] See MOLLERI *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 376.

* See for a further account of JACOB BEHMEN SECT. II. PART II. CHAP. I. § XL. of this History.

CENT. XVII. the sect were followed by JOHN BAPTIST HEL-
 SECT. I. MONT, and his son FRANCIS, CHRISTIAN KNOR-
 RIUS DE ROSENROTH, KUELMAN, NOLLIUS, SPER-
 BER, and many others of various fame. An uni-
 formity of opinion, and a spirit of concord, seem
 scarcely possible in such a society as this. For as
 a great part of its doctrine is derived from cer-
 tain internal feelings, and certain flights of ima-
 gination, which can neither be comprehended nor
 defined, and is supported by certain testimonies
 of the external senses, whose reports are equally
 illusory and changeable; so it is remarkable,
 that, among the more eminent writers of this
 sect, there are scarcely any two who adopt the
 same tenets and sentiments. There are, never-
 theless, some common principles that are gene-
 rally embraced, and that serve as a centre of
 union to the society. They all maintain, that
 the dissolution of bodies, by the power of fire, is
 the only way through which men can arrive at
 true wisdom, and come to discern the first prin-
 ciples of things. They all acknowledge a cer-
 tain analogy and harmony between the powers of
 nature and the doctrines of religion, and believe
 that the Deity governs the *kingdom of grace* by the
 same laws with which he rules the *kingdom of na-
 ture*; and hence it is that they employ chemical
 denominations to express the truths of religion.
 They all hold, that there is a sort of *divine energy*
 or *soul* diffused through the frame of the universe,
 which some call *Archæus*, others the *Universal Spi-
 rit*, and which others mention under different ap-
 pellations. They all talk in the most obscure
 and superstitious manner of what they call the
signatures of things, of the power of the stars over
 all corporeal beings, and their particular influence
 upon the human race, of the efficacy of magic,
 and the various ranks and orders of demons. In
 fine, they all agree in throwing out the most
 crude.

crude, incomprehensible notions and ideas, in the most obscure, quaint, and unusual expressions.

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S E C T. I.

XXXI. This controversy between the *Chemists* and *Peripatetics* was buried in silence and oblivion as soon as a new and more seemly form of philosophy was presented to the world by two great men, who reflected a lustre upon the French nation, GASSENDI and DES CARTES. The former, whose profound knowledge of mathematics and astronomy was accompanied with the most engaging eloquence, and an acquaintance with all the various branches of solid erudition and polite literature, was canon of *Digne*, and professor of mathematics at *Paris*. The latter, who was a man of quality and bred a soldier, surpassed the greatest part of his cotemporaries in acuteness, subtilty, and extent of genius, though he was much inferior to GASSENDI in point of learning. In the year 1624, GASSENDI attacked ARISTOTLE, and the whole sect of his commentators and followers, with great resolution and ingenuity [i]; but the resentment and indignation which he drew upon himself from all quarters by this bold attempt, and the sweetness of his natural temper, which made him an enemy to dissention and contest, engaged him to desist, and to suspend an enterprise that, by opposing the prejudices, was so adapted to inflame the passions of the learned. Hence no more than two books of the work he had composed against the Aristotelians were made public; the other five were suppressed [j]. He also wrote against FLUDD, and, by refuting him,

The philosophy of
Gassendi.

☞ [i] The title of his book against the Aristotelians is as follows: *Exercitationum paradoxicarum adversus Aristoteles Libri VII. in quibus precipua totius Peripateticæ Doctrinæ fundamenta excutuntur, opiniones vero, aut ex vetustioribus obsoletæ, stabiliuntur.*

[j] See BOUGERRELL, *Vie de GASSENDI*, p. 17. & 23.

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refuted at the same time the *Rosicrucian Brethren*; and here the Aristotelians seemed to behold his labours with a favourable eye. After having overturned several false and visionary systems of philosophy, he began to think of substituting something more solid and satisfactory in their place; and in pursuance of this design he proceeded with the utmost circumspection and caution. He recommended to others, and followed himself, that wise method of philosophical investigation, which, with a slow and timorous pace, rises from the objects of sense to the discussions of reason, and arrives at truth by assiduity, experiment, and an attentive observation of the laws of nature; or, to express the same thing in other words, GASSENDI struck out that judicious method, which, by an attention to facts, to the changes and motions of the natural world, leads by degrees to general principles, and lays a solid foundation for rational enquiry. In the application of this method, he had recourse chiefly to mathematical succours, from a persuasion that demonstration and certainty were the peculiar fruits of that accurate and luminous science. He drew no assistance from the science of metaphysics, which he overlooked from an opinion that the greatest part of its rules and decisions were too precarious to satisfy a sincere inquirer, animated with the love of truth [k].

The Cartesian philosophy.

XXXII. DES CARTES followed a very different method in his philosophical researches. He abandoned the mathematics, which he had at first

[k] See GASSENDI's *Institutiones Philosophiæ*; a diffuse production, which takes up the two first volumes of his works, and in which his principal design is to shew, that those opinions, of both the ancient and modern philosophers, which are deduced from metaphysical principles, have little solidity, and are generally defective in point of evidence and perspicuity.

looked upon as the tree of knowledge, and employed the science of abstract ideas, or metaphysics, in the investigation of truth. Having accordingly laid down a few plain general principles, which seemed to be deduced immediately from the nature of man, his first business was to form *distinct notions* of Deity, matter, soul, body, space, the universe, and the various parts of which it is composed. From these notions, examined with attention, compared and combined together according to their mutual relations, connections, and resemblances, and reduced into a kind of system, he proceeded still further, and made admirable use of them in reforming the other branches of philosophy, and giving them a new degree of stability and consistence. This he effected by connecting all his branches of philosophical reasonings in such a manner, that *principles* and *consequences* followed each other in the most accurate order, and that the latter seemed to flow from the former in the most natural manner. This method of pursuing truth could not fail to attract the admiration of many: and so indeed it happened; for no sooner had DES CARTES published his discoveries in philosophy, than a considerable number of eminent men, in different parts of Europe, who had long entertained a high disgust against the inelegant and ambiguous jargon of the schools, adopted these discoveries with zeal, declared their approbation of the new system, and expressed their desire that its author should be substituted in the place of the Peripatetics, as a philosophical guide to the youth in the public seminaries of learning. On the other hand, the Peripatetics, or Aristotelians, seconded by the influence of the clergy, who apprehended that the cause of religion was aimed at and endangered by these philosophical innovations, made a prodigious noise, and left no means unemployed to prevent the downfall of their old system, and to diminish the growing re-

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putation of the new philosophy. To execute this invidious purpose with the more facility, they not only accused DES CARTES of the most dangerous and pernicious errors, but went so far, in the extravagance of their malignity, as to bring a charge of Atheism against him. This furious zeal of the Aristotelians will not appear so extraordinary, when it is considered, that they contended not so much for their philosophical system as for the honours, advantages, and profits they derived from it. The *Theosophists*, *Rosacruzians*, and *Chemists*, entered into this contest against DES CARTES, but conducted themselves with more moderation than the Aristotelians, notwithstanding their persuasion that the Peripatetic philosophy, though chimerical and impious, was much less intolerable than the Cartesian system [1]. The consequences of this dispute were favourable to the progress of science; for the wiser part of the European philosophers, although they did not at all adopt the sentiments of DES CARTES, were nevertheless encouraged and animated by his example to carry on their enquiries with more freedom from the restraints of tradition and personal authority, than they had formerly done, and to throw resolutely from their necks that yoke of servitude, under which ARISTOTLE and his followers had so long kept them in subjection.

Cassendi
the chief
adversary of
Des Cartes.

XXXIII. The most eminent contemporaries of DES CARTES applauded, in general, the efforts he made towards the reformation of philosophy, and that noble resolution with which he broke the shackles of magisterial authority, and struck out new paths, in which he proceeded without a guide, in the search after truth. They also approved of his method of arising, with caution and

[1] See BAULLET, *Vie de DES CARTES*.—As also the *General Dictionary*, at the article DES CARTES.

accuracy,

accuracy, from the most simple, and, as it were, the primary dictates of reason and nature, to truths and propositions of a more complex and intricate kind, and of admitting nothing as truth, that was not *clearly* and *distinctly* apprehended as such. They went still further, and unanimously acknowledged, that he had made most valuable and important discoveries in philosophy, and had demonstrated several truths which, before his time, were received upon no other evidence than that of tradition and conjecture. But these acknowledgments did not hinder some of those who made them with the greatest sincerity, from finding several essential defects in the philosophy of this great man. They looked upon his account of the causes and principles of natural things to be for the most part hypothetical, founded on fancy rather than experience. Nay, they attacked the fundamental principles upon which the whole system of his philosophy was built, such as his ideas of the Deity, of the universe, of matter and spirit, of the laws of motion, and other points that were connected with these. Some of these principles they pronounced uncertain; others of a pernicious tendency, and adapted to engender the most dangerous errors; others again they considered as directly contrary to the language of experience. At the head of these objectors was his own fellow-citizen GASSENDI, who had made war before him upon the Aristotelians and Chemists; who, in genius, was his equal; in learning, by much his superior; and whose mathematical knowledge was most uncommon and extensive. This formidable adversary directed his first attacks against the metaphysical principles, which supported the whole structure of the Cartesian philosophy. He then proceeded still further; and, in the place of the physical system of DES-CARTES, substituted one that

resembled

C E N T. resembled not a little the natural philosophy of
 XVII. EPICURUS, though far superior to it in solidity,
 S E C T. I. much more rational, consistent, and perfect, being
 founded not on the illusory visions of fancy, but
 on the testimony of sense and the dictates of experience [m]. This new and sagacious observer of nature had not many followers, and his disciples were much less numerous than those of DES CARTES. But what he wanted in number, was sufficiently compensated by the merit and reputation of those who adopted his philosophical system; for he was followed by some of the most eminent men in *Europe*, by persons distinguished in the highest degree, by their indefatigable application and their extensive knowledge both of natural philosophy and mathematics. It is also observable that he had but few disciples in his own country; but among the *English*, who in his time were remarkable for their application to studies of a physical and mathematical kind, a considerable number adopted his philosophical system. Nay, it is remarkable, that even those eminent philosophers and divines, such as WHICHCOT, GALE, CUDWORTH, and MORE, who entered the lists with HOBBS (whose doctrine came nearer to the principles of GASSENDI than to the system of DES CARTES), and revived ancient Platonism in

[m] See his *Disquisition Metaphysica, seu Dubitationes et Instantiæ adversus Cartesii Metaphysicam, et Responsa*, which are published in the third volume of his works, p. 283.—BERNIER, a celebrated French physician, has given an accurate view of the philosophy of GASSENDI in his abridgment of it, published in French at *Lyons*, in the year 1684, in eight volumes in 12mo. This abridgment will give the reader a clearer account of this philosophy than even the works of GASSENDI himself, in which his meaning is often expressed in an ambiguous manner, and which are, besides, loaded with superfluous erudition. The *Life of GASSENDI*, accurately written by BOUGERELLE, a priest of the oratory, was published at *Paris* in 1737.—See *Biblioth. Française*, tom. xxvii. p. 353.

order to crush under its weight the philosopher of *Malmesbury*, placed GASSENDI and PLATO in the same class, and explained the sentiments of the latter in such a manner as to make them appear quite agreeable to the principles of the former [n].

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XXXIV. From this period must be dated that famous schism that divided the philosophical world into two great sects, which, though almost agreed concerning those points that are of the greatest utility and importance in human life, differ widely about the principles of human knowledge, and the fundamental points from whence the philosopher must proceed in his search of truth. Of these sects the one may properly be called *Metaphysical*, and the other *Mathematical*. The *Metaphysical* sect follows the system of DES CARTES; the *Mathematical* one directs its researches by the principles of GASSENDI. The former looks upon truth as attainable by abstract reasoning; the latter seeks after it by observation and experience. The follower of DES CARTES attributes little to the external senses, and much to meditation and discussion. The disciple of GASSENDI, on the contrary, places little confidence in metaphysical discussion, and has principally recourse to the reports of sense and the contemplation of nature. The former, from a small number of abstract truths, deduces a long series of propositions, in order to arrive at a precise and accurate knowledge of God and nature, of body and spirit; the latter admits these metaphysical truths, but at the same time denies the possibility of erecting, upon their basis, a regular and solid system of philosophy,

Two leading philosophical sects, viz. The Mathematical and Metaphysical.

[n] See the *Preface* to the Latin translation of CUDWORTH's *Intellectual System*; as also the *Remarks* that are added to that translation. ⚡ Dr. MOSHEIM is the author of that *Translation* and of these *Remarks*.

C E N T. without the aid of assiduous observation and re-
 XVII. peated experiments, which are the most natural
 S E C T. I. and effectual means of philosophical progress and
 improvement. The *one*, eagle-like, soars, with
 an intrepid flight, to the first fountain of truth,
 and to the general relations and final causes of
 things; and descending from thence explains, by
 them, the various changes and appearances of na-
 ture, the attributes and counsels of the Deity,
 the moral constitution and duties of man, the
 frame and structure of the universe. The *other*,
 more difficult and cautious, observes with atten-
 tion, and examines with assiduity, the objects that
 are before his eyes; and arises gradually from
 them to the first cause and the primordial prin-
 ciples of things. The *Cartesians* suppose, that
 many things are known by man with the utmost
 certainty; and hence their propensity to form
 their opinions and doctrines into a regular system.
 The followers of GASSENDI consider man as in a
 state of ignorance with respect to an immense
 number of things, and, consequently, think it in-
 incumbent upon them to suspend their judgment in
 a multitude of cases, until time and experience
 dispel their darkness; and hence it is also, that
 they consider a *system* as an attempt of too adven-
 turous a nature, and by no means proportioned to
 the narrow extent of human knowledge; or, at
 least, they think, that the business of *system-making*
 ought to be left to the philosophers of future
 times, who, by joining together the observations
 and experience of many ages, shall have acquired
 a more satisfactory and accurate knowledge of
 nature than has been yet attained.

These dissensions and contests concerning the
 first principles of human knowledge, produced
 various debates upon other subjects of the utmost
 moment and importance; such as, the *nature of*
God, the *essence of matter*, the *elements or constitu-*
 ent

ent principles of bodies, the laws of motion, the manner in which the Divine Providence exerts itself in the government of the world, the frame and structure of the universe, the nature, union, and joint operations of soul and body. If we consider attentively the profound and intricate nature of these subjects, together with the limits, debility, and imperfections of the human understanding, we shall see too much reason to fear, that these contests will last as long as the present state of man [o]. The wise and the good, sensible of this, will carry on such debates with a spirit of mildness and mutual forbearance; and knowing that differences in opinions are inevitable where truth is so difficult of access, will guard against that temerity with which too many disputants accuse their antagonists of irreligion and impiety [p].

XXXV. All

[o] VOLTAIRE published, in the year 1740, at Amsterdam, a pamphlet, entitled, *La Métaphysique de Newton, ou Parallèle des Sentimens de Newton et de Leibnitz*, which, though superficial and inaccurate, may, nevertheless, be useful to those readers who have not application enough to draw from better sources, and are, nevertheless, desirous to know how much these two philosophical sects differ in their principles and tenets.

[p] It is abundantly known, that DES CARTES and his metaphysical followers were accused by many of striking at the foundations of all religion; nor is this accusation entirely withdrawn even in our times. See in the miscellaneous works of Father HARDOUIN his *Atheists unmasked*. Among these pretended Atheists, DES CARTES, with his two famous disciples ANTHONY LE GRAND and SILVAN REGIS hold the first rank; nor is Father MALEBRANCHE, though he seems rather chargeable with fanaticism than atheism, exempted from a place in this odious list. It is true HARDOUIN, who gives so liberally a place in the atheistical class to these great men, was himself a visionary dreamer, whose judgment, in many cases, is little to be respected; but it is also true, that, in the work now under consideration, he does not reason from his own whimsical notions, but draws all his arguments from those of the followers of ARISTOTLE and GASSENDI, who have

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The Metaphysical or Cartesian philosophy improved and propagated with success.

XXXV. All those who had either adopted, without exception, the principles of DES CARTES, or who, without going so far, had approved of the method and rules laid down by him for the investigation of truth, employed all their zeal and industry in correcting, amending, confirming, and illustrating, the Metaphysical species of philosophy; and the number of its votaries was prodigious, particularly in *France* and in the *United Provinces*. But among the members of this philosophical sect there were some who aimed at the destruction of all religion, more especially SPINOZA, and others, who, like BALTHASAR BECKER [9], made use of the principles of DES CARTES, to overturn some doctrines of Christianity, and to pervert others. This circumstance proved disadvantageous to the whole sect, and brought it into disrepute in many places. The Metaphysical philosophy fell, however, afterwards

have opposed, with the greatest success and acuteness, the Cartesian system. Even VOLTAIRE, notwithstanding the moderation with which he expresses himself, seems plainly enough to give his assent to the accusers of DES CARTES. On the other hand, it must be observed, that these accusers are censured in their turn by several modern metaphysicians. GASSENDI, for example, is charged by ARNAULD with overturning the doctrine of the soul's immortality in his controversy with DES CARTES, and by LEIBNITZ with corrupting and destroying the whole system of natural religion. See DES MAIZEAUX, *Recueil de diverses pièces sur la Philosophie*, tom. ii. p. 166 *. LEIBNITZ has also ventured to affirm, that Sir ISAAC NEWTON and his followers rob the Deity of some of his most excellent attributes, and sap the foundations of natural religion. In short, the controversial writings on both sides are filled with rash and indecent reproaches of this kind.

[9] See for a further account of the particular tenets and opinions of BECKER, Sect. II. Part II. Chap. II. § XXXV. of this century.

* If Dr. MOSHEIM refers to the second edition of DES MAIZEAUX *Recueil*, the page is inaccurately quoted; for it is at page 155 of the volume above mentioned, that GASSENDI is censured by LEIBNITZ. It may be further observed, that the censure is not conveyed in such strong terms as those employed by our historian. LEIBNITZ says, that GASSENDI appeared to hesitate and waver too much concerning the nature of the soul, and the principles of natural religion.

into

into better hands, and was treated with great wisdom and acuteness by MALEBRANCHE, a man of uncommon eloquence and subtilty; and by LEIBNITZ, whose name is consigned to immortality as one of the greatest geniuses that have appeared in the world [r]. Neither of these great men, indeed, adopted all the principles and doctrines of DES CARTES; but they both approved, upon the whole, of his philosophical method, which they enlarged, amended, and improved, by several additions and corrections, that rendered its procedure more luminous and sure. This is more especially true of LEIBNITZ, who, rejecting the suggestions of fancy, seemed to follow no other guides than reason and judgment; for MALEBRANCHE having received from nature a warm and exuberant imagination, was too much ruled by its dictates, and was thus often imperceptibly led into the visionary regions of enthusiasm.

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XXXVI. The Mathematical philosophy, already mentioned, was much less studied and adopted than the Metaphysical system, and its followers in *France* were very few in number. But it met with a favourable reception in *Britain*, whose philosophers perceiving, in its infant and unfinished features, the immortal lines of VERULAM'S wisdom, snatched it from its cradle, in a soil where it was ready to perish, cherished it with parental

The progress of the Mathematical sect.

[r] For an ample and interesting account of MALEBRANCHE and his philosophy, see FONTENELLE'S *Eloge des Académiciens de l'Académie Royale des Sciences*, tom. i. p. 317. and for a view of the errors and defects of his metaphysical system, see HARDOUIN'S *Atheists unmasked*, in his *Oeuvres Mées*, p. 43.—FONTENELLE has also given an account of the life and philosophical sentiments of LEIBNITZ in the work already quoted, vol. ii. p. 9.; but a much more ample one has been published in German by CHARLES GUNTHER LEWIS, in his history of the *Leibnitian Philosophy*. However, the genius and philosophy of this great man are best to be learned from his letters to KORTHOLT, published at *Leipsic* in three volumes,

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tendernefs, and have ftill continued their zealous efforts to bring it to maturity and perfection. The Royal Society of *London*, which may be confidered as the philofophical feminary of the nation, took it under their protection, and have neither fpared expence nor pains to cultivate and improve it, and to render it fubfervient to the purpofes of life. It owed, more efpecially, a great part of its progrefs and improvement to the countenance, induftry, and genius of that immortal protector of fcience, the pious and venerable Mr. BOYLE, whose memory will be ever precious to the worthy and the wife, the friends of religion, learning, and mankind. The illuftrious names of BARROW, WALLIS, and LOCKE, may alfo be added to the lift of thofe who contributed to the progrefs of natural knowledge. Nor were the learned divines of the *Englifh* nation (tho' that Order has often excited the complaints of philofophers, and been fupposed to behold, with a jealous and fufpicious eye, the efforts of philofophy as dangerous to the caufe of religion) lefs zealous than the other patrons of fcience in this noble caufe. On the contrary, they looked upon the improvement of natural knowledge not only as innocent, but as of the higheft utility and importance; as admirably adapted to excite and maintain in the minds of men a profound veneration for the Supreme Creator and Governor of the world, and to furnifh new fupports to the caufe of religion; and alfo as agreeable both to the laws and fpirit of the Gofpel, and to the fentiments of the primitive church. And hence it was, that thofe doctors, who, in the lectures founded by Mr. BOYLE, attacked the enemies of religion, employed in this noble and pious attempt the fuccours of philofophy with the moft happy and triumphant fuccefs. But the immortal man, to whose immense genius and indefatigable induftry

dustry philosophy owed its greatest improvements, and who carried the lamp of knowledge into paths of nature that had been unexplored before his time, was Sir ISAAC NEWTON [s], whose name was revered, and his genius admired, even by his warmest adversaries. This great man spent, with uninterrupted assiduity, the whole of a long life in correcting, digesting, and enlarging, the new philosophy, and in throwing upon it the light of demonstration and evidence, both by observing the laws of nature, and by subjecting them to the rules of calculation; and thus he introduced a great change into natural science, and brought it to a very high degree of perfection [t].

☞ [s] Mr. HUME's account of this great man is extremely just, and contains some peculiar strokes that do honour to this elegant painter of minds. "In NEWTON, *says he*, this island "may boast of having produced the greatest and rarest genius "that ever arose for the ornament and instruction of the species. Cautious in admitting no principles, but such as were "founded in experiment; but resolute to adopt every such "principle, however new and unusual: From modesty ignorant "of his superiority above the rest of mankind, and thence less "careful to accommodate his reasonings to common apprehensions: More anxious to merit than acquire fame: He was, "from these causes, long unknown to the world; but his reputation, at last, broke out with a lustre, which scarce any "writer, during his own lifetime, had ever before attained. "While NEWTON seemed to draw off the veil from some of "the mysteries of nature, he shewed, at the same time, the "imperfections of the mechanical philosophy; and thereby "restored her ultimate secrets to that obscurity, in which they "ever did and ever will remain."

[t] The *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, as also the other writings, whether philosophical, mathematical, or theological, of this great man, are abundantly known. There is an elegant account of his life and literary and philosophical merit given by FONTENELLE, in his *Eloge des Académiciens de l'Académie Royale des Sciences*, tom. ii. p. 293—323.—See also the *Biblioth. Angloise*, tom. xv. par. II. p. 545. and *Biblioth. Raisonnée*, tom. vi. par. II. p. 478. ☞ See more especially the late learned and ingenious Mr. MACLAURIN's *Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Discoveries*, &c.

The

C E N T. XVII. SECT. I. *The English* look upon it as an unquestionable proof of the solidity and excellence of the Newtonian philosophy, that its most eminent votaries were friends to religion, and have transmitted to posterity shining examples of piety and virtue; while, on the contrary, the Cartesian or Metaphysical system has exhibited, in its followers, many flagrant instances of irreligion, and some of the most horrid impiety.

Of the philosophers who adopt neither of these systems.

XXXVII. The two famous philosophical sects now mentioned, deprived, indeed, all the ancient systems of natural science both of their credit and their disciples; and hence it might have been expected that they would have totally engrossed and divided between them the suffrages of the learned. But this was not the case; the liberty of thinking being restored by DES CARTES and NEWTON, who broke the fetters of prejudice, in which philosophical superstition had confined, in former times, the human understanding, a variety of sects sprung up. Some trusting in their superior genius and sagacity, and others, more remarkable for the exuberance of their fancy than for the solidity of their judgment, pretended to strike out new paths in the unknown regions of nature, and new methods of investigating truth; but the number of their disciples was small, and the duration of their inventions transitory, and therefore it is sufficient to have barely mentioned them. There was another sort of men, whom mediocrity of genius, or an indolent turn of mind, indisposed for investigating truth by the exertion of their own talents and powers, and who, terrified at the view of such an arduous task, contented themselves with borrowing from the different sects such of their respective tenets as appeared most remarkable for their perspicuity and solidity, more especially those concerning which all the
different

different sects were agreed. These they compiled and digested into a system, and pushed their inquiries no further. The philosophers of this class are generally termed *Eclectics*. From these remarkable differences of sentiment and system that reigned among the jarring sects, some persons, otherwise distinguished by their acuteness and sagacity, took occasion to represent truth as unattainable by such a short-sighted being as man, and to revive the desperate and uncomfortable doctrine (shall I call it, or jargon) of the Sceptics, that had long been buried in that silence and oblivion it so justly deserved. The most eminent of these cloudy philosophers were SANCHEZ, a physician of *Toulouse* [*u*], DE LA MOTHE LE VAYER [*w*], HUET, bishop of *Avranches* [*x*], to whom we may add, without temerity, the famous

[*u*] There is still extant a famous book of this writer, entitled, *De eo quod nihil scitur*, which, with the rest of his works and an account of his life, was published in 4to at *Toulouse*, in the year 1636.—See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article SANCHEZ; as also VILLEMANDI *Scepticismus debellatus*, cap. iv. p. 32.

[*w*] See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article VAYER.

[*x*] HUET's book *Concerning the Weakness of Human Reason* was published after his death, in French, at *Amsterdam*, in the year 1723, and lately in Latin. It appears, however, that this eminent writer had, long before the composition of this book, recommended the sceptical method of conducting philosophical researches, and looked upon this method as the best adapted to establish the truth of Christianity upon solid foundations. See the *Commentarius de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, lib. iv. p. 230. and *Demonstrat. Evangelicæ Prefat.* § iv. p. 9. where he commends their manner of proceeding, *who*, by sceptical arguments, invalidate all philosophical principles, before they begin to prove the truth of Christianity to those who doubt of its evidence. It is well known that the Jesuits, who were particularly favoured by HUET, have, on many occasions, employed this method to throw dust into the eyes of the Protestants, and thus lead them blindfold into the Romish communion; and that they still continue to practise the same insidious instrument of seduction.

BAYLE,

CENT. ^{XVII.} BAYLE [y], who, by the erudition and wit that
 SECT. I. abound in his voluminous works, has acquired
 ————— such a distinguished reputation in the Republic
 of Letters.

[y] Every thing relating to the life and sentiments of BAYLE is abundantly and universally known. His life, composed by DES MAIZEAUX, was published in the year 1732, at the *Hague*, in two volumes 8vo.—The scepticism of this insidious and seducing writer was unmasked and refuted, with great learning and force of argument, by the late Mr. CROUSAZ, in a voluminous French work, entitled, *Traité du Pyrrhonisme*, of which Mr. FORMEY has given an elegant and judicious abridgment, under the title of *Triomphe de l'Evidence*.

SECTION

S E C T I O N II.

P A R T I.

The HISTORY of the more ANCIENT CHURCHES.

C H A P. I.

Containing the HISTORY of the ROMISH CHURCH.

I. **H**IPPOLITO ALDOBRANDINI, under the papal name of CLEMENT VIII., continued to rule the church of *Rome* at the commencement of this century, having been elected to that high dignity towards the conclusion of the preceding one. The eminent abilities and insidious dexterity of this pontif, as also his ardent desire of extinguishing the Protestant religion, and extending the limits of the Romish church, are universally acknowledged; but it is much questioned, whether his prudence was equal to the arduous nature of his station as pontif, and the critical circumstances of an incidental kind that arose during his administration [a]. He was succeeded in the year 1605 by LEO XI., of the house of MEDICIS, who died a few weeks after his election; and thus left the papal chair open to CAMILLO BORGHESE, who filled it under the denomination of PAUL V. This pontif was of a haughty and violent spirit,

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The popes
of this cen-
tury.

☞ [a] This pontif had an edition of the *Vulgate* published, which was very different from that of Pope SIXTUS; and this is one of the many instances of the *contrariety* of opinions that has prevailed among the *infallible* heads of the church of Rome.

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jealous to excess of his authority, and insatiably furious in the execution of his vengeance upon such as encroached on his pretended prerogative, as appears in a striking manner, by his rash and unsuccessful contest with the Venetians [b].—GREGORY XV. [c], who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1621, seemed to be of a milder disposition, though he was not less defective than his predecessor in equity and clemency towards those that had separated themselves from the church of Rome. An unjust severity against the friends of the Reformation is, indeed, the general and inevitable character of the Roman pontiffs; for,

✠ [b] This contest arose partly from two edicts of the Republic of *Venice* for preventing the unnecessary increase of religious buildings, and the augmentation of the enormous wealth of the clergy; and partly from the prosecution of two ecclesiastics for capital crimes, who had not been delivered up to the Pope at his requisition. It is not surprising that these proceedings of the Venetians, however just and equitable, should enflame the ambitious fury of a pontiff who called himself *Vice-God, the Monarch of Christendom, and the Supporter of Papal Omnipotence*. Accordingly PAUL laid all the dominions of the Republic under an *interdict*; while the Venetians, on the other hand, declared that unjust and tyrannical mandate null and void; and banished from their territory the Jesuits and Capuchins, who had openly disobeyed the laws of the state. Preparations for war were making on both sides, when an accommodation, not very honourable to the Pope, was brought about by the mediation of HENRY IV. of *France*. This controversy between the Pope and the Venetians produced several important pieces, composed by SARPI on the side of the Republic, and by BARONIUS and BELLARMINE in behalf of the pontiff. The controversy concerning the nature and limits of the Pope's pretended supremacy is judiciously stated, and the papal pretensions accurately examined, by SARPI, in his history of this tyrannical *interdict*, which, in Italian, occupies the fourth volume of his works, and was translated into Latin by WILLIAM BEDELL, of *Cambridge*.—It was PAUL V. that dishonoured his title of *Holiness*, and cast an eternal stain upon his *infallibility*, by an express approbation of the doctrine of SUAREZ, the Jesuit, in defence of the murder of kings.

✠ [c] His family-name was ALEXANDER LUDIVISIO.

without

without this, they would be destitute of the predominant and distinctive mark of the papacy. A pope, with sentiments of toleration and charity towards those who refuse a blind submission to his opinions and decisions, is a contradiction in terms. URBAN VIII., whose family name was MAFFEI BARBERINI, and who, by his interest in the conclave, ascended the papal throne in the year 1623, was a man of letters, an eloquent writer, an elegant poet, and a generous and munificent patron of learning and genius [d]; but nothing can equal the rigour and barbarity with which he treated all that bore the name of Protestants. He may be indeed considered as a good and equitable ruler of the church, when compared with INNOCENT X., of the family of PAMFILI, who succeeded him in the year 1644.—This unworthy pontiff, to a profound ignorance of all those things which it was necessary for a Christian bishop to know, joined the most shameful indolence and the most notorious profligacy. For he abandoned his person, his dignity, the administration of his temporal affairs, and the go-

[d] See LEONI ALLATI *Apes Urbanae*, of which FABRICIUS published a second edition at *Hamburg*. This little work is a sort of *Index*, or list, of all the learned and eminent men that adorned *Rome* under the pontificate of URBAN VIII., and experienced the munificence and liberality of that pontiff; and their number is far from being small. The Latin poems of URBAN, which are not without a considerable portion of wit and elegance, have passed through several editions. These poems were composed while he was yet a cardinal. After his elevation to the pontificate, he published a remarkable edition of the *Romish Breviary*, and several *Bulls*; among which, that which abolishes the Order of *Female Jesuits*, and certain festivals, those relating to image-worship and to the condemnation of Jansenius's *Augustinus*, and that which confers the title of *Eminence* upon the cardinal-legates, the three ecclesiastical electors, and the grand master of *Malta*, are the most worthy of notice.

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vernment of the church, to the disposal of Donna OLYMPIA [e], a woman of corrupt morals, insatiable avarice, and boundless ambition [f]. His zealous endeavours to prevent the peace of *Westphalia*, however odious they may appear, when considered in themselves, ought not to be reckoned among his personal crimes, since it is to be supposed, that any other pontif, in his place, would have made the same attempts without hesitation or remorse. He was succeeded in the papal chair, in the year 1655, by FABIO CHIGI, who assumed the title of ALEXANDER VII., and who, though less odious than his predecessor, was nevertheless possessed of all the pernicious qualities that are necessary to constitute a true pope, and without which the papal jurisdiction and majesty cannot be maintained. The other parts of his character are drawn, much to his disadvantage, by several ingenious and eminent writers of the Romish church, who represent him as a man of a mean genius, unequal to great or difficult undertakings, full of craft and dissimulation, and chargeable with the most shameful levity and the greatest inconsistency of sentiment and conduct [g].
The

[e] This Donna OLYMPIA MALDACHINI was his brother's widow, with whom he had lived, in an illicit commerce, before his elevation to the pontificate, in which his *Holiness* continued afterwards.

[f] See the *Memoires du Cardinal de Rhetz*, tom. iii. p. 102. tom. iv. p. 12. of the last edition published at Geneva.—For an account of the disputes between this pontif and the French, see BOUGEANT, *Histoire de la paix de Westphalie*, tom. iv. p. 56.

[g] See *Memoires du Cardinal de Rhetz*, tom. iv. p. 16. 77.—*Memoires de M. Joly*, tom. ii. p. 186. 210. 237.—ARCKENMOLTZ, *Memoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. ii. p. 125. The craft and dissimulation attributed to this pontif really constituted an essential part of his character; but it is not strictly true that he was a man of a mean genius, or unequal to great and difficult undertakings. He was a man of learning, and discovered very eminent abilities at the treaty of *Münster*, where

The two CLEMENTS IX. and X., who were elected successively to the papacy in the years 1668 and 1669, were concerned in few transactions that deserve to be transmitted to posterity [b]. This was not the case of BENEDICT ODESCHALCHI, who is known in the list of pontiffs by the denomination of INNOCENT XI., and was raised to that high dignity in the year 1677 [i]. This respectable pontiff acquired a very high and permanent reputation by the austerity of his morals, his uncommon courage and resolution, his dislike of the grosser superstitions that reigned in the Romish church, his attempts to reform the manners of the clergy, and to abolish a considerable number of those fictions and frauds that dishonour their ministry, and also by other solid and eminent virtues. But it appeared manifestly by his example, that those pontiffs, who respect truth, and act from virtuous and Christian principles, may, indeed, form noble plans, but will never be able to bring them into execution, or at

he was sent in the character of Nuncio. Some writers relate, that while he was in *Germany*, he had formed the design of abjuring Popery, and embracing the Protestant Religion; but was deterred from the execution of this purpose by the example of his cousin, Count POMPEY, who was poisoned at *Lyons*, on his way to *Germany*, after he had abjured the Romish faith. These writers add, that CHIGI was confirmed in his religion by his elevation to the cardinalship. See BAYLE, *Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres*, Octob. 1688.

✧ [b] CLEMENT IX. was of the family of *Rospigliosi*, and the family-name of CLEMENT X. was *Athieri*, see *Memoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. ii. p. 126. 131. There are upon record several transactions of CLEMENT IX. that do him honour, and prove his dislike of nepotism, and his love of peace and justice.

✧ [i] Some maintain, and with the strongest appearance of truth, that this pontiff had formerly been a soldier, though this report is treated as groundless by Count TURREZONICO, in his dissertation *De suppositis militaribus Stipendiis Bened. Odeschalchi*. See an interesting account of this pontiff in BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article INNOCENT XI.

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least to give them that measure of stability and perfection, which is the object of their wishes. By his example and administration it appeared, that the wisest institutions, and the most judicious establishments, will be unable to stand firm, for any considerable time, against the insidious stratagems or declared opposition of a deluded multitude, who are corrupted by the prevalence of licentious morals, whose imaginations are impregnated with superstitious fictions and fables, whose credulity is abused by pious frauds, and whose minds are nourished, or rather amused, with vain rites and senseless ceremonies [k]. Be that as it may, all the wise and salutary regulations of INNOCENT XI. were suffered to go almost to ruin by the criminal indolence of PETER OTTOBONI, who was raised to the head of the Romish church in the year 1689, and assumed the name of ALEXANDER VIII. A laudable attempt was made to revive them by INNOCENT XII., a man of uncommon merit and eminent talents, whose name was PIGNATELLI, and who, in the year 1691, succeeded ALEXANDER in the papal chair; nor were his zealous endeavours absolutely destitute of success. But it was also his fate to learn, by experience, that the most prudent and resolute pontiffs are unequal to such an arduous task, such an Herculean labour, as the reformation of the church and court of *Rome*; nor were the fruits of this good pope's wise administration enjoyed long

[k] See *Journal Universel*, tom. i. p. 441. tom. vi. p. 306. The present Pope BENEDICT XIV.* attempted, in the year 1743, the canonization of INNOCENT XI.; but the King of *France*, infligated by the Jesuits, has always opposed this design, and that more especially on account of the misunderstandings that always subsisted between LEWIS XIV. and INNOCENT, of which more hereafter.

* This note was written during the life of BENEDICT XIV.

after

after his decease [1]. The pontif, whose reign concluded this century, was JOHN FRANCIS ALBANI, who was raised to the head of the Romish church in the year 1699, and assumed the name of CLEMENT XI. He surpassed in learning the whole college of cardinals, and was inferior to none of the preceding pontifs in sagacity, lenity, and a desire, at least, to govern well; but he was very far from opposing, with a proper degree of vigour and resolution, the inveterate corruptions and superstitious observances of the church over which he presided; on the contrary, he inconsiderately aimed at, what he thought, the honour and advantage of the church (that is, the glory and interest of its pontif) by measures that proved detrimental to both, and thus shewed, in a striking example, that popes, even of the best sort, may fall imperceptibly into the greatest mistakes, and commit the most pernicious blunders, through an imprudent zeal for extending their jurisdiction, and augmenting the influence and lustre of their station [m].

[1] For an account of the character, morals, and election, of INNOCENT XII., see the *Letters* of Cardinal NORIS, published in the fifth volume of his *Works*, p. 362. 365.

[m] In the year 1752, there appeared at Padua, a *Life of CLEMENT XI.*, composed in French, by the learned and eloquent Mr. LAFITAU, Bishop of *Sisteron*, in two volumes 8vo. The same year Mr. REBOULET, Chancellor of *Avignon*, published in two volumes in 4to, his *Histoire de CLEMENT XI.* These two productions, and more especially the latter, are written with uncommon elegance; but they both abound with historical errors, which the French writers, in general, are at too little pains to avoid. Besides, they are both composed rather in the strain of panegyric than of history. An attentive reader will, however, see without pain, even in these panegyrics, that CLEMENT XI., notwithstanding his acknowledged sagacity and prudence, took several rash and inconsiderate steps, in order to augment the power, and multiply the prerogatives of the Roman pontifs: and thus, through his own temerity, involved himself in various perplexities.

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The attempts made by the church of Rome, to oppress the Protestants and ruin their cause.

II. The incredible pains that were taken by the pontiffs and clergy of the Romish Church, to spread their doctrine and to erect their dominion among the nations that lay in the darkness of Paganism, have been already mentioned. We are, therefore, at present, to confine our narration to the schemes they laid, the cabals they formed, and the commotions they excited, with an uninterrupted and mischievous industry, in order to recover the possessions and prerogatives they had lost in *Europe*, to oppress the Protestants, and to extinguish the light of the glorious Reformation. Various were the stratagems and projects they formed for these purposes. The resources of genius, the force of arms, the seduction of the most alluring promises, the terrors of the most formidable threatenings, the subtle wiles of controvery, the influence of pious, and often of impious frauds, the arts of dissimulation, in short, all possible means, fair and disingenuous, were employed for the destruction of the Reformed churches, but in most cases without success. The plan of a dreadful attack upon the friends of the Reformation had been, for some time, laid in secret, and the bigoted and persecuting house of *Austria* was pitched upon to put it in execution. However, as injustice is seldom so insolent as not to seek for some pretexts to mask, or at least to diminish, its deformity, so the church of *Rome* endeavoured before-hand to justify the persecution of which the flame was ready to break out. For this purpose the pens of the perfidious and learned SCIOPIUS [n], of the Jesuits TANNER, POSSEVIN,

[n] SCIOPIUS seems rather to merit the titles of *malevolent* and *furious* than that of *perfidious*, unless his turning papist be considered by Dr. MOSHEIM as an instance of perfidy. This is the intemperate and odious satyrical who was caned by the servants of the English ambassador at *Madrid*, for the invectives he had thrown out against King JAMES I., in a book which was burnt by the hands of the common hangman at *Paris*.

HAGER,

HAGER, HEDERIC, and FORER, jurists of *Dilligen*, were employed to represent the treaty of peace, made between CHARLES V. and the Protestants of *Germany*, as unjust, null, and even rendered void by the Protestants themselves, by their departing from, or at least perverting, by various changes and modifications, the confession of *Augsburg* [o]. This injurious charge was proved groundless by several Lutheran doctors, who, of their own accord, defended their communion against this instance of popish calumny; but it was also refuted by public authority, even by the express order of JOHN GEORGE, elector of *Saxony*. The task was committed to MATTHEW HOE, who, in the years 1628 and 1631, published, in two volumes, an accurate and laborious defence of the Protestants, entitled, *Defensio Pupillæ Evangelicæ*. The mouth of calumny was not stopped by these performances. The accusers continued their clamours, multiplied their libels, and had recourse to the succours of indecent raillery and sarcastical wit to cover, as well as they were able, the striking defects of a bad cause. On the other hand the Lutheran writers exerted themselves in exposing the sophistry and refuting the arguments and invectives of their adversaries.

III. The first flames of that religious war, which the Roman pontifs proposed to carry on by the arms of the Austrians and Spaniards, their servile and bigotted instruments, broke out in *Austria*, where, about the commencement of this century, the friends of the Reformation were cruelly persecuted and oppressed by their Roman-Catholic adversaries [p]. The solemn treaties and

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tions in
Austria and
Bœmia.

[o] See CHRIST. AUG. SALIG, *Hist. Augsb. Confessionis*, tom. i. lib. iv. cap. iii. p. 768.

[p] RAUFACHIUS, in his *Austria Evangelica* (a German work with a Latin title), has given an accurate account of this persecution

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and conventions, by which the religious liberty and civil rights of these Protestants had been secured, were trampled upon and violated in the most shocking manner; nor had these unhappy sufferers resolution, vigour, or strength sufficient to maintain their privileges. The Bohemians, who were involved in the same vexations, proceeded in a different manner. Perceiving plainly that the votaries of *Rome* aimed at nothing less than to deprive them of that religious liberty that had been purchased by the blood of their ancestors, and so lately confirmed to them by an imperial edict, they came to a resolution of opposing force to force, and of taking up arms to defend themselves against a set of men whom, in consequence of the violence they offered to conscience, they could look upon in no other light than as the enemies of their souls. Accordingly a league was formed by the Bohemian Protestants, and they began to avenge, with a great spirit and resolution, the injuries that had been committed against their persons, their families, their religion, and their civil rights and privileges. But it must be confessed, that, in this just attempt to defend what was dear to them as men and Christians, they lost sight of the dictates of equity and moderation, and carried their resentment beyond the bounds both of reason and religion. Their adversaries were struck with terror at a view of their intrepidity, but were not dismayed. The Bohe-

persecution and these commotions. The same learned and worthy author had formed the design of publishing an authentic and circumstantial relation of the sufferings of the Protestants in *Stiric*, *Moravia*, and *Corinthia*, with an account of the pernicious snares that were laid for them, the whole drawn from unexceptionable records; but death prevented the execution of this design,

mians,

mians, therefore, apprehending still further opposition and vexations from bigotry, animated by a spirit of vengeance, renewed their efforts to provide for their security. The death of the emperor MATTHIAS, which happened in the year 1619, furnished them, as they thought, a fair opportunity of striking at the root of the evil, and removing the source of their calamities, by choosing a sovereign of the reformed religion; for they considered themselves as authorized by the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom, to reject any that pretended to the throne by virtue of an hereditary right, and to demand a prince, whose title to the crown should be derived from the free suffrages of the states. Accordingly FREDERICK V., elector Palatine, who professed the Reformed religion, was, in the year 1619, chosen king of *Bohemia*, and solemnly crowned at *Prague* [9].

IV. This bold step, from which the Bohemians expected such signal advantages, proved to them a source of complicated misfortunes. Its consequences were fatal to their new sovereign, and to their own liberties and privileges; for by it they were involved in the most dreadful calamities, and deprived of the free exercise of the Protestant religion, the security of which was the ultimate end of all the measures they had pursued. FREDERIC was defeated, before *Prague*, by the imperial army, in the year 1620, and by this unfortunate battle was not only deprived of his new crown, but also of his hereditary domi-

The Bohemian war:
Frederic V.

[9] Besides CAROLI and JAGERUS, who have composed the Ecclesiastical History of this Century, see BURCH. GOTTH. SERUVII *Synagoga Historiæ Germanicæ*, p. 1487. 1510. 1523. 1538.; as also the writers which he recommends. See also the *Histoire de Louis XIII.*, composed by the learned and accurate LE VASSOR, tom. iii. p. 223.

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nions. Reduced thus to the wretched condition of an exile, he was obliged to leave his fruitful territories and his ample treasures to the merciless discretion of the Austrians and Bavarians, who plundered and ravaged them with the most rapacious barbarity. The defeat of this unfortunate prince was attended with dreadful consequences to the Bohemians, and more especially to those who, from a zeal for religious liberty and the interests of the Reformation, had embarked in his cause. Some of them were committed to a perpetual prison, others banished for life; several had their estates and possessions confiscated; many were put to death; and the whole nation was obliged, from that fatal period, to embrace the religion of the victor, and bend their unwilling necks under the yoke of *Rome*. The triumph of the Austrians would neither have been so sudden nor so complete, nor would they have been in a condition to impose such rigorous and despotic terms on the Bohemians, had they not been powerfully assisted by JOHN GEORGE I., elector of *Saxony*, who, partly from a principle of hatred towards the *Reformed* [*r*], and partly from considerations of a political kind, reinforced with his troops, the imperial army [*s*]. This invasion of the Palatinate was

✠ [*r*] By the *Reformed*, as has been already observed, we are to understand the *Calvinists*, and also, in general, all Protestants that are not of the *Lutheran* persuasion. And here we see a Lutheran elector drawing his sword to support the cause of popery and persecution against a people generously struggling for the Protestant Religion, and the rights of conscience.

[*s*] See the *Commentarii de Bello Bohemico-Germanico*, ab A. C. 1617 ad A. 1630, in 4to.—ABRAHAM SCULTET, *Narratio Apologetica de Curriculo Vitæ sue*, p. 86.—It is well known, that the Roman Catholics, and more especially MARTIN BECAN, a Jesuit, persuaded MATTHEW HÖE, who was an Austrian by birth, and the elector's chaplain, to represent to his prince the cause of the Elector Palatine (which was the cause of the *Reformed* Religion) as not only unjust, but also as detrimental to the interests of *Lutheranism*, and to recommend

was the occasion of that long and bloody war, that was so fatal to *Germany*, and in which the greatest part of the princes of *Europe* were, one way or another, unhappily engaged. It began by a confederacy formed between some German powers and the king of *Denmark*, in order to assert the rights of the elector Palatine, unjustly excluded from his dominions, against the despotic proceedings of the emperor. The confederates maintained, that the invasion of *Bohemia*, by this unhappy prince, was no just subject of offence to the emperor; and that the house of *Austria*, whose quarrel the emperor was not obliged by any means to adopt, was alone the sufferer in this case. However that may have been, the progress and issue of the war were unfavourable to the allies.

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V. The success of the imperial arms filled the votaries of Popery and *Rome* with the warmest transports of joy and exultation, and presented to their imaginations the most flattering prospects. They thought that the happy period was now approaching, when the whole tribe of heretics, that had withdrawn their necks from the papal yoke, should either perish by the sword, or be reduced under the dominion of the church. The emperor himself seemed to have imbibed no small portion of this odious spirit, which was doubly prepared, to convert or to destroy. The flame of ambition that burned within him, was nourished by the suggestions of bigotry. Hence he au-

The progress of the German or Bohemian war.

to him the cause and interests of the House of *Austria*. See *Unschuldige Nachricht*, A. 1747. p. 858. What Dr. MOSHEIM observes here may be true; but then it is as true, that MATTHEW HÖR must have been a great fool, or a great knave, to listen to such insinuations, not only on account of their glaring absurdity, but also considering the persons from whom they came. This is the same HÖR that is mentioned above as a learned defender of the Lutheran faith.

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daciouſly carried his arms through a great part of *Germany*, ſuffered his generals to vex with impunity thoſe princes and ſtates which reſuſed a blind obedience to the court of *Rome*, and ſhewed plainly, by all his proceedings, that a ſcheme had been laid for the extinction of the Germanic liberty, civil and ſacred. The elector of *Saxony's* zealous attachment to the emperor, which he had abundantly diſcovered by his warm and ungenerous oppoſition to the unfortunate *FREDERIC*, together with the lamentable diſcord that reigned among the German princes, perſuaded the papal faction, that the difficulties which ſeemed to oppoſe the execution of their project, were far from being invincible. Accordingly the perſons concerned in this grand enterpriſe began to act their reſpective parts. In the year 1629, *FERDINAND II.*, to give ſome colour of juſtice to this religious war, iſſued out the terrible *reſtitution-edict*, by which the Proteſtants were ordered to reſtore to the church of *Rome* all the poſſeſſions they had become maſters of in conſequence of the *religious peace*, concluded in the preceding century [*t*]. This edict was principally owing to the ſuggeſtions of the Jeſuits. That greedy and ambitious Order claimed a great part of theſe goods and poſſeſſions as a recompence due to their labours in the cauſe of religion; and hence aroſe a warm conteſt between them and the ancient and real proprietors [*u*]. This conteſt indeed was decided by the law of force. It was the depopulating ſoldier, who, ſword in hand, gave weight and authority to the imperial edict, wreſting out of the

[*t*] See for an illuſtration of this matter, the authors mentioned by *STRUVIUS*, in his *Syntagma Hiſtor. Germaniæ*, p. 1553.

[*u*] See *CHRIST. AUG. SALIG, Hiſtor. Auguſt. Confeſſionis*, tom. I. lib. iv. cap. iii. § xxv. p. 810.

hands of the lawful possessor, without form of process, whatever the Romish priests and monks thought proper to claim, and treating the innocent and plundered sufferers with all the severity that the most barbarous spirit of oppression and injustice could suggest [v].

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VI. *Germany* groaned under these dismal scenes of tumult and oppression, and looked about for succour in vain. The enemy encompassed her on all sides, and none of her princes seemed qualified to stand forth as the avenger of her injuries, or the assertor of her rights. Some were restrained from appearing in her cause by the suggestions of bigotry, others by a principle of fear, and others again by an ungenerous attention to their own private interest, which choked in their breasts all concern for the public good. An illustrious hero, whose deeds even envy was obliged to revere, and whose name will descend with glory to the latest ages, came forth, nevertheless, at this critical season; GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS took the field, and maintained the cause of the Germanic liberties against the oppression and

Gustavus
Adolphus
intervenes.

The conclusion of
the thirty
years war.

[v] When the consequences of these iniquitous and barbarous proceedings were represented to this Emperor, and he was assured that the country must be utterly ruined, in case the Bohemians, rendered desperate by his enormous cruelty and oppression, should exert themselves in defence of their liberties, and endeavour to repel force by force; he is reported to have answered, with great zeal and calmness, *Malum regnum vastatum, quam damnatum.* See the *Historia Persecutionum Ecclesie Bohemicae*, &c. p. 152. a work published (probably in *Holland*, as would seem by the type) in the year 1648, in 24to. This little book contains an ample recital of the deplorable effects of lawless power, in human bigotry and blood-thirsty zeal; and proves, by numberless facts, that Dr. MOSHEIM had the strongest evidences for the account he gives of FERDINAND and his missionaries. It is impossible to reflect upon the sanguinary manner of such converters, without expressing, at the same time, a generous detestation and abhorrence of their unjust and violent proceedings. N.

CEN. T. XVII. tyranny of the house of *Austria*. At the earnest request of the French court, which beheld, with uneasiness, the overgrown power of that aspiring house, he set sail for *Germany*, in the year 1629, with a small army; and, by his repeated victories, blasted, in a short time, the sanguine hopes which the pope and emperor had entertained of suppressing the Protestant religion in the empire. These hopes, indeed, seemed to revive in the year 1632, when this glorious assertor of Germanic liberty fell in the battle of *Lutzen* [*w*]; but this unspeakable loss was, in some measure, made up in process of time, by the conduct of those who succeeded GUSTAVUS at the head of the Swedish army. And, accordingly, the war was obstinately carried on in bleeding *Germany*, during many years, with various success, until the exhausted treasures of the contending parties, and the pacific inclinations of CHRISTINA, the daughter and successor of GUSTAVUS, put an end to these desolations, and brought on a treaty of peace.

The peace
of *Westphalia*.

VII. Thus, after a war of thirty years, carried on with the most unrelenting animosity and ardour, the wounds of *Germany* were closed, and the drooping states of *Europe* were revived, in the year 1648, by the peace of *Westphalia*, so called from the cities of *Munster* and *Osnaburg*, where the negotiations were held, and that famous treaty concluded. The Protestants, indeed, did not derive from this treaty all the privileges they claimed, nor all the advantages they had in view;

[*w*] See ARCKENHOLTZ, *Memoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. i. p. 7—20. in which there are many very interesting anecdotes relating to the life, exploits, and death, of GUSTAVUS. The learned compiler of these *Memoirs* has also thrown much light upon this period, and of the peace that terminated this long and dreadful war.

for

for the emperor, among other less important instances of obstinacy, absolutely refused to reinstate the Bohemian and Austrian Protestants in their religious privileges, or to restore the *Upper Palatinate* to its ancient and lawful proprietor. But they, nevertheless, obtained by this peace, privileges and advantages which the votaries of *Rome* beheld with much displeasure and uneasiness; and it is unquestionably evident, that the treaty of *Westphalia* gave a new and remarkable degree of stability to the Lutheran and Reformed churches in *Germany*. By this treaty the peace of *Augsburg*, which the Lutherans had obtained from CHARLES V. in the preceding century, was firmly secured against all the machinations and stratagems of the court of *Rome*; by it the *restitution-édict*, which commanded the Protestants to restore to the Romish church the ecclesiastical revenues and lands they had taken possession of after that peace, was abrogated, and both the contending parties confirmed in the perpetual and uninterrupted possession of whatever they had occupied in the beginning of the year 1624. It would be entering into a very long detail, were we to enumerate the advantages that accrued to the Protestant princes from this treaty [x]. All this was

[x] An account of this whole matter, sufficient to satisfy the curiosity of the most inquisitive reader, may be found in that most elaborate and excellent work, compiled by the very learned and judicious JOHN GODFREY DE MEYERN, under the following title: *Acta Pacis Westphalicae et Executionis ejus Norimbergensis*. See also the more compendious, though valuable work of APAMI, Bishop of *Hierapolis*, entitled, *Relatio Historica de Pacificatione Osnabrugo Monasteriensis*; of which the illustrious author published a new edition at *Leipsick*, in the year 1737, more accurate and ample than the preceding one. We must not omit here the ingenious FATHER BOUGEANT's elegant history of this treaty, which, though chiefly drawn from the papers of the French ambassadors, is, nevertheless, generally speaking, composed with accuracy, impartiality, and candour; it was published at *Paris*, in the year 1746, in six volumes in 8vo, under the title of *Histoire de la Paix de Westphalie*.

CENT. XVII. a source of vexation to the court of *Rome*, and
 SECT. II. made its pontif feel the severest pangs of disap-
 PART I. pointed ambition. He, accordingly, used various
 stratagems, without being very scrupulous in the
 choice, in order to annul this treaty, or elude its
 effects; but his attempts were unsuccessful, since
 neither the emperor, nor the princes that had
 embarked in this cause, thought it adviseable to
 involve themselves anew in the tumults of war,
 whose issue is so uncertain, and whose most fatal
 effects they had lately escaped with so much dif-
 ficulty. The treaty, therefore, was executed in
 all its parts; and all the articles that had been
 agreed upon at *Munster* and *Osnaburg* were con-
 firmed and ratified, in the year 1650, at *Nurem-
 berg* [y].

The Prote-
 stants vexed
 and perfec-
 uted by
Rome and its
 votaries.

VIII. After this period, the Court of *Rome*
 and its creatures were laid under a considerable
 degree of restraint. They did not any longer
 dare to make war in an open and public manner
 upon the Protestants, since the present state of
 things blasted all the hopes they had fondly en-
 tertained of extinguishing the light of the reforma-
 tion, by destroying or reducing under their ghost-
 ly yoke the princes and states that had encouraged
 and protected it in their territories. But where-
 ever they could exert the spirit of persecution with
 impunity, there they oppressed the Protestants in
 the most grievous manner, and, in defiance of the
 most solemn conventions and of the most sacred
 obligations, encroached upon their rights, pri-
 vileges, and possessions. Thus in *Hungary*, dur-

[y] Pope INNOCENT X. opposed to this treaty of peace, in
 the year 1651, a flaming *Bull*; on which HORNEBECK pub-
 lished at *Utrecht*, in 1652, an ample and learned commentary,
 entitled, *Examen Bullæ Papalis, quâ Innocentius X. abrogare
 nititur Pacem Germaniæ*. This *Bull* might, perhaps, have pro-
 duced some effect upon the Emperor and his allies, had it been
 properly gilded.

ing

ing the space of ten years [z], both Lutherans and Calvinists were involved in an uninterrupted series of the most cruel calamities and vexations [a]. The injuries and insults they suffered at the hands of many orders of men, and more especially of the Jesuits, both before and after the period now under consideration, are not to be numbered. In *Poland*, all those who ventured to differ from the Pope, found, by a bitter experience, during the whole course of this century, that no treaty or convention that tended to set bounds to the authority or rapacity of the church, was held sacred or even regarded at *Rome*. For many of these were ejected out of their schools, deprived of their churches, robbed of their goods and possessions under a variety of perfidious pretexts; nay, frequently condemned to the most severe and cruel punishments, without having been even chargeable with the appearance of a crime [b]. The remains of the Waldenses, that lived in the vallies of *Piedmont*, were persecuted often with the most inhuman cruelty (and more especially in the years 1632, 1655, and 1685), on account of their magnanimous and stedfast attachment to the religion of their ancestors; and this persecution was carried on with all the horrors of fire and sword by the Dukes of *Savoy* [c].

[z] From 1671 to 1681.

[a] See *Historia Diplomatica de Statu Religionis Evangelicæ in Hungariâ*, p. 69.—PAULI DEBREZENI *Historia Ecclesiæ Reformatae in Hungariâ*, lib. ii. p. 447.—SCHELNORNIUS, in *Musæo Helveticæ*, tom. vii. p. 46—90.

[b] See AD. REGENVOLSCII *Historia Ecclesiæ Sclavoniæ*, lib. ii. cap. xv. p. 216. 235. 253.—The grievances which the Dissenters from the Church of *Rome* suffered in *Poland* after REGENVOLSCIIUS, may be learned from various *Memorials* that have been published in our times.

[c] See GILLES *Histoire Ecclesiastique des Eglises Vaudoises*, published at *Geneva* in 4to, in the year 1656, chap. xliiii. p. 339.

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In *Germany*, the same spirit of bigotry and persecution produced almost every where flagrant acts of injustice. The infractions of the famous treaty above mentioned, and of the Germanic liberty that was founded upon it, would furnish matter for many volumes [d]; and all these infractions were owing to a preposterous and extravagant zeal for augmenting the authority, and extending the jurisdiction, of the Church of *Rome*. And, indeed, as long as that church and its assuming pontif shall persist in maintaining that they have a right to extend their lordly sceptre over all the churches of the Christian world, so long must those who have renounced their authority, but are more or less within their reach, despair of enjoying the inestimable blessings of security and peace. They will always be considered as rebellious subjects, against whom the greatest acts of severity and violence are lawful.

The Moors
banished
out of *Spain*
and the Pro-
testants
persecuted
in *France*.

IX. The zealous instruments of the Court of *Rome* accomplished, at length, in this century, what had often been attempted without success, by delivering *Spain* from the infidelity of the Moors, and *France* from the heresy of the Protestants. The posterity of the Moors or Saracens, who had formerly been masters of a great part of *Spain*, had hitherto lived in that kingdom mixed with the other inhabitants of the country, and their number was still considerable. They were Christians, at least in their external profession and manners; industrious also, and inoffensive; and, upon the whole, good and useful subjects: But they were grossly suspected of a secret propensity to the doctrine of MAHOMET, which was the reli-

[d] The *Histories* of the grievances suffered by the Protestants of *Germany* on account of their religion, that have been composed by STRUVIUS and HOFFMAN, contain ample details of this matter.

gion

gion of their ancestors. Hence the clergy beset the monarch with their importunate solicitations, and never ceased their clamorous remonstrances before a royal edict was obtained to drive the Saracens, whose numbers were prodigious, out of the Spanish territories. This imprudent step was highly detrimental to the kingdom of *Spain*, and its pernicious effects are more or less visible even at the present times; but the church, whose interests and dominion are, in Popish countries, considered as distinct from the interests and authority of state, and of a much more sublime and excellent nature, acquired new accessions of wealth and power by the expulsion of the Moors [e]. In proportion as the community lost, the church gained; and thus the public good was sacrificed to the demands of bigotry and superstition.

In *France*, the persecuting spirit of the Church of *Rome* exhibited scenes still more shocking. The Protestants of that kingdom, commonly called *Huguenots*, after having groaned, for a long space of time, under various forms of cruelty and oppression, and seen multitudes of their brethren put to death, by secret conspiracies or open tyranny and violence, were, at length, obliged either to save themselves by a clandestine flight, or to profess, against their consciences, the Romish religion. This barbarous and iniquitous scene of French persecution, than which the annals of modern history present nothing more unnatural and odious, will find its place below, in the history of the Reformed Church [f].

X. All the resources of inventive genius and refined policy, all the efforts of insinuating craft and audacious rebellion, were employed to bring

The court
of *Rome* fails
in its at-
tempts up-
on *England*.

[e] See MICHAEL GEDDES's *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscos out of Spain*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 59.

[f] In the second chapter of the second part of this section.

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back Great Britain and Ireland under the yoke of Rome. But all these attempts were without effect. About the beginning of this century, a set of desperate and execrable wretches, in whose breasts the suggestions of bigotry, and the hatred of the Protestant religion, had suppressed all the feelings of justice and humanity, were instigated by three Jesuits, of whom GARNET, the superior of the society in England, was the chief, to form the most horrid plot that is known in the annals of history. The design of this conspiracy was nothing less than to destroy, at one blow, JAMES I., the Prince of Wales, and both Houses of Parliament, by the explosion of an immense quantity of gun-powder, which was concealed, for that purpose, in the vaults that lay under the House of Lords. The sanguinary bigots concerned in it imagined, that, as soon as this horrible deed was performed, they would be at full liberty to restore Popery to its former credit, and substitute it in the place of the Protestant religion [g]. This odious conspiracy, whose infernal purpose was providentially discovered, when it was ripe for execution, is commonly known in Britain under the denomination of the *gun-powder treason* [h].

This discovery did not suspend the efforts and stratagems of the Court of Rome, which carried

☞ [g] There is a letter extant, written by Sir EVERARD DIGBY, one of the conspirators, to his wife, after his condemnation, which deserves an eminent place in the history of superstition and bigotry, and shews abundantly their infernal spirit and tendency. The following passage will confirm this judgment: "Now for my intention, says DIGBY, let me tell you, that, if I had thought there had been the least sin in the plot, I would not have been of it for all the world; and no other cause drew me to hazard my fortune and life but zeal to God's religion." See the *Papers* relating to the Popish Plot, published by the orders of Secretary COVENTRY.

[h] See RAPIN THOYRAS, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, livr. xviii. tom. vii. p. 40.—JO. HENR. HEIDEGGERI *Historia Papatus*, Period. § vii. p. 211. 291, &c.

ON

on its schemes in the succeeding reign, but with less violence, and more caution. CHARLES I. was a prince of a soft and gentle temper, and was entirely directed by the counsels of LAUD, archbishop of *Canterbury*, a man who was neither destitute of learning nor good qualities [i], though he carried things to excessive and intolerable lengths, through his warm and violent attachment to the ancient rites and ceremonies of the church; the Queen, on the other hand, who was a princess of *France*, was warmly devoted to the interests of Popery; and from all this it seemed probable enough, that, though treason and violence had failed, yet artifice and mild measures might succeed, and that a reconciliation might be brought about between *England* and *Rome* [j]. This prospect, which had smiled in the imaginations of the friends of Popery, vanished entirely when the civil war broke out between the King and Parliament. In consequence of these commotions, both the unfortunate CHARLES and his imprudent and bigotted counsellor LAUD were brought to the scaffold; and OLIVER CROMWELL, a man of unparalleled resolution, dexterity, and foresight, and a declared enemy to every thing that bore even the most distant resemblance of popery, was placed at the helm of government, under the title of Protector of the commonwealth of *England*.

The hopes of *Rome* and its votaries were, nevertheless, revived by the restoration of CHARLES II., and from that period grew more lively and

☞ [i] MR. HUME, speaking of LAUD's learning and morals, expresses himself in the following manner: "This man was virtuous, if severity of manners alone, and abstinence from pleasure, could deserve that name. He was learned, if polemical knowledge could entitle him to that praise." See HUME's *History of Great Britain*, vol. v. p. 193.

[j] See URBAN CERRI, *État Présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 315.—NEAL's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 194.

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sanguine from day to day. For that monarch, as appears from unquestionable authorities [k], had been initiated, during his exile, into the mysteries of popery, and had secretly embraced that religion, while his only brother, the presumptive heir to the crown, professed it openly, and had publicly apostatized from the Protestant faith. CHARLES, indeed, was not a proper instrument for the propagation of any theological system, indolent and voluptuous on the one hand, and inclined to infidelity and irreligion on the other, it was not from him that the Roman pontif could expect that zeal and industry, that were necessary to force upon the English nation a religion so contrary to the tenor of the laws and the spirit of the people as popery was [l]. This zeal was found

[k] BURNET'S *History of his own Times*, vol. i. book iii. p. 603. 606.—NEAL'S *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 233. 237. 534.—RAPIN THOYRAS, *Histoire de l'Angleterre*, livr. xliii. vol. ix. p. 160.

[l] Such is the representation given of CHARLES II. by all historians; so that Dr. MOSHEIM is excusable in mistaking a part of this monarch's character, which was known to very few before him. Mr. HUME, whose history of the reign of that prince is a master-piece in every respect, gave a like account of CHARLES, as fluctuating between Deism and Popery. But this eminent historian having had occasion, during his residence at *Paris*, to peruse the manuscript-memoirs of King JAMES II., which were written by himself, and are kept in the Scots College there, received from them new information with respect to the religious character of CHARLES; and was convinced that his zeal for Popery went much farther than has been generally imagined. For it appears, with the utmost evidence, from these memoirs, that the King had laid with his ministry a formal plan for subverting the constitution in favour of Popery; that the introduction of Popery, as the established religion, was the great and principal object which CHARLES had in view when he entered into the French alliance, which was concluded at *Versailles* in the end of 1669, or beginning of 1670, by Lord ARUNDEL of *Wardour*. By this treaty, LEWIS was to give CHARLES 200,000 pounds a year, in quarterly payments, in order to enable him to establish the Roman Catholic religion in *England*; and to supply him

found in his bigotted successor JAMES II. ; but it was accompanied with such excessive vehemence and imprudence as entirely defeated its own purposes ; for that inconsiderate monarch, by his passionate attachment to the court of *Rome*, and his blind obsequiousness to the unseasonable and precipitate counsels of the Jesuits, who were the oracles of his cabinet, gave a mortal blow to that religion which he meant to promote, and fell from the throne whose prerogatives he was attempting to augment and extend. Immediately on his accession to the crown, he openly attempted to restore to its former vigour, both in *England* and *Ireland*, the authority of the Roman pontif, which had been renounced and annulled by the laws of both realms ; and that he might accomplish with the more facility this most imprudent purpose, he trampled upon those rights and privileges of his people, that had ever been held most respectable and sacred, and which he had bound himself, by the most solemn engagements, to support and maintain. Justly exasperated and provoked by repeated insults from the throne upon their religion and liberties, and alarmed with natural apprehensions of the approaching ruin of both ; the English nation looked about for a deliverer, and fixed its views, in the year 1688, on WILLIAM prince of *Orange*, son-in-law to their despotic

him also with 6000 men, in case of any insurrection. The division of the United Provinces between *England* and *France* was another article of this treaty. But we are told, that the subversion of the Protestant religion in *England* was the point that CHARLES had chiefly at heart ; and that he insisted warmly on beginning with the execution of this part of the treaty ; but the Dukes of *Orleans*, in the interview at *Dover*, persuaded him to begin with the Dutch war. The King (says Mr. HUME) was so zealous a Papist, that he wept for joy when he entertained the project of re-uniting his kingdom to the Catholic Church. See the *Corrections and Additions* to Mr. HUME's *History of Charles II.*, p. 248. in the note.

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Milder meth-
ods are
employed
by Rome
against the
Protestant
cause.

monarch, by whose wisdom and valour things were so conducted, that JAMES was obliged to retire from his dominions and to abdicate the crown; and the Roman pontif, with all his adherents, were disappointed in the fond expectations they had formed of restoring popery in *England* [m].

XI. When the more prudent defenders and patrons of the Romish faith perceived the ill success that attended all their violent and sanguinary attempts to establish its authority, they thought it expedient to have recourse to softer methods; and instead of conquering the Protestants by open force, proposed deluding them back into the church of *Rome* by the insinuating influence of secret artifice. This way of proceeding was approved by many of the votaries of *Rome*; but they were not all agreed about the particular manner of employing it, and therefore followed different methods. Some had recourse to the appointment of public disputations or conferences between the principal doctors of the contending parties; and this from a notion, which past experience had rendered so vain and chimerical, that the adversaries of popery would either be vanquished in the debate, or at least be persuaded to look upon the Roman-catholics with less aversion and disgust. Others declared it as their opinion, that all contest was to be suspended; that the great point was to find out the proper method of reconciling the two churches; and that, in order to promote this salutary purpose, as little stress as possible was to be laid upon those

[m] The circumstances of this famous and ever memorable revolution are accurately recorded by BURNET, in the second volume of his *History of his own Times*; and also by RAPIN, in the tenth volume of his *History of England*. Add to these, NEAL's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. ch. xi. p. 536.

matters

matters of controversy that had been hitherto looked upon as of the highest moment and importance. A different manner of proceeding was thought more adviseable by a third set of men, who, from a persuasion that their doctors had more zeal than argument, and were much more eminent for their attachment to the church of *Rome*, than for their skill in defending its cause, prepared their combatants with greater care for the field of controversy, taught them a new art of theological war, and furnished them with a new and subtle method of vanquishing, or at least of perplexing, their heretical adversaries.

XII. There was a famous conference held at *Ratisbon*, in the year 1601, at the joint desire of MAXIMILIAN, duke of *Bavaria*, and PHILIP LEWIS, elector *Palatine*, between some eminent Lutheran doctors on the one side, and three celebrated Jesuits on the other. The dispute turned upon the two great points, to which almost all the contests between the Protestants and Roman-catholics are reducible, even the *rule of faith* and the *judge of controversies*. In the year 1615, a conference was held at *Newburg*, between JAMES HEILBRONNER, a learned Lutheran, and JAMES KEILLER, a celebrated Jesuit, by the appointment of WOLFGANG WILLIAM, prince *Palatine*, who had a little before that time embraced the Romish faith. But the most famous of all these conferences was that held in the year 1645, at *Tborn*, by the express order of ULADISLAUS IV., king of *Poland*, between several eminent doctors of the Romish, Lutheran, and Reformed churches. This meeting, which was designed to heal the division that reigned among these churches, and to find out some method of reconciling their differences, and bringing about their re-union, was thence called the *Charitable Conference*. Some time after this, ERNEST, Landgrave of *Hesse*, in order to give a plausible

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sible colour to his apostasy from the Protestant religion, and make it appear to be the result of examination and conviction, obliged VALERIANUS MAGNUS, a learned Capuchin, to enter the lists with PETER HABERCORN, a reformed minister in the castle of *Rheinfeldt*. Besides these public conferences, there were others of a more private nature held, during this century, between the doctors of the contending churches. The most remarkable of these was the famous dispute between JOHN CLAUDE, the most learned of the Reformed divines in *France*, and JACQUES BENIGNE DE BOSSUET, whose genius and erudition placed him at the head of the Romish doctors in that country. This dispute, which was held in the year 1683, ended like all the rest. They all widened the breath instead of healing it. Neither of the contending parties could be persuaded to yield [n]; on the contrary, they both returned from the field of controversy more rivetted in their own opinions, and more averse to those of their adversaries.

The method of reconciliation employed by the Roman-catholics,

XIII. Those of the Roman-Catholics, whose views were turned towards union and concord, did not omit the use of *pious* artifice and stratagem, in order to accomplish this salutary purpose. They endeavoured to persuade the zealous Protestants and the rigid Catholics, that their differ-

[n] The reader who desires a more particular account of what passed in these conferences, may satisfy his curiosity by consulting the writers mentioned by SAGITTARIUS, in his *Introduç. in Historiam Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 1569. 1581. 1592. 1598. An account of the conference between CLAUDE and BOSSUET was composed and published by each of these famous combatants. BOSSUET's account was thus entitled: *Conference avec M. CLAUDE, sur la matiere de l'Eglise, Paris 1683, in 12mo.* This account was answered by CLAUDE, in his *Reponse au Livre de M. DE MEAUX, intitulé, Conference avec M. CLAUDE, published at the Hague in 8vo in the year 1683.*

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ences in opinion were less considerable, and less important, than they themselves imagined; and that the true way to put an end to their dissensions, and to promote their union, was not to nourish the flames of discord by disputes and conferences, but to see whether their systems might not be reconciled, and their apparent inconsistencies removed, by proper and candid explications. They imagined that an artful exposition of those doctrines of the church of *Rome*, that appeared the most shocking to the Protestants, would tend much to conquer their aversion to Popery. Such was the general principle in which the Romish peace-makers agreed, and such the basis on which they proposed to carry on their pacific operations; but they differed so widely in their manner of applying this general principle, and pursued such different methods in the execution of this nice and perilous stratagem, that the event did not answer their expectations. In the way they proceeded, instead of promoting the desired union by their representations of things, by their exhortations and counsels, this union seemed to be previously necessary, in order to render their explications and exhortations acceptable, nay even supportable; so little were the means proportioned to the end!

The first and most eminent of those who tried the force of their genius in this arduous enterprise was Cardinal RICHELIEU, that great minister, who employed all the influence of promises and threatenings, all the powers of sophistry and eloquence, all the arts of persuasion, in order to bring back the French Protestants into the bosom of the Romish church [o]. The example of this

[o] RICH. SIMON, *Lettres Choïsses*, tom. i. p. 31, 32. new edit.—BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article AMYRAUT, note 1; at the article BEAULIEU, note c; at the article FERRY, note d; at the article MILLETIERE.

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illustrious prelate was followed, but with less dignity and less influence, by MASENIUS, a German Jesuit [*p*], VOLUSIUS, a theologist of *Mentz* [*q*], PRÆTORIUS, a Prussian [*r*], GIBBON DE BURG, an Irish doctor, who was professor at *Erfurth* [*s*], MARCELLUS, a Jesuit [*t*], and other divines of inferior note. But of all modern adepts in controversy, none pursued this method with such dexterity and art as BOSSUET, bishop of *Meaux*, a man of true genius, directed by the most consummate circumspection and prudence. The famous *Exposition of the Roman-Catholic Faith*, that was drawn up by this subtle and insinuating author, was designed to shew the Protestants, that their reasons against returning to the bosom of the Romish church would be soon and easily removed, provided they would view the doctrines of that church in their true light, and not as they had been erroneously represented by the Protestant writers [*u*]. This notion was propagated, though with

[*p*] See FRID. SPANHEMII *Strictures ad BOSSUETI Expositionem Fidei Catholicae*, tom. iii. opp. *Theolog.* par. II. p. 1042.

[*q*] There is extant a book composed by this writer under the following title: *Aurora Pacis religioſe diviſe Veritati amica*. *Mogunt.* 1665, 4to.

[*r*] In his *Tuba Pacis*, of which the reader may ſee a curious account in BAYLE's *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for the year 1685, p. 1309.

[*s*] In a treatiſe, entitled, *Luthero Calvinismus ſchiſmaticus quidem ſed reconciliabilis*.

[*t*] The book of MARCELLUS, entitled, *Sapientia pacifica*, was refuted by SELDIUS, at the expreſs deſire of the Duke of *Saxe-Gotha*.

[*u*] This book might furniſh ſubject for a multitude of reflections. See a particular account of its hiſtory and its effects in PFAFF's *Hiſtoria Literaria Theologiae*, tom. ii. p. 102.; and LE CLERC's *Bibliothèque Univerſelle et Hiſtorique*, tom. xi. p. 438. ¶ It is remarkable, that nine years paſſed before this book could obtain the Pope's approbation. CLEMENT X. reſuſed it poſitively. Nay, ſeveral Roman Catholic prieſts were rigorouſly treated, and ſeverely perſecuted, for preaching the doctrine contained in the expoſition of BOSSUET, which was,

with less dexterity and success, by DEZIUS, a Jesuit of *Strasburg*, who wrote a book expressly to prove, that there was little or no difference between the doctrine of the council of *Trent*, and that of the confession of *Augsburg*, than which no two systems can be more irreconcilably opposite [w]. It is however remarkable, that all these pacific attempts to re-unite the two churches, were made by the persons now mentioned, on

moreover, formally condemned by the University of *Louvain*, in the year 1685, and declared to be *scandalous and pernicious*. The Sorbonne also disavowed the doctrine contained in that book, though by a late edict we learn, that the fathers of that theological seminary have changed their opinion on that head, and thus given a new instance of the variations that reign in the Romish Church, which boasts so much of its uniformity in doctrinal matters. The artifice that was employed in the composition of this book, and the tricks that were used in the suppression and alteration of the first edition that was given of it, have been detected with great sagacity and evidence by the learned and excellent Archbishop WAKE, in the *Introduction* to his *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England*, &c. See also his two *Defences* of that *Exposition*, in which the perfidious sophistry of BOSSUET is unmasked and refuted in the most satisfactory manner. There was an excellent answer to BOSSUET's book published by M. DE LA BASTIDE, one of the most eminent Protestant ministers in *France*. This answer the French prelate took no notice of during eight years; at the end of which he published an advertisement, in a new edition of his *Exposition*, which was designed to remove the objections of LA BASTIDE. The latter replied in such a demonstrative and victorious manner, that the learned bishop, notwithstanding all his eloquence and art, was obliged to quit the field of controversy. See a very interesting account of this insidious work of BOSSUET, and the controversies it occasioned, in the *Bibliothèque des Sciences*, published at the *Hague*, vol. xviii. p. 20. This account, which is curious, accurate, ample, and learned, was given partly on occasion of a new edition of the *Exposition*, printed at *Paris* in 1761, and accompanied with a Latin translation done by FLEURY, and partly on occasion of BURIGNY's *Life of Bossuet*, published the same year at *Paris*.

[w] This book is entitled, *La Re-union des Protestans de Strasbourg à l'Eglise Romaine*, published in 8vo at *Strasbourg*, in the year 1689.—See PHIL. JAC. SPENERI *Confilia Theol. German.* pars iii. p. 650. 662.

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their own private authority; they were not avowed by the higher powers, who alone were qualified to remove, modify, or explain away those doctrines and rites of the Romish church, that shocked the Protestants and justified their separation. It is true, indeed, that, in the year 1686, this plan of reconciliation was warmly recommended by a person properly commissioned, or, at least, who gave himself out for such. This pacificator was CHRISTOPHER DE ROHAS, bishop of *Tinia*, in the district of *Bosnia*; who, during several years, frequented, with these reconciling views, the courts of the Protestant princes in *Germany*; intimated the assembling of a new council, that was to be more impartial in its decisions and less restrained in its proceedings than the council of *Trent*; nay, went still further, and assured the Protestants, that they should obtain without difficulty whatever rights, privileges, and immunities, they should think proper to demand from the Roman pontif, provided they would acknowledge his paternal authority, and no longer refuse a profound submission to his mild and gentle empire. But the artifice and designs of this specious missionary were easily detected; the Protestant doctors, and also their sovereigns, soon perceived that a fair and candid plan of reconciliation and union was not what the court of *Rome* had in view; but that a scheme was laid for restoring its pontiffs to their former despotic dominion over the Christian world [x].

[x] See JO. WOLF. JÆGERI *Historia Ecclesiast. Seculi xvii.* —CHRIST. EBERHARDI WEISMANNI *Hist. Ecclesiast. Seculi xvii.* p. 735. The reader will find, in the *Commercium Epistolico-Leibnitianum* of GRUBERUS *, an account of the particular conditions of reconciliation that were proposed, in the year 1660, to the German courts by the Elector of *Mentz*, authorized, as it is alleged, by the Roman pontif.

* Tom. i. p. 411, 415. 426.

XIV. The Romish peace-makers found among the Protestants, and more especially among those of the *Reformed* church, certain doctors, who, by a natural propensity to union and concord, seconded perhaps, in some, by views of interest, or by the suggestions of ambition, were disposed to enter into their plan, and to assist them in the execution of it. These doctors maintained, that the points in debate between the two churches were not of sufficient importance to justify their separation. Among the French Protestants, LEWIS LE BLANC and his disciples were suspected of an inclination to go too great lengths in this matter [y]. The same accusation was brought, with fuller evidence, against HUISSEAU, professor of divinity at *Saumur*, MILLETIERE, LE FEVRE, and others of less note [z]. Among the British divines, this excessive propensity to diminish the shocking absurdities of Popery was less remarkable; WILLIAM FORBES was the principal person who discovered an extreme facility to compose a considerable number of the differences that contributed to perpetuate the separation between the two churches [a]. With respect to the Dutch, it is abundantly

[y] See a particular and interesting account of LE BLANC in BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article BEAULIEU.

[z] See the above-mentioned *Dictionary*, at the article MILLETIERE. For an account of HUISSEAU, and his pacific counsels, see RICH. SIMON, *Lettres choisies*, tom. iii. p. 14.—AYMON, *Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformées en France*, tom. ii. p. 765.—The labours of LE FEVRE, father to the famous Madam DACIER, in the same cause, are mentioned by MORHOFIUS, in his *Polybistor*. tom. i. p. 295.

[a] See FORBES's *Considerationes modestæ et pacificæ Controversiarum de Justificatione, Purgatorio, &c.* which were published in 8vo at London in the year 1658, and afterwards, more correctly, in Germany, under the inspection of JOHN FABRICIUS, professor of divinity at *Hehnstadt*. FORBES is mentioned by GRAVE with the highest encomiums, in his *Note ad Bulli Harmoniam Apostolicam*, p. 19. and, if we consider his probity, and the exemplary regularity of his life and conversation, he

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abundantly known, how ardently the great and learned GROTIUS desired the re-union of all Christian churches in one general bond of charity and concord, and with what peculiar zeal he endeavoured to reform some enormities of the church of *Rome*, and to excuse others. But these, and all the other arbitrators, whose names and whose efforts in this pacific cause it would be tedious to mention, derived no other fruit from their, perhaps, well-intended labours, than the displeasure of both the contending parties, and the bitter reproaches of their respective churches.

In the number of the Protestant doctors who discovered an inconsiderate zeal for the re-union of these churches, many writers place GEORGE CALIXTUS, a man of eminent learning, and professor of divinity in the University of *Helmstadt*. It is nevertheless certain, that this great man discovered and exposed the errors and corruptions of Popery with a degree of learning and perspicuity that was scarcely surpassed by any writer of this century, and persisted stedfastly in maintaining, that the decrees and anathemas of the council of *Trent* had banished all hopes of a reconciliation between the Protestant churches and the see of *Rome*. It is true, indeed, that CALIXTUS looked upon some of the controversies that divided the two communions with much more moderation and indulgence than was usual, and decided them

must be allowed to deserve the praise that is due to piety and good morals. Nevertheless, he had his infirmities, and the wiser part of the English doctors acknowledge, that his propensity towards a reconciliation with the Church of *Rome* was carried too far. See BURNET's *History of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 21.—On this account he has been lavishly praised by the Roman Catholic writers; see R. SIMON, *Lettres Choïsies*, tom. iii. lettr. xviii. p. 119.—He was, undoubtedly, one of those who contributed most to spread among the English a notion (whose truth or falsehood we shall not here examine), that King CHARLES I. and Archbishop LAUD had formed the design of restoring Popery in *England*.

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in a manner that did not seem suited to the taste and spirit of the times: he was also of opinion, that the church of *Rome* had not destroyed the genuine principles of Christianity, but had only deformed them with its senseless fictions, and buried them under a heap of rubbish, under a motley multitude of the most extravagant and intolerable doctrines and ceremonies. It was undoubtedly on this account, that he has been ranked by some in the class of the imprudent peace-makers already mentioned.

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XV. It was no difficult matter to defeat the purposes and ruin the credit of these pacific arbitrators, who, upon the whole, made up but a motley and ill-composed society, weakened by intestine discords. It required more dexterity, and greater efforts of genius, to oppose the progress, and disconcert the sophistry of a set of men who had invented new methods of defending Popery, and attacking its adversaries. This new species of polemic doctors were called *Methodists*, and the most eminent of them arose in *France*, where a perpetual scene of controversy, carried on with the most learned among the *Huguenots*, had augmented the dexterity, and improved the theological talents, of the Roman Catholic disputants. The *Methodists*, from their different manner of treating the controversy in question, may be divided into two classes. In the one we may place those doctors whose method of disputing with the Protestants was disingenuous and unreasonable, and who followed the examples of those military chiefs, who shut up their troops in intrenchments and strong holds, in order to cover them from the attacks of the enemy. Such was the manner of proceeding of the Jesuit *VERON*, who was of opinion, that the Protestants should be obliged to prove the tenets of their church [*b*] by plain pas-

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[*b*] More especially the doctrines that peculiarly oppose the decrees and tenets of the council of *Trent*.

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sages of scripture, without being allowed the liberty of illustrating these passages, reasoning upon them, or drawing any conclusions from them [c]. In the same class may be ranked NIHUSIUS, an apostate from the Protestant religion [d], the two WALENBURGS, and other Polemics, who, looking upon it as an easier matter to maintain their pretensions than to shew upon what principles they were originally founded [e], obliged their adversaries to prove all their assertions and objections, whether of an affirmative or negative kind, and confined themselves to the eager business of answering objections and repelling attacks. We may also place among this kind of Methodists Cardinal RICHELIEU, who judged it the shortest and best way to attend little to the multitude of accusations, objections, and reproaches, with which the Protestants loaded all the various branches of the Romish government, discipline, doctrine, and worship, and to confine the whole controversy to the single article of the *divine institution* and *authority* of the CHURCH, which he thought it essential to establish by the strongest

[c] MUSEUS, *De Ufu Principiorum Rationis in Controversiis Theologicis*, lib. i. c. iv. p. 22.—G. CALIXTI *Digressio de Arte nova*, p. 125.—SIMON, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. i. p. 276.

[d] See a particular account of this vain and superficial doctor in BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article NIHUSIUS. His work, entitled, *Ars Nova dicto Sacre Scripturæ unico lucrandi a Pontificis plurimos in partes Lutherænorum detecta*, &c. was refuted, in the most satisfactory manner, by CALIXTUS, in his *Digressio in Arte Nova contra NIHUSIUM*, a curious and learned work, which was published * in 4to at Helmsladi, in 1634.

[e] That is to say, in other words, that they pleaded *prescription* in favour of Popery, and acted like one who having been, for a long time, in possession of an estate, refuses to produce his title, and requires that those who question it should prove its insufficiency or falsehood.

* This piece originally made a part of the *Theologia Moralis* of CALIXTUS, but was afterwards published separately.

arguments,

arguments, as the grand principle that would render Popery impregnable [f].

The *Methodists* of the second class were of opinion, that the most expedient manner of reducing the Protestants to silence was not to attack them by piecemeal, but to overwhelm them at once, by the weight of some general principle or presumption, some universal argument, which comprehended, or might be applied to, all the points contested between the two churches. They imitated the conduct of those military leaders who, instead of spending their time and strength in sieges and skirmishes, endeavour to put an end to the war by a general and decisive action. This method, if not invented [g], was at least improved and seconded by all the aids of eloquence and genius, by NICOLLE, a celebrated doctor among the Jansenists [h]; and it was followed by many of the disputants

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[f] For a more ample account of these methods of controversy, and of others used by the Church of Rome, the curious reader may consult FRID. SPANHEIM, *Strictur. ad Expositionem Fidei Bossueti*, tom. iii. opp. par. II. p. 1037.—JO. HENR. HEIDEGGER, *Histor. Papatus*, Period. vii. § cccviii. p. 316.—WALCHII *Introduct. ad Controvers. Theolog.* tom. ii.—WEISMANNI *Histor. Ecclesiastica*, Sæc. xvii. p. 726.

☞ [g] This method certainly was not the invention of NICOLLE, for it seems to differ little, if at all, from the method of Cardinal RICHELIEU. We may observe further, that RICHELIEU seems rather to belong to the second class of Methodists than to the first, where Dr. MOSHEIM has placed him.

[h] NICOLLE is supposed to be the author of a book, entitled, *Préjugés légitimes contre les Calvinistes*, which was first published at Paris in 1671, passed afterwards thro' several editions, and was answered in a satisfactory manner by several learned men. ☞ It is very remarkable, that some of the principal arguments employed in this book against the Protestants are precisely the same that the Deists make use of to shew, that it is impossible for the general body of Christians to believe upon a rational foundation. The learned CLAUDE, in his *Defence of the Reformation*, shewed, in a demonstrative manner, that the difficulties arising from the incapacity of the multitude to exam-

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disputants of the church of *Rome*, who were so fully persuaded of its irresistible influence, that they looked upon any one of the general points already mentioned as sufficient, when properly handled, to overturn the whole Protestant cause. Hence it was, that some of these Polemics rested the defence of Popery upon the single principle of *prescription*; others upon the vicious lives of several of those princes who had withdrawn their dominions from the yoke of *Rome*; others again, upon the criminal nature of religious *schism*, with which they reproached the promoters of the Reformation; and they were all convinced, that, by urging their respective arguments, and making good their respective charges, the mouths of their adversaries must be stopped, and the cause of *Rome* and its pontif triumph [i]. The famous BOSSUET stood foremost in this class, which he peculiarly adorned, by the superiority of his genius and the insinuating charms of his eloquence. His arguments, indeed, were more specious than solid, and the circumstances from which they were drawn were imprudently chosen. From the variety of opinions that take place among the Protestant doctors, and the changes that have happened in their discipline and doctrine, he endeavoured to demonstrate, that the church founded by LUTHER was not the true church; and, on the other hand, from the perpetual sameness and uni-

mine the grounds and principles of the Protestant religion, are much less than those which occur to a Papist, whose faith is founded, not on the plain word of God alone, but on the dictates of tradition, on the decrees of councils, and a variety of antiquated records that are beyond his reach. The Protestant divine goes still further, and proves, that there are arguments in favour of Christianity and the Protestant faith, that are intelligible by the lowest capacity, and, at the same time, sufficient to satisfy an upright and unprejudiced mind.

[i] FRID. SPANHEMII *Diff. de Prescriptione in Rebus Fidei adversus novos Methodistas*, tom. iii. par. II. opp. p. 1079.

formity

formity that reign in the tenets and worship of the church of *Rome*, he pretended to prove its divine original [k]. Such an argument must indeed surprise, coming from a man of learning, who could not be ignorant of the temporising spirit of the Roman pontifs, nor of the changes they had permitted in their discipline and doctrine, according to the genius of time and place, and the different characters of those whom they were desirous to gain over to their interests. It was still more surprising in a French prelate, since the doctors of that nation generally maintain, that the leaden age does not differ more from the age of gold, than the modern church of *Rome* differs from the ancient and primitive church of that famous city.

[k] This is the purpose of BOSSUET's *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, which was published in 8vo at *Paris*, in the year 1688, and is still considered by the Roman Catholics as one of the strongest bulwarks of popery. Let them go on in their illusions, and boast of this famous champion and defender; but if they have any true zeal for the cause he defends, or any regard for the authority of the supreme head of *their* church, they will bury in oblivion that maxim of this *their* champion, that *the church, which he frequently modifies, varies, and changes its doctrines, is destitute of the direction of the Holy Spirit.* ↪ This observation of Dr. MOSHEIM's might be verified by numberless instances of variations in the doctrine and worship of *Rome*, that must strike every one who has any tolerable acquaintance with the history of that church. But, without going any farther than one single instance, we may observe, that BOSSUET had a striking proof of the variations of his own church, in the different reception that his *Exposition of the Roman Catholic faith* met with from different persons, and at different times. It was disapproved of by one Pope, approved of by another; it was applauded by the Archbishop of *Rheims*, and condemned by the University of *Louvain*; it was censured by the *Sorbonne* in the year 1671, and declared by the same society a true exposition of the Catholic faith in the following century. For a full proof of the truth of these and other variations, see WAKE's *Exposition*, &c.—LE CLERC, *Bibl. Univ.* tom. xi. p. 438, &c.—*General Dictionary*, at the article WAKE, in the note, and *Biblioth. des Sciences*, &c. tom. xviii. p. 29, &c.

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Deserters
from the
Protestant
to the
Romish
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XVI. These various attempts of the votaries of *Rome*, though they gave abundant exercise to the activity and vigilance of the Protestant doctors, were not, however, attended with any important revolutions, or any considerable fruits. Some princes, indeed, and a few learned men, were thereby seduced into the communion of that church, from whose superstition and tyranny their ancestors had delivered themselves and others; but these defections were only personal, nor was there any people or province either inclined or engaged to follow these examples. Among the more illustrious deserters of the Protestant religion, were CHRISTINA queen of *Sweden* [1], a princess of great spirit and genius, but precipitate and vehement in almost all her proceedings, and preferring her ease, pleasure and liberty, to all other considerations [m]; WOLFANG WILLIAM, count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; CHRISTIAN WILLIAM, marquis of *Brandenburg*; ERNEST, prince

[1] See ARKENHOLT, *Memoires de la Reine CHRISTINE*, which contain a variety of agreeable and interesting anecdotes.

[m] The candid and impartial writer, mentioned in the preceding note, has given an ample account of the circumstances that attended this queen's change of religion, and of the causes that might have contributed to determine her to a step so unexpected and inexcusable. It was neither the subtilty of DES CARTES, nor the dexterity of CANUT, that brought about this event, as BAILLET would persuade us. The true state of the case seems to have been this: CHRISTINA, having had her sentiments of religion in general considerably perverted by the licentious insinuations of her favourite BOURDELOT, was, by that means, prepared for embracing any particular religion that pleasure, interest, or ambition, should recommend to her. Upon this foundation, the Jesuits MACEDO, MALINES, and CASSATI, under the immediate protection of PIMENTEL, and encouraged by the courts of *Rome*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, employed their labours and dexterity in the conversion of this princess, whose passion for *Italy*, together with that taste for the fine arts, and the precious remains of antiquity, that made her desirous of sojourning there, may have contributed not a little to make her embrace the religion of that country.

of *Hesse* [n]; JOHN FREDERICK, duke of *Brunswick*; and FREDERICK AUGUSTUS, king of *Poland*. CENT.
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The learned men that embraced the communion of the church of *Rome* were, Baron BOINEBURG, secretary to the elector of *Mentz*, and an eminent patron of erudition and genius [o], CHRISTOPHER RANZOW, a knight of *Holstein* [p], CASPER SCIOPPIUS, PETRUS BERTIUS, CHRISTOPHER BESOLD, ULRIC HUNNIUS, NICHOLAS STENON, a Danish physician, of great reputation in his profession, JOHN PHILIP PFEIFFER, professor at *Königsburg*, LUCAS HOLSTENIUS, PETRUS LAMBECHIIUS, HENRY BLUMIUS, professor at *Helmstadt*, a man of learning, and of excessive vanity [q], DANIEL NESSELIUS, ANDREW FROMMIUS,

[n] This learned and well-meaning prince was engaged, by the conversation and importunities of VALERIUS MAGNUS, a celebrated monk of the Capuchin Order, to embrace Popery, in the year 1651. See GRUBERI *Commercium Epistol. Leibnitianum*, tom. i. p. 27. 35. *Memoires de la Reine CHRISTINE*, tom. i. p. 216.—It is, however, to be observed, that this prince, together with ANTHONY ULRIC, Duke of *Brunswick*, and several others, who went over to the Church of *Rome*, did not go over to that Church of *Rome* which is now exhibited to us in the odious forms of superstition and tyranny, but to another kind of church, which, perhaps, never existed but in their idea, and which, at least, has long ceased to exist. That this was the case appears evidently from the theological writings of Prince ERNEST.

[o] This eminent man, who had more learning than philosophy, and who was more remarkable for the extent of his memory than for the rectitude of his judgment, followed the example of the Prince of *Hesse*, in the year 1653. See GRUBERI *Commercium Epistol. Leibnitianum*, in which his Letters, and those of CONRINGIUS are published, tom. i. p. 35. 37. 39. 48. 56. 60. 70. 76. 93. &c.

[p] See MOLLERI *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 520.

[q] BLUMIUS deserted from the Protestant Church in the year 1654.—See BURCKARDI *Historia Biblioth. Augustæ*, par. III. p. 223. 233.—GRUBERI *Commercium Epistol. Leibnitianum*, tom. i. p. 41. 95. 135. 137. 379. 388. 410. In these letters he is called *Florus*, probably in allusion to his German name *Blum*, which signifies a flower.

C E N T. XVII. BARTHOLD NIHUSIUS, CHRISTOPHER HELLWIGIUS, MATTHEW PRÆTORIUS, and a few others of inferior rank in the learned world. But these conversions; when considered with the motives that produced them, will be found, in *reality*, less honourable to the church of *Rome* than they are in *appearance*; for if in the list of princes and learned men above mentioned, we efface those whom the temptations of adversity, the impulse of avarice and ambition, the suggestions of levity, the effects of personal attachments, the power of superstition upon a feeble and irresolute mind, and other motives of like merit, engaged to embrace the Romish religion, these proselytes will be reduced to a number too small to excite the envy of the Protestant churches [r].

The Romish church-interest loses ground in the East.

XVII. The Christian churches in the East, which were independent on the yoke of *Rome*, did not stand less firm and stedfast against the attempts of the papal missionaries than those of *Europe*. The pompous accounts which several Roman-catholic writers have given of the wonderful success of these missionaries among the *Nestorians* and *Monophysites*, are little else than splendid fables, designed to amuse and dazzle the multitude; and many of the wisest and best of the Roman-catholic doctors acknowledge, that they ought to be considered in no other light. As little credit is to be given to those who mention the strong propensity discovered by several of the heads and superintendants of the Christian sects in these remote regions, to submit to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontif [s]. It is evident,

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[r] See for a particular account of these proselytes to Popery, WEISMAN'S *Historia Eccles.* Sec. xvii. p. 738.—WALIKIUS'S *Introductio in Controversias*, tom. ii. p. 728.—ARNOLD'S *Kirchen und Ketzer Historie*, par. p. 912. and other writers of civil and literary history.

[s] See the remarks made by CHARDIN in several places of the last edition of his travels. See also what URBAN CERRI, in his

the contrary, that *Rome*, in two remarkable instances, suffered a considerable diminution of its influence and authority in the eastern world during this century. One of these instances was the dreadful revolution in *Japan*, which has been already related, and which was unhappily followed by the total extinction of Christianity in that great monarchy. The other was the downfall of Popery by the extirpation of its missionaries in the empire of *Abyssinia*, of which it will not be improper, or foreign from our purpose, to give here a brief account.

About the commencement of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese Jesuits renewed, under the most auspicious encouragement, the mission to *Abyssinia* that had been, for some time before that period, interrupted and suspended. For the Emperor SUSNEIUS, who assumed the denomination of SELTAM SEGUED, after the defeat of his enemies and his accession to the crown, covered the missionaries with his peculiar protection. Gained over to their cause, partly by the eloquence of the Jesuits, and partly by the hopes of maintaining himself upon the throne by the succours of the Portuguese, he committed the whole government of the church to ALPHONSO MENDEZ, a missionary from that nation; created him patriarch of the Abyssinians; and not only swore, in a public manner, allegiance to the Roman pontiff in the year 1626, but moreover obliged his subjects to abandon the religious rites and tenets of their ancestors, and to embrace the doctrine

his *Present State of the Church of Rome*, says of the *Armenians and Copics*.—It is true indeed, that among these sects the Papal missionaries sometimes form congregations that are obedient to the see of *Rome*; but these congregations are poor and inconsiderable, and composed only of a handful of members. Thus the Capuchins, about the middle of the century now under consideration, founded a small congregation among the Monophysites of *Asia*, whose bishop resides at *Alippe*. See LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1408.

C E N T. and worship of the Romish church. But the new
 XVII. patriarch ruined, by his intemperate zeal, impru-
 S E C T. II. dence, and arrogance, the cause in which he had
 P A R T I. embarked, and occasioned the total subversion of
 the Roman pontif's authority and jurisdiction, which had really been established upon solid foundations. For he began his ministry with the most inconsiderate acts of violence and despotism. Following the spirit of the Spanish *inquisition*, he employed formidable threatnings and cruel tortures to convert the Abyssinians; the greatest part of whom, together with their priests and ministers, held the religion of their ancestors in the highest veneration, and were willing to part with their lives and fortunes rather than forsake it. He also ordered those to be rebaptized, who, in compliance with the orders of the emperor, had embraced the faith of *Rome*, as if their former religion had been nothing more than a system of Paganism [t]. This the Abyssinian clergy looked upon as a shocking insult upon the religious discipline of their ancestors, as even more provoking than the violence and barbarities practised against those who refused to submit to the papal yoke. Nor did the insolent patriarch rest satisfied with these arbitrary and despotic proceedings

☞ [t] The reader will recollect, that the *Abyssinians* differ but very little from the *Copts* in *Egypt*, and acknowledge the patriarch of *ALEXANDRIA* as their spiritual chief. They receive the Old and New Testament, the three first Councils, the Nicene Creed, and the Apostolical Constitutions. Their first conversion to Christianity is attributed by some to the famous prime minister of their Queen CANDACE, mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*; it is however probable, that the general conversion of that great empire was not perfected before the fourth century, when FRUMENTIUS, ordained Bishop of *Axuma* by ATHANASIUS, exercised his ministry among them with the most astonishing success. They were esteemed a pure church before they fell into the errors of EUTYCHES and DIOSCORUS; and even since that period they are still a purer church than that of *Rome*.

in the church; he excited tumults and factions in the state, and, with an unparalleled spirit of rebellion and arrogance, encroached upon the prerogatives of the throne, and attempted to give law to the emperor himself. Hence arose civil commotions, conspiracies, and seditions, which excited in a little time the indignation of the emperor, and the hatred of the people against the Jesuits, and produced at length, in the year 1631, a public *declaration* from the throne, by which the Abyssinian monarch annulled the orders he had formerly given in favour of popery, and left his subjects at liberty, either to persevere in the doctrine of their ancestors, or to embrace the faith of *Rome*. This rational declaration was mild and indulgent towards the Jesuits, considering the treatment their insolence and presumption had so justly deserved; but in the following reign much severer measures were employed against them. BASILIDES, the son of SEGUED, who succeeded his father in the year 1632, no sooner ascended the throne, than he thought it expedient to rid his dominions of these troublesome and despotic guests; and accordingly, in the year 1634, he banished from the territories of *Ethiopia* the Patriarch MENDEZ, with all the Jesuits and Europeans that belonged to his retinue, and treated the Roman-catholic missionaries with excessive rigour and severity [*u*]. From this period

[*u*] See LUDOLFI *Histor. Æthiopica*, lib. iii. cap. xii.—GEDDES'S *Church History of Ethiopia*, p. 233.—LA CROZE, *Histoire du Christianisme de l'Ethiopie*, p. 79.—LOBO, *Voyage d'Abyssinie*, p. 116. 130. 144. with the additions of LE GRAND, p. 173. and the fourth *Dissertation* that is subjoined to the second volume. In this dissertation LE GRAND, himself a Roman Catholic, makes the following remark upon the conduct of the Patriarch MENDEZ: "It were to be wished, says he, that the patriarch had never intermeddled in such a variety of affairs," (*by which mitigated expression the author means his*

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mod the very name of *Rome*, its religion, and its pontif, were objects of the highest aversion among the Abyssinians, who guarded their frontiers with the greatest vigilance and the strictest attention, lest any Jesuit or Romish missionary should steal into their territories in disguise, and excite new tumults and commotions in the kingdom. The Roman pontifs indeed made more than one attempt to recover the authority they had lost by the ill success and misconduct of the Jesuits. They began by sending two Capuchin monks to repair their loss; but these unfortunate wretches were no sooner discovered than they were stoned to death. They afterwards employed more artful and clandestine methods of reviving the missions, and had recourse to the influence and intercession of LEWIS XIV., king of *France*, to procure admission for their emissaries into the Abyssinian empire [*w*]; but, as far as we have learnt, these

his ambitious attempts to govern in the cabinet as well as in the church), "nor carried his authority to such a height, as to be-
"have in *Ethiopia* as if he had been in a country where the
"inquisition was established: for, by this conduct, he set all
"the people against him, and excited in them such an aversion
"to the Roman Catholics in general, and to the Jesuits in
"particular, as nothing has been hitherto able to diminish,
"and which subsists in its full force to this day." ¶ The third book of LA CROZE's History, which relates to the progress and ruin of this mission, is translated by Mr. LOCKMAN into English, and inserted in *The Travels of the Jesuits*, vol. i. p. 308, &c. as also is PONCET's Voyage, mentioned in the following note.

[*w*] These projects are mentioned by CERRI, in his *État présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 217.—LE GRAND, in his *Supplement to LOBO's Itinerarium Æthiopicum*, tom. i. p. 181*.—

¶ * Father LOBO, who resided nine years in *Ethiopia*, has given an elegant and lively, though simple and succinct description, of that vast empire, in his *Itinerarium Æthiopicum*. This itinerary was translated into French by M. LE GRAND, and enriched by him with several curious anecdotes and dissertations. Hence Dr. MOSHEIM sometimes quotes the *Itinerarium* under the title of *Voyage d'Abissinie*, referring to LE GRAND's French translation of it.

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these attempts have hitherto proved unsuccessful, nor have the pontifs or their votaries been as yet able to calm the resentment of that exasperated nation, or to conquer its reluctance against the worship and jurisdiction of the church of *Rome* [x].

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XVIII. Hitherto

The reader who would know what credit is to be given to what the Jesuits say of the attachment and veneration which the Asiatic and African Christians express for the Church of *Rome*, will do well to compare the relations of LE GRAND, who was a Roman Catholic, and no enemy to the Jesuits, and who drew his relations from the most authentic records, with those of PONCET, a French physician, who went into *Ethiopia* in the year 1698, accompanied by Father BREDEVENT, a Jesuit, who died during the voyage. This comparison will convince every ingenuous and impartial inquirer, that the accounts of the Jesuits are not to be trusted to, and that they surpass ancient Carthage itself in the art of deceiving. PONCET's Voyage is published in the fourth volume of the Jesuitical work, entitled, *Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes des Missions Etrangères*.

[x] LAFITAU and REBOULET, who have composed each a Life of Pope CLEMENT XI., tell us, that the Emperor of *Abyssinia* desired the Roman pontif, in the year 1703, to send to his court missionaries and legates to instruct him and his people, and to receive their submission to the see of *Rome*. These biographers go still further, and assert, that this monarch actually embraced the communion of *Rome* in the year 1712. But these assertions are idle fictions, forged by the Jesuits and their creatures. It is well known, on the contrary, that so lately as a very few years ago, the edict prohibiting all Europeans to enter into *Ethiopia* was still in force, and was executed with the greatest severity. Even the Turks are included in this prohibition; and, what is still more remarkable, the Egyptian Monophysites, who have once entered within the Abyssinian territories, are not allowed to return into their own country. All these facts are confirmed by a modern writer of the most unquestionable authority, the learned and worthy M. MAILLET, the French consul-general in *Egypt*, and ambassador from LEWIS XIV. to the Emperor of *Abyssinia*, in his *Description de l'Égypte*, par. I. p. 325. which was published at *Paris* in 4to, in the year 1735. See also LE GRAND's Supplement to LOBO's *Itinerarium*, which was published in the year 1728. This last mentioned author, after relating all the attempts that have been made in our times, by the French nation and the Roman pontiffs, to introduce Romish priests into *Abyssinia*, adds, that all such attempts must appear vain and chimerical to all those who

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The papal
authority
loses
ground.

XVIII. Hitherto we have confined our views to the external state and condition of the church of *Rome*, and to the good or ill success that attended its endeavours to extend its dominion in the different parts of the world. It will be now proper to change the scene, to consider this church in its internal constitution, and to pass in review its polity, discipline, institutions, and doctrine. Its ancient form of government still remained; but its pontiffs and bishops lost, in many places, no small part of that extensive authority they had so long enjoyed. The halcyon days were now over, in which the papal clergy excited with impunity seditious tumults in the state, intermeddled openly in the transactions of government, struck terror into the hearts of sovereigns and subjects by the thunder of their anathemas, and, imposing burthensome contributions on the credulous multitude, filled their coffers by notorious acts of tyranny and oppression. The pope himself, though still honoured with the same pompous titles and denominations, found nevertheless frequently, by a mortifying and painful experience, that these titles had lost a considerable part of their former signification, and that the energy of these denominations diminished from day to day. For now almost all the princes and states of *Europe* had adopted that important maxim that had been formerly peculiar to the French nation: *That the power of the Roman pontiff is entirely confined to matters of a religious and spiritual nature, and cannot, under any pretext whatsoever, extend to civil transactions or worldly affairs.* In

who have any knowledge of the empire of *Abyssinia*, and of the spirit and character of its inhabitants; his words are: *Toutes ces entreprises paroîtront chimériques à ceux qui connoîtront l'Abyssinie et les Abyssins.* It is highly probable, that the new mission which is preparing at *Rome* for the empire of *Abyssinia*, will prove a new instance of the solidity of M. LE GRAND's reflection.

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the schools, indeed, and colleges of Roman-catholic countries, and in the writings of the Romish priests and doctors, the majesty of the pope was still exalted in the most emphatic terms, and his prerogatives displayed with all imaginable pomp. The Jesuits also, who have been always ambitious of a distinguished place among the assertors of the power and pre-eminence of the Roman see, and who give themselves out for the pope's most obsequious creatures, raised their voices, in this ignoble cause, even above those of the schools and colleges. Nay, even in the courts of sovereign princes, very flattering terms and high-sounding phrases were sometimes used, to express the dignity and authority of the head of the church. But as it happens in other cases, that men's actions are frequently very different from their language, so was this observation particularly verified in the case of *Rome's Holy Father*. He was extolled in words, by those who despised him most in reality; and when any dispute arose between him and the princes of his communion, the latter respected his authority no further than they found expedient for their own purposes, and measured the extent of his prerogatives and jurisdiction, not by the slavish adulation of the colleges and the Jesuits, but by a regard to their own interests and independence.

XIX. This the Roman pontiffs learned, by a disagreeable experience, as often as they endeavoured, during this century, to resume their former pretensions, to interpose their authority in civil affairs, and encroach upon the jurisdiction of sovereign states. The conduct of PAUL V., and the consequences that followed it, furnish a striking example that abundantly verifies this observation. This haughty and arrogant pontif laid the Republic of *Venice* under an *Interdict* in the year 1606. The reasons alleged for this insolent proceeding, were the prosecution of two ec-

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clerics for capital crimes; as also two wise edicts, one of which prohibited the erection of any more religious edifices in the Venetian territories, without the knowledge and consent of the senate; and the other the alienation of any lay possessions or estates in favour of the clergy, without the express approbation of the Republic. The Venetian senate received this papal insult with dignity, and conducted themselves under it with becoming resolution and fortitude. Their first step was to prevent their clergy from executing the *Interdict*, by an act prohibiting that cessation of public worship, and that suspension of the sacraments, which the pope had commanded in this imperious mandate. Their next step was equally vigorous; for they banished from their territories the Jesuits and Capuchin friars, who obeyed the orders of the pope, in opposition to their express commands. In the process of this controversy they employed their ablest pens, and particularly that of the learned and ingenious PAUL SARPI, of the Order of *Servites*, to demonstrate, on the one hand, the justice of their cause, and to determine, on the other, after an accurate and impartial enquiry, the true limits of the Roman pontiff's jurisdiction and authority. The arguments of these writers were so strong and urgent, that BARONIUS, and the other learned advocates whom the pope had employed in supporting his pretensions and defending his measures, struggled in vain against their irresistible evidence. In the mean time all things tended towards a rupture, and PAUL V. was gathering together his forces in order to make war upon the Venetians, when HENRY IV., king of France, interposed as mediator [y], and concluded a peace between

[y] It must be observed here, that it was at the request of the pope, and not of the Venetians, that HENRY IV. interposed as mediator. The Venetians had nothing to fear. Their

tween the contending parties, on conditions not very honourable to the ambitious pontif [z]. For the Venetians could not be persuaded to repeal the edicts and resolutions they had issued out against the court of *Rome* upon this occasion, nor to recal the Jesuits from their exile [a].—It is remarkable,

Their cause was considered as the common cause of all the sovereign states of *Italy*; and the dukes of *Urbino*, *Modena*, and *Savoy*, had already offered their troops and services to the Republic. But the rash pontif, perceiving the storm that was gathering against him, took refuge in the French monarch's intercession.

[z] Besides DE THOU and other historians, see DANIEL, *Histoire de la France*, tom. x. p. 385.—HEIDEGGER'S *Historia Papatus*, Period. vii. § cccx. p. 322.—JO. WOLFG. JAEGERI *Historia Ecclcs.* Sæc. xvii. Decenn. i. p. 108.—More especially the writings of the famous PAUL SARPI, commonly called FRA-PAOLO, and of the other divines and canonists that defended the cause of the Republic, deserve a careful and attentive perusal. For these writings were composed with such solidity, learning, and eloquence, that they produced remarkable effects, and contributed much to open the eyes of several princes and magistrates; and to prevent their submitting blindly and implicitly, as their ancestors had done, to the imperious dictates of the Roman pontifs. Among the most masterly pieces written in this cause, we must place FRA-PAOLO'S *Istoria delle cose passate entre PAUL V., et la Republ. di Venetia*, published in 4to at *Mirandola*, in the year 1624; and his *Istoria Interdicti Vendi*, which was published in 4to at *Cambridge*, in the year 1626, by bishop BEDELL, who, during these troubles, had been chaplain to the English ambassador at *Venice*. PAUL V., by forcing the Venetians to publish to the world, in these admirable productions, his arrogance and temerity on the one hand, and many truths unfavourable to the pretensions of the popes on the other; was the occasion of the greatest perplexities and oppositions that the court of *Rome* had to encounter in after-times.

[a] When the peace was made between the Venetians and the pope, in the year 1607, the Capuchins and the other ecclesiastics, that had been banished on account of their partiality to the cause of *Rome*, were all re-instated in their respective functions, except the Jesuits. These latter, however, were recalled in the year 1657, under the pontificate of ALEXANDER VII., in consequence of the earnest and importunate requests of LEWIS XIV., king of *France*, and several other princes,

XX. Had the Portuguese acted with the same wisdom and resolution that distinguished the Venetians, their contest with the court of *Rome*, which begun under the pontificate of URBAN VIII., in the year 1641, and was carried on until the year 1666, would have been terminated in a manner equally disadvantageous to the haughty pretensions of the Roman pontifs. The Portuguese, unable to bear any longer the tyranny and oppression of the Spanish government, threw off the yoke, and chose Don JOHN duke of *Braganza*, for their king. URBAN VIII., and his successors in the see of *Rome*, obstinately refused, notwithstanding the most earnest and pressing solicitations both of the French and Portuguese, either to acknowledge Don JOHN's title to the crown, or to confirm the bishops whom this prince had named to fill the vacant sees in *Portugal*. Hence it happened, that the greatest part of the kingdom remained for a long time without bishops. The pretended vicar of Christ upon earth, whose character ought to set him above the fear of man, was so slavishly apprehensive of the resentment of the king of *Spain*, that, rather than offend that monarch, he violated the most solemn obligations of his station, by leaving such a number of churches without pastors and spiritual guides. The French, and other European courts, advised and exhorted the new king of *Portugal* to follow the noble example of the Venetians, and to assemble a national council, by which the new created bishops might be confirmed, in spite of the pope, in their respective sees. Don JOHN seemed disposed to listen to their councils, and to act with resolution and vigour at this important crisis; but his enterprising spirit was checked by the formidable power of the *inquisition*, the incredible superstition of the people, and the blind zeal and attachment that the nation, in general, discovered

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The contest
between the
Roman
pontifs and
the court of
Portugal.

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for the person and authority of the Roman pontiff. Hence the popes continued their insults with impunity; and it was not before the peace concluded between *Portugal* and *Spain*, five-and-twenty years after this revolution, that the bishops nominated by the king were confirmed by the pope. It was under the pontificate of CLEMENT IX. that an accommodation was brought about between the courts of *Portugal* and *Rome*. It must, indeed, be observed, to the honour of the Portuguese, that, notwithstanding their superstitious attachment to the court of *Rome*, they vigorously opposed its ambitious pontiff in all his attempts to draw from this contest an augmentation of his power and authority in that kingdom; nor did the bishops permit, in their respective sees, any encroachment to be made, at this time, upon the privileges and rights enjoyed by their monarchs in former ages [c].

The contests between the French nation and the Roman pontiffs,

XXI. There had subsisted, during many preceding ages, an almost uninterrupted misintelligence between the French monarchs and the Roman pontiffs, which had often occasioned an open rupture, and which produced more than once that violent effect during this century. The greatest exertions of industry, artifice, and assiduous labour were employed by the popes, during the whole of this period, to conquer the aversion that the French had conceived against the pretensions and authority of the court of *Rome*, and to undermine imperceptibly, and enervate and destroy by degrees, the liberties of the

[c] See GEDDES'S *History of the Pope's behaviour towards Portugal*, from 1641 to 1666, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, tom. ii. p. 73—186.—The cause of the Portuguese, in this quarrel, is defended with great learning and sagacity by a French writer, whose name was BULLIAD, in a book entitled, *Pro Ecclesia Lyfianis ad Clerum Gallicanum Libelli Duo*,

Gallican church. In this arduous and important enterprize the Jesuits acted a principal part, and seconded, with all their dexterity and craft, the designs of the aspiring pontifs. But these attempts and stratagems, were effectually defeated and disconcerted by the parliament of *Paris*; while many able pens exposed the tyranny and injustice of the papal claims, RICHER, LAUNOY, PETRUS DE MARCA, NATALIS ALEXANDER, ELLIS DU PIN, and others, displayed their learning, and talents in this contest, though with different degrees of merit. They appealed to the ancient decrees of the *Gallican church*, which they confirmed by recent authorities, and enforced by new and victorious arguments. It will naturally be thought, that these bold and respectable defenders of the rights and liberties both of church and state were amply rewarded, for their generous labours, by peculiar marks of the approbation and protection of the court of *France*. But this was so far from being always the case, that they received, on the contrary, from time to time, several marks of its resentment and displeasure, designed to appease the rage and indignation of the threatening pontif, whom it was thought expedient to treat sometimes with artifice and caution. *Rome*, however, gained but little by this mild policy of the French court. For it has been always a prevailing maxim with the monarchs of that nation, that their prerogatives and pretensions are to be defended against the encroachments of the Roman pontifs with as little noise and contention as possible; and that pompous memorials, and warm and vehement remonstrances, are to be carefully avoided, except in cases of urgent necessity [*d*]. Nor do these

☞ [*d*] It is with a view to this, that VOLTAIRE, speaking of the manner in which the court of *France* maintains its prerogatives against the Roman pontif, says, pleasantly, that *the King of France kisses the Pope's feet, and ties up his hands.*

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princes think it beneath their dignity to yield, more or less, to time and occasion, and even to pretend a mighty veneration for the orders and authority of the pontifs, in order to obtain from them, by fair means, the immunities and privileges which they look upon as their due. But they are, nevertheless, constantly on their guard; and, as soon as they perceive the court of *Rome* taking advantage of their lenity to extend its dominion, and the lordly popes growing insolent in consequence of their mildness and submission, they then alter their tone, change their measures, and resume the language that becomes the monarchs of a nation, that could never bear the tyranny and oppression of the papal yoke. All this appears evidently in the contests that arose between the courts of *France* and *Rome*, under the reign LEWIS XIV., of which it will not be improper to give here some interesting instances [*e*].

And more
especially
those of
Lewis XIV.

XXII. The first of these contests happened under the pontificate of ALEXANDER VII., and was owing to the temerity and insolence of his Corsican guards, who, in the year 1662, insulted the French ambassador and his lady, the duke and dutchess of CREQUI, at the instigation, as it is supposed, of the pope's nephews. LEWIS demanded satisfaction for this insult offered to his representative; and, on the pope's delaying to answer this demand, actually ordered his troops to file off for *Italy*, and to besiege the arrogant pontif in his capital. The latter, terrified by

✂ [*e*] The large note [*l*] of the original, in which Dr. MOSHEIM has examined that interesting question, viz. *Whether or no the papal authority gained or lost ground in France during the seventeenth century*, is transposed by the translator into the text, and placed at the end of our author's account of LEWIS XIV.'s quarrels with the pope, where it comes in with the utmost propriety. See § xxiii.

these warlike preparations, implored the clemency of the incensed monarch, who granted his pardon and absolution to the humble pontif, and concluded a peace with him at *Pisa*, in the year 1664, upon the most inglorious and mortifying conditions. These conditions were, that the pope should send his nephew to *Paris*, in the character of a suppliant for pardon; that he should brand the Corsican guards with perpetual infamy, and break them by a public edict; and should erect a pyramid at *Rome*, with an inscription destined to preserve the memory of this audacious instance of papal insolence, and of the exemplary manner in which it was chastised and humbled by the French monarch. It is however to be observed, that in this contest LEWIS did not chastise ALEXANDER, considered in his ghostly character as head of the church; but as a temporal prince, violating the law of nations [f]. He however shewed, on other occasions, that, when properly provoked, he was as much disposed to humble papal as princely ambition, and that he feared the head of the church as little as the temporal ruler of the ecclesiastical state. This appeared evidently by the important and warm debate he had with INNOCENT XI., considered in his *spiritual* character, which began about the year 1678, and was carried on with great animosity and contention for several years after. The subject of this controversy was a *right*, called in *France* the *regale*, by which the French king, upon the death of a bishop, laid claim to the revenues and fruits of his see, and discharged also several parts [g] of the episcopal

[f] See JAEGERI *Hystor. Eccles. Sæc. xvi. Decenn. vii. lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 180.*—VOLTAIRE, *Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 134. Edit. de Dresde 1753.*—ARCKENHOLTZ, *Membres de la Reine CHRISTINE, tom. ii. p. 72.*

[g] The author means here undoubtedly the collation of all benefices, which became vacant in the diocese of a deceased

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episcopal function, until a new bishop was elected. LEWIS was desirous that all the churches in his dominions should be subject to the *regale*. INNOCENT pretended, on the contrary, that this claim could not be granted with such universality; nor would he consent to any augmentation of the prerogatives of this nature, that had formerly been enjoyed by the kings of *France*. Thus the claims of the prince, and the remonstrances of the pontif, both urged with warmth and perseverance, formed a sharp and violent contest, which was carried on, on both sides, with spirit and resolution. The pontif sent forth his bulls and mandates. The monarch opposed their execution by the terror of penal laws, and the authority of severe edicts against all who dared to treat them with the smallest regard. When the pontif refused to confirm the bishops that were nominated by the monarch, the latter took care to have them consecrated and inducted into their respective sees; and thus, in some measure, declared to the world, that the Gallican church could govern itself without the intervention of the Roman pontif. INNOCENT XI., who was a man of a high spirit, and inflexibly obstinate in his purposes, did not lose courage at a view of these resolute and vigorous proceedings; but threatened the monarch with the divine vengeance, issued out bull after bull, and did every thing in his power to convince his adversaries, that the vigour and intrepidity, which formerly distinguished the lordly rulers of the Romish church, were not yet totally extinguished [b].

This

ceased bishop before the nomination of his successor. This right of collation, in such cases, was comprehended in the *Regale*. See note [i].

[b] See JO. HEN. HEIDEGGERI *Historia Papatûs*, Period. vii. § cccxli. p. 555.—VOLTAIRE *Sicéle de LOUIS XIV.* tom. i. p. 221. *Edû. de Dresde* 1753. A great number of writers have either

This obstinacy, however, only served to add fuel to the indignation and resentment of LEWIS. And accordingly, that monarch summoned the famous assembly of bishops [i], which met at *Paris*, in the year 1682. In this convocation, the ancient doctrine of the Gallican church, that declares the power of the pope to be *merely* spiritual, and also inferior to that of a general council, was drawn up anew in four propositions [j], which were solemnly adopted by the whole as-

either incidentally or professedly treated the subject of the *Regale*, and have given ample accounts of the controversies it has occasioned. But none has traced out more circumstantially the rise and progress of this famous right than Cardinal HENRY NORIS, in his *Istoria delle Investiture Ecclesiast.* p. 547, which is inserted in the fourth volume of his works.

§ [i] This assembly, which consisted of thirty-five bishops, and as many deputies of the second Order, extended the *Regale* to all the churches in *France* without exception. The bishops, at the same time, thought proper to represent it to the king as their humble opinion, that those ecclesiastics whom he should be pleased to nominate, during the vacancy of the see, to benefices attended with cure of souls, were obliged to apply for induction and confirmation to the grand vicars appointed by the chapters.

§ [j] These four propositions were to the following purpose:

1. That neither St. PETER nor his successors have received from God any power to interfere, directly or indirectly, in what concerns the temporal interests of princes and sovereign states; that kings and princes cannot be deposed by ecclesiastical authority, nor their subjects freed from the sacred obligation of fidelity and allegiance, by the power of the church, or the bulls of the Roman pontif.

2. That the decrees of the council of *Constance*, which maintained the authority of general councils as superior to that of the pope's, in spiritual matters, are approved and adopted by the Gallican church.

3. That the rules, customs, institutions, and observances, which have been received in the Gallican church, are to be preserved inviolable.

4. That the decisions of the pope, in points of faith, are not infallible, unless they be attended with the consent of the church.

sembly,

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sembly, and were proposed to the whole body of the clergy and to all the universities throughout the kingdom, as a sacred and inviolable rule of faith. But even this respectable decision of the matter, which gave such a mortal wound to the authority of *Rome*, did not shake the constancy of its resolute pontif, or reduce him to silence [k].

Another contest arose, some time after the one now mentioned, between these two princes, whose mutual jealousy and dislike of each other contributed much to inflame their divisions. This new dispute broke out in the year 1687, when INNOCENT XI. wisely resolved to suppress the franchises and the *right of asylum* that had formerly been enjoyed by the ambassadors residing at

[k] This pope was far from keeping silence with respect to the famous propositions mentioned in the preceding note. As they were highly unfavourable to his authority, so he took care to have them refuted and opposed both in private and in public. The principal champion for the papal cause, on this occasion, was Cardinal CELESTIN SFONDRATI, who, in the year 1684, published, under the feigned name of EUGENIUS LOMBARDUS, a treatise entitled, *Regale Sacerdotium Romano Pontifici assertum, et quatuor propositionibus explicatum*. This treatise was printed in *Switzerland*, as appears evidently by the characters or form of the letters. A multitude of Italian, German, and Spanish doctors stood forth to support the tottering majesty of the pontif against the court of *France*; and more especially the learned NICOLAS DU BOIS, professor at *Louvain*, whose writings in defence of the pope are mentioned by BOSSUET. But all these papal champions were defeated by the famous prelate last mentioned, the learned and eloquent bishop of *Meaux*, who, by the king's special order, composed that celebrated work, which appeared after his death, in two volumes 4to, and in the year 1730, under the following title: *Defensio Declarationis celeberrime, quam de Potestate Ecclesiastica sanxit Clerus Gallicanus, xix Martii, MDCLXXXII, Luxemburgi*. The late publication of this work was owing to the prospect of a reconciliation between the courts of *France* and *Rome*, after the death of INNOCENT XI., which reconciliation actually took place, and engaged LEWIS XIV. to prevent this work being put to the press.

Rome,

Rome [1], and had, on many occasions, proved a sanctuary for rapine, violence, and injustice, by procuring impunity for the most heinous malefactors. The Marquis DE LAVARDIN refused, in the name of the French king, to submit to this new regulation; and LEWIS took all the violent methods that pride and resentment could invent, to oblige the pontif to restore to his ambassador the immunities abovementioned [m]. INNOCENT, on the other hand, persisted in his purpose, opposed the king's demands in the most open and intrepid manner, and could not be wrought upon by any consideration to yield, even in appearance, to his ambitious adversary [n]. His death, however, put an end to this long debate, which had proved really detrimental to both of the contending parties. His successors, being men of a softer and more complaisant disposition, were less averse to the concessions that were necessary to bring about a reconciliation, and to the measures that were adapted to remove the chief causes of these unseen contests. They were not, indeed, so far unmindful of the papal dignity, and of the interests of Rome, as to patch up an agreement on inglorious terms. On the one hand, the right of *asylum* was suppressed with the king's consent; on the other, the right of the *regale* was settled

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☞ [1] This right of *asylum* extended much further than the ambassador's palace, whose immunity the pope did not mean to violate; it comprehended a considerable extent of ground, which was called a *quarter*, and undoubtedly gave occasion to great and crying abuses.

☞ [m] The Marquis DE LAVARDIN began his embassy by entering Rome, surrounded with a thousand men in arms.

[n] JAEGERI *Historia Ecclesiastica*. SÆC. xvii. Decenn. ix. p. 19.—*Legatio LAVARDINI*, which was published in 1688.—But above all, *Memoires de la Reine CHRISTINE*, tom. ii. p. 248. For CHRISTINA took part in this contest, and adopted the cause of the French monarch.

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with certain modifications [o]. The four famous *propositions*, relating to the pope's authority and jurisdiction, were softened, by the king's permission, in private letters addressed to the pontif by certain bishops; but they were neither abrogated by the prince, nor renounced by the clergy; on the contrary, they still remain in force, and occupy an eminent place among the laws of the kingdom.

Whether or
no the papal
authority
gained
ground in
this century.

XXIII. [p] Several Protestant writers of eminent merit and learning, lament the accessions of power and authority which the Roman pontifs are supposed to have gained in France during the course of this century. They tell us, with sorrow, that the Italian notions of the papal majesty and jurisdiction, which the French nation had, in former ages, looked upon with abhorrence, gained ground now, and had infected not only the nobility and clergy, but almost all ranks and orders of men; and from hence they conclude, that the famous *rights and liberties of the Gallican church* have suffered greatly by the perfidious stratagems of the Jesuits. They are led into this opinion by certain measures that were taken by the French court, and which seemed to favour the pretensions of the Roman pontif. They are confirmed in it by the declamations of the Janse- nists, and other modern writers among the French, who complain of the high veneration that was paid to the papal bulls during this century; of the success of the Jesuits in instilling into the mind of the king and his counsellors the maxims of *Rome*, and an excessive attachment to its bishop;

[o] See FLEURY, *Institutions du Droit Ecclesiastique François*, which excellent work is translated into Latin. Dr. MOSHEIM refers to p. 454. of the Latin version.

[p] This § xxiii. contains the ample note [i], which is to be found at p. 880, of the original. It comes in here with more propriety.

of the violence and ill treatment that were offered to all those who adhered stedfastly to the doctrine and maxims of their forefathers; and of the gradual attempts that were made to introduce the formidable tribunal of the *inquisition* into *France*. But it will perhaps appear, on mature consideration, that too much stress is laid, by many, on these complaints; and that the *rights and privileges* of the Gallican church were in this century, and are actually at this day, in the same state and condition in which we find them during those earlier ages, of which the writers and declaimers abovementioned incessantly boast. It might be asked, where are the victories that are said to have been obtained over the French by the popes of *Rome*, and which some Protestant doctors, lending a credulous ear to the complaints of the Janсениsts and *Appellants*, think they perceive with the utmost clearness? I am persuaded it would be difficult, if not impossible, to give a satisfactory answer in the affirmative to this question.

It is true, indeed, that as the transactions of government, in general, are now carried on in *France*, with more subtilty, secrecy, and art, than in former times; so, in particular, the stratagems and machinations of the Roman pontiffs have been opposed and defeated with more artifice, and less noise, than in those more rude and unpolished ages, when almost every contest was terminated by brutal force and open violence. The opposition between the court of *France* and the bishop of *Rome* still subsists; but the manner of terminating their differences is changed; and their debates are carried on with less clamour, though not certainly with less animosity and vigour, than in the times of old. This new and prudent manner of disputing is not agreeable to the restless, fiery, and impatient temper of the French, who have

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an irresistible propensity to noisy, clamorous, and expeditious proceedings; and hence undoubtedly arise all the complaints we have heard, and still hear, of the decline of the liberties of the Gallican church, in consequence of the growing influence and perfidious counsels of the Jesuits. If those, however, who are accustomed to make these complaints, would for a moment suspend their prejudices, and examine with attention the history, and also the present state of their country, they would soon perceive that their ecclesiastical liberties [g], instead of declining, or of being neglected by their monarchs, are maintained and preserved with more care, resolution, and foresight, than ever. It must indeed be acknowledged, that, in *France*, there are multitudes of cringing slaves, who basely fawn upon the Roman pontifs, exalt their prerogatives, revere their majesty, and, through the dictates of superstition, interest, or ambition, are ever ready to hug the papal chain, and submit their necks blindly to the yoke of those ghostly tyrants. But it may be proved by the most undoubted facts, and by innumerable examples, that these servile creatures of the pope abounded as much in *France* in former ages as they do at this day; and it must be also considered, that it is not by the counsels of this slavish tribe that the springs of government are moved, or the affairs of state and church transacted. It must be further acknowledged,

[g] It is not necessary to advertise the reader, that by these liberties are not meant, that rational and Christian liberty which entitles every individual to follow the light of his own conscience and the dictates of his own judgment in religious matters; for no such liberty is allowed in *France*. The liberties of the Gallican church consist in the opposition which that church has made, at different times, to the overgrown power of the Roman pontif, and to his pretended personal infallibility.

that

that the Jesuits had arrived at a very high degree of influence and authority [r], and sometimes have credit enough to promote measures that do not at all appear consistent with the rights of the Gallican church, and must consequently be considered as heavy grievances by the patrons of the ancient ecclesiastical liberty. But here it may be observed, on the one hand, that many such measures have been proposed and followed before the rise of the Jesuits; and, on the other, that many affairs of great consequence are daily transacted in a manner highly displeasing and detrimental to that society, and extremely disagreeable to the Roman pontifs. If it be alleged, that those who defend with learning and judgment the ancient doctrines and maxims of the Gallican church scarcely escape public censure and punishment, and that those who maintain them with vehemence and intemperate zeal are frequently rewarded with exile or a prison; nay, that the most humble and modest patrons of these doctrines are left in obscurity without encouragement or recompence: all this must be granted. But it must be considered, on the other hand, that the cause they maintain, and the ancient doctrines and maxims they defend, are not condemned, nor even deserted; the matter is only this, that the prince and his ministry have fallen upon a new method of maintaining and supporting them. It appears to them much more conducive to public peace and order, that the stratagems and attempts of the Roman pontifs should

[r] Dr. MOSHEIM wrote this in the year 1753, before the suppression of the Order of Jesuits in *France*. The downfall of that society, and the circumstances that have attended it, seem both to illustrate and confirm his judicious notion with respect to the degree of credit and influence which the popes have had in that kingdom for some time past.

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be opposed and defeated by secret exertions of resolution and vigour, without noise or ostentation, than by learned productions and clamorous disputes; which, for the most part, excite factions in the kingdom, inflame the spirits of the people, throw the state into tumult and confusion, exasperate the pontifs, and alienate them still more and more from the French nation. In the mean time the doctors and professors, who are placed in the various seminaries of learning, are left at liberty to instruct the youth in the ancient doctrine and discipline of the church, and to explain and inculcate those maxims and laws by which, in former times, the papal authority was restrained and confined within certain limits. If these laws and maxims are infringed, and if even violent methods are employed against those who adhere stedfastly to them, this happens but very rarely, and never but when some case of extreme necessity, or the prospect of some great advantage to the community, absolutely require their suspension. Besides, those who sit at the political helm, always take care to prevent the pope's reaping much benefit from this suspension or neglect of the ancient laws and maxims of the church. This circumstance, which is of so much importance in the present question, must appear evident to such as will be at the pains to look into the history of the debates that attended, and the consequences that followed, the reception of the *Bull Unigenitus* in France, than which no papal edict could seem more repugnant to the rights and liberties of the Gallican church. But in the business of this *Bull*, as in other transactions of a like nature, the court proceeded upon this political maxim, that a smaller evil is to be submitted to, when a greater may be thereby prevented.

In

In a word, the kings of *France* have almost always treated the Roman pontiffs as the heroes, who are said, in Pagan story, to have descended into *Tartarus*, behaved towards the triple-jawed guardian of that lower region: sometimes they offered a soporiferous cake to suppress his grumbling and menacing tone; at others they terrified him with their naked swords, and the din of arms; and this with a view to stop his barking, and to obtain the liberty of directing their course in the manner they thought proper. There is nothing invidious designed by this comparison, which certainly represents, in a lively manner, the caresses and threatenings that were employed by the *French* monarchs, according to the nature of the times, the state of affairs, the character of the pontiffs, and other incidental circumstances, in order to render the court of *Rome* favourable to their designs. We have dwelt, perhaps, too much upon this subject; but we thought it not improper to undeceive many Protestant writers, who, too much influenced by the bitter complaints and declamations of certain Jansenists, and not sufficiently instructed in the history of these ecclesiastical contentions, have formed erroneous notions concerning the point we have here endeavoured to examine and discuss.

XXIV. The corruptions that had been complained of in preceding ages, both in the higher and inferior Orders of the Romish clergy, were rather increased than diminished during this century, as the most impartial writers of that communion candidly confess. The bishops were rarely indebted for their elevation to their eminent learning or superior merit. The intercession of potent patrons, services rendered to men in power, connections of blood, and simoniacal practices, were, generally speaking, the steps to preferment; and, what was still more deplorable,

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their promotion was sometimes owing to their vices. Their lives were such, as might be expected from persons who had risen in the church by such unseemly means; for had they been obliged, by their profession, to give public examples of those vices which the holy laws of the Gospel so solemnly and expressly condemn, instead of exhibiting patterns of sanctity and virtue to their flock, they could not have conducted themselves otherwise than they did [s]. Some indeed there were, who, sensible of the obligations of their profession, displayed a true Christian zeal, in administering useful instruction, and exhibiting pious examples to their flock, and exerted their utmost vigour and activity in opposing the vices of the sacred Order in particular, and the licentiousness of the times in general. But these rare patrons of virtue and piety were either ruined by the resentment and stratagems of their envious and exasperated brethren, or were left in obscurity, without that encouragement and support that were requisite to enable them to execute effectually their pious and laudable purposes. The same treatment fell to the lot of those among the lower order of the clergy, who endeavoured to maintain the cause of truth and virtue. But the number of sufferers in this noble cause was small, compared with the multitude of corrupt ecclesiastics, who were carried away with the torrent, instead of opposing it, and whose lives were spent in scenes of pleasure, or in the anxiety and toils of avarice and ambition. While we acknowledge that, among the bishops and infe-

[s] The reader may see these disagreeable accounts of the corruptions of the clergy confirmed by a great number of unexceptionable testimonies, drawn from the writings of the most eminent doctors of the Romish church, in the *Memoires de Port Royal*, tom. ii. p. 308.

rior clergy, there were several exceptions from that general prevalence of immorality and licentiousness with which the sacred Order was chargeable; it is also incumbent upon us to do justice to the merit of some of the Roman pontifs, in this century, who used their most zealous endeavours to reform the manners of the clergy, or, at least, to oblige them to observe the rules of external decency in their conduct and conversation. It is however matter of surprise, that these pontifs did not perceive the unsurmountable obstacles to the success of their counsels, and the fruits of their wise and salutary edicts, that arose from the internal constitution of the Romish church, and the very nature of the papal government. For were the Roman pontifs even divinely inspired, and really infallible, yet unless this inspiration and infallibility were attended with a miraculous power, and with the supernatural privilege of being present in many places at the same time; it is not conceivable how they should ever entertain a notion of the possibility of restoring or maintaining order, or good morals, among that prodigious multitude of persons of all classes and characters that are subject to their jurisdiction.

XXV. Though the monks, in several places, behaved with much more circumspection and decency than in former times, yet they had every where departed, in a great measure, from the spirit of their founders, and the primitive laws of their respective institutions. About the commencement of this century, their convents and colleges made a most wretched and deplorable figure, as we learn from the accounts of the wisest and most learned even of their own writers. But we find, further on, several attempts made to remove this disorder. The first were made by some wise and pious Benedictines, who, in *France*, and other countries, reformed several monasteries of their

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Order, and endeavoured to bring them back, as near as was possible, to the laws and discipline of their founder [t]. Their example was followed by the monks of *Clugni*, the Cistercians, the regular canons, the Dominicans, and Franciscans [u]. It is from this period that we are to date the division of the monastic Orders into two general classes; one of these comprehends the *Reformed* monks, who, reclaimed from that licentiousness and corruption of manners that had formerly dishonoured their societies, lead more strict and regular lives, and discover in their conduct a greater regard to the primitive laws of their Order. The other is composed of the *Un-reformed* Orders, who, forgetting the spirit of their founders, and the rules of their institute, spend their days in ease and pleasure, and have no taste for the austeries and hardships of the monastic life. The latter class is by far the most numerous; and the greatest part, even of the *Reformed* monks, do not only come short of that purity of manners which their *rule* enjoins, but are moreover gradually

[t] LE BOEUF, *Memoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 513. where there is an account of the first *Reforms* made in the convents during this century.—See MARTENE'S *Voyage Littéraire de deux Benedictins*, par. II. p. 97.

[u] There is an account of all the convents reformed in this century, in HELYOT'S *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. v, vi, vii. to which, however, several interesting circumstances may be added, by consulting other writers. The *Reform* of the Monks of *Clugni* is fully described by the Benedictines, in the *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 544. The same authors speak of the *Reform* of the Regular Canons of St. AUGUSTIN, tom. vii. p. 778. 787. 790.—For an account of that of the Cistercians, see MABILLON, *Annal. Benedic.* tom. vi. p. 121.—*Voyage Littéraire de deux Benedictins*, tom. i. p. 7, 8. tom. ii. p. 133. 229. 269. 303. The Cistercians were no sooner reformed themselves, than they used their most zealous endeavours for the reformation of the whole society (i. e. of the Benedictine Order), but in vain. See MEAUSOU, *Vie de l'Abbé de la Trappe*, tom. i. p. 192.

and

and imperceptibly relapsing into their former indolence and disorder.

XXVI. Among the *Reformed* monks, a particular degree of attention is due to certain Benedictine societies, or *congregations*, who surpass all the other monastic Orders, both in the excellence and utility of their rules and constitution, and in the zeal and perseverance with which they adhere to them. The most famous of these societies is the *Congregation of St. Maur* [*w*], which was founded in the year 1620, by the express order of GREGORY XV., and was enriched by URBAN VIII., in the year 1627, with several donations and privileges. It does not indeed appear, that even this society adheres strictly to the spirit and maxims of BENEDICT, whose name it bears, nor is it beyond the reach of censure in other respects; but these imperfections are compensated by the great number of excellent rules and institutions that are observed in it, and by the regular lives and learned labours of its members. For in this congregation there is a select number of persons, who are distinguished by their genius and talents, set apart for the study of sacred and profane literature, and more especially of history and antiquities; and this learned part of the society is fur-

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[*w*] See the *Gallia Christiana Nova*, an admirable work, composed by the *Congregation of St. Maur*, tom. vii. p. 474.—HELLOT, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. vi. cap. xxxvii. p. 256. The letters patent of Pope GREGORY XV., by which the establishment of this famous congregation was approved and confirmed, were criticised with great severity and rigour by LAUNOY, that formidable scourge of all the Monastic Orders, in his *Examen privil. S. Germani*, tom. iii. p. i. opp. p. 303. The same author gives an account of the dissensions that arose in this congregation immediately after its establishment; but an account which favours too much of that partiality that he was chargeable with, whenever he treated of monastic affairs; see his *Affert. Inquisit. in privil. S. Medardi*, p. i. cap. lxxvi. p. 227. tom. iii. opp. p. 2.

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nished with all the means and materials of knowledge in a rich abundance, and with every thing that can tend to facilitate their labours and render them successful [*]. It must be abundantly known,

[*] The Benedictines celebrate, in pompous terms, the exploits of this *congregation* in general, and more especially their zealous and successful labours in restoring order, discipline, and virtue, in a great number of monasteries, which were falling into ruin through the indolence and corruption of their licentious members; See the *Voyage de deux Religieux Benedictins de la Congregation de S. Maur*, tom. i. p. 16. tom. ii. p. 47. This eulogy, though perhaps exaggerated, is not entirely unmerited; and there is no doubt but the Benedictines have contributed much to restore the credit of the monastic Orders. There are, nevertheless, several classes of ecclesiastics in the Romish church, who are no well-wishers to this learned *congregation*, though their dislike be founded on different reasons. In the first class, we may place a certain number of ambitious prelates, whose artful purposes have been disappointed by this ingenious fraternity; for the monks of *St. Maur*, having turned their principal study towards ancient history and antiquities of every kind, and being perfectly acquainted with ancient records, diplomas, and charters, are thus peculiarly qualified to maintain their possessions, their jurisdiction, and privileges, against the litigious pretensions of the bishops, and have, in fact, maintained them with more success than their Order could do in former times, when destitute of learning, or but ill furnished with the knowledge of ancient history. The Jesuits form the second class of adversaries, with whom this learned *congregation* has been obliged to struggle; for their lustre and reputation being considerably eclipsed by the numerous and admirable productions of these Benedictines, they have used their utmost endeavours to sink, or at least to diminish, the credit of such formidable rivals. See SIMON, *Lettres Choises*, tom. iv. p. 36. 45. These Benedictines have a third set of enemies, who are instigated by superstition; and it is not improbable, that this superstition may be accompanied with a certain mixture of envy. To understand this fully, it must be observed, that the learned Monks, of whom we are now speaking, have substituted an assiduous application to the culture of philology and literature in the place of that bodily and manual labour which the *Rule of St. BENEDICT* prescribes to his followers. The more robust, healthy, and vigorous Monks, are obliged to employ a certain portion of the day in working with their hands; while those of a weaker constitution, and superior genius, are allowed to exchange bodily for mental

known, to those who have any acquaintance with the history and progress of learning in *Europe*, what signal advantages the republic of letters has derived from the establishment of this famous *Congregation*, whose numerous and admirable productions have cast a great light upon all the various branches of philology and *Belles Lettres*, and whose researches have taken in the whole circle of science, philosophy excepted [y].

mental labour, and, instead of cultivating the lands or gardens of the convent, to spend their days in the pursuit of knowledge, both human and divine. The lazy Monks envy this bodily repose; and the superstitious and fanatical ones, who are vehemently prejudiced in favour of the ancient monastic discipline, behold, with contempt, these learned researches as unbecoming the monastic character, since they tend to divert the mind from divine contemplation. This superstitious and absurd opinion was maintained, with peculiar warmth and vehemence, by ARMAND JOHN BOUTHELIER DE RANCE, abbot of *La Trappe*, in his book *Des devoirs monastiques*; upon which the Benedictines employed MABILLON, the most learned of their fraternity, to defend their cause, and to expose the reveries of the abbot in their proper colours. This he did with remarkable success, in his famous book *De Studiis monasticis*, which was first published in 8vo at *Paris* in the year 1691, passed afterwards through several editions, and was translated into different languages. Hence arose that celebrated question, which was long debated with great warmth and animosity in *France*, viz. *How far a monk may, consistently with his character, apply himself to the study of literature?* There is an elegant and interesting history of this controversy given by VINCENT THULLIER, a most learned monk of the congregation of *St. Maur*; see the *Opera Posthuma* MABILLONII et RUINARTII, tom. i. p. 365—425.

[y] The curious reader will find an account of the authors and learned productions with which the congregation of *St. Maur* has enriched the republic of letters, in PH. LE CERP's *Bibliothèque Historique et Critique des Auteurs de la Congregation de St. Maur*, published at the *Hague* in 8vo in 1726; and also in BERNARD PEZ's *Bibliotheca Benedictino-Mariana*, published in 8vo at *Augshourg* in 1716.—These Benedictines still maintain their literary fame by the frequent publication of laborious and learned productions in all the various branches of sacred and profane literature.

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XXVII. Though these pious attempts to reform the monasteries were not entirely unsuccessful, yet the effects they produced, even in those places where they had succeeded most, came far short of that perfection of austerity that had seized the imaginations of a set of persons, whose number is considerable in the Romish church, though their credit be small, and their severity be generally looked upon as excessive and disgusting. These rigid censors, having always in their eye the ancient discipline of the monastic Orders, and bent on reducing the modern convents to that austere discipline, looked upon the changes above-mentioned as imperfect and trifling. They considered a monk as a person obliged, by the sanctity of his profession, to spend his whole days in prayers, tears, contemplation, and silence; in the perusal of holy books, and the hardships of bodily labour; nay, they went so far as to maintain, that all other designs, and all other occupations, however laudable and excellent in themselves, were entirely foreign from the monastic vocation, and, on that account, vain and sinful in persons of that Order. This severe plan of monastic discipline was recommended by several persons, whose obscurity put it out of their power to influence many in its behalf; but it was also adopted by the Jansenists, who reduced it to practice in certain places [z], and in none with more success and reputation than in the female convent

[z] See the *Memoires de Port-Royal*, tom. ii. p. 601, 602.—MARTIN BARCOS, the most celebrated Jansenist of this century, introduced this austere rule of discipline into the monastery of *St. Cyran*, of which he was abbot. See the *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 132.—MOLEON, *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 135. But, after the death of this famous abbot, the monks of his cloyster relapsed into their former disorder, and resumed their former manners. See *Voyage de deux Bénédictins*, tom. i. p. i. p. 18.

of *Port-Royal*, where it has subsisted from the year 1618 until our time [a]. These steps of the Jansenists excited a spirit of emulation, and several monasteries exerted themselves in the imitation of this austere model; but they were all surpassed by the famous BOUTHILLIER DE RANCE, abbot *de la Trappe* [b], who, with the most ardent zeal, and indefatigable labour, attended with uncommon success, introduced into his monastery this discipline, in all its austere and shocking perfection. This abbot, so illustrious by his birth, and so remarkable for his extraordinary devotion, was so happy as to vindicate his fraternity from the charge of excessive superstition, which the Jansen-

[a] HELYOT, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. v. chap. xlv. p. 455.

[b] This illustrious abbot shewed very early an extraordinary genius for the *Belles Lettres*. At the age of ten, he was master of several of the Greek and Roman poets, and understood HOMER perfectly. At the age of twelve or thirteen, he gave an edition of *Anacreon*, with learned Annotations. Some writers allege, that he had imbibed the voluptuous spirit of that poet, and that his subsequent application to the study of theology in the *Sorbonne* did not extinguish it entirely. They also attribute his conversion to a singular incident. They tell us, that returning from the country, after six weeks absence from a lady whom he loved passionately (and not in vain), he went directly to her chamber by a back stair, without having the patience to make any previous enquiry about her health and situation. On opening the door, he found the chamber illuminated, and hung with black;—and, on approaching the bed,—saw the most hideous spectacle that could be presented to his eyes, and the most adapted to mortify passion, inspire horror, and engender the gloom of melancholy devotion, in a mind too lively and too much agitated to improve this shocking change to the purposes of rational piety: he saw his fair mistress in her shroud—dead of the small-pox—all her charms fled—and succeeded by the ghastly lines of death, and the frightful marks of that terrible disorder.—From that moment, it is said, our abbot retired from the world, repaired to *La Trappe*, the most gloomy, barren, and desolate spot in the whole kingdom of France, and there spent the forty last years of his life in perpetual acts of the most austere piety.

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nists had drawn upon themselves by the austerity of their monastic discipline; and yet his society observed the severe and laborious rule of the ancient Cistercians, whom they even surpassed in abstinence, mortifications, and self-denial. This Order still subsists, under the denomination of the *Reformed Bernardins of La Trappe*, and has several monasteries both in *Spain* and *Italy*; but, if credit may be given to the accounts of writers who seem to be well informed, it is degenerating gradually from the austere and painful discipline of its famous founder [c].

New monastic orders founded.

XXVIII. The Romish church, from whose prolific womb all the various forms of superstition issued forth in an amazing abundance, saw several new monastic establishments arise within its borders during this century. The greatest part of them we shall pass over in silence, and confine ourselves to the mention of those which have obtained some degree of fame, or at least made a certain noise in the world.

We begin with the *Fathers of the oratory of the Holy Jesus*, a famous Order, instituted by Cardinal BERULLE, a man of genius and talents, who displayed his abilities with such success, in the service both of state and church, that he was generally looked upon as equally qualified for shining in these very different spheres. This Order, which both in the nature of its rules, and in the design of its establishment, seems to be in direct opposition to that of the Jesuits, was founded in the year 1613, has produced a considerable number of per-

[c] MARSOLIER, *Vie de l'Abbé de la Trappe*, published at Paris in 1702 in 4to, and in 1703 in 2 vols. 12mo.—MEAUROU, *Vie de M. l'Abbé de la Trappe*, published at Paris in 2 vols. 8vo, in 1702.—FELIBIEN, *Description de l'Abbaye de la Trappe*, published at Paris in 1671.—HELYOT, *Histoire des Ordres*; tom. vi. chap. i. p. 1.